AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. XVI.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐλαῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἅπιε ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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AN.

Universal History.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Roman *history, from the death of* Theodosius the Great, *to the taking of* Rome *the first time by the* Goths.

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have observed above, the empire at his death, between his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; but as they were too young to govern of themselves, *Arcadius* being but eighteen years old, and *Honorius* not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of *Rufinus*, and the latter to that of *Stilicho* [a]. *Rufinus* was a native of *Eause* in *Gascony* [b], and not of *Eusa* in *Bosporus*, as some have imagined, misled by the authority of *Tiro Prosper* [c]. He appeared first at court in the reign of *Theodosius*, who, being taken with his uncommon address, and extraordinary qualities, raised him, about the year 390, to the post of *magister officiorum*, to the consular dignity in 392, and the same year to that of prefect of the east, leaving him at *Constantinople* vested with almost an absolute and unlimitted power, when he set out for the west in 394, to make war on *Eugenius* [d]. *Rufinus* was well-shaped in his person, tall, of a graceful mien, and sprightly genius [e]. He professed the christian religion, and was baptized in 394, on occasion of the solemn consecration of a church,

Rufinus *prime minister to* Arcadius.

His character.

[a] Oros. l. vii. p. 221. Amer. serm. de diverf. p. 117. Zos. p. 780. [b] Claud. in Ruf. l. i. p. 12, 13. [c] De Marca hiftoire de Bearn, p. 24. [d] Zos. l. iv. p. 773. Cod. Theod. tit. 6 p. 382. Amb. ep. 50. p. 309. [e] Philost. l. xi. c. 5. p 528. Zoz. l. viii. c. 17. p. 780.

which he had built, together with a palace, near *Chalcedon* [f]. He could never have gained the eſteem and confidence of *Theodoſius*, without the appearance, at leaſt, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. St. *Ambroſe* ranked him among his friends, and was glad to ſee him preferred [g]. He lived in great intimacy with *Symmachus*, if the laſt letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addreſſed to him. In thoſe letters *Symmachus* commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery [h]. He likewiſe extols his virtue, his ſincerity, and diſintereſtedneſs, and the penetration of *Theodoſius* in chuſing ſo worthy a miniſter [i]. But the ſame writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time [k]. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiouſneſs, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature is capable [l]. *Suidas* and *Zoſimus* ſpeak of him as a great diſſembler, and one who trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine, when they ſtood in the way of his unbounded ambition and inſatiable avarice [m]. St. *Jerom* likewiſe charges him with avarice [n]; *Oroſius* [o], *Philoſtorgius* [p], and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle [q], with having ſtirred up the barbarians againſt the empire, in order to raiſe himſelf, in that confuſion of affairs, to the ſovereignty. St. *Ambroſe* reproaches him in *Theodoret* as the author of the maſſacre of the inhabitants of *Theſſalonica* [r]. *Zoſimus* aſcribes to his treachery the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians in 391, and the downfal and misfortunes of *Tatianus* and his ſon *Proculus*, in 392 [s]. But other writers queſtion the innocence both of the father and ſon, as we have already obſerved.

Stilicho firſt miniſter to Honorius.

Stilicho, who ruled with no leſs abſolute ſway in the weſt under *Honorius*, than *Ruſinus* did in the eaſt under *Arcadius*, was originally a *Vandal*, whence he is ſtyled by St. *Jerom* a demi-barbarian [t]. *Claudian*, who was no leſs biaſſed in his favour, than prejudiced againſt his rival *Ruſinus*, mentions none of his anceſtors, beſides his father, who had a conſiderable command in the army under *Valens* [u].

His character.

Stilicho himſelf bore arms from his childhood, and roſe by degrees to the poſt of *magiſter utriuſque militiæ*, that is, of general both of the horſe and foot [w]. He commanded the *Roman*

[f] Pallad. hiſt. Lauſ. c. 12. p. 915. [g] Amb. ep. 50 p. 309. [h] Symm. l. iii. ep. 82, 83, 88. p. 137. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem, l. vi. ep. 15. p. 233. [l] Claud. in Ruf. l i. & ii. [m] Suid. p. 691, 692. Zos. l. v. p. 780. [n] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. [o] Oros. p. 221. [p] Philost. p. 528. [q] Mar. chron p. 79. [r] Theodor. l. v. c. 17. p 728. [s] Zos. l. iv. p. 773. [t] Hier. ep. xi. p. 93. Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 3 4. Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. [u] Claud. de laud. Stilic. l. ii. p. 124. [w] Prosr. l. iii. c. 38. p. 150. Grut. p. 112.

troops,

troops, according to *Zoſimus*, for the ſpace of twenty-three years; that is, from 385, to 408, and attended *Theodoſius* in all his wars [x]. That prince muſt have entertained a great opinion of him, ſince he preferred him to all thoſe who courted his niece *Serena*, whom he had adopted after the death of her father *Honorius*. By her *Stilicho* had a ſon, named *Eucherius*, born at *Rome* in 389, while *Theodoſius* was in that city, and two daughters, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of our hiſtory. *Theodoſius* would not have honoured *Stilicho* with his alliance, had he not profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but, as he is more commended by the pagan than chriſtian writers, and his ſon *Eucherius* openly declared himſelf againſt chriſtianity, we cannot, upon the bare teſtimony of *Baronius*, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious chriſtian. *Zoſimus* writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the *Roman* armies, he never ſold any military employments, or deprived the ſoldiers, as others hath done, to inrich themſelves, of the leaſt ſhare of their pay. The ſame writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his ſon *Eucherius* to any conſiderable employments, tho' he had a juſt title to the firſt in the ſtate [y]. But other writers [z] charge him even with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire, and depoſing his lawful ſovereign *Honorius*, his ward and his ſon-in-law; for that prince married ſucceſſively both *Stilicho*'s daughters. *Zoſimus* endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the ſame time owns him to have been in the higheſt degree corrupt and partial in the adminiſtration of juſtice; to have countenanced thoſe who plundered the provinces, provided they ſhared with him the ſpoils; and to have in a ſhort time acquired, by the moſt unlawful means, immenſe riches [a]. We read the ſame thing in *Suidas* [b], who ſeems to have copied it from *Eunapius*. To re-aſſume now the thread of our hiſtory: Upon the death of *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, to whom the eaſtern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to *Conſtantinople*, while *Honorius* continued at *Milan*, to awe with his preſence the barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on *Rhætia*, who were ſaid to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As *Honorius* was but a child, and *Arcadius* a youth, without either parts or experience, both princes bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in *Ruſinus* and *Stilicho*, of whom the former ruled with an abſolute ſway in the eaſt, and the other in the weſt. Theſe two miniſters agreed, ſays *Zoſimus*, in plundering the province, and im-

Both miniſters agree in plundering the people.

[x] Zos. l. iv. p. 777. [y] Idem, l. v. p. 110, 111. [z] PHILOST. p. 461, 465. [a] Zos. p. 780—789. [b] SUID. p. 690, 691.

poveriſhing whole nations, to enrich themſelves; but at the ſame time, jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himſelf ſafe, while his rival continued in power [c]. *Stilicho* pretended, that *Theodoſius* in dying had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires: hence, looking upon the power which *Ruſinus* enjoyed in the eaſt as a mere uſurpation, he was conſtantly meditating with himſelf in what manner he might compaſs his ruin, and engroſs the whole authority to himſelf [d]. On the other hand, *Ruſinus*, not ſatisfied to rule with an abſolute ſway under *Arcadius*, began to aſpire at the ſovereignty; and thinking the readieſt way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any diſparagement to aſſume his father-in-law for his collegue, he cauſed overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmoſt ſecrecy; which, however, ſoon became the public talk, and heightened the averſion which the people had already conceived againſt him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings [e]. While this affair was on foot, *Eucherius*, the emperor's uncle, thinking himſelf ill uſed by *Lucianus*, count of the eaſt, complained of him to *Arcadius*, who caſt the whole blame upon *Ruſinus*, by whoſe intereſt he had been raiſed to that poſt. *Lucianus* was the ſon of *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, in the latter end of the reign of *Conſtantius*; and having purchaſed the favour of *Ruſinus*, by preſenting him with rich poſſeſſions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the eaſt, in which office he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf with the greateſt juſtice, moderation, and integrity; inſomuch, that he refuſed even to comply with a requeſt of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconſiſtent with equity. This being miſrepreſented to *Arcadius*, *Ruſinus*, inſtead of protecting one who had purchaſed his favour at ſo great a price, left *Conſtantinople*, without imparting his deſign to any one; and haſtening to *Antioch* with a ſmall retinue, entered that city in the dead of the night, cauſed *Lucianus* to be apprehended, and when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho' no one appeared againſt him, to be beaten with leaden balls faſtened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of *Antioch*; and *Ruſinus*, to appeaſe them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the moſt ſtately edifice in all *Syria* [f]. From *Antioch Ruſinus* returned in

Ruſinus aſpires at the ſovereignty.

A remarkable inſtance of Ruſinus's cruelty and arbitrary proceedings.

[c] Zos. l. v. p. 780. [d] Idem ibid. p. 782. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p 20. & conſ. Hon. 3. p. 38. [e] Zos. p. 780. [f] Idem, l. v p. 780, 781.

great

great haſte to *Conſtantinople*, pleaſing himſelf with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found *Arcadius* immoveably determined to marry *Eudoxia*, who had been propoſed to him by the eunuch *Eutropius*; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-ſeventh of *April* of this year 395, to the great diſappointment of *Rufinus* [g]. *Eudoxia* was a *Frank* by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general *Bauto*, who had been conſul in 385, and not of the emperor *Gratian*, or of the famous general *Promotus*, as ſome have advanced without ſufficient grounds [h]. As ſhe was a woman of great addreſs, of a haughty and imperious temper, ſhe ſoon gained an abſolute ſway over the weak prince her huſband [i]. Some writers have queſtioned her modeſty [k]; but from that charge ſhe is cleared by others, though all agree in accuſing her of an inſatiable avarice; which often prompted her to moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice. However, ſhe had ſome outward appearance of piety, favoured the catholics, ſhewed great reſpect to the prelates and clergy; and having prevailed upon the emperor in 401, to demoliſh the temple of *Marnas*, and other temples at *Gaza*, ſhe built in that city a moſt ſtately and magnificent church, which from her was called *Eudoxiana*. Hence St. *Chryſoſtom* publicly commended her as the *mother of the church*, the *patroneſs of the ſaints*, the *ſupport of the poor*, &c [l]. But the cruel perſecution ſhe afterwards raiſed againſt her panegyriſt, has rendered her name infamous in the hiſtory of the church. But to return to *Rufinus*: That miniſter found himſelf diſappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the ſame time dreaded the credit of the eunuch *Eutropius*, but more the arms of *Stilicho*, who pretended to have been by *Theodoſius* appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the eaſt, to diſpoſſeſs his rival of the authority he had uſurped. In order therefore to defeat the deſigns of *Stilicho*, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of *Eutropius*, and even of ſeizing the ſovereign power, he reſolved to ſet all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmoſt confuſion [m]. With this view he privately ſtirred up, by his emiſſaries, the *Hunns*, who penetrated as far as *Antioch*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties [n]. At the ſame time he encouraged the famous *Alaric* to put himſelf at the head of

Arcadius *marries* Eudoxia.

Her character.

Stilicho *claims the ſame power in the eaſt as in the weſt.*

Rufinus *ſtirs up the* Hunns *and* Goths *to invade the empire.*

[g] Idem, p. 781, 782. Chron. Alex. p. 710. [h] Vide VALER. Franc. l. ii p. 65. PHILOST. l. xi. c. 6. p 529. [i] CEDREN. p. 334 [k] Zos. l. v. p. 795. [l] CHRYS tom. 4 p. 853. [m] OROS. l. vii c. 37. p 221. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p 20 [n] SOCR. l. vi. c. 1 p. 300. Zoz. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753.

his

his countrymen the *Goths*, and drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his ſtandard, to break into *Greece*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould meet with no oppoſition. *Alaric* at that time commanded a body of *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice; but being diſſatisfied, that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, ſince he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late war with *Eugenius*, he readily cloſed with the propoſal of *Ruſinus*; and being by him ſupplied with large ſums, he aſſembled an incredible multitude of barbarians of different nations; and putting himſelf at their head, he ravaged all *Thrace*, *Pannonia*, *Macedon*, and *Theſſaly*. As he drew near the famous ſtraights of *Thermopylæ*, *Gerontius*, who guarded them, and was privy to the wicked deſigns of his patron *Ruſinus*, immediately withdrew, and opened a free paſſage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, putting thoſe to the ſword who offered to oppoſe them, and ſending into their reſpective countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As *Antiochus*, at that time proconſul of *Achaia*, and another of *Ruſinus*'s creatures, did not offer to make head againſt them, they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing ſuch ravages and devaſtations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulph, and the *Euxine* ſea, was laid waſte, and turned into a deſert, the inhabitants concealing themſelves in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of *Conſtantinople* itſelf was in a manner beſieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldneſs to the very gates of that metropolis. *Ruſinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he ſaid, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of eſteem; which confirmed the ſuſpicion moſt people entertained of his treachery [o].

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths *under the conduct of* Alaric.

While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, *Stilicho* was buſied on the banks of the *Rhine*, in renewing the antient alliances of the *Roman* people with the *Franks*, and other *German* nations. This he accompliſhed, ſays *Claudian* [p], in leſs than fourteen days; which Mr. *Valois* maintains to be abſolutely impoſſible [q]. That writer ſpeaks much at length of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes or chiefs of the *Franks* in thoſe days [r], as does likewiſe *Gregory* of *Tours* [s]. *Claudian*, who diſtinguiſhes them

Stilicho *renews the antient alliances with the* German *nations.*

[o] *Zos.* p. 783. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. Philost. p. 154. [p] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 128. [q] Val. ibid. p. 94. [r] Idem, p. 86—90. [s] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc l. ii. c 9. p. 59—61.

with

with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, ſays, that they endeavoured to raiſe new diſturbances after the peace concluded with *Stilicho*; but that one of them, after having been kept ſome time in priſon, was baniſhed into *Tuſcany*; that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room [t]. This ſeems to have happened, according to *Claudian*, before the revolt of *Gildo*; that is, before the end of the year 397. *Valeſius* writes, that *Marcomir* outlived *Sunno*; and conſequently that it was he who was baniſhed into *Tuſcany*. He is thought to have been the father of *Faramond*, ſuppoſed to have been the firſt king of *France* [u]. *Stilicho*, having thus renewed the antient treaties with the *Franks* and *Germans*, reſolved to march to the ſuccour of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportunity of ruining *Ruſinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul* about the latter end of the ſpring, he ſet forward with all the weſtern troops, and thoſe likewiſe of the eaſt, that had been left in the weſt after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He marched, according to *Claudian*, over the *Alps*, no doubt, the *Julian Alps*, and conſequently through *Dalmatia*. The barbarians, hearing of his arrival in thoſe parts, reſolved to make a ſtand in *Theſſaly*, and with this view aſſembled into one body all their troops, that were in ſeveral parties diſperſed about the country. *Stilicho* was already within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy's army, and his men ſhewed a great forwardneſs to engage them, when *Ruſinus*, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repreſſed, the ſtorm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon *Arcadius* to ſend for the oriential troops. Accordingly an officer was diſpatched to *Stilicho*, with a peremptory order from the emperor to ſend them forthwith, and return with the reſt into the weſt. *Stilicho* was greatly ſurpriſed at this order, which, he thought, ſnatched out of his hands a certain victory, and expoſed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to diſobey, he not only ſent the troops, but half the treaſure which *Theodoſius* had left [w]. In diſmiſſing the forces, he appointed one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to *Conſtantinople*, after having imparted to him his deſign of diſpatching *Ruſinus*, and, no doubt, encouraged him to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution. Un-

Stilicho marches to the relief of Greece.

He is ordered by Arcadius *to return into the weſt.*

[t] CLAUD. ibid. p. 129. [u] Val. ibid. l. iii. p. 119. [w] CLAUD. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 50, 51, & laud. Stil l. i. p. 128, 129. & l. ii. p. 135. RUF. l. ii. p. 22. Zos. p. 782, 783.

der

der his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-ſeventh of *November*; and the emperor, according to cuſtom, went out in perſon to meet them, attended by *Ruſinus*, who, as he had gained over ſome of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occaſion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the ſoldiery. The army received the emperor with all the reſpect due to the ſon of *Theodoſius the Great*; but at the ſame time, upon a ſignal given by *Gainas*, they fell upon *Ruſinus* and cut him in pieces, while he was preſſing *Arcadius* to declare him his colleague [x]. This happened, according to *Claudian*, at the palace of *Hebdomon* [y], where the emperors of the eaſt were uſually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a ſtone in his mouth to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a ſpear to *Conſtantinople*, where it was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy [z]. They likewiſe cut off his right hand, and carrying it about the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople*, aſked alms for the inſatiable *Ruſinus*, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected conſiderable ſums, every one being glad to reward with ſome ſmall acknowledgment thoſe who had contributed to the death of a perſon they ſo much abhorred [a]. His eſtate and all his effects were confiſcated; and the decree iſſued on that occaſion was ſent to *Rome*, where the people expreſſed the greateſt joy at the death and deſerved end of that inſatiable robber, to uſe the expreſſion of *Symmachus*, who had plundered the world [b]. His wife and daughter, fearing they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the fury of the people, took ſanctuary in a church, whence they were ſuffered to retire to *Jeruſalem*, where they ſpent the reſt of their days [c]. *Palladius* beſtows great encomiums on *Salvia*, or *Silvia*, the ſiſter of *Ruſinus*, who had embraced the ſtate of virginity [d]. From a law dated the fifth of *Auguſt* of the enſuing year 396, it appears, that his wife's fortune was reſtored to her [e]. Neither *Stilicho* nor the empire gained any thing by the death of *Ruſinus*, he being ſucceeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other deteſtable qualities, by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had concurred with *Stilicho* in all his meaſures againſt their common rival. *Eutropius* was by birth an *Armenian*, by condition a

Ruſinus murdered,

And his eſtate confiſcated.

He is ſucceeded in his power and employments by Eutropius.

[x] Socr. p. 320. Philos. p. 528. Chron. Alex. p. 710. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 29. Zos. p. 785. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Philos. p. 528. Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 31. Asterii orat. iv. p. 76. [a] Hier. Philost. Zos. ibid. [b] Symm. l. vi. ep. 15. p. 232. [c] Zos. l. v. p. 785, 786. [d] Pallad. hist. Laus. c. 147. p. 1046. [e] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 42. leg. 15. p. 542.

ſlave,

slave, and had been made an eunuch soon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in request, and consequently more advantageous to the seller, than common slaves. He had frequently changed masters, having been often bought and sold. When he was already stricken in years, a soldier, named *Ptolemy*, gave him as a present to his general *Arintheus*, who was famous under *Valens*: *Arintheus* presented his daughter with him when she was married, to comb her hair, and perform such-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer discharge on account of his age, she gave him his liberty. Being now his own master, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the lowest offices, till he was raised by the interest of *Abundantius*, who was consul in 393, to a more creditable post [e]. *Theodosius* sent him in 392, as we read in *Sozomen*, to consult the holy hermit *John* in the wilderness of *Thebais* [f]. That prince seems to have reposed some confidence in him. After the marriage of *Arcadius* with *Eudoxia*, he was made, no doubt, at her recommendation, great chamberlain, and upon the death of *Rufinus*, vested with the same power and authority which that minister had enjoyed [g]. *Rufinus* seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to *Eunapius*, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man [h]. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackest colours, concludes, that he has not painted him such as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deservedly charge him [i]. He surpassed in avarice *Rufinus* himself, exposing to public sale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuse such persons as were possessed of estates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers [k]: the prisons, and places of banishment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, stripped of their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned [l]. As for *Arcadius*, who was a prince of very slender parts, he suffered himself to be entirely governed by this wicked minister, not daring in a manner to inquire into his conduct, or give ear to those who had the boldness to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by several laws of this year, he confirmed those that had been enacted by his father against heretics [m]; and by one addressed to *Marcellus*, then *magister officiorum*, he com-

His extraction, employments, and character.

[e] CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. i. p. 49, 95—97. [f] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. [g] Zos. p. 781. PHILOST. l. xi. c. 4. p. 523. SUID. p. 1099. [h] EUNAP. p. 183. [i] Idem ibid. [k] CLAUD. ibid. p. 97, 98. [l] Zos. p. 786. SUID. p. 1099 [m] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 9. leg 8. p. 133 & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg 25 p. 142, 144

manded that officer to inquire with great care, whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to diſmiſs, but to baniſh, ſuch as he ſhould diſcover in the palace, with thoſe who had recommended them [n]. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

Stilicho *returns to the relief of* Greece.

The next conſuls were, *Arcadius* the fourth time, and *Honorius* the third. This year *Stilicho*, who was returned to *Italy* with the weſtern troops, ſet out anew with a deſign to ſuccour *Greece*, reduced to a moſt deplorable condition by *Alaric*, and the barbarians under his command. He embarqued on the *Adriatic* ſea; and landing without oppoſition in *Peloponneſus*, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various ſucceſsful encounters; and in the end obliged them to retire to a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Piſa*. There he ſhut them up on all ſides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the courſe of the river that ſupplied them with water [o]. But when he had them thus in his power, he ſuffered them to eſcape, to retire out of *Peloponneſus*, and to pillage *Epirus* in their retreat [p]. *Oroſius* ſuppoſes him to have connived at their eſcape, and therefore thinks him no leſs guilty than *Ruſinus*, who firſt ſtirred them up againſt the empire [q]. *Zoſimus* writes, that they owed their ſafety to the negligence and miſconduct of *Stilicho* [r]. But *Claudian* tell us, that *Eutropius*, looking upon *Stilicho* as a more dangerous enemy than *Alaric*, perſuaded *Arcadius* to conclude a peace with the latter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the beſt provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops forthwith out of *Greece*, which belonged to *Arcadius*. Thus was *Stilicho* robbed, the ſecond time, by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians [s]. Soon after, *Alaric* was by *Arcadius*, or rather by his governor *Eutropius*, appointed commander of the troops in *Eaſt-Illyricum*, which compriſed *Greece*, as we read in *Claudian* [t] (N).

But ſuffers Alaric *to eſcape.*

As

[n] Idem. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 29. p. 148. [o] Zos. l. 5. p. 784. Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 51. [p] Zos. ibid. [q] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [r] Zos p. 784. [s] Claud. bell. Goth. p. 170. & in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 113. [t] Idem in Eutrop. ibid.

(N) His words are,

——————— *At nunc qui fœdera rumpit,*
Ditatur; qui ſervat, eget. Vaſtator Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præſidet Illyrico. *Jam quos obſidit, amicus*

Ingreditur

As for *Stilicho*, though he immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, purſuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet that prince, in obedience to the commands of *Eutropius*, as *Zoſimus* expreſſes it, cauſed him to be declared a public enemy by a ſolemn decree of the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* [u], ordering at the ſame time all the lands and palaces he had in the eaſt to be ſeized and confiſcated [w]. *Claudian* adds, that *Stilicho* diſcovered an aſſaſſin, who had been hired to murder him, and ſeveral letters diſperſed among his troops, in order to debauch them, and ſtir them up againſt him [x]. *Eutropius*, not ſatisfied with having thus defeated all the meaſures of *Stilicho*, aſpiring at the ſame poſt in the court of *Arcadius* which he held in that of *Honorius*, reſolved to remove all thoſe out of the way, in whom *Arcadius* ſeemed to repoſe any confidence. He began with *Abundantius*, by whoſe means he had been firſt raiſed at court, and who on that account deſerved, according to *Claudian* [y], tho' not at his hands, the treatment he met with. *Abundantius* had ſerved in the army with great reputation in the time of *Gratian*, and had been raiſed by *Theodoſius* to the poſt of general both of the horſe and foot, to the prætorſhip, and in 393, to the conſular dignity [z]. But *Eutropius*, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known integrity, procured him at court, and panting after the immenſe wealth with which his eminent ſervices had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince, with his crafty and malicious inſinuations, to baniſh him to to *Pityus*, a city of *Boſporus*, to the north of the *Euxine* ſea, and beyond *Colchis*; where he led a miſerable life, ſtripped of all his effects, till the death of *Eutropius*, when he was removed from thence and confined to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, in which city he died [a]. The credit which *Timaſius* had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked miniſter, who could bear no competitor, more jealouſy than that of *Abundantius*. He had been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had ſerved *Valens* and *Theodoſius* in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389, with the con-

Stilicho, *at the inſtigation of* Eutropius, *declared a public enemy.*

Eutropius *cauſes* Abundantius *to be baniſhed.*

[u] Zos. p. 788. [w] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 57. [z] Claud. ibid. Zos. l. 5. p. 788. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 347. [a] Claud. Zos. ibid. Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. Ast. or. iv. p. 76.

Ingreditur muros, illis reſponſa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natoſque peremit:
Sic hoſtes punire ſolent, hæc præmia ſolvunt
Excidiis ——— (89).

(89) *Claud. in Eutrop. p.* 113.

His treacherous practices againſt Timaſius.

ſular dignity [b]. *Eutropius*, reſolving to procure by ſome means or other the ruin of ſo powerful a rival, had recourſe to one *Bargus*, who lived in great intimacy with *Timaſius*. *Bargus* was a perſon of a mean deſcent, and had been obliged for ſome notorious crime to fly from *Laodicea* in *Syria*, his native city, and retire to *Sardes* in *Lydia*. There *Timaſius* accidentally met him; and being pleaſed with his facetious converſation, without inquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with him to *Conſtantinople*; at which the magiſtrates were highly diſpleaſed, becauſe he had been formerly baniſhed that city [c]. To this man, as a proper inſtrument for his villainous purpoſe, *Eutropius* applied, and eaſily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accuſing him of treaſon, and producing againſt him a counterfeit writing, upon which he was without delay brought to his trial. *Eutropius* perſuaded the emperor to judge him in perſon; but perceiving the people were highly provoked to ſee a perſon, of *Timaſius*'s dignity and character, arraigned upon the depoſition of ſuch an infamous and mercenary wretch as *Bargus*, he adviſed the prince, whom he managed as he pleaſed, to withdraw, and ſubſtitute *Saturninus* and *Procopius* in his room. Of theſe the former had diſcharged the chief employments in the ſtate, and the conſulſhip in 383, but is ſaid to have diſhonoured his old age, by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling miniſter [d]. *Procopius* was ſon-in-law to the emperor *Valens*, of a rough and ſavage temper, but not eaſily prevailed upon to ſwerve from what he thought juſt and equitable, as appeared in this caſe; for he boldly maintained, that ſuch an infamous wretch as *Bargus* ought not to be admitted as evidence againſt a perſon of *Timaſius*'s rank, againſt his friend and benefactor. But *Saturninus* prevailing, the unhappy *Timaſius* was ſtripped of all his wealth, and baniſhed to *Oaſis*, a barren and inhoſpitable place in *Libya*, from which there was no poſſible means of eſcape, it being ſurrounded by a vaſt deſert, full of ſand, which moving to and fro with the wind, ſuffered no track or footſtep of any former traveller to be ſeen. Of this place, to which criminals began to be confined about this time, *Zoſimus* gives us, on occaſion of the exile of *Timaſius*, a moſt frightful deſcription [e]. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that a report was ſpread, that *Syagrius*, the ſon of *Timaſius*, accuſed as privy to the crime of his father, having eſcaped from thoſe who had been ſent to ſeize him, reſcued his father, with the aſſiſtance of ſome robbers, out of the hands

Timaſius baniſhed.

[b] Zoſ. p. 786, 787. Aur. p. 76. Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 776.
[c] Zoſ. p. 786, 787. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Zoſ. ibid.

of

of the ſoldiers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the ſon were ever after heard of [f]. Others write, that *Timaſius* was found dead in the ſand that ſurrounded *Oaſis*, having perhaps attempted to make his eſcape [g]. St. *Jerom*, writing in this year 396, ſays, that *Timaſius* lived then an exile at *Aſſus* a city of *Aſia* [h]. But as *Sozomen*, *Zoſimus*, and *Aſterius*, agree, that he was confined to *Oaſis*, ſome, inſtead of *Aſſus*, read, in the text of St. *Jerom*, *Oaſis*; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was firſt baniſhed to *Aſſus*, and afterwards, by *Eutropius*'s orders, conveyed to *Oaſis*. *Bargus* did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedneſs; for *Eutropius*, who was a man of too great diſcernment to truſt a traytor, and well knew, that one who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, reſolved to get rid of him as ſoon as poſſible; and accordingly having ſent him upon ſome advantageous commiſſion out of *Conſtantinople*, during his abſence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her huſband, to preſent to the emperor ſome treaſonable papers, which ſhe pretended to have found in his cuſtody. Hereupon *Bargus* was upon his return arraigned, ſentenced to death, and executed. Thus was the crime of that treacherous wretch puniſhed, as it deſerved, by the very perſon who had induced him to commit it [k]. *Pentadia*, the wife of *Timaſius*, was deaconeſs of the church of *Conſtantinople* in 404, when St. *Chryſoſtom* was baniſhed that city: he wrote, while in exile, ſeveral letters to her, in one of which he inquires after her family and relations, and calls her houſe a houſe of bleſſing [l]. It was according to *Sozomen*, in order to apprehend *Pentadia*, and ſome others who had taken ſanctuary in the church, that *Eutropius* perſuaded the emperor to enact a law, forbidding any one to fly to the church for refuge; and commanding thoſe who ſhould, to be dragged from the altars, and puniſhed the more ſeverely [m]. This law raiſed a general odium againſt *Eutropius* [n]: *Socrates* pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that befel him [o]: *Sozomen* and *Chryſoſtom* exclaim loudly againſt it [p]; and obſerve, that, in a few years after, *Eutropius* himſelf was forced to fly to that aſylum from which he had excluded others, owning, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, more by his actions than his words, the injuſtice of his law [q]. It was revoked

His accuſer Bargus *put to death.*

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Ast. or. iv. p 76 Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 766. [h] Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. [i] Soz. Zos. Ast. ibid. [k] Zos. p. 787. [l] Chrys. ep. xiv, xciv, civ, clxxxv. Vit. l. iv. c. 3. p. 257. [m] Soz. p. 766. [n] Chrys. in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 484. [o] Socr. p. 304. [p] Soz. Chrys ibid. [q] Idem ibid.

voked immediately after the disgrace and downfal of *Eutropius*, and erased out of all the public registers [r]. Churches are still held as asylums in *Italy*, and the two kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cause of the many murders committed in those countries. This year, dreadful earthquakes were felt in most provinces of the east, and the sky appearing all in a flame over the city of *Constantinople*, terrified the inhabitants and the emperor himself to such a degree, that, abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. It was revealed, as St. *Austin* writes, to a pious person, that the city of *Constantinople* was, on a certain day, to be consumed by fire sent from heaven: when that day came, the above-mentioned phœnomenon appeared over the city, but vanished some time after, leaving it unhurt; the inhabitants, who had given credit to the prediction, having, by a sincere and timely repentance, prevented the execution of the sentence pronounced against them. Thus St. *Austin*, in a sermon which he preached a few years after [s]. From the several laws of this year, most of which tend to the utter suppression of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that *Arcadius* continued the whole time at *Constantinople*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-second of *March* is dated from *Regium*, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year in the west worthy of notice, except the conversion of *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomanns*, to the christian religion. At the request of St. *Ambrose*, who wrote several letters to her, instructing her in the holy mysteries, she is said, by *Paulinus Diaconus*, to have induced the king her husband to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* [t]: it is certain, that amongst the many barbarous nations that in the present reign broke into the empire, no mention is made of the *Marcomanns*. Some misunderstanding arose this year between St. *Ambrose* and *Stilicho*, the latter having caused a criminal, by name *Cresconius*, to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge: but *Stilicho* in the end acknowledged his fault, and atoned for it [u]. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

Great earthquakes, &c. in the east.

Fritigil, queen of the Marcomanns, converted to the christian religion.

The next consuls were *Cæsarius* and *Atticus*; the former had succeeded *Rufinus* in the prefecture of the east, *Eutropius* being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of *West Illyricum* under *Valentinian* II. in 384. *Cæsarius* seems to have entered upon his consulship at

[r] Soz. ibid. [s] Aug. de urb. Rom. excid. c. 6. p. 332. [t] Paul. Diac. vit. Amb. c. 36 p. 10. [u] Idem, c. 34. p. 9

Constantinople,

Conſtantinople, and *Atticus* at *Rome* [w]. This year, 397, *Arcadius*, leaving *Conſtantinople* in the month of *July*, went to *Ancyra*; and ſtaid there till the latter end of *September*, when he returned to the metropolis, with as much pomp and ſhow as if he had conquered the *Perſians*, ſays *Claudian*, who ſuppoſes him to have conſtantly paſſed the ſummer at *Ancyra*, *Eutropius* diverting him by that progreſs from applying his mind to affairs of ſtate [x]. *Stilicho* ſtill claimed the adminiſtration of affairs in the eaſt, and was preparing to march anew into the dominions of *Arcadius*, in order to make good his claim by force of arms, and revenge on *Eutropius* the injurious decree iſſued againſt him by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*. But that wicked and crafty miniſter, not ſcrupling, for the ſupport of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately perſuaded *Gildo*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, to revolt from *Honorius*, and ſubmit to *Arcadius*, hoping by that means to divert *Stilicho* from purſuing his intended expedition into the eaſt [y]. *Gildo* was brother to the famous *Firmus*, who made war upon the *Romans* in 373, but was overcome by count *Theodoſius*, the father of the emperor of that name. In that war *Gildo* ſided with the *Romans*, and was afterwards, that is, about the year 387, by *Valentinian* II. or rather by *Theodoſius*, who governed in his name, appointed count of *Africa*, and commander of all the troops in that province. *Theodoſius*, that he might have, as it were, ſome pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married *Salvina*, the daughter of *Gildo*, to *Nebridius*, nephew by the mother to the empreſs *Flaccilla* [z]. St. *Jerom*, in a letter which he wrote to *Salvina* about the year 400, ſtyles her a virtuous and truly chriſtian widow; and at the ſame time commends the piety of her mother, and her father's ſiſter, who had embraced the ſtate of virginity [a]. As for *Gildo* himſelf, he was, if not by religion, as *Marcellinus* will have it, at leaſt in his manners, a pagan. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdneſs, the more ſhameful and ſcandalous, as he was already ſtricken in years [b]. St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of him as one famous for wickedneſs and debauchery [c]; and in one of his ſermons ſtyles him, though without naming him, a wicked

Eutropius *perſuades* Gildo *to revolt from* Honorius.

Gildo's *character.*

[w] SYM. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 136. PROSP. p. 470. IDAT. in faſt. [x] CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110. [y] Zos. p. 788. [z] AMMIAN. l xxix. p. 399. Zos. l v. p. 788. HIER. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 70—78. [a] HIER. ep. ix. p. 73—76. [b] CLAUD. bell. Gild p. 74. 84. [c] AUG. ep. lxiv. p 285.

wretch.

wretch [d]. When *Eugenius* uſurped the empire of the weſt, *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodoſius*; but when that prince marched againſt the uſurper in 394, he declined ſending him any ſuccours, as other governors of provinces had done in obedience to the emperor's orders, expecting the iſſue of the war, as was ſuppoſed, in order to join the party that ſhould prevail; inſomuch, that *Theodoſius* would have treated him as an open enemy, according to *Claudian*, had he not been prevented by death [e]. *Eutropius* having induced him to revolt from *Honorius*, as we have related above,

Arcadius is acknowledged in moſt cities of Africa.

he obliged moſt of the cities of *Africa* and *Carthage* itſelf to acknowledge *Arcadius*, placing ſuch governors in them as he knew were attached to his own intereſt, with a deſign of ſeizing, when an opportunity offered, the province for himſelf, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes [f]. When news of his revolt was brought to *Honorius*, he acquainted the ſenate of *Rome* with it, who immediately declared *Gildo* a public enemy, and diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to *Arcadius*, intreating him to reſtore *Africa* to its lawful ſovereign [g]. *Symmachus* at the ſame time wrote to *Arcadius*, probably by order and in the name of the ſenate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendſhip and amity, with his brother [h]. In the mean time, a famine began to rage in *Rome*, *Gildo* not ſuffering any corn to be conveyed thither from *Africa*. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed againſt *Gildo*, and the other in bringing corn and other proviſions to *Rome* from *Gaul* and *Spain* [i]. The former ſailed this year, and, with a ſeaſonable ſupply, quieted the populace, ready to riſe; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During theſe warlike preparations, died the celebrated biſhop of *Milan* St. *Ambroſe*, by no one more regretted than by *Stilicho*, who, looking upon the death of that prelate as the greateſt misfortune that could befal *Italy*, had, upon the firſt news of his illneſs, cauſed public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of *Milan* [k]. *Honorius* continued this whole year at *Milan*. Some of his laws are indeed dated from *Rome*; but that is generally thought to be a miſtake [l]. By one of theſe ſet up in the ſquare of *Trajan* on the ninth of *March*, he forbids the *Romans* to follow in their dreſs foreign faſhions [m];

St. Ambroſe dies.

Honorius continues at Milan.

[d] Idem in Eutr. hom. v. p. 20. [e] Claud. ibid. p. 76. [f] Idem ibid. & de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. Oros. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. [g] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 131. Sym. l. iv. ep. 4. p. 143. [h] Sym. ibid. p. 144. [i] Idem, p. 145. Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131. l. iii. p. 148. in Eutrop. p. 103. bell. Gild. p. 20. [k] Ambr. vit. c. 34. p. 10. [l] Noris. Hiſt. Pelag. Chron. p. 136, 137. [m] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. 2. p. 21.

for

for it is to be obſerved, that the *Romans*, by converſing familiarly with the *Goths*, grew, by degrees, fond of their faſhions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened ſoon after. A blind ſubmiſſion to the modes and faſhions of a foreign nation, has but too often been the forerunner of a more dreadful ſlavery: may it not prove ſuch in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predeceſſors, moved by a due reſpect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the eccleſiaſtics, and particularly to the biſhop of *Rome* [n]. In the eaſt, *Arcadius*, by a law dated the firſt of *April*, commanded all the *Apollinarian* teachers to be baniſhed *Conſtantinople*, and the houſes where they had held their private aſſemblies to be confiſcated [o]. That of the ſeventeenth of *June* forbids any one to inſult the *Jews*, or their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of *illuſtrious*, which was given to the firſt officers of the empire [p]. The law, dated the firſt of *July*, exempts the miniſters of their religion from the ſame burdens, from which the biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, were exempted [q]. By a law, dated the eighth of *November*, *Arcadius* commanded all domeſtics, whether free-born or ſlaves, to be ſentenced to death, who ſhould inform againſt their maſters, except in caſes of treaſon [r]. This year, on the ſeventeenth of *June*, the empreſs *Eudoxia* was delivered of a daughter, named *Flaccilla* from the emperor's mother, and diſtinguiſhed with the title of *nobiliſſima*, or *moſt noble* [s]. Flaccilla.

THE following year 398, when *Honorius* was conſul the fourth time, with *Eutychianus*, who entered upon that dignity at *Conſtantinople*, *Stilicho* purſued with the utmoſt vigour his warlike preparations againſt *Gildo*; but was greatly at a loſs how to manage that expedition with ſucceſs, and whom to truſt with the command of the troops. But from this perplexity he was ſoon delivered, by the ſeaſonable arrival in *Italy* of *Maſcezel*, brother to *Gildo*, who gave him a true account of the ſtate of affairs in *Africa*, and ſuggeſted to him the moſt proper means for ſuppreſſing the rebellion. *Maſcezel* was not only a chriſtian, but a perſon of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon reſolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked deſign [t]. *Gildo*, however, vented

[n] Idem ibid. p. 133. [o] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 33. p. 151.
[p] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 12. p. 227. [q] Idem, leg. 13. p. 228.
[r] Idem, l. ix. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 52. [s] Mar. & Alex. chron. p. 712. [t] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 400. OROS. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. CLAUD. bell. Gild. c. 79. p. 788

his rage on the two ſons *Maſcezel* had left behind him, cauſing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beaſts. *Stilicho*, not doubting but, to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry on the war with vigour, and ſerve the republic with unſhaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition againſt his brother [u].

Maſcezel, *brother to* Gildo, *ſent againſt him.*

Zoſimus writes, that *Maſcezel* was attended by a very numerous army [w]; but *Oroſius* [x] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [y], aſſure us, that it was but five thouſand ſtrong. Their authority is confirmed by *Claudian*, who ſays, that *Stilicho* made ſmall preparations for this firſt expedition, but had in readineſs another fleet, and a more renowned general, to be employed, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal the firſt *. That poet names the ſeveral corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of which *Maſcezel*'s army was compoſed [z]. It embarqued at *Piſa*, and putting to ſea, tho' a ſtorm, if we may depend upon a poet [a], was then apprehended, ſteered along the eaſt coaſt of *Sardinia*, and landed ſafe in *Africa*. *Maſcezel*, without loſs of time, led his troops againſt *Gildo*; and falling upon him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obſtinate fight, a complete victory. Thus *Zoſimus* [b]. But *Oroſius* [c], *Marcellinus* [d], and *Paulus Diaconus* [e], aſcribe this ſucceſs to the miraculous aſſiſtance of St. *Ambroſe*, who, appearing to *Maſcezel*, aſſured him, that, in three days time, he ſhould gain a complete victory in the very place where he was then encamped. Hereupon he continued, ſay they, in the ſame poſt; and the third day, after having ſpent the preceding night in praying, and ſinging hymns with ſome holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the iſland of *Capraria*, now *Capraia*, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but not in the leaſt daunted, he marched againſt them with his ſmall army in battle-array. His piety prompted him to try firſt, whether he could by fair means bring them back to their duty; but one of the ſtandard-bearers anſwering him with great arrogance, he drew his ſword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the enſign. The other ſtandard-bearers, imagining he had ſubmitted, ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt in following his example, and lowering their enſigns, threw themſelves at the feet of *Maſcezel*. Some of the barbarians, however, encouraged by *Gildo*, at-

Gildo *entirely defeated.*

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Zos. p. 788. [x] Oros p. 221. [y] Chron. Alex. p. 713. * Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p 131, 132. [z] Idem, bell. Gil. p. 80. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Zos. ibid. [c] Oros. p. 221. [d] Mar. in chron. [e] Amb. vit. c. 15. p. 13.

tempted

tempted to make a ſtand; but were ſoon put to the rout. Thus were ſeventy thouſand men, ſays *Oroſius*, defeated by five thouſand, without any ſtratagem or treachery, nay, and almoſt without bloodſhed. This miraculous ſucceſs, continues that writer, would hardly be credited, were there not many perſons ſtill living, who were eye-witneſſes of it [f]. *Paulinus* aſſures us, that he had this account from *Maſcezel*'s own mouth, after his return to *Milan* [g]. However, we will not take upon us to prefer it to that of *Zoſimus*. *Gildo* made his eſcape, and, reaching the ſea, went on board the ſame veſſel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour of *Tabraca*, near *Hippo* in *Africa*, he was there apprehended, expoſed to the inſults of the populace, and then thrown into priſon, where he ſtrangled himſelf, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death [h]. Upon the defeat and death of *Gildo*, all *Africa* ſubmitted anew to *Honorius*. *Claudian*, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero *Stilicho*, aſcribes the whole ſucceſs of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that miniſter. He wrote a poem on the war with *Gildo*; but that piece is imperfect, ſince the poet leaves the *Roman* fleet on the coaſt of *Sardinia* in their way to *Africa*. The leading men of *Gildo*'s faction were ſent to *Rome*, to be tried there; and ſome of them were publicly executed. *Optatus*, biſhop of the *Donatiſts* at *Tamugadi* in *Numidia*, one of *Gildo*'s moſt zealous partizans, died in priſon. As ſeveral innocent perſons were, as it frequently happens on ſuch occaſions, accuſed, and dragged to priſon, *Honorius*, by a law addreſſed to *Victor* proconſul of *Africa*, put a ſtop to ſuch unjuſt proſecutions, ordering falſe informers and witneſſes to be puniſhed, according to the rigour of the ſeveral laws enacted againſt them [i]. *Gildo*'s eſtate fell to the exchequer, and proved ſo large, that a particular treaſurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii*, or count of *Gildo*'s patrimony [k]. *Africa* being thus reſtored to its former tranquility, *Maſcezel* returned to *Italy*, and was received at *Milan* by *Stilicho*, in appearance with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and eſteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting ſo ſpeedy an end to a war, which the miniſter had ſo much apprehended, giving him no ſmall jealouſy, he reſolved to diſpatch without delay this new rival. Accordingly, as he was one day paſſing a bridge in the neighbourhood of *Milan*, *Maſcezel*, who attended him, with many other per-

Gildo *is taken; but lays violent hands on himſelf.*

His eſtate confiſcated.

[f] OROS. p. 221, 222. [g] Amb. vit. c. 51. [h] CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 132. Zos. p. 788. OROS. PAULIN. ibid. MAR. chron. [i] Cod. Theod. tit. 3. p. 288. CLAUD. ibid. p. 148. [k] Idem, tit. 2. p. 349, 352. & tit. 3. p. 347.

sons of distinction, was, by his private orders, pushed into the river, and drowned [l]. *Orosius* writes, that *Mascezel*, elated with his success, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the altars several criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cause of his unfortunate end [m]. About the time of the defeat of *Gildo*, *Honorius* married at *Milan*, *Maria* the daughter of *Stilicho* by *Serena*, cousin-german to that prince [n]. He was then but thirteen, and *Maria* not yet marriageable [o]; whence some authors pretend, that the marriage was never consummated, since *Maria* died very young, long before the year 408 [p]. *Claudian* wrote several poems on this marriage [q], which, according to him, was first proposed, nay, and commanded, by *Theodosius* [r]. But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it [s], shew he was a poet, and not a prophet. By the defeat of *Gildo*, an intire harmony was re-established between the two brothers, as that poet tells us [t]; but the same misunderstanding continued between the two ministers, who nevertheless agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires [u]. *Eutropius* persuaded *Arcadius* to name him, tho' an eunuch, for the consulship of the ensuing year; but *Stilicho* would not suffer him to be acknowledged in the west [w]. *Claudian* writes, that when news of the consulate of *Eutropius* was brought to the court of *Honorius*, that prince was busied with *Stilicho* in receiving the submissions of the *Alemans*, *Suevians*, and *Sicambrians*; in giving kings to some; and commanding others to raise levies for recruiting his armies [x]. Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The same poet, in enumerating the great things *Stilicho* had performed by himself or others before his consulship, that is, before the year 400, says, that he succoured *Britain*, attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely, by the *Scots*, who, arming all *Ierne* or *Ireland* against it, had covered the sea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he had secured the *British* coast against the descents of the *Saxons*, which the inhabitants apprehending before, were constantly on their guard, through fear of a surprize [y]. He adds elsewhere [z],

Honorius *marries* Maria, *the daughter of* Stilicho.

Eutropius *consul.*

Stilicho *provides for the safety of* Britain *against the* Scots, Picts, *and* Saxons.

[l] Zos l. v. p. 788, 789. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221.
[n] Claud. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55. [o] Zos. p. 804. [p] Idem ibid.
[q] Claud. p. 56—69. [r] Idem, p. 57. [s] Idem, p. 63.
[t] Idem, bell. Gild. p. 76. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111. [u] Zos. l. v. p. 789 [w] Claud.
[x] Idem de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140.
[y] Idem ibid. l. ii. p. 139. [z] Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 102, 103.

that

that the *Saxons* being overcome, the ſea was quiet; that the *Picts* having loſt their ſtrength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears. The learned *Uſher* aſcribes to *Stilicho* the eſtabliſhing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it againſt the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons* [a]. This legion is mentioned by *Claudian* [b]. About the ſame time, a proper officer was appointed to guard the coaſt againſt the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici*, or count of the *Saxon* coaſt, that is, of the coaſt over-againſt the country of the *Saxons* [c]. In the eaſt, the cities of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon* were ſhaken with violent earthquakes; ſeveral buildings were conſumed with lightning; and the ſea, breaking in upon the land, laid whole countries under water. *Claudian* mentions ſeveral other prodigies, which were all the forerunners, ſays that poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, *viz.* an eunuch conſul [d]; for the following year 390, *Eutropius* prevailed upon *Arcadius* to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of *father to the emperor*, and to raiſe him to the conſular dignity. He was the firſt and the laſt eunuch that ever held, or rather diſgraced, the faſces. His image, with the enſigns of his dignity, was carried, as it were in triumph, through all the cities of the eaſt; but *Stilicho* refuſing to acknowledge him in the weſt, *Manlius Theodorus* alone is named conſul in ſome *faſti*, and in the laws of *Honorius*. Some writers, miſtaking his two names for the names of two different perſons, mark *Manlius* or *Mallius*, and *Theodorus*, as conſuls of this year [e]. *Manlius Theodorus* is famous from the praiſes beſtowed upon him by *Claudian*, in a poem which he wrote on his conſulſhip [f]; and by St. *Auſtin*, who, having known him at *Milan* in 384, inſcribed to him in 386, his book *de beata vita*, *of a happy life*, which he publiſhed ſoon after his converſion [g]. *Claudian* does not commend him on account of his family, but for his learning, his eloquence, and his virtue [h]. After he had pleaded ſome time at the bar, he governed, firſt, part of *Libya*, in quality of proconſul of *Africa*, and afterwards *Macedon*; whence he was called to court, and created quæſtor, whoſe province it was to draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he was raiſed by *Gratian* in 380 [i]. Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was

Earthquakes and other calamities in the eaſt.

Manlius Theodorus *conſul in the eaſt.*

[a] Uss. eccleſ. Britan. antiq. p. 595. [b] CLAUD bell. Get. p. 167. & epith. in Pallad. & Celer. nupt. p. 200. [c] Uss. ibid. p. 336. [d] CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii p. 108, 109. [e] IDAT. PROSP. CASSIODOR. faſt. [f] CLAUD. in Man. Theod. conſ. p 84—90. [g] AUG. de beat. vit. p. 213. [h] CLAUD. ibid. p. 84. [i] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 388.

recalled

recalled to court by *Honorius*, or rather by *Stilicho*, who appointed him prefect of *Gaul* in 395, and prefect of *Italy* in 397 [k]. *Symmachus* beſtows great encomiums upon him [l]; and St. *Auſtin*, who informs us that he was a chriſtian, extols his modeſty, his learning, his eloquence, and generoſity [m]. *Claudian*, in the poem he wrote on his conſulſhip, admires his integrity, moderation, affability, and other virtues [n]; but elſewhere [o], diveſting himſelf of the character of a panegyriſt, he owns, that *Italy* would have reaped greater advantages from the prefecture of *Theodorus*, had he ſlept leſs.

Varanes, *king of* Perſia *murdered, and ſucceeded by* Iſdegerdes.

During the conſulſhip of *Theodorus* in the weſt and *Eutropius* in the eaſt, died *Varanes*, or *Vararanes* IV. king of *Perſia*, who during the eleven years of his reign, had lived in friendſhip with the *Romans*. He was killed, we know not upon what provocation, by his own ſubjects, and ſucceeded by his brother *Iſdegerdes*, or, as *Abulfaragius* ſtyles him, *Yaſdejird* [p]. *Eutychius*, who calls him *Al Aitham*, ſuppoſes him to have been the ſon of his predeceſſor [q]. He reigned twenty-one years, ever maintaining a friendly correſpondence with the *Romans*; but was, according to *Eutychius*, a prince of great ſeverity, or rather cruelty; whence he was ſurnamed *Al Aitham*, or *Athim*, that is, *the bad* [r]. *Procopius* gives him a quite different character, deſcribing him as a generous-ſpirited prince [s]. He is famous in the hiſtory of the church, on account of the perſecution which he raiſed, about the end of his reign, againſt the chriſtians in his dominions. The moſt remarkable event that happened in the eaſt during the conſulſhip of *Eutropius*, was the downfal of that famous and powerful miniſter, which *Zoſimus* aſcribes chiefly to *Gainas*. He had commanded the *Goths*, and other barbarians, under *Theodoſius*; and, after the defeat of *Eugenius*, reconducted the eaſtern army to *Arcadius*, on which occaſion he cauſed *Ruſinus* to be cut in pieces, in the manner we have related above. For this eminent piece of ſervice he did not think himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by *Eutropius*, who, as he uſed to brag, was indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common ſoldier he had been raiſed by *Theodoſius* to the chief command of all the *Goths*, and other barbarians, in the *Roman* ſervice, and by *Eutropius*, after the death of *Ruſinus*, to the poſt of general of the *Roman*

[k] Claud. ibid. p. 87, 88. Cod. Theod. ibid. & l. xi. tit. 6. leg. 21. p. 33. [l] Sym. l. v. ep. p. 10. 189. ep. 4, 8. p. 11, 15. [m] Aug ibid. [n] Claud. ibid. p. 89, 90. [o] Idem, epig. xxix. p. 261. [p] Abulfar. p. 91. Eutych. tom. i. p 548. Agath. de imper. Juſt. p. 137. [q] Eutych. ibid. [r] Idem, tom. 2. p. 79. [s] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 2. p 8.

horſe

horſe and foot; but yet not ſatisfied, and ſcorning to depend upon a ſlave and an eunuch, he reſolved, by ſome means or other, to diſpatch him, hoping, if he were once removed, to ſucceed him in his power and authority [t]. While he was pleaſing himſelf with theſe thoughts, count *Tarbigild*, or *Tribigild*, who was by nation a *Goth*, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at *Nicolia* in *Phrygia*, came to court; and, after a ſhort ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, was preparing to return to his quarters, highly diſſatisfied with the haughty behaviour and arbitrary conduct of the prime miniſter, when *Gainas*, to whom he was allied, according to *Socrates* [u], reſolving to improve his diſcontent to the ruin of *Eutropius*, imparted to him the deſign he had formed againſt *Eutropius*, and encouraged him to revolt, aſſuring him, that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, aſſiſt and ſupport him under-hand. *Tribigild*, who was a man of great intrepidity and reſolution, and ready to embarque in any deſperate undertaking, immediately cloſed with the propoſal; and returning to *Nicolia*, took arms early in the ſpring, pillaged that and ſeveral other cities in *Phrygia*, and putting all to the ſword who fell into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, he threw the whole province of *Aſia* into the utmoſt confuſion, the inhabitants, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, abandoning their habitations, and flying for refuge to the moſt diſtant provinces. When news of theſe diſorders was brought to court, *Eutropius* endeavoured firſt to gain *Tribigild* with large preſents, and greater promiſes; but finding he could not, by fair means, bring him back to his duty, he diſpatched a body of troops againſt him, under the conduct of one *Leo*, a perſon greatly attached to his intereſt, but in every reſpect unfit for that command. *Leo*, having paſſed the ſtraights of the *Helleſpont*, continued in that neighbourhood, not daring to encounter the enemy. *Gainas*, who pretended to be highly provoked againſt *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was enjoined to guard *Thrace* and the ſea-coaſt, in order to prevent an irruption on that ſide; but he, keeping the whole time a private correſpondence with the rebels, inſtead of defending *Thrace*, adviſed *Tribigild* to march his forces without delay to the ſea-ſide, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople* without oppoſition; but *Tribigild*, bending his march towards *Piſidia*, was met there by one *Valentine*, a citizen of *Selga*, at the head of a ſmall body of ſlaves and peaſants. *Tribigild* deſpiſed them at

Gainas *diſſatisfied with* Eutropius.

He induces Tribigild *to revolt.*

Tribigild *pillages ſeveral provinces.*

[t] *Zos.* l. v. p. 789. *Soz.* l. viii. c. 4. p. 760, 761. *Socr.* l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. [u] *Socr.* ibid.

first;

firſt; but as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent diſputes with the robbers in thoſe parts, learnt to make ſudden onſets, and lay ambuſhes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length ſhut him up on all ſides, in ſuch manner, that no room being left for him to eſcape, he muſt inevitably have periſhed, had he not, by a large ſum, prevailed upon one *Florentius*, who guarded a narrow paſs called *Cochlea*, to withdraw, and ſuffer him to retire. However, his men, by the ambuſcades, frequent ſkirmiſhes, and ſudden onſets of the *Piſidians*, were now reduced to three hundred. With theſe he marched into the plain, where he was again ſhut up between the two rivers *Melane* and *Eurymedon*. In this extremity, he found means to acquaint *Gainas* with the deſperate poſture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour of reinforcing *Leo*'s army, detached a ſtrong body of barbarians, with private orders to join *Tribigild*; which they did accordingly. With their aſſiſtance *Tribigild* opened himſelf a paſſage out of *Piſidia*, and falling unexpectedly upon *Leo*, cut moſt of his men in pieces. *Leo* himſelf, attempting to make his eſcape, periſhed among the marſhes [w]. From *Piſidia*, *Tribigild* returned into *Phrygia*, where *Gainas*, who had advanced into that province, as if he deſigned to attack him, ſuffered him to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and ſuggeſting, that the only means to ſave the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of all the preſent calamities, ſhould be delivered up into his hands. At the ſame time, news was brought to court of the death of *Varanes* king of *Perſia*, and a report ſpread, that his ſucceſſor was preparing to invade *Syria*. Upon this falſe alarm, and the accounts that were by *Gainas* daily tranſmitted to *Conſtantinople*, of the progreſs made by *Tibrigild*, ſome were for recurring to *Stilicho*, and others for ſatisfying the rebels, by ſacrificing the miniſter to the welfare of the ſtate [x]. *Arcadius*, who was under the greateſt perplexity, choſe the latter; and ſending for *Eutropius*, cauſed him to be ſtripped of the conſular enſigns, and diſcharged him [y]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Socrates*, *Philoſtorgius*, *Sozomen*, and *Chryſoſtom*, relate the downfal of *Eutropius*, without mentioning either *Gainas* or *Tribigild*. *Socrates* only ſays, that he had offended *Arcadius* [z];

Is reduced to great diſtreſs.

But eſcapes, and deſigns Leo ſent againſt him.

Gainas lays the whole blame on Eutropius.

[w] Zos. l. v. p. 789. Philost. p. 531. Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110, 116, 119. [x] Zos. p. 793 Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 119, 120. [y] Zos. ibid. [z] Socr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 304.

Sozomen,

Sozomen, that he had affronted the empreſs [a]; and *Chryſoſtom*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, that he had injured the emperor [b]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that *Eutropius* having inſolently threatened to drive the empreſs out of the palace, ſhe went, with her two little daughters, *Flaccilla* and *Pulcheria*, in her arms, to throw herſelf at the emperor's feet, and demand ſatisfaction. *Arcadius*, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and ſending for *Eutropius*, diſcharged him, and commanded him that inſtant to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a ſingle perſon, tho' he had been hitherto conſtantly ſurrounded with crouds of pretended friends and adorers [c]. *Claudian* ſeems to favour the opinion of *Zoſimus*; for in his ſecond book againſt *Eutropius*, he deſcribes at length the war of *Tribigild*, which would have been quite foreign to his purpoſe, had it not had any connection with the downfal of *Eutropius*, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expatiated on that war, only deſcribes the conſternation it occaſioned at *Conſtantinople*, and introduces the eaſt recurring to his hero *Stilicho* [d]. Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book. *Eutropius*, thus diſgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took ſanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming againſt him in the theatre, and *Gainas*, with the ſoldiery, preſſing the emperor to reſtore the ſtate to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death or baniſhing the abhorred miniſter, a band of ſoldiers was ſent to drag him from his aſylum, ſome of thoſe who had appeared till that time moſt zealouſly attached to him, taking upon them that province [e]. But *Chryſoſtom*, then biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, preſenting himſelf before them, and reſolutely declaring, that he would not ſuffer them to profane the church, they ſeized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to *Eutropius*, from which many guilty of ſmaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded [f]. The next day, incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing *Eutropius*, whom they all hated, diveſted of his power, and, by a juſt retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occaſion *Chryſoſtom* made a ſpeech to the aſſembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring at the ſame

Who is diſgraced and depoſed.

He takes ſanctuary in a church.

Where he is protected by St. Chryſoſtom.

[a] Zos. l. viii. c. 7. p. 767. [b] CHRYS. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p. 486. [c] PHILOST. l. xi. c. 6. p 529. [d] CLAUD. ibid. p 120——122. [e] CHRYS tom. 3. p. 671, 676. [f] Idem. tom. 4. p. 486.

time to awaken in the hearts of his auditors ſentiments of compaſſion for the unhappy criminal. When he ſaw them begin to relent, he ended his ſpeech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themſelves at the prince's feet, to beg his life [g]. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are no-where told. All we know is, that, a few days after, *Eutropius*, having privately left his aſylum, in order to make his eſcape, was taken, and baniſhed to the iſland of *Cyprus* [h]. *Zoſimus* writes, that when he was baniſhed, he was aſſured, that his life ſhould not be taken from him [i]; and *Claudian*, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to *Cyprus*, ſays, that though he had cauſed an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he ſhould not undergo the ſame puniſhment [k]. The law has reached our times, by which *Arcadius* confiſcated his eſtate, ſtripped him of the dignity of great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be craſed where-ever he was ſtyled conſul, his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the ſame law *Aurelian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, is injoined to cauſe him to be conducted under a guard to the iſland of *Cyprus*, and to be there narrowly watched, leſt he ſhould raiſe new diſturbances [l]. This law is dated the ſeventeenth of *January* of the preſent year; which muſt certainly be a miſtake, ſince all hiſtorians agree, that he was baniſhed after the revolt of *Tribigild*, who took arms in the ſpring. *Chryſoſtom* gives us room to believe, that ſeveral other perſons were baniſhed with *Eutropius* [m]; and truly a favourite ſeldom falls alone. However, his ſiſter, tho' very rich, was ſuffered to continue at *Conſtantinople* [n]. *Gainas*, not yet ſatisfied, cauſed ſeveral charges to be brought againſt him; upon which he was conducted from the iſland of *Cyprus* to a place called *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, where he was tried by the prefect *Aurelian* and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction; who, upon his being convicted of having in his conſulſhip made uſe of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him, and he was beheaded on the laſt day of the preſent year [o]. *Zoſimus*, who pretends he had been promiſed his life upon oath, ſays, that, to cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only with reſpect to *Conſtantinople*, and cauſed him to be beheaded at *Chalcedon* [p]. This year is remarkable

He is taken in endeavouring to make his eſcape, and baniſhed.

He is accuſed anew, tried, and executed.

[g] Socr. p. 304. Zos. p. 767. Chrys. tom. 4. p 482—487. [h] Chrys in pſal. xliv hom. 2. p. 667. Zos. l. v. p. 797. [i] Zos. p. 793, 794. [k] Claud. ibid. p. 107 [l] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 11. leg. 17. p 312. [m] Chrys. ibid. & p. 671. [n] Claud. ibid. p. 107 [o] Zos. p. 793. Philostorg. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. Socr. l. vi. c. 5 p. 305. Ast. orat. iii. p. 76, 77. [p] Zos. p. 794.

markable

markable in the history of the church, for the many temples that were demolished both in the east and west, and the severe laws that were enacted by the two princes against all manner of idolatrous worship; which may be said to have given the last blow to the pagan superstition. The temples, says *Tiro Prosper* in his chronicle, were this year demolished throughout the *Roman* world [q]. By a law dated the thirteenth of *July*, *Arcadius* commanded all the temples throughout his dominions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewise in the country [r]; and by another dated the first of *November*, the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities [s]. By other laws, all manner of superstitious worship was forbidden, both in public and private, under the severest penalties, and the priests and ministers of the idols deprived of all the privileges granted them by former princes [t]. In the west *Honorius* enacted a law, dated the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 399, forbidding heathenish sacrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where pulled down, and the statues of the idols to be broken in pieces, that no footsteps might remain of the antient superstition [u]. Notwithstanding this law, several temples were spared at the request of the bishops, who begged them, and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. Among these was the famous temple of the goddess *Cælestis*, the chief deity of *Carthage*, one of the most stately edifices in the whole empire; for it is said, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the space of two miles, the whole being inclosed by a wall of an extraordinary height and beauty. This temple was with great pomp and solemnity consecrated on *Easter-day* by *Aurelius* bishop of *Carthage*, attended by several other bishops, and an incredible multitude of christians, who had flocked from all parts to assist at that ceremony [w]. Besides the destruction of several temples recorded by the ecclesiastic writers, nothing happened this year in the west, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. *Honorius* was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of *January*, at *Ravenna*, from the sixteenth of *February* to the fourth of *June* at *Milan*, at *Brixio* or *Brescia* on the sixth of *June*, at *Verona* in *July*, in *August* at *Padua*, and at *Altino* in *September*; whence he returned to *Milan*, and there passed the winter [x].

Many temples pulled down.

The temple of Cœlestis *at* Carthage *turned into a church.*

[q] PROSP. in chron. [r] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 283. [s] Idem, l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 16. p. 310. [t] Idem, tit. 10. leg. 13. p. 277. & leg. 14. p. 278. [u] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 280. [w] PROSP. chron. p. 149, 150. [x] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 140, 141, 417.

Stilicho *conſul.*

The next conſuls were *Stilicho* and *Aurelianus*; the latter entered upon this new dignity at *Conſtantinople*, and the former at *Milan*, with the greateſt pomp that had ever been ſeen in that city [y]. In the eaſt no advantage accrued to the public from the death of *Eutropius*, the empreſs *Eudoxia*, a bold, enterpriſing, and avaricious, woman, as *Zoſimus* ſtyles her, having, upon the downfal of that miniſter, gained an abſolute aſcendant over her huſband. She was conſtantly beſet by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to ſuch crying acts of violence and injuſtice, that every good man wiſhed for death, to avoid ſeeing ſuch enormous diſorders [z]. In the mean time, *Gainas*, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to march back to *Conſtantinople*, followed by *Tribigild*, whom he joined at *Thyatira*, where they both agreed to march to *Sardis* in *Lydia*, and plunder that metropolis; but not being able to paſs the rivers that were ſwelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more; and bending their march to the ſea, *Tribigild* took his rout towards *Lampſacus* on the *Helleſpont*, and *Gainas* towards *Chalcedon*, allowing their ſoldiers to plunder all the countries through which they paſſed. Their approach cauſed a general conſternation at *Conſtantinople*; nay, the whole empire ſeemed to be in imminent danger. As *Arcadius* had no troops to make head againſt them, and prevent their entering *Thrace*, he was adviſed to ſend deputies to *Gainas*, and to ſave the empire from utter ruin, by granting him whatever he demanded. *Gainas*, with great inſolence, required three of the moſt eminent men in the ſtate, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious deſigns, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. Theſe were *Saturninus*, who had been conſul in 383, and employed for the ſpace of thirty years in public affairs; *Aurelianus*, this year's conſul, who had been prefect of *Conſtantinople* in 393, and the preceding year the *præfectus prætorio*; and *John*, ſecretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince repoſed great truſt [a]. The emperor complied, tho' much againſt his will, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, thoſe three illuſtrious perſons preſſing him of their own accord to ſacrifice them to the public welfare [b]. With the emperor's conſent they left *Conſtantinople*, and preſented themſelves before *Gainas*, incamped in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to

Gainas and Tribigild join their forces, and plunder ſeveral provinces.

Arcadius forced to comply with his unjuſt demands;

[y] Sym. l. iv. ep. 31. p. 161. [z] Zos. p. 800, 802. [a] Zos. p. 793—795. Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760. Socr. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. Synes. ep. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxviii. p. 177—179. [b] Socr. ibid.

diſcharge

diſcharge the fatal blow [c]. They were chiefly indebted to *Chryſoſtom* for their lives, which were granted them at his interceſſion [d]. They were all three ſent under a guard towards *Epirus*; but having, either by corrupting the *Goths* who guarded them, or by ſome other means, made their eſcape, they appeared, when leaſt expected, at the court of *Conſtantinople*, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole city [e] *Zoſimus* is the only writer who mentions *John* among thoſe whom *Gainas* demanded; all other writers ſpeak only of *Aurelianus* and *Saturninus*. *Gainas*, not yet ſatisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in perſon; and with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, paſſing for that purpoſe over to *Chalcedon*, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with *Gainas*, in the church of St. *Euphemia*, where it was agreed, that both *Gainas* and *Tribigild* ſhould lay down their arms, and return, if they pleaſed, to *Conſtantinople*; and that the former, beſides the command of all the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice, ſhould have that of the *Roman* horſe and foot, with the conſular ornaments, and an authority almoſt unbounded [p]. We find nothing henceforth in hiſtory relating to *Tribigild*, except that he periſhed in *Thrace* ſoon after [q]. As for *Gainas*, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, he demanded a church in that city for the *Arians*, whoſe doctrine was held by him, and moſt of the *Goths* his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give him an abſolute denial, referred him to *Chryſoſtom*, biſhop of the city, who ſhewed him the edict of the emperor *Theodoſius*, forbidding all heretics and ſectaries to hold any aſſemblies in the city. *Gainas* replied, that the ſervices he had rendered the empire deſerved at leaſt one church, in which he and thoſe of his perſuaſion might have the free exerciſe of their religion. To this the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards had already exceeded his deſerts; that from the mean condition of a common ſoldier, he had been raiſed to the high ſtation of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces; and ought to be ſatisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. *Gainas*, finding he had not to deal with an *Arcadius*, but a *Chryſoſtom*, thought it adviſeable to drop his demand [r]. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* mention a church in *Conſtantinople* belonging to the *Goths* [s]; but they muſt be underſtood

And to confer with him in perſon.

The intrepidity of St. Chryſoſtom.

[c] Zos. l. v. p. 795. [d] SOCR. ibid. Soz. p. 761. CHRYS. tom. v. hom. 72. p. 895. [e] Zos. p. 799. [p] Idem, p. 794. SOCR. p. 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. l. v. c. 37. p. 744. [q] PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. [r] PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. p. 774, 775. [s] SOCR. p. 308. Soz. p. 762.

derſtood not of the *Arian*, but the orthodox *Goths*, ſince *Marcellinus*, a zealous catholic, ſtyles it in his chronicle *our church*. However, the *Arians* were, it ſeems, at this time allowed to aſſemble without the walls of the city [t]. About this time appeared over *Conſtantinople* a comet of unuſual magnitude, portending, as was ſaid, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiouſneſs of *Gainas*. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of *Arcadius*, having filled *Conſtantinople* with his *Goths*, and removed from thence all the *Roman* troops,

Gainas forms a deſign of ſeizing Conſtantinople.

formed a deſign of ſeizing firſt the wealth of the bankers, and then ſetting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being fruſtrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at length by *Socrates* [u], *Sozomen* [w], and *Philoſtorgius* [x], he withdrew from the city on the tenth of *July*, as it were to take the air, ſays *Zoſimus* [y], or to perform his devotions, as we read in *Socrates* [z], in the church of St. *John Baptiſt*, ſeven miles from the city, pretending to be poſſeſſed, ſay *Sozomen* [a] and *Socrates* [b], with an evil ſpirit. He left in the city the greater part of his *Goths*, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a ſignal, that he might return and join them with thoſe who attended him [c]. *Gainas* defeated his own deſign, according to *Zoſimus*, by returning to force the gate before the ſignal agreed on; which alarmed the city [d]. *Socrates* [e] and *Sozomen* [f] write, that the ſoldier, who guarded the gates, obſerving thoſe who went out with *Gainas*, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to ſtop them. Hereupon the *Goths* having killed ſeveral of the guards, opened themſelves a way ſword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time, taking the alarm, flew to arms; and *Arcadius*, acquainted with what had happened, declared *Gainas* a public enemy, and ordered all the *Goths* in the city to be put to the ſword. Upon this *Gainas* returned in great haſte, but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterpriſe, and retire. *Philoſtorgius* ſuppoſes him to have been ſtill in the city, and to have retired in the night [g]. What happened the day following, we are nowhere told; but the day after, the twelth of *July*, the citizens fell upon the *Goths*, who were ſtill remaining in the city, to the number of ſeven thouſand, and cut moſt of them in pieces; the

But fails in his attempt.

His men maſſacred.

[t] Theod. l. v. c. 30. p. 743. Soz. p. 761. [u] Socr. l. vi. c. 6. p. 307. [w] Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 762. [x] Philost. l. i. c. 8. p. 531. [y] Zos. l. v. p. 795. [z] Socr. p. 307, 308. [a] Soz. p. 762. [b] Socr. ibid. [c] Zos. p. 795. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Socr. p. 307. [f] Soz. p. 762. [g] Philost. p. 531.

reſt,

reſt, overpowered with numbers, took ſanctuary in the church of their nation, which ſtood cloſe to the palace; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack them even in their aſylum, they firſt uncovered the roof; and after having for ſome time plied them warmly with ſhowers of darts and arrows, they ſet fire at laſt to the church, which was reduced to aſhes, with all who were in it [h]. This was looked opon, ſays *Zoſimus*, by every good chriſtian as an enormous crime [i]. *Gainas*, highly provoked at the maſſacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the maſque; and making open war upon the ſtate, ravaged all *Thrace*; but not being able to make himſelf maſter of a ſingle city there, the inhabitants, who were accuſtomed to ſuch incurſions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to ſally out, and diſtreſs the enemy, he left that province, and marched into the *Cherſoneſus*, with a deſign to croſs the ſtraights of the *Helleſpont*, and enrich himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of *Aſia*. But *Fravitus*, who commanded in thoſe parts, having aſſembled in great haſte a conſiderable number of veſſels, attacked him in his paſſage; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coaſt whence he had ſailed, with the loſs of many thouſands of his men, either killed or drowned [i]. *Fravitus* was himſelf a *Goth*, and a pagan, according to *Zoſimus* [k], but greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt, having married a *Roman* of diſtinction in 380, and ever ſince that time ſerved the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of thoſe *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, were allowed by *Theodoſius* to ſettle in *Thrace*. *Eunapius* writes, that ſoon after he killed with his own hand *Eriulphus*, another of their chiefs, becauſe he was for taking arms againſt *Theodoſius*, purſuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themſelves, before they left their own country in 376, to do the *Romans*, however kindly by them received, all the miſchief that lay in their power [l]. As he was a man of great courage, a ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, vigilant and indefatigable, he had been employed on ſeveral occaſions, and acquitted himſelf in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the eaſt of the robbers, who had long infeſted it, roving up and down the country in great bodies [m]. However, he was ſuſpected of having ſuffered *Gainas* and the reſt of his countrymen to eſcape, when he might have eaſily cut them all off: but *Zoſimus* [n], and moſt hiſtorians,

He ravages Thrace.

Is defeated with great loſs by Fravitus.

[h] Socr. p. 308. Chron. Al. p. 712. Soz. p 762. Zos. p. 796. Marc. chron. [i] Zos. ibid. [k] Zos. Socr. Soz. ibid. Philost. p 531. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Eunap. p 21. [n] Eunap. ibid. Zos. p. 769. Philos. p. 531. Socr. p. 309. [n] Zos. p 798.

clear

clear him from this charge, which ſeems the more groundleſs, as he was for his conduct on that occaſion rewarded the following year with the conſulſhip. From the *Cherſoneſus*, *Gainas* returned to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates* and *Sozomen* [o], cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, who purſued him. *His death.* *Zoſimus* writes, that after he had maſſacred all the *Romans* whom he found in his army, leſt they ſhould betray him, he paſſed the *Danube*, being deſirous to end his days in the antient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldes* or *Uldin*, king of the *Huns*, then maſters of thoſe countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions ſo renowned a commander with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a ſharp diſpute, put him and all his men to the ſword. His body being found, *Uldes* cauſed his head to be cut off, and ſent it to *Arcadius* [p], who received it at *Conſtantinople* on the third of *January* of the enſuing year 401 [q]. Eudoxia *created* Auguſta. During theſe troubles, *Eudoxia*, who had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed only with the title of *Nobiliſſima*, received that of *Auguſta* on the ninth of *January*; on which occaſion ſhe cauſed her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the ſame honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. This no empreſs before her had preſumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the reſt *Honorius*, in a letter which he wrote to his brother [r]. But, not many years after, the empreſſes claimed the ſame honours; nay, and aſſumed the ſame titles of *pious*, *happy*, *moſt pious*, *perpetual*, *victorious*, &c. that were given to the princes their huſbands. Arcadia *born.* On the third of *April* of this year, *Eudoxia* was delivered of *Arcadia*, her third daughter [s]. In the beginning of this year, the city of *Conſtantinople* was ſhaken with violent earthquakes, which laſted three days; on which occaſion great numbers of pagans demanded and received the ſacrament of baptiſm [t].

During the above-mentioned diſturbances raiſed by *Gainas* in the eaſt, the weſtern provinces, eſpecially *Italy*, were alarmed by a ſudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*, and *Radagaiſus* king of the *Huns*. Of the former we have already made frequent mention; but as he is to act a chief part in the hiſtory of *Honorius*'s reign, we

[o] Socr. p. 309. Soz. p 763. [p] Zos. p. 798, 799. [q] Socr. p. 309. Chron Al. p 12. Marc. chron. [r] Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 66. & ſpicileg. veter. ſcript. tom. x. p. 8. [s] Chron. Al. p. 712. [t] Syn. ep. lxi. p. 204. Chrys. in Act. hom vii. xli. p. 69, 360.

ſhall

ſhall here acquaint our readers with what we have copied from the beſt writers concerning a man ſo famous in the records of thoſe times. *Alaric* was by nation a *Goth*, born in the iſland of *Peuce* at the mouth of the *Danube*, whence *Claudian* calls that river his *paternal god* [n]. He was not ſprung from the family of the *Amali*, the moſt illuſtrious of the *Gothiſh* nation, but from that of the *Balthi*, which held the ſecond rank; and to him, in particular, his countrymen had given the name of *Balt*, which in their language ſignified *bold* and enterpriſing [w]. Though *Claudian* introduces him ſpeaking in the language of a pagan [x], yet it is certain he was a chriſtian, but an *Arian*, the doctrine of that hereſiarch having prevailed among the *Goths* ever ſince the year 375 [y]. Long before the year 410, in which he took *Rome*, he uſed to brag, that he would one day extend his conqueſts to that great metropolis, purſuant to the prediction of an oracle [z]. This we learn of the poet *Claudian*, who little imagined then, that the prediction would ever be fulfilled. *Prudentius* likewiſe, who wrote ſome years before *Alaric* took *Rome*, tells us, that he was often heard to ſay, he ſhould one day ſet fire to that city [a]. He paſſed the *Danube* in 376, with his countrymen, driven out of their own county by the *Hunns*. *Claudian* ſays, that he often engaged the imperial troops, and once ſhut up the emperor *Theodoſius* in the windings of the *Hebrus* in *Thrace* [b]. However, in 382, he ſubmitted to him with the other *Goths*, and received lands in *Thrace*, where they were allowed to ſettle, upon condition of their ſerving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Purſuant to this agreement, they attended *Theodoſius* in his laſt expedition againſt the uſurper *Eugenius* in 394, on which occaſion *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen [c]. He had no other rank in the beginning of the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; whence *Rufinus*, finding him diſſatisfied, eaſily prevailed upon him to revolt, and plunder *Greece* in 395. *Stilicho* gained ſeveral advantages over him in *Peloponneſus*; but ſuffered him to eſcape in 396, as we have related elſewhere. *Arcadius* entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *Eaſt-Illyricum*, which poſt he held when *Tribigild* revolted, that is, in 399. The *Goths*, who were ſubject to the empire, created him about the ſame time, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, their

The origin, birth and employments of Alaric.

[n] CLAUD conſ. Hon. 6. p. 177. BAUDR. PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. [w] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 14, 29. p. 630, 651. [x] CLAUD. bell Get. p. 170. [y] OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. [z] CLAUD. ibid. p. 159. [a] PRUD. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. [b] CLAUD. ibid. p. 170. [c] Idem conſ. Hon. 6. p. 177. SOCR. l. vii. c. 10. p 346. Zos. l. v. p. 783.

chief and general, with the title of king of the *Viſigoths* [d]. The ſame writer adds, that the *Goths*, deſpiſing both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and diſcontented becauſe they had not ſent them the uſual preſents, began to mutiny, and reſolved to make war upon the empire, in order to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces [e]. Whatever was the motive that prompted them to take arms, it is certain, that this year 400, the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, and *Radagaiſus* king of the *Hunns*, entered *Italy* in a hoſtile manner on the ſide of *Pannonia*, leaving *Sirmium* on their right [f]. *Jornandes* writes, that they met with no oppoſition [g]: according to St. *Jerom*, they beſieged *Aquileia*; and after having opened themſelves a way into *Italy*, they laid the country waſte far and near [h]. This happened the preſent year; but they were ſtill in *Italy* in the beginning of the following year 401, for *Paulinus*, in his annual poem on the birth-day of *Felix* of *Nola*, the fourteenth of *January*, writes in 401, that the *Goths* and other foreign nations were ſtill purſuing their ravages in *Italy* [i]. As we have no diſtinct account of this firſt irruption of *Alaric* into *Italy*, we know not how it ended; but as it ſeems altogether improbable, that he continued in that country till the battle of *Pollentia*, fought two years after, in which no mention is made of *Radagaiſus*, we are inclined to believe, that *Stilicho* induced them both, by ſome means or other, to retire, and that *Alaric* returned about the end of the year 402.

He enters Italy *with* Radagaiſus, *and lays waſte ſeveral provinces.*

He retires.

The next conſuls were *Vicentius* prefect of *Gaul*, and *Fravitus* or *Fravita*, of whom we have ſpoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of *Theodoſius*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Arcadius*, born, according to *Socrates* [k] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [l], on the tenth, according to *Marcellinus*, on the eleventh of *April*, and, ſoon after his birth, declared *Cæſar* [m], and baptized with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity. This year *Arcadius* publiſhed a law, forbidding any one to beg the eſtates of condemned perſons, till two years after they had been confiſcated [n]. The *Euxine* ſea was this year frozen over for the ſpace of twenty days [o]. A band of ſlaves and deſerters pillaged part of *Thrace*, pretending to be *Hunns*: but *Fravitus* marching

Theodoſius *born.*

[d] Jorn. rer. Goth c. 29 p. 651. & de regn. ſucc. c. 43. p. 653. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Prosp. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth c 29. p. 651. Ruf. p. 15. Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6. p. 239. Paulin. car. xxiii. p 585. [g] Jorn. ibid. p 651 [h] Hier. in Ruf. l. iii c. 6. p. 239. [i] Paulin. carm xxiii. p. 585—588. [k] Socr. p. 763. [l] Chron. Al. p. 712. [m] Theod l ii p. 568 Soz. p. 763. [n] Cod. Theod. l. ix tit. 42. leg 17. p. 345. [o] Chron. Alex. p 713.

againſt

them, put moſt of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt [p]. In the weſt, *Honorius*, by a law dated the twenty-fifth of *June*, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his firſt conſulſhip; that is, before the month of *September* 386. By the ſame law, he ordered all proſecutions and ſuits for what was owing, from that time to the year 395, that is, to his acceſſion to the empire, to be ſuſpended, till he had inquired into the circumſtances of the debtors [q]. The following year, when *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were both conſuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the eaſt, except the promotion of young *Theodoſius* to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the tenth or eleventh of *January* [r]. In the weſt, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew. *Claudian*, who wrote a poem on this war, ſuppoſes, that he ſet out from *Theſſaly* [s]; but *Socrates* tells us, in a very confuſed manner, that, not preſuming to take upon him the title of emperor, he left *Conſtantinople*, and upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, put all to fire and ſword; but as he was paſſing out of *Theſſaly* into *Epirus*, he was attacked, in the narrow paſſes of mount *Pindus*, by the *Theſſalians*, who killed three thouſand of his men in the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis*. Notwithſtanding this loſs, he purſued his march, carrying all before him [t]. What prompted him to theſe acts of hoſtility, we are no-where told. *Claudian* lays the whole blame on *Alaric*, charging him with treachery [u]. On the other hand, *Oroſius* accuſes *Stilicho*, as if he had been the chief author of this war, and had provoked the *Goths*, by refuſing to grant them certain lands, which they demanded upon terms very advantageous to the empire [w]. He hoped, ſays that writer, when a war was once kindled in the bowels of the empire, to improve it to his own advantage, and ſettle the ſovereignty on his ſon *Eucherius* [x]. Be that as it will, *Alaric* entered *Italy* in the latter end of the autumn, the winter being more favourable to his men, enured to a cold climate, than to the *Romans*, not accuſtomed to bear the hardſhips of war in that ſeaſon [y]. He paſſed the *Alps* without oppoſition, the *Roman* troops being then employed in driving out a body of barbarians, who had made an irruption into *Rhætia*. As there was then no army in *Italy* to oppoſe him, he ravaged without controul the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, which threw *Rome* itſelf into

An inſtance of the generoſity of Honorius.

Alaric *enters* Italy *anew*;

And ravages ſeveral provinces without oppoſition.

[p] Zos. p. 799. [q] Cod. Theod. l xi. tit. 28. leg. 3. p. 196. [r] Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 763. Chron Alex. p. 712. [s] CLAUD bell. Get. p. 169. [t] SOCR. l vii. c. 10. p. 346. [u] CLAUD. ibid. p. 171. [w] OROS. l. vii. c. 37, 38. p. 221, 222. [x] Idem ibid. [y] CLAUD. ibid. p. 165 & conf Hon. 6. p. 186.

the utmoſt conſternation: the walls of that metropolis were repaired with great expedition by *Flavius Macrobius Longinianus*, then prefect of the city [z]; and the citizens, not being ſuffered to retire with their families and effects, were buſied night and day in preparing arms, and putting themſelves in the beſt poſture of defence they could [a]. The court was no leſs alarmed than the people, *Alaric* threatening to beſiege the emperor himſelf, and force him to comply with his demands [b]. *Honorius* was for retiring into *Gaul*; but *Stilicho* would neither ſuffer him, nor his own wife and ſon, to abandon *Italy* [c]. However, the emperor left *Milan*, and retired to *Ravenna*, which thenceforth became the uſual place of his reſidence [d]. The news of this irruption ſoon reached the moſt diſtant provinces of the eaſt; for we are told, that this very year the chriſtians of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, repairing to the church of St. *Thomas*, begged in their public prayers, that the *Arian* robber, who plundered *Italy*, might meet with the juſt doom which had overtaken his countryman of the ſame ſect, meaning no doubt *Gainas* [e].

The emperor retires to Ravenna.

THE next conſuls were *Theodoſius Auguſtus* and *Rumoridus*. Who the latter was, we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a *Goth*, probably in the ſervice of *Honorius*; for, generally ſpeaking, one of the conſuls belonged to the eaſtern, and the other to the weſtern, empire.

Marina born.

This year 403, *Eudoxia* was, on the tenth or eleventh of *February*, delivered of *Marina*, her fourth and laſt daughter [f]. A ſtatue of ſilver was erected to the empreſs on a column of porphyry, near the church of St. *Sophia*; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between *Eudoxia* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, biſhop of the city, who could not endure the profane ſports that were exhibited before the ſtatue, at the very entry of the church [g]. *Arcadius* cauſed likewiſe his own ſtatue to be placed on a column, which, according to ſome writers, was reared this year in the quarter of the city called *Xerolophos*, and is deſcribed by *Gyllius* [i]. The ſame year *Arcadius* built the city of *Arcadiopolis* in *Thrace* [k], or rather gave that name to the antient city of *Bergulæ* [l]. To return to *Italy*, *Stilicho*, having in ſome degree removed the young emperor's fears, ſays *Claudian*, croſſed

[z] Grut. p. 165. Prud. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. [a] Claud. bell. Get. p. 158, 159, 164, &c. [b] Idem conſ. Hon. 6. p. 186. [c] Idem bell. Get. p 166. [d] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 146. [e] Chrys. tom. 6. p. 272—274 [f] Chron. Alex. ibid. Socr. l. vi. c 18. p 326. [g] Socr. ibid. Theoph. p. 68. [i] Gyll. de Conſtant. geograph. l. iv. c. 7. p. 300. [k] Theoph. p. 66. [l] Vide Baudr. p. 60, 114.

the

the lake of *Como*, and paſſing the *Alps* in the depth of winter, entered *Rhætia*, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians, and not only obliged them to ſue for peace, but perſuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to the troops that guarded the coaſt of *Britain*, and the banks of the *Rhine*, ordering them to march immediately, and with all poſſible expedition, into *Rhætia*. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to purſue their march into *Italy*; but ſet out himſelf before them, attended by a ſmall number of troops, in order to return with all ſpeed to court. When he came to the *Adda*, he found the enemy incamped on the oppoſite bank, and maſters of the bridge; but not in the leaſt daunted, he threw himſelf into the river as ſoon as it was dark, and forcing his way ſword in hand through the midſt of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court, to the inexpreſſible joy of the emperor [m]. The troops arrived ſoon after out of *Rhætia*; and *Stilicho*, putting himſelf at their head, marched againſt the enemy; but could not hinder *Alaric* from paſſing the *Po*, and advancing to *Pollentia*, now *Pollenza*, on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont* [n], where the two armies engaged, almoſt on the ſame ſpot, ſays *Claudian*, where *Marius* had formerly defeated the *Cimbrians* [o]; but he was therein miſtaken, for the *Cimbrians* were overcome in the neighbourhood of *Vercelli* [p]. There is a great diſagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: *Jornandes* writes, that *Alaric* having advanced to *Pollentia*, in virtue of a treaty, by which *Honorius* had yielded to him the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, then held by the *Vandals*, *Stilicho* followed him, and without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehenſion of an enemy [q]. But it is certain, that the *Vandals* had not yet entered either of thoſe provinces. *Claudian*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Prudentius*, ſuppoſe *Stilicho* to have been preſent, and to have commanded the army in perſon; but *Oroſius* tells us, that *Saul*, a pagan and barbarian, was veſted with the chief command; and that he, imagining the *Goths*, out of reſpect to their religion (for they were for the moſt part chriſtians, tho' *Arians*), would not fight on *Eaſter-day*, attacked them on that ſolemn feſtival [r]. In the preſent year 403, *Eaſter* fell on the twenty-ninth of *March* [s]; which is agreeable to what we read in *Claudian*, *viz.* that the war of *Alaric* began and ended with the winter.

Stilicho aſſembles an army.

And marches againſt Alaric.

The battle of Pollentia.

[m] CLAUD. bell. Get. p 165—168. conf. Hon. 6. p. 186, 187. [n] Idem ibid. p. 170—180. [o] Idem bell. Get. p. 171. [p] PLUT. vit. Mar. p. 767. [q] JORN. rer. Goth. c 30. p. 653. [r] OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [s] BUCH. cycl.

winter [t]. In the *Roman* army ſerved a body of *Alan* horſe, commanded by an officer of that nation, who advancing with more courage than prudence, was ſlain at the head of his men; which put them into no ſmall confuſion: but *Stilicho* coming ſeaſonably with the foot to their aſſiſtance, they rallied, and returned to the charge [u]. *Claudian* and *Prudentius* [w] ſuppoſe the battle to have been gained by the *Romans*; but *Caſſiodorus*, in his chronicle, writes, that *Stilicho* and the *Roman* army were defeated, and put to flight; and *Jornandes*, that the *Goths*, when ſurpriſed by *Stilicho*, betrayed no ſmall fear; but afterwards took courage, and put moſt of his men to the ſword, obliging the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight [x]. According to *Oroſius*, the *Romans* gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory [y]. The *Romans*, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the ſpoils of ſeveral provinces, and the wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took priſoners. *Alaric* was no ſooner informed of their misfortunes, than he ſent deputies to *Stilicho* to ſue for peace; which was readily granted him, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy* [z]. Purſuant to this agreement, *Alaric* repaſſed the *Po*, and retired as far as *Verona*, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hoſtility. Hereupon *Stilicho* detached againſt him a ſtrong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome, and obliged to take refuge amongſt the mountains. He endeavoured to paſs the *Alps*, and ſeize on *Gaul* or *Rhætia*; but found all the paſſes guarded by *Stilicho*, who kept him blocked up, till moſt of his men forſaking him, and joining the *Romans*, he thought it adviſeable to withdraw in the night-time, and return through byways into *Pannonia*. Thus *Claudian* [a]. *Oroſius* writes, that the barbarians could not agree among themſelves; that the *Goths* were divided into two factions; and that the *Alans* and *Huns*, who ſerved under *Alaric*, often quarrelled, and deſtroyed each other [b]. *Italy* being thus delivered from the barbarians, *Honorius*, to ſatisfy the ſenate and people of *Rome*, who, by frequent embaſſies, had intreated him to honour their city with his preſence, left *Ravenna*, and ſet out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having *Stilicho* with him in the chariot, about the beginning of *December*. He was received with loud acclamations by the ſenate in a body, by the nobility and

Alaric ſues for peace.

Alaric leaves Italy, and returns to Pannonia.

Honorius enters Rome in triumph.

[t] Claud. ibid. p. 160, 161. [u] Prud. in Sym. p. 243. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Jorn. ibid. [y] Oros. ibid. [z] Claud. p. 172. & conſ Hon. p. 181, 182. Prud. ibid. [a] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 178—183. [b] Oros. p 221.

people

people in their beſt apparel. He would not ſuffer the ſenate to attend, according to cuſtom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his ſiſter *Placidia* and *Eucherius* his brother-in-law, to pay him that honour [c]. While he was ſtill at *Ravenna*, he ſuppreſſed and utterly aboliſhed the ſhows of gladiatiors, which, tho' forbidden by *Conſtantine the Great* in 325, had been tolerated by his ſucceſſors, even by *Theodoſius* himſelf, out of complaiſance to the people, fond beyond expreſſion of that inhuman diverſion [d]. *Theodoret* writes, that an anchoret, by name *Telemachus*, attempting to prevent the gladiators from engaging in the amphitheatre at *Rome*, whither he was for that purpoſe come out of the eaſt, was by the incenſed populace ſtoned to death; and hence *Honorius*, according to that writer, took occaſion to ſuppreſs thoſe ſports [e]. Be that as it will, they were forbidden after the battle of *Pollentia*, as appears from *Prudentius* [f], and before *Honorius*'s triumphal entry into *Rome*; ſince *Claudian*, in deſcribing the ſhows that were exhibited on that occaſion, makes no mention of gladiators [g].

He aboliſhes the ſhows of gladiators.

THE following year 404, *Honorius* was conſul the ſixth time, with *Ariſtænetus*, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. The empreſs *Eudoxia* died this year of a miſcarriage, on the ſixth of *October*, a few days after ſhe had prevailed upon the weak prince her huſband to baniſh St. *Chryſoſtom*, whom ſhe had for ſome time perſecuted with great bitterneſs, on account of his reflecting in his ſermons, as ſhe imagined, and perhaps not without reaſon, on her conduct, and his exclaiming againſt the profane ſports that were exhibited before her ſtatue, which ſtood near the church. On the very day he left *Conſtantinople*, a fire broke out in the great church, which intirely conſumed it, with the palace where the ſenate uſed to aſſemble, and the neighbouring edifices. This calamity was imputed to the exiled biſhop's friends, and ſeveral of them were thrown into priſon, and racked to death. But of theſe violent proceedings againſt *Chryſoſtom* and his friends, the reader will find a diſtinct account in the eccleſiaſtic writers [h]. The empreſs was interred on the twelfth of *October*, in the church of the *Apoſtles*, where her tomb was to be ſeen many ages after [i]. Before her death the *Huns* had broken into *Thrace*, and the *Iſaurian* robbers

The empreſs Eudoxia *dies*

[c] CLAUD. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 188, 189. [d] SOCR. l. i. c. 18. p. 48. Soz l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Cod Theod. l. xv. tit 11. leg. 2. p. 395. [e] THEOD. l. v. c. 26 p. 741. [f] PRUD. in Symm. l. ii. p 242. [g] CLAUD. in Conſ. Hon 6. p. 190, 191. [h] SOCR. l. v. c. 4. p. 34. & l. vi. c. 4. p. 16. PALLAD. vit. Chryſ. [i] CEDR. p. 334 Chron Alex. p. 714. CANGE de Conſtant. l. iv. p. 110.

committed

Moſt of the eaſtern provinces ravaged by Iſaurian robbers.

committed great diſorders in *Aſia* and *Syria*. The former having pillaged great part of *Thrace* and eaſt *Illyricum*, retired of their own accord beyond the *Danube*, loaded with booty [k]. Againſt the latter was ſent *Arbazacius*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces, and ſhut them up on all ſides; but ſuffered them in the end to eſcape, being bribed by the large ſums they offered him [l]. *Suidas*, who calls him a native of *Iſauria*, and a few lines after an *Armenian*, ſays, that, from his inſatiable rapaciouſneſs and avarice, he was nicknamed *Harpazacius*, or the *Harpy* [m]. The *Iſaurians*, having now nothing to fear from *Arbazacius*, over-ran the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, *Piſidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*, extending their ravages to the frontiers of *Perſia* on one ſide, and to the *Euxine* ſea on the other, ranſacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even paſſed over into the iſland of *Cyprus*, and and cauſed a general conſternation in *Phœnicia*, *Caria*, *Judæa*, and *Jeruſalem* itſelf; inſomuch that the people were every-where buſied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themſelves in a poſture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inacceſſible mountains, with an immenſe booty, which they took care to ſhare with *Arbazacius* [n]. In the weſt, *Honorius* began his ſixth conſulſhip at *Rome*, which is the ſubject of the poem that *Claudian* pronounced on occaſion of that ſolemnity [o]. The emperor continued at *Rome* at leaſt till the fifteenth of *July*, as appears from the dates of his laws. From *Rome* he returned to *Ravenna*, and there fixed his reſidence, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of the inhabitants of *Milan* inviting him back to their city. From this time *Ravenna* became the ſeat of the weſtern or *Roman* empire; whence the country in which it ſtood was called *Romania*, which name it ſtill retains (N).

Honorius *his ſixth conſulſhip.*

The ſeat of the weſtern empire tranſferred to Ravenna.

The

[k] Socr. l. viii. c 25. p. 793 Philost. l. xi. p. 530. [l] Zos. l. v. p. 802. Chrys. ep 120. p. 754. [m] Suid. p. 412. [n] Theod. vit. patr c. 10, 21. p. 823, 865 Zos. p. 802. Pallad. dial vii. p. 147. Chrys. ep. xiv. p. 683, 684. [o] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6 p. 191.

(N) The city of *Ravenna* is ſaid by ſome to have been founded by the *Theſſalians*; but *Pliny* calls it a colony of the *Sabines*. It was once reckoned amongſt the cities of *Umbria*; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called *Flaminia*, and belonging to *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and the vicarſhip of *Italy* [p]. It was incloſed on all ſides, either by the ſea, by an arm of the *Po*, con-

(p *Plin. Ugbelli. p.* 317) — 325.

veyed

THE next conſuls were *Stilicho* the ſecond time, and *Anthemius*, who was ſoon after appointed prefect of the eaſt, and is mightily commended by St. *Chryſoſtom* [p]. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of him in the reign of *Theodoſius* II. This year the *Mazichi* and *Auxoriani*, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country between *Cyrenaica* and *Tripolitana*, laid waſte great part of *Egypt* [q]. *Arcadius* was on the twelfth of *June* at *Nice*; on the tenth and twenty-third of *July*, and twelfth of *Auguſt*, at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to *Conſtantinople* [r]. This year *Italy* was again alarmed with a ſudden irruption of barbarians, led by *Radagaiſus*, or *Rhodogaiſus*, as the *Greeks* ſtyle him. He was one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*, a pagan by religion, and a ſworn enemy to the *Roman* name [s]. He is by ſome writers ſtyled king of the *Hunns* [t]. He entered *Italy*, as we have obſerved above, with *Alaric* in the year 400; but returning afterwards beyond the *Danube*, he aſſembled an army, conſiſting, according to *Zoſimus* [u], of four hundred thouſand, ac-

Radagaiſus *enters Italy with a numerous army.*

[p] CHRYS. ep. 147. p. 780. [q] PHILOST. l. xi. c. 8. p 350, 351. [r] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 148. [s] AUG. in pſal. cv. c. 10. p. 547. [t] PROSP. chron. [u] Zos. l. v. p. 803.

veyed thither by *Auguſtus*. or by marſhes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city; ſo that it was, in a manner, a peninſula, and acceſſible only on one ſide (2). The ſea waſhed the walls of the city, and formed a ſpacious harbour, in which two hundred and fifty ſhips could ride ſafe (3). *Auguſtus*, and after him ſeveral other emperors, kept conſtantly two fleets for the defence of *Italy*; one of which was ſtationed at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic*, and the other at *Miſenum* on the *Mediterranean* ſea. But *Jornandes*, who was biſhop of *Ravenna* about the middle of the ſixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into three quarters, or rather cities; of which the higheſt was called *Ravenna*, the ſecond, in which was probably the imperial palace, *Cæſarea*, and the third *Claſſis*, becauſe in that place, then diſtant three miles from *Ravenna*, was formerly the harbour with the fleet (4). A city, thus ſituated amidſt waters and marſhes, could not be healthy; but, on the other ſide, it could not be eaſily attacked, and might with great eaſe be ſuccoured by ſea, affording at the ſame time a ſafe retreat into the eaſt, when it could be no longer maintained. Theſe reaſons, without all doubt, prompted *Honorius* to fix the ſeat of the empire there, notwithſtanding the preſſing and reiterated remonſtance of the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Rome*.

(2) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c* 29. *p.* 652. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Idem ibid.*

cording to *Oroſius* and *Marcellinus* [w], of two hundred thouſand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths* [x]. The commanders, who were diſtinguiſhed with the title of *lords*, amounted, according to *Photius* a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred [y]. With this formidable hoſt he broke ſuddenly into *Italy*, vowing to ſacrifice to his gods, ſays *Oroſius*, all the *Roman* blood he could ſhed [z]. The news of his approach threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itſelf, into the utmoſt conſternation. As *Radagaiſus* was a zealous worſhipper of the gods, and ſacrificed every morning to *Jupiter*, the pagans in *Rome* gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not ſo much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful *Romans* had baniſhed from a city, which they had ſo often defended. Unleſs the antient religion, ſaid they, be reſtored, and chriſtianity, the only cauſe of our calamities, utterly aboliſhed, the city muſt fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their ſide, whom we have forſaken [a]. With theſe complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Chriſt every-where blaſphemed, as the true cauſe of the preſent calamities [b]. In the mean time *Stilicho*, having aſſembled at *Pavia* all the *Roman* forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them with great numbers of *Goths*, *Hunns*, and *Alans*, under the command of *Sarus* a *Goth*, and *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, he left that place, bending his march towards *Hetruria*, where *Radagaiſus* was buſied in the ſiege of *Florence*, which city was already reduced to the utmoſt extremity. As *Stilicho* came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the *Hunns*, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thouſand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loſs of one man on the ſide of the *Romans* [c]. Thus St. *Auſtin*, *Zoſimus* and *Proſper*. *Radagaiſus* retired with the reſt to the neighbouring mountains of *Feſulæ*, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Stilicho*, and reduced, with his numerous army, to ſuch extremity, that he attempted to eſcape ſecretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the *Romans*; but as all the paſſes were well guarded, he fell into *Stilicho*'s hands, and was by his orders put to death ſoon after. His men, finding themſelves abandoned by their leader, and deſtitute of all manner of proviſions, ſubmitted to the *Romans* in ſuch numbers, that they

Which is defeated by Stilicho.

And he himſelf taken priſoner, and put to death.

[w] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. [x] Zos. Oros. ibid. [y] Phot. c. 80. p. 180. [z] Oros. ibid. [a] Aug. p. 547. Oros. ibid. [b] Aug. de civit. Dei. l. v. c. 23. [c] Aug. ibid Zos. p. 63. 803

wer

were ſold like beaſts, in droves, at a crown a head [d]; but as by the famine, that had raged among them while ſhut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill ſtate of health, they all died in a few days. *Oroſius* [e] and St. *Auſtin* [f] aſcribe this victory to a miracle.

THE following year *Arcadius* was conſul the ſixth time, with *Anicius Probus*, the younger brother of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, conſuls in 395 [g]. A dreadful fire happened this year at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-fifth of *October* [h]; and *Paleſtine* was infeſted with ſuch multitudes of graſhoppers, as quite darkened the ſky, and turned day into night. St. *Jerom*, who was then compoſing his comments on the prophet *Joel*, writes, that, after they had done great miſchief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the *Dead* ſea, partly into the *Mediterranean*, and thrown ſoon after on both ſhores in ſuch heaps, that they infected the air, and occaſioned a plague [i]. This year *Arcadius* enacted, amongſt ſeveral others, a law dated the twenty-eighth of *April*, threatening with death, not only the authors of libels, but ſuch as ſhould read ſuch defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them [k]. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Ravenna*; where he enacted a law dated the ſeventeenth of *April*, encouraging all perſons, whether freemen or ſlaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promiſing to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and ſeven more after the war [l]. This law was, without all doubt, occaſioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the laſt day of this year 406, entered *Gaul*, and fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire in the weſt. *Oroſius*, *Marcellinus*, *Tyro Proſper*, and St. *Jerom*, aſſure us, that they were ſtirred up, and invited into *Gaul*, by *Stilicho*, who even ſupplied them with large ſums, hoping, by their means, to raiſe his ſon *Eucherius* to the empire [m]. The barbarians who, at his inſtigation, broke into *Gaul* this year, were the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Sucvians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to croſs the *Rhine*, were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiſcles*, and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the *Alans* and *Sucvians*, haſtening to their aſſiſtance, obliged the *Franks* to retire. Upon their retreat, the barbarians paſſed the *Rhine* without oppoſition, and

Paleſtine infeſted with multitudes of graſhoppers.

The Alans, *the* Vandals, *and* Suevians, *break into* Gaul,

[d] AUG. ibid. OROS. p. 222. MARC. chron. [e] OROS. ibid. [f] AUG. civ. dei. p. 63. [g] IDAT. & HIER. in AM. l. iii. p. 99. [h] Chron. Alex. p. 714. [i] HIER. in Joel. c. 2 p. 60. [k] Cod. Theod. l. ix tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246. [l] Idem, l. vii. tit. 13. leg. 16, 17. p. 387, 388. [m] OROS. ibid. HIER. ep. 11. p. 93. MAR. PROSP. in chron.

entered *Gaul.* Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, upon the authority of an antient writer named *Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus* [n]. The *Vandals* appointed *Gonderic* or *Gontharius*, the ſon of *Godigiſcles*, king in his room [o]. The following year, when *Honorius* was conſul the ſeventh time, and *Theodoſius* the ſecond, the eaſtern empire enjoyed a profound tranquility; but in the weſt the *Vandals*, *Alans* and *Suevians*, committed dreadful ravages in *Gaul*, where they were joined by the *Burgundians*, and many other nations, ſtirred up, ſays *Oroſius* [p], by *Stilicho*.

And take ſeveral cities.

The firſt city that felt their fury was *Mentz*, which they took by ſtorm, and levelled with the ground, after having inhumanly maſſacred many thouſands of the inhabitants in the churches, to which they had fled for refuge. *Worms* held out for a conſiderable time; but was in the end taken, and laid in aſhes. *Straſbourg* and *Spires* underwent the ſame fate. Thence they marched to *Rheims*, to *Tournay*, to *Amiens*, to *Arras*, made themſelves maſters of all *Aquitain*, *Gaſcony*, the provinces of *Lyons*, and *Narbonne*, and extended their ravages from the *Alps* to the ocean, the governors of the provinces having no troops to oppoſe them [q]; for *Stilicho* had withdrawn, as we have related above, the forces that guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, on occaſion of the war with *Alaric*. The whole country, ſays St. *Jerom*, writing about this time, between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, between the *Rhine* and the ocean, is overrun and pillaged by the *Quadi*, the *Vandals*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Alans*, the *Gepidæ*, the *Heruli*, the *Saxons*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Alemans* [r]. In the mean time the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, apprehending the barbarians would, after the intire reduction of *Gaul*, croſs the ſea, and, jointly with the *Scots* and *Iriſh*, fall upon them, and expecting no aſſiſtance from *Honorius*, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one *Mark*, whom after a few days they murdered, upon ſome diſlike, and placed *Gratian*, a native of *Britain*, in his room [s]. *Gratian*, after a ſhort reign of four months, underwent the ſame fate, and was ſucceeded by *Conſtantine*, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name, which was common to him with *Conſtantine the great*, who being advanced to the imperial dignity in *Britain*, had made himſelf maſter of the whole empire, and governed it with great proſperity and ſucceſs [t].

The Romans *in* Baitain *revolt, and ſet up* Conſtantine *for emperor.*

[n] Greg. Tur. hiſt Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p 62. [o] Idem ibid. & Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 184. [p] Oros. ibid. [q] Hier. ep. 11. p. 95. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. c. 80. p. 180. [t] Oros. l. vii c. 40. p. 223. Zos. ibid. Intelligent Auct. l. i. c. 10. p. 12. Soz. Zos. ibid.

The

The new prince, immediately after his promotion, paſſed over into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the iſland, and the flower of the *Britiſh* youth; by which means the country, thus left quite naked and defenceleſs, was not long after obliged to ſubmit to the yoke of new lords. *Conſtantine* landed at *Bologne*, and continued there, till he was joined by the *Roman* troops, who were diſperſed up and down *Gaul*, and who choſe rather to ſubmit to him, than to the barbarians. Hereupon *Limenius*, prefect of *Gaul*, and *Cariobaudes*, commander of the *Roman* forces, fled into *Italy*, leaving the barbarians to waſte the country on one ſide, and *Conſtantine* to purſue his ſucceſs on the other [u]. *Honorius*, who was at *Rome* when news of this revolt was brought him, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to *Stilicho* then at *Ravenna*; who haſtening to *Rome*, ordered *Sarus*, by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of known valour, bold and enterpriſing, to march with a ſufficient force into *Gaul*, and make head againſt the uſurper. *Sarus* was met on the frontiers of *Gaul* by *Juſtin*, one of *Conſtantine*'s commanders, whom he eaſily defeated and killed, after having put to the ſword the greateſt part of his forces. He then led his men, encouraged with this ſucceſs, to beſiege *Valence* in *Dauphiny*, whither the uſurper had retired. Upon his approach, *Conſtantine* ſent *Neobigaſtes*, another of his generals, to treat with him of an accommodation; but him *Sarus* cauſed to be murdered, contrary to the law of nations, and the aſſurances he had given him [w]; but *Conſtantine* having placed, in the room of the two generals he had loſt, *Edobincus* and *Gerontius*, the former a *Gaul*, the latter of *Britain*, *Sarus*, ſays *Zoſimus* with little appearance of truth, dreading their courage and experience, raiſed the ſiege of *Valence*, and retired in great haſte. *Conſtantine*'s army purſued him to the *Alps*, over which he was obliged to purchaſe a paſſage of the *Bagaudæ*, by quitting to them all his booty [x]. However that be, it is certain, that *Sarus* raiſed the ſiege, and, repaſſing the *Alps* with his army, returned to *Italy*. Upon his retreat *Conſtantine* fixed his reſidence at *Arles* [y], overcame the barbarians in ſeveral battles, and in the end forced them to ſue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit *Gaul*, probably becauſe he deſigned to maintain himſelf by their means in his uſurped power [z]. Theſe diſturbances did not prevent *Honorius* from enacting this year ſevere laws againſt the *Donatiſts*, *Manichees*, *Phrygians*, *Priſcillianiſts*, and all ſectaries in general [a].

Who paſſes over into Gaul, *which ſubmits to him.*

His army defeated by Sarus, *and he himſelf beſieged in* Valence:

The ſiege raiſed.

Conſtantine *maſter of all* Gaul.

[u] OROS Soz. Zos. ibid. PHOT. p. 181. [w] Zos. p. 803, 804. PHOT. p. 181. OROS. p. 223. Soz ibid. [x] Zos. p 824. [y] Idem, p. 807. [z] OROS. l. vii c. 40 p. 223. [a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 40. p. 160 leg. 48. p. 168, 169 leg. 41. p. 160, &c.

THE

Arcadius dies.

The following year 408, when *Anicius Baſſus* and *Flavius Philippus* were conſuls, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the eaſt died at *Conſtantinople* on the firſt of *May* the emperor *Arcadius*, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death [b], or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen days. He was buried near the empreſs *Eudoxia*, in the church of the *Apoſtles* [c], where their tombs of porphyry were to be

His iſſue.

ſeen ſeveral ages after [d]. He left behind him but one ſon, *viz. Theodoſius*, then eight years old, but juſt weaned, ſays *Sozomen* [e]. We ſhall examine elſewhere what we read in *Procopius*, *viz.* that *Arcadius*, by his laſt will, appointed *Iſdegerdes*, king of *Perſia*, guardian to the young prince. We have obſerved in the hiſtory of his reign, that he had four daughters, *Flaccilla*, *Pulcheria*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*: *Flaccilla* is never mentioned by hiſtorians but on occaſion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that ſhe died ſoon after. The other three embraced the ſtate of virginity, and led exemplary lives [f]. They were all ſtyled queens, as appears from the councils [g]; but only by courteſy; for, except *Pulcheria*, who was declared *Auguſta* in 414, they had no other title but that of *moſt noble*. *Arcadia* and *Marina* built a palace at *Conſtantinople*, which for many ages retained their name. The former built likewiſe a church in honour of St. *Andrew*; which was many ages after, when become a monaſtery, rebuilt by *Theodora*, the niece of *Michael Paleologus* [h]. *Arcadia* died in 444, and *Marina* on

His character.

the third of *Auguſt* 449 [i]. *Arcadius* himſelf was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very ſlender parts, and therefore intirely governed, and ſhamefully impoſed upon, by his miniſters, and the empreſs, who abuſed his authority to oppreſs the people in a moſt deſpotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the weſt: *Conſtantine*, having reduced all *Gaul* to his obedience, ſent a body of troops into *Spain*, in order to oppoſe *Didymius* and *Verianus* or *Verinianus*, who having aſſembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with ſuch ſlaves and peaſants as were willing to take arms, had ſeized on the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* were brothers, natives of *Spain*, and nearly allied to *Honorius*, for whom they openly declared, while moſt of the cities of that province were ready

[b] Theod. l. ii. p. 568. Socr. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332. [c] Theod. ibid. [d] Cange de Conſt. l. iv. p 110. [e] Soz. l. ix. c. 1. p. 799. Chron. Alex. p. 712. [f] Soz. l. ix. c. 5. p. 804. [g] Concil. tom. iii. p 105. [h] Cange ibid. l. iv. p. 111, 112. [i] Man. chron. & chron. Al. p 734.

to

to revolt from him, and ſubmit to the uſurper [k]. The troops that were firſt ſent againſt them not being able to open themſelves a paſſage through the *Pyrenees*, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, *Conſtantine* obliged his eldeſt ſon, by name *Conſtans*, who profeſſed a monaſtic life, to quit his retirement, created him *Cæſar*, and diſpatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by *Gerontius*, an experienced officer, into *Spain*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* defended the paſſes for ſome time with great reſolution and intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. *Conſtans* purſued them cloſe, and coming up with them in *Luſitania*, now *Portugal*, cut moſt of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives priſoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers *Theodoſius* or *Theodoſiolus*, and *Lagodus*, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned *Spain* to the uſurper, and retired, the former to the court of *Honorius*, and the latter to that of *Theodoſius*, who had ſucceeded his father *Arcadius* in the empire of the eaſt [l].

Conſtans, *the ſon of* Conſtantine, *declared* Cæſar.

Conſtans, having thus reduced all *Spain*, and appointed *Gerontius* to command the army and guard the *Pyrenees*, returned to *Gaul*, where he preſented the two illuſtrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. To reward his ſon for his eminent ſervices, he created him *Auguſtus*, honouring him, ſays *Zoſimus* [m], with a diadem. At the ſame time he ſent a ſolemn deputation to *Honorius*, excuſing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the ſoldiery to accept of the ſovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged by him as his partner in the empire. *Honorius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make war upon the uſurper, thought it adviſeable to comply with his requeſt; and accordingly ſent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the ſame time, with the title of *Auguſtus* [n]. *Italy* was at this time threatened with a new invaſion of the barbarians, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, who, at the inſtigation of *Stilicho*, leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, paſſed unexpectedly the *Alps*, and breaking into *Noricum*, threatened to invade *Italy*, and lay all waſte before him, unleſs a certain ſum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, were immediately ſent him. Upon this demand, *Honorius*, who was then at *Rome*, aſſembled the ſenate, when ſeveral ſenators of great diſtinction were for re-

He reduces all Spain, *and is declared* Auguſtus.

Honorius *acknowledges* Conſtantine *for his colleague.*

Alaric *threatens* Italy.

[k] Zos. l. vi. p. 826. OROS. l. vi. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. PHOT. p. 184. [l] Zos. p. 830. Soz. PHOT. OROS. ibid. GREG. TUR. hiſt. Fr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. [m] Zos. ibid. [n] Idem, p. 818. PHOT. p. 180. GREG. TUR. ibid.

jecting

jecting his demand, and marching the army without delay againſt him, urging, that to comply with an arrogant and unreaſonable demand was not buying a peace, but ſigning a contract of perpetual ſlavery. However *Stilicho*, who maintained a private correſpondence with *Alaric* and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four thouſand pounds weight of gold ſhould be ſent him. *Lampadius*, who had with great liberty of ſpeech oppoſed this motion, and by that means incurred the diſpleaſure of *Stilicho*, as ſoon as the ſenate broke up, took ſanctuary in a neighbouring church [o]. A few days after *Honorius*, leaving *Rome*, ſet out for *Bononia*; whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he removed to *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, attended by one *Olympius*, who, by an outward ſhow of chriſtian piety, ſays *Zoſimus*, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his perſon. As every one was now well appriſed of the wicked deſigns of *Stilicho*, *Olympius*, thought himſelf obliged to diſcloſe them to the emperor; which he did accordingly on the road from *Bologna* to *Pavia*, and ſo thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of his miniſter, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no ſooner arrived at *Pavia*, than he diſpatched an expreſs to *Ravenna*, where *Stilicho* then was, with two different orders; the one commanding him to be ſecured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the meſſenger, *Stilicho* took ſanctuary in a church; but the next day, being in the preſence of the biſhop aſſured by the ſoldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arreſt him, he left his aſylum, and delivered himſelf into their hands; which he had ſcarce done, when the meſſenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the ſame day, the twenty-third of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 408 [p]. It was no ſooner known at *Pavia*, that the emperor had ordered him to be arreſted, than the army encamped there, encouraged by *Olympius*, ſays *Zoſimus* [q], flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner ſlew all thoſe who were known to be well-affected to the diſgraced general; and amongſt the reſt *Limenius*, prefect of *Gaul*, *Chariobaudes*, commander of the troops in the ſame province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by *Conſtantine*, *Longinianus*, formerly prefect of *Italy*, *Vincentius*, general of the horſe, *Salvius* and *Petronius*, the one *comes domeſticorum*, the other *comes largitionum*, another *Salvius*, who was quæſtor, *Nemorius*, then *magiſter officiorum*, and

The money he demanded is ſent him.

Stilicho *diſgraced, and put to death.*

Several of his friends are cut in pieces by the army.

[o] Zos. p. 805. Philostr. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. Rutil. l. ii. p. 142.
[p] Zos. p. 810. Soz. l. ix. c. 4. p. 396. Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222.
[q] Zos. p. 809, 809

many

many other perſons of great diſtinction [r]. All authors, except *Zoſimus* and the poet *Claudian*, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, *viz.* that he maintained a private correſpondence with *Alaric*; that he invited the barbarians into *Gaul*, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent ſervices, after he had driven them out, with aſſuming him for his colleague; that he had formed a deſign of murdering the two princes *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, and ſeizing on both empires for himſelf; that by a potion given to *Honorius*, he prevented his having any iſſue, &c. But *Zoſimus* pretends theſe crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice *Honorius* againſt him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end conſented. The ſame writer adds, that after his death ſeveral of his friends were cruelly tortured, and amongſt the reſt *Deuterus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and *Peter* his chief ſecretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the ſeveral charges that were brought againſt him or them as privy to his wicked deſigns [s]. *Stilicho* profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but his ſon *Eucherius* was not only a pagan, but a profeſſed enemy to the chriſtians; nay, he uſed to brag amongſt the pagans, ſays *Oroſius*, who wrote about that time, that if he ever attained the empire, he would ſignalize the beginning of his reign, with the re-eſtabliſhment of the pagan, and utter extirpation of the chriſtian, ceremonies [t]. If what that author writes be true, the partiality which *Zoſimus*, a zealous patron of paganiſm, ſhews for *Stilicho* and *Eucherius*, may be eaſily accounted for. The emperor had married in the beginning of this year *Thermantia*, *Stilicho*'s ſecond daughter, *Maria*, his eldeſt daughter, whom *Honorius* had married in 398, being dead ſome years before [u]; perhaps when the emperor was at *Rome*, in 404, for her body was diſcovered in the *Vatican* church on the fourth of *February* 1544, with ſeveral things of great value: her body, when expoſed to the air, mouldered away; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the reſt fell to aſhes, weighed thirty-ſix pounds [w]. *Honorius* married *Thermantia* at *Rome*, where the match was concluded by *Serena*, alledging, ſays *Zoſimus*, to her huſband *Stilicho*, who was averſe to it as inceſtuous, that the other ſiſter died a virgin [x]. Upon the death of *Stilicho*, *Honorius* divorced his daughter, and ſent her back untouched to her mother *Serena* [y]. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſhe died ſoon after; but, according to the chronicle of *Alex-*

Stilicho ſuppoſed by ſome guilty, by others innocent.

Honorius divorces his daughter Thermantia.

[r] Zos. Socr. Oros ibid. [s] Zos. p. 811, 819. [t] Oros. p. 222. [u] Zos. p. 804. Phot. c. 80. p. 177. [w] Anaſt. Childerici. p. 53. Aringhii Rom. ſubterr l. ii. c. 9. p. 173. Mabill. iter. Italic p. 145. [x] Zos. p. 804. [y] Idem, p. 811, 804.

andria, news of her death was brought to *Conſtantinople* on *Friday* the thirtieth of *July* 415 [z]. Her body too was found in the *Vatican* in 1543, adorned with the imperial robes, and all the enſigns of majeſty [a]. As for *Eucherius*, when he heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Rome*, and there executed [b]. Thus were the empire, ſays *Oroſius* [c], and the church, by the death of a few perſons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wiſh for the reputation of *Honorius*, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for ſuch as ſuffer without being heard have a right to be deemed innocent. All the eccleſiaſtic writers ſuppoſe *Stilicho* to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence *Zoſimus* looks upon them as falſe imputations, and groundleſs ſuſpicions. *Stilicho*'s eſtate was confiſcated, and likewiſe the eſtates of all his avowed partizans, and of ſuch as had been preferred by him for money [d]; and *Heliocrates* was ſent to *Rome* to ſeize them, which commiſſion he diſcharged with great humanity and good-nature, warning under-hand thoſe who were the leaſt guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation coſt him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commiſſion, but ſent in bonds to *Ravenna*, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to eſcape out of priſon, and ſave himſelf in a church [e]. Such was the end of *Stilicho*, after he had commanded in chief the *Roman* armies for the ſpace of twenty-three years. He was no doubt a perſon of extraordinary qualities, a great ſtateſman, a valiant ſoldier, and experienced officer. He gained ſuch an aſcendant over *Honorius*, who was blindly guided by his counſels, that, till the time of his diſgrace, he governed with a more abſolute ſway, than the emperor himſelf. *Zoſimus*, however partial to his memory, accuſes him of rapine and oppreſſion, of great partiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire [f]. *Stilicho* was ſucceeded in the adminiſtration by *Olympius*, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country bordering on the *Euxine* ſea, and not only profeſſed the chriſtian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, ſays *Zo-*

Eucherius, his ſon, executed.

Stilicho's eſtate confiſcated.

His character.

Olympius prime miniſter.

[z] Chron. Al. p. 716. [a] Aringh. Maill., ibid. [b] Philos. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. Zos p. 813. [c] Oros. p. 222. [d] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319. [e] Zos. p. 811, 819. [f] Idem, p. 780, 789.

ſimus,

simus [e], insinuating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. *Austin* entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he bestows upon him [h]; as did likewise *Symmachus*, though a zealous pagan [i]. *Olympiodorus* writes, that he owed his first preferment to *Stilicho*, who recommended him to *Honorius* [k]; which would render the return he made that minister highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in *Stilicho*'s life-time a considerable employment at court, and was after his death raised to the post of *magister officiorum*, or steward of the emperor's household, one of the greatest employments in the state [l]. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. *Austin*, desiring that a zealous prelate to suggest to him from time to time what he thought would conduce to the good of the church [m]. In the very beginning of his administration, he caused several laws to be enacted against the pagans, *Jews*, and heretics, especially the *Donatists* in *Africa* [n]. By a law dated the fourteenth of *November*, all those who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court [o]. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the *Roman* service, resigned his command; and his example, if *Zosimus* is to be credited [p], was followed by many others, who were either pagans or *Arians*. Amongst the several laws of this year, relating both to civil and ecclesiastic matters, one was enacted forbidding all persons of quality to trade, not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrading, but because others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redress [q].

He favours the church.

WHEN the *Roman* soldiers, quartered in the cities of *Italy*, heard of *Stilicho*'s death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the service, and whom they on that account looked upon, as privy to his wicked designs, as public enemies. The barbarians, highly provoked at this unheard-of cruelty, vowed revenge; and quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, to *Alaric*, who, though thus reinforced, sent deputies to *Honorius*, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, and never more to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would

The wives and children of the barbarians in the Roman *service murdered.*

[e] Idem, p. 810, 811. [h] AUG. ep. cxxiv. p. 242, 245. [i] SYM. l. ix. ep. 60. p. 362. [k] PHOT. c. 80 p. 177. [l] Zos. p. 808. [m] AUG. ep. cxxix. p. 245. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165. [o] Idem ibid. leg. 42. p. 163. [p] Zos. l. v. p. 820. [q] Cod. Just. l. iv. tit. 63. leg. 3. p. 395.

send him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears [s]. *Honorius* refusing to comply with his demand, he dispatched an express to *Ataulphus* or *Athaulphus*, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of *Pannonia*, ordering him to hasten with his troops, consisting of *Goths* and *Huns*, into *Italy*. In the mean time, *Alaric* himself advancing with long marches from *Noricum* to the *Po*, crossed that river without opposition; and passing in sight of *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, pursued his march almost without halting till he arrived at *Rome*, which he immediately invested, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth and on the banks of the *Tiber*, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provisions by water [t]. By this means the city, which was crouded with people, was soon reduced to great distress; a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, arising from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the streets unburied [u]. *Olympiodorus* writes, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the fatal necessity of feeding upon human flesh, and devouring each other [w]; and *Zosimus*, that they were almost brought to that extremity [x]. During this calamity, the pagans, and among the rest *Pompeianus*, prefect of the city, began to cry aloud, that recourse ought to be had to the gods of their ancestors, who had so often relieved the city, and delivered it from the greatest dangers. *Zosimus* adds, that *Innocent*, at that time bishop of *Rome*, consented to their offering sacrifices to the gods, provided it were done privately; but that they were, notwithstanding his consent, afraid to perform the ceremony [y]. *Sozomen* writes, that, at the instigation of some *Hetruscan* aruspices, they actually revived the antient sacrifices; which were so far from relieving the city, that thenceforth it laboured under greater difficulties than ever [z]. Be that as it will, the unhappy citizens were in the end obliged to send out deputies to treat with *Alaric*. These were *Basilius*, who had been prefect of *Rome* in 395, and *John*, the emperor's first secretary. *Alaric* hearkened to their proposals, and agreed to raise the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the *Romans*, upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper [a]. For the raising of the required

The barbarians join Alaric, *who enters* Italy, *and besieges* Rome.

Which is reduced to great straights,

And complies with the demands of Alaric.

[s] Zos. l. v. p. 811. [t] Idem, p. 814, 815. Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. [u] Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. Aug. ep. cxxxiii. p. 248. [w] Phot. p. 180. [x] Zos. p 815. [y] Idem, p. 816. [z] Soz. p. 807, 808. [a] Zos. p. 815—818.

sum,

ſum, the ſenators were taxed according to their eſtates; but as they had not ſo much ready money by them, that wicked genius, ſays *Zoſimus* [b], which then governed the affairs of mankind, prompted thoſe, who were concerned in levying the ſaid ſum, to the height of iniquity; for, to make good the deficiency, they had recourſe to the ornaments of the temples and images of the gods: ſome of the latter, that were of gold or ſilver, they melted down, and among the reſt that of *Valour*, which being deſtroyed, the antient *Roman* valour was utterly extinguiſhed, as had been foretold by perſons ſkilled in divine matters, and well verſed in the rites and ceremonies of their country. The treaty was ratified by *Honorius*, and the ſum thus raiſed ſent to *Alaric*, who thereupon raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria* [c]. When he firſt appeared before *Rome*, the ſenate, with the conſent and approbation of *Placidia*, the emperor's ſiſter, then in the city, cauſed *Serena*, the widow of *Stilicho*, to be put to death, upon a falſe ſuppoſition, ſays *Zoſimus*, of her privately correſponding with the enemy [d]. *Læta*, the widow of the emperor *Gratian*, and her mother *Piſſamene*, ſignalized their good nature during the ſiege, relieving with great generoſity, as *Zoſimus* himſelf owns [e], the famiſhed citizens.

The ſiege raiſed.

Serena, *the widow of* Stilicho, *put to death.*

WHILE the weſtern empire was thus miſerably harraſſed by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the uſurpation of *Conſtantine*, whom *Honorius* had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the ſovereignty, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces ſubject to young *Theodoſius*, though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happineſs they enjoyed to *Anthemius*, who taking upon him the adminiſtration, diſcharged the office of prime miniſter with an integrity hardly to be matched in hiſtory. He was grandſon to *Philippus*, who had been prefect of the eaſt under *Conſtantius*, which office *Anthemius* himſelf diſcharged from the year 405, to 414 [h]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions one *Simplicius*, the ſon of *Anthemius* the elder, and probably the father of *Anthemius* the younger, who was diſgraced in 359 [i]. The latter was *magiſter officiorum* before the year 404, embaſſador to the king of *Perſia* before the year 405[k], conſul in that year, and ſoon after *præfectus Prætorio* [l]. He had at leaſt one daughter, who was married to *Procopius*, by whom ſhe had *Anthemius*, advanced to the empire in 465 [m]. *Anthemius*, who governed the eaſtern

The happy adminiſtration of Anthemius *in the eaſt.*

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Zos. ibid. Soz. p. 808. HIER. ep xi. xvi. p. 93, 121. [d] Idem, p. 114, 115. [e] Idem ibid. [h] SOCR. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. [i] AMMIAN l. ix. p. 151. [k] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 349. [l] THEOD c. 8. p. 813. [m] SID. car. ii. p. 291, 292.

empire

His character.

empire during the minority of *Theodoſius*, is commended by all the writers of thoſe times as an experienced commander, an able ſtateſman, a zealous chriſtian, and one who had nothing ſo much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happineſs of the people [n]. He was, ſays *Syneſius*, who conſtantly ſtyles him the great *Anthemius*, in my opinion, and in that of all men, the greateſt, the beſt, the moſt virtuous, diſintereſted, and well-meaning miniſter, that ever governed a ſtate [o]. *Procopius* writes, that *Arcadius*, either diſtruſting his brother *Honorius*, or appriſed that the diſtracted ſtate of his own affairs would divert him from minding thoſe of the eaſt, begged in his will *Iſdegerdes*, king of *Perſia*, with whom he had entered into a ſtrict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the ſame writer adds, that *Iſdegerdes*, who was a prince of great generoſity, ſent embaſſadors to acquaint the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, that he accepted the charge, and was reſolved to make war upon ſuch as ſhould preſume to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [p]. *Theophanes*, who wrote after *Procopius*, and has borrowed from him the greateſt part of his hiſtory, adds, that *Iſdegerdes*, not being at leiſure to attend the adminiſtration in perſon, ſent *Antiochus* to *Conſtantinople* in his room, a perſon of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemiſhed character, who diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity till the year 414, when *Pulcheria* taking upon her the adminiſtration, he was deprived of his authority, and even of his life [q]. *Zonaras* follows *Procopius* and *Theophanes* [r], as does likewiſe *Cedrenus* [s]. It is ſurpriſing, that ſuch an event, one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory, ſhould by no hiſtorian be taken notice of before *Procopius*, who wrote an hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no ſmall miſtakes, being miſled by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this ſuppoſed laſt will of *Arcadius*; for *Agathias* tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to ſon; but that he found it vouched by no writer, except *Procopius*, not even by thoſe who had given a particular account of the death of *Arcadius* [t]. And truly *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Zoſimus*, *Philoſtorgius*, both *Proſpers*, and *Marcellinus*, take not the leaſt notice of this memorable tranſaction. *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* and *Sineſius* [u] mention an eunuch, by name *Antiochus*, who paſſing from the ſer-

Whether Iſdegerdes, *king of* Perſia, *was appointed guardian to the young prince.*

[n] Chrys. p. 780. Socr. Syn. ep lxxv. p. 220. [o] Syn. car. p. 299. & ep. lxxii. p. 220, 221. [p] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. [q] Theoph. p. 69. [r] Zonar. p. 43. [s] Cedren. p. 334. [t] Agath. l. iv. p. 137. [u] Isidor. Pel. i. ep. 29. p. 11. Syn. p. 84.

vice

vice of a *Perſian* lord, named *Narſes*, to that of *Theodoſius* II. became preceptor to the young prince; which perhaps gave riſe to the above-mentioned tradition. This year the *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, broke ſuddenly into *Thrace*, under the conduct of *Uldin*, of whom we have made mention above; but ſome of their officers abandoning them to join the *Romans*, they retired with great precipitation: however, the emperor's troops, coming up with the *Squiri* before they could reach the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the reſt priſoners. By this overthrow, that nation was almoſt utterly extirpated [w].

The Hunns *and the* Squiri *break into* Thrace; *but the latter are almoſt intirely cut off.*

THE next conſuls were *Honorius*, the eighth time, and *Theodoſius*, the third. In *Gaul Conſtantine*, who reigned there, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged conſul in the room of *Theodoſius* [x]. As *Honorius*, under various pretences, declined delivering up to *Alaric* the promiſed hoſtages, and executing ſome other articles of the treaty not mentioned by hiſtorians, the ſenate ſent *Attalus*, *Cæcilianus*, and *Maximianus* or *Maximilianus*, to repreſent to him in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, eſpecially to the capital. But their remonſtrances were utterly diſregarded by the emperor, miſled, ſays *Zoſimus*, by *Olympius* and *Alaric*'s enemies at court [y]. However, he raiſed *Attalus* to the poſt of *comes largitionum*, and *Cæcilianus* to that of *præfectus prætorio* [z]. In the mean time, *Alaric*, provoked at the emperor's backwardneſs in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left *Hetruria*, and approaching *Rome*, blocked it up a ſecond time, his army being reinforced with forty thouſand ſlaves, who had made their eſcape out of the city [a]. *Honorius* ſent ſix thouſand choſen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by *Alaric*'s parties, and all either cut off, or taken priſoners, except *Valens*, their commander, *Attalus*, and about an hundred more, who with much ado got into *Rome* [b]. *Maximilianus*, one of the priſoners, was ranſomed by his father with thirty thouſand pieces of gold. *Zoſimus* writes, that the ſix thouſand men ſent by *Honorius* to defend the city, made up five legions [c]; ſo that a legion at this time conſiſted but of twelve hundred men. In the mean time, *Ataulphus*, whom *Alaric* had ſent for, as we have obſerved above, was advancing to join him; and had already paſſed the *Julian Alps*, and entered the province of *Venetia*, when *Honorius* diſpatched againſt him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loſs only of fifteen;

Alaric *returns before* Rome.

Ataulphus *enters* Italy.

[w] Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807, 809. [x] GRUTER p. 2052. [y] Zos. l. v. p. 817—819. [z] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 150. [a] Zos. p. 819. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid.

but

but notwithſtanding this check, *Ataulphus* purſued his march, and joined *Alaric* [d]. About this time, *Olympius*, the prime miniſter, was diſgraced, diveſted of all his honours, and diſcharged, the eunuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the preſent calamities. He was ſucceeded by *Jovius*, then prefect of *Italy*, a perſon highly commended by *Zoſimus* [e], which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is ſcarce ever ſo laviſh of his praiſes on thoſe who profeſſed the chriſtian religion. With *Olympius* ſeveral other officers were changed. *Attalus* was made prefect of *Rome*, and *Demetrius comes largitionum*, or treaſurer, in his place. The ſoldiers, mutinying at *Ravenna*, demanded the heads of the two generals *Turpilio* and *Vigilantius*, and likewiſe of *Terentius* and *Arſacius*, the emperor's two firſt chamberlains. Hereupon the timorous prince, at the inſtigation of *Jovius*, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a veſſel, in order to be ſent into exile; but the ſoldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. *Terentius* was baniſhed into the eaſt, and *Arſacius* confined to the city of *Milan* [f]. *Euſebius* was made great chamberlain in the room of *Terentius*; *Valens* ſucceeded *Turpilio* in the poſt of general of the horſe; and the office of *comes domeſticorum*, held by *Vigilantius*, was given to *Ellibichus* or *Allobichus*. Theſe were all creatures of *Jovius*, whoſe authority was thus thoroughly eſtabliſhed [g]. At the ſame time, *Generides*, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in *Rhætia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*; which countries he protected with great fidelity againſt the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his ſake *Honorius* revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments [h]. The ſame law was revoked with reſpect to heretics, eſpecially the *Donatiſts*, to whom ſome churches were reſtored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of *Jovius*, of *Heraclianus*, count of *Africa*, and of *Macrobius*, the author of the *Saturnalia*, as is commonly believed, at that time proconſul of *Africa* [i].

Olympius *diſgraced.*

The generals Turpilio *and* Vigilantius *put to death.*

Alaric being returned before *Rome*, as we have obſerved above, the ſenate ſent a ſecond deputation to the emperor, preſſing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himſelf had ratified. *Alaric* approved of this ſtep, and appointed a body of *Goths* to eſcort the deputies, among whom was *Innocent*, biſhop of the city. At the ſame time *Alaric*, by the advice of *Jovius*,

[d] Idem, p. 820. [e] Idem, p. 821. [f] Idem, p. 820, 821.
[g] Idem ibid. Phot. p. 181. [h] Zos. ibid. [i] Hier. ep. viii. p. 65. Cod. Theod. tit. 4 p. 199.

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with whom he had been intimately acquainted in *Epirus*, advanced with part of his army to *Ariminum* or *Rimini*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, than at *Ravenna*. *Jovius* himself met him at *Rimini*; and, after some conferences with him, wrote to court, advising the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or if he thought them unreasonable, to satisfy *Alaric* by preferring him to the post of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces. To this letter the emperor answered, that he was resolved never to prefer *Alaric*, nor any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to *Jovius*, while he was in *Alaric*'s tent, and he with the utmost imprudence reading it out aloud, *Alaric* was so provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards *Rome*: but soon after changing his mind, he sent some bishops to *Honorius*, with very moderate proposals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with *Honorius*, and to defend the empire against all invaders, provided he would only send him a small sum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when disbanded, and allow them to settle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*; which provinces paid but an inconsiderable tribute, and nevertheless obliged the emperor, as they were exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himself to do, without putting the empire to the least charge. These proposals, however reasonable, were rejected, *Jovius* having, by a second fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, suspect him of privately favouring *Alaric*, he over-acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to swear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war with *Alaric*: this he swore himself by the emperor's head, and obliged all the officers both civil and military to take the same oath [k]. *Alaric*, tho' informed of these unaccountable proceedings, sent back the bishops to *Ravenna*, earnestly entreating the emperor, who had not sufficient forces to withstand him, not to suffer that stately metropolis, which for so many ages had been revered by all nations as mistress of the world, to become a prey to her enemies. But the emperor continuing obstinate in his former resolution, *Alaric* pursued his march to *Rome*; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obstinacy, inviting them at the same time to consult their own safety by joining him against *Honorius*. This proposal they rejected at first with indignation; but *Alaric* having, after a few days

Honorius refuses to comply with the proposals of Alaric.

And swears never to make peace with him.

Alaric's *moderation.*

[k] Soz. l ix c. 7. p. 808, 809. Zos. p. 822—824.

He beſieges Rome, *which ſubmits, and acknowledges* Attalus *for emperor.*

ſiege, taken the caſtle at the mouth of the *Tiber*, in which all the public proviſions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered attended by a ſmall guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge, not himſelf, as he might have eaſily done, but *Attalus*, then prefect of the city, for emperor [l]. *Attalus* was a native of *Ionia*, and greatly beloved by *Alaric* and his *Goths*, becauſe he had been baptized by *Segiſarius* their biſhop [m], and conſequently profeſſed the doctrine of *Arius*, tho' he was in his heart a pagan, according to *Philoſtorgius* [n]. *Attalus*, thus created emperor by *Alaric*, made him in return commander in chief of all his forces, and *Ataulphus* his *comes domeſticorum*, diſtributing the other great employments amongſt pagans and *Arians*. As it was a matter of the utmoſt importance to ſecure *Africa*, whence *Rome* was ſupplied with proviſions, *Alaric* adviſed the new emperor to ſend thither without delay a conſiderable body of troops under the conduct of *Drumas*, who was by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of great experience and addreſs: but *Attalus*, contrary to the advice of *Alaric*, ſent one *Conſtantine* or *Conſtans*, a perſon quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a ſmall number of troops, being aſſured by the aruſpices, ſays *Sozomen*, that *Africa* would immediately ſubmit [o]. But *Conſtantine* was upon his firſt landing cut off with all his men by *Heraclianus*, who took care to place guards in all the ports of *Africa*, that no corn might be thence conveyed to *Rome*, which by that means was ſoon reduced to great ſtraights [p]. In the mean time, *Attalus*, without waiting news from *Africa*, ſet out from *Rome* with the ſuccours he received from *Alaric*, with a deſign to beſiege the emperor in *Ravenna*; who, alarmed at his motions, diſpatched *Jovius*, the prime miniſter, *Valens*, general of the foot, *Potamus*, the quæſtor, and *Julian*, his firſt ſecretary, to wait his arrival at *Rimini*, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to accknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But *Attalus* would only grant *Honorius* his life, and the liberty of retiring to what iſland he pleaſed [q]. *Jovius*, in a private conference with *Attalus*, not only adviſed him to inſiſt upon theſe terms, but ſuggeſted to him, that he ought to maim the emperor ſo as to prevent his having iſſue; which wicked ſuggeſtion was rejected with horror, if *Olympiodorus* is to be credited, by *Attalus* himſelf [r]. That treacherous miniſter returned to court; but being ſent back to the uſurper with new propoſals, he continued

The uſurper's troops defeated by Heraclianus *in* Africa.

Honorius *offers to acknowledge* Attalus; *Who inſiſts upon his reſigning.*

[l] Soz. Zos. ibid. [m] Soz. c. 9. p. 811. [n] Philost. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. [o] Soz. p. 810. [p] Zos. p. 829. Soz. ibid. [q] Zos. p. 828. Phot. p. 181. [r] Phot. ibid.

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with him. *Honorius*, finding himſelf thus betrayed by his friends, and no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to abandon *Ravenna* and retire by ſea into the eaſt; but was diverted from that reſolution by the ſeaſonable arrival of four thouſand men, ſent him by his nephew *Theodoſius*; which encouraged him to continue at *Ravenna*, and there wait the iſſue of the war in *Africa*. And truly his arms were attended there with uncommon ſucceſs; for *Attalus* having, after the death of *Conſtans*, ſent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the firſt, *Heraclianus* cut them likewiſe in pieces; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed to *Rome*, but ſent a ſeaſonable ſupply of money to *Honorius*, which he immediately diſtributed among the ſoldiery, and by that means reeſtabliſhed his affairs [s]. In the mean time, *Alaric* reduced all the cities of *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, except *Bononia*, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a conſiderable time before it. He cauſed *Attalus* to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to ſwear allegiance to him [t].

Honorius receives a ſeaſonable ſupply from Theodoſius.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, *Geroncius*, to whom *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, as we have related above, revolting, upon ſome diſguſt, from *Conſtantine*, ſet up one *Maximus* for emperor, whom *Olympiodorus* ſuppoſes to have been his ſon [u], while other writers ſtyle him his client or creature [w]. *Oroſius* ſpeaks of him as a perſon of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown [x]. It was no ſooner known in *Gaul*, that *Geroncius* had revolted, than the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom *Conſtantine* had ſuffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the inſtigation of the new uſurper, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities. The people, finding themſelves thus harraſſed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from *Honorius* or *Conſtantine*, reſolved to defend themſelves. The *Britons* were the firſt, who, falling off from the empire, eſtabliſhed a new form of government among themſelves, after having driven out the barbarians; the *Germans*, according to *Zoſimus*, but more likely the *Scots* or *Iriſh*, who had invaded their country [y]. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421, or 422, when overpowered by their warlike neighbours the *Scots*, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor,

Maximus ſet up in Spain by Geroncius.

The Britons fall off from the empire.

[s] Zos. p. 829. OROS. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. [w] SOZ. p. 814. GREG. Tur. p. 63. OROS. p. 224. PROSP. ann. 412. [x] OROS. ibid. [y] Zos. l. vi. p. 827.

submit anew to the laws of the empire, as we shall relate hereafter. All the *Armorici*, says *Zosimus*, that is, in the language of the *Gauls*, the maritime people, followed the example of the *Britons*, and, shaking off the *Roman* yoke, gave rise to a new state and government [z], which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved but short-lived. The barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected from the inhabitants of *Gaul*, who had taken arms in their own defence, and acquainted with the distracted state of *Spain*, which was represented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether they could settle there. With this design, the *Vandals*, the *Alans* and *Suevians*, bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they passed without opposition, the guards, who had been placed there by *Geroncius* to defend the narrow passes, either retiring at the approach of such multitudes, or joining them [a]. Thus the barbarians first entered *Spain* in 409, on a *Tuesday*, says *Idatius*, the twenty-eighth of *September*, or the thirteenth of *October* [b]; but in the year 409, the 13th of *October* fell on a *Wednesday*. The passes of the *Pyrenees* being once opened, the barbarians, who had overrun *Gaul*, poured in swarms into *Spain*, and there made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds, defeated the troops which *Constantine* had sent, under the conduct of his son *Constans*, to suppress the rebellion of *Geroncius*, and obliged *Constans* himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* [c]. As for *Geroncius*, they entered into a kind of alliance with him against their common enemy *Constantine* [d]. The barbarians, having no enemy to oppose them, after the retreat of *Constans*, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties; which the reader will find described at length by *Idatius*, who in this very century, was bishop of a city in *Spain* [e]. *Olympiodorus* writes, that the *Romans*, who had taken refuge in some strong-holds, were reduced to the dreadful necessity of feeding upon one another; and adds, that a mother, who had four children, killed and devoured them all; for which unnatural cruelty she was stoned to death by the populace [f]. The barbarians continued their ravages, putting all to fire and sword, till the year 411, when, being absolute masters of the country, they applied themselves to the tilling of the ground, and other works of agriculture, after having divided among themselves

And the Armorici.

The Vandals, Alans *and* Suevians, *enter* Spain.

And overrun the whole country.

[z] Idem ibid. [a] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c 12. p. 814. [b] Idat. chron. [c] Zos. Oros. Greg. Tur. ibid. [d] Phot. c. 80. p. 184. [e] Idat. chron. p. 10, 11. [f] Phot. c. 80. p. 189.

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by lot the *Spaniſh* provinces. In that diviſion *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, the former having *Gonderic* for their king, and the latter *Ermeric*; *Luſitania*, and the province of *Carthagena*, to the *Alans*; *Bætica* to the *Silingi*, who were likewiſe *Vandals*, and are ſuppoſed to have given to their lot the name of *Wandaluſia*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Andaluſia* [g]. Such of the natives as had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter, ſubmitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the goſpels, ſwore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they obſerved ſo religiouſly, that many *Romans* choſe to live in poverty, ſays *Oroſius*, under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire [h]. The inhabitants of *Galicia*, however, maintained their liberty, and formed a new ſtate in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked, but without ſucceſs, by *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, king of the *Suevians* [i]. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt worthy of notice, except a tumult at *Conſtantinople*, where the people, riſing on account of the ſcarcity of bread, burnt the houſe of *Monaxes*, prefect of the city; but the ſenators and other wealthy citizens, having, by voluntary contributions, raiſed a large ſum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practiſed when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled [k].

And divide the Spaniſh *provinces among themſelves.*

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

THE following year 410, when *Varanes* alone was conſul, is remarkable for the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*. *Varanes* began his conſulſhip at *Conſtantinople*; but the weſtern empire, eſpecially the city of *Rome*, was involved in ſuch troubles, that *Honorius* was not at leiſure to think of a conſul. *Attalus*, however, raiſed *Tertullus*, a pagan, to that dignity: but he was acknowledged only by the partizans of the uſurper; whence *Varanes* alone is named conſul in the *faſti* and in the laws, ſome of which are dated thus; *the year after the eighth conſulſhip of* Honorius, *and the third of* Theodoſius [l]. As *Heraclian* continued to keep the ports of *Africa* blocked up, and the lands in *Italy* had not been tilled for ſeveral years, by reaſon of the wars, the *Roman* people were reduced to feed upon cheſnuts; nay, human fleſh was publicly ſold, and ſeveral mothers were ſaid to have devoured their children [m]. This obliged both *Alaric* and *Attalus* to haſten to *Rome*, in order to adviſe with the ſenate

A great famine rages in Rome.

[g] OROS. c. 41. p. 223. IDAT. ISID. chron. [h] OROS. l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. [i] Idem, ibid. [k] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 84. LIB. orat. i. p. 64. Chron. Alex. p. 716. [l] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 156. [m] SOCR. l. ix. p. 810. Zos. l. vi. p. 830.

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about the proper means of ſupplying the city. Moſt part of the ſenators were for ſending into *Africa* a body of *Goths*, *Alaric* engaging, that *Drumas*, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred only; but *Attalus* openly declared, that he would not by any means employ *Goths* in that war; which ſo piqued *Alaric*, who had already begun to look upon *Attalus* as one no-ways qualified for the high ſtation to which he had raiſed him, that he reſolved to depoſe him, leſt, by his obſtinacy and imprudence, he ſhould quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this reſolution by *Jovius*, who perſuaded him, that *Attalus*, ſcorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to deſtroy him. This conduct of *Jovius* had induced ſome writers to believe, that he maintained a private correſpondence with *Honorius*; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray *Attalus* [n]. Be that as it will, *Alaric*, finding the new emperor unequal to ſo great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and miſconduct with reſpect to the affairs of *Africa*, ſent deputies once more to *Honorius*, with very reaſonable terms; which the emperor ſeeming inclined to comply with, *Alaric* publicly ſtripped the mock prince of all the badges of ſovereignty, and ſent them to *Honorius*. He would not, however, deliver up either *Attalus*, or his ſon *Ampelius*; but inſiſted upon their being pardoned, ſince their crime was owing more to him than to them [o]. *Attalus* being thus depoſed, *Alaric* approached *Ravenna*, and ſtopped at a place called the *Alps*, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the laſt hand to the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor [p]. But this peaceable face of affairs was ſoon changed by an unlucky and unforeſeen accident: *Sarus* the *Goth*, of whom we have made frequent mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in *Picenum*, without declaring either for *Honorius* or *Alaric*. However, *Ataulphus*, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, reſolved to deſtroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a ſtrong party againſt him; which obliged him to declare for *Honorius*, and retire to *Ravenna*. *Olympiodorus* writes, that *Alaric* was ſo provoked at the kind reception *Sarus* met with from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms [q]. On the other hand, *Sozomen* tells us, that *Sarus*, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, and put ſome of them to the ſword [r]. However that be, it is certain, that *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and returned

Alaric *ac-cepts* Attalus,

And attempts an accommodation with Honorius.

[n] Philoſt. p. 181. [o] Phot. c. 80 p. 181. Zos. p. 830. [p] Soz. p. 810. Philoſt. l. xii. c. 3. p 533. [q] Soz. p. 809. Zos. p. 831 [r] Phot. p. 180. [r] Soz. p. 811.

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to his army, encamped near *Rome*, as ſoon as *Sarus* had joined the emperor [s], reſtoring the purple, and other badges of majeſty, to *Attalus*; but in a few days degrading him anew, as if he deſigned to traduce and expoſe to ridicule the imperial dignity [t]. *Socrates* writes, that having ſhewed him to the ſoldiery, with all the enſigns of ſovereignty, he expoſed him the very next day to public view in the dreſs of a ſlave [u]. To this was the majeſty of the *Roman* empire now reduced. *Alaric* no ſooner arrived before *Rome*, than he blocked it up on all ſides, and by that means, as proviſions were already very ſcarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmoſt extremity. Some authors, and among the reſt St. *Jerom* [w], write, that it held out a long time; while others ſay, *Alaric* reduced it with ſuch expedition, that *Honorius*, when told by one of his courtiers, that *Rome* was loſt, underſtood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of *Rome* was beſieged [x]. There is likewiſe a diſagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. *Procopius* writes, that *Proba*, an illuſtrious *Roman* matron, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the night-time to the enemy [y]. *Sozomen* ſays it was taken by treachery, without explaining himſelf farther [z]; but *Oroſius* uſes the word *irrumpit* [a], which ſeems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by aſſault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, ſtyled the metropolis of the univerſe, after having triumphed over ſo many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fouth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 410, taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As ſhe had, for the ſpace of one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three years, pillaged the reſt of the world, and enriched herſelf with the ſpoils of the plundered nations, ſhe underwent in the end the ſame fate, and ſuffered in her turn the ſame calamities, which ſhe had brought upon others. *Alaric*, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addreſſing his ſoldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to ſeize it; but, at the ſame time, he ſtrictly injoined them to ſhed the blood of none but ſuch as they ſhould find in arms, and above all to ſpare thoſe who ſhould take ſanctuary in the holy places, eſpecially in the churches of the apoſtles

And Rome *anew beſieged, taken, and plundered.*

Alaric *orders his men to ſpare the lives of the citizens, eſpecially of ſuch as ſhould fly to the churches*

[s] Idem ibid. PHILOST. p. 534. [t] OROS. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224.
[u] SOCR. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346, 347. [w] HIER. ep. 16. p. 121.
[x] PROSP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. p. 180. [y] Idem ibid. [z] SOZ. l. ix. c 9. p. 811. [a] OROS p. 227.

St.

St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which he named, becauſe they were moſt ſpacious, and conſequently capable of affording an aſylum to great numbers of people. Having given theſe orders, he abandoned the city to his *Goths*, who treated it no better, according to St. *Jerom*, than the *Greeks* are ſaid to have treated antient *Troy* [b]; for after having plundered it for the ſpace of three, or, as others will have it, of ſix, days, they ſet fire to it in ſeveral places; ſo that the ſtately palace of *Salluſt*, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to aſhes; nay *Procopius* writes, that there was not in the whole city one houſe left intire [c]; and both St. *Jerom* [d] and *Philoſtorgius* [e], that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to a heap of aſhes and ruins. Though many of the *Goths*, purſuant to the orders of their general, refrained from ſhedding the blood of ſuch as made no reſiſtance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirſty, maſſacred all they met; ſo that the ſtreets in ſome quarters of the city were ſeen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and ſwimming in blood [f]. However, not the leaſt injury was offered to thoſe who had fled to the churches; nay, the *Goths* themſelves conveyed thither, as to places of ſafety, ſuch as they were deſirous ſhould be ſpared [g]. Many of the ſtatues of the gods that had been left intire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occaſion deſtroyed, either by the *Goths*, who, tho' moſtly *Arians*, were zealous chriſtians, or by a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the ſame time upon the city, as if it had been ſent on purpoſe to complete, with them, the deſtruction of idolatry, and aboliſh the ſmall remains of pagan ſuperſtition [h]. The learned biſhop of *Meaux* wrote a famous treatiſe, ſhewing, that the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* may be looked upon as one of the chief myſteries foretold by St. *John* in his revelations [i]. The pagans aſcribed the calamities which *Rome* ſuffered on this occaſion, to its having baniſhed the gods, by whom it had been often protected againſt far more powerful enemies. Theſe calumnies St. *Auſtin* fully confuted in his 81ſt, 105th, and 106th, ſermons, in another intitled *of the deſtruction of the city of* Rome [k], and in his great work *de civitate Dei*, wherein he ſhews, that *Rome* had ſuffered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preſerved by the chriſtian religion from utter deſtruction [l].

The miſerable condition to which the city was reduced.

[b] Hier. ep. 16. p. 121. [c] Procop. p. 179. [d] Hier. ep. 12. p. 100. [e] Philost. p. 534. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Hier. & Soz. ibid. [h] Oros. l. vii. c. 39 p 222. & l. ii. c. 19 p. 164. [i] Explication de l' apocalypſe. [k] Auc. m. p. 546 & Rom. excid. p. 330. [l] Idem de civ. Dei.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the taking of the city by the* Goths, *to the death of* Theodoſius II.

ALARIC, having ſtaid, according to ſome, ſix, according to others, only three, days in *Rome*, retired from thence into *Campania*, carrying with him immenſe wealth, and a great number of captives, among whom was *Placidia*, the ſiſter of *Honorius*, whom he treated with all the reſpect due to her rank and ſex. After he had ravaged and laid waſte *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the country of the *Brutii*, he approached the ſtraights of *Sicily*, with a deſign to paſs over into that iſland, and thence into *Africa*, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpoſe being ſhipwrecked in the ſtraights, he continued in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium*, deliberating what further meaſures he was to take; but before he came to any reſolution, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, which carried him off in a few days [l]. The *Goths* were deeply concerned for the death of their king (for they had given him that title, as we have obſerved above), and fearing the *Romans* ſhould offer ſome indignity to his bones, they turned the courſe of the *Buſento* near *Coſenza* in the *Farther Calabria*; and having buried him, with many rich ſpoils brought from *Rome*, in the bed of the river, they reſtored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the ſlaves they had employed in the work [m]. After this they choſe *Ataulphus* king in his room. He was brother-in-law to the deceaſed prince, who had married his ſiſter. *Jornandes* writes, that he returned to *Rome*, and pillaged that city a ſecond time [n]. But of this ſecond deſtruction of *Rome*, as he ſtyles it, no mention is made by any of the writers who flouriſhed at that time. While the barbarians were thus ravaging *Italy* on one ſide, *Conſtantine*, leaving *Gaul*, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, that he was marching to the aſſiſtance of *Honorius*, tho' his real deſign was to ſtrip him of the few

Alaric retires with the wealth of Rome, *into* Campania.

He dies in the neighbourhood of Rhegium.

Ataulphus *choſen king in his room.*

Conſtantine *invades* Italy,

[l] Oros. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p 347. Philost. l. xii. c. 3. p 534. Aug. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. p. 8. Jorn. rer. Goth. c 30 p. 653. [m] Jorn ibid. [n] Idem, p. 654.

provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as *Verona*; but while he was preparing to pass the *Po*, in order to march to *Ravenna*, and there confer, as he pretended, with the emperor about the most proper measures in the present juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deserved, end of *Alabicus* or *Allobicus*, one of *Honorius*'s generals, whom that prince had caused to be put to death, upon a well-grounded suspicion of his privately corresponding with the usurper [o]. This *Constantine* no sooner understood, than he repassed in great haste the *Alps*, and retired to *Arles*, where he found his son *Constans* driven out of *Spain* by the above-mentioned barbarians. *Geroncius*, who had joined them against him, pursued him into *Gaul*; which obliged *Constantine* to send *Edobicus*, one of his generals, to procure supplies among the *Franks* and *Germans*, and to commit the guard of *Vienne*, and the other cities on the *Rhone*, to his son *Constans*. But *Geroncius*, arriving in the mean time before *Vienne*, took the place; and having put *Constans*, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without opposition to *Arles*, and there closely besieged *Constantine* himself [p]. While the western empire was thus involved in endless calamities, the provinces all over the east enjoyed a profound peace under the wise administration of *Anthemius*; so that nothing remarkable happened there, except the disgrace of one *Andronicus*, governor of the *Pentapolis*, who, by his tyrannical extortions, deserved to be first excommunicated by *Synesius* bishop of *Ptolemais*, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by *Anthemius* from his government [q].

But repasses the Alps *in great haste and retires to* Arles.

Constans *taken, and put to death, by* Geroncius, *who besieges* Constantine *in* Arles.

The following year 411, *Theodosius* alone was the fourth time consul, *Honorius* being diverted, by the troubles in the west, from naming any one to that dignity [r]. This year *Honorius* sent *Constantius*, an officer of great experience and address, and inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into *Gaul*, with what troops he could spare, to make war upon *Constantine*, whom after his entering *Italy*, the emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. *Constantius* was not by birth a barbarian, but a *Roman*; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to *Olympiodorus*, in the city of *Panaisa* in *Illyricum* [s]. *Valesius* supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of *Naissus* in *Dacia*, the birth-place of *Constantine the Great* [t]. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped

Constantius *sent against* Constantine.

His character.

[o] Soz. l. ix c. 12. p. 814. Phot. c. 80. p. 181. Zos. l. v. p. 821. [p] Soz. ibid. Phot. p. 184. Oros. p. 224. [q] Synes. c. 74. p. 220. [r] Idat. Prosp. Cassiod. &c. [s] Phot. c. 80. p. 193. [t] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 107.

in

in his perſon, agreeable in converſation, frank, generous, an enemy to all diſſimulation and reſtraint, diſintereſted, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army, and governing the ſtate [u]. He was no ſooner named for this expedition, than he ſet out at the head of a conſiderable army for *Gaul*; where he was joined upon his firſt arrival by moſt of the troops of *Geroncius*, then buſied in reducing the city of *Arles*, in which was *Conſtantine* himſelf, as we have related above. *Geroncius*, finding himſelf abandoned by his men, raiſed the ſiege in great haſte, and fled into *Spain*, where the few ſoldiers who attended him, provoked at his unſeaſonable ſeverity, attacked him in the houſe where he was lodged; which he defended, tho' aſſiſted only by one friend, and a few ſlaves, with great reſolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the aggreſſors. In the end the ſlaves conſulting their own ſafety, made their eſcape, which *Geroncius* too might have eaſily done, had he been able to prevail upon himſelf to forſake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When he found himſelf overpowered, he reſolved to lay violent hands on himſelf. His wife, by name *Nonnichia*, appriſed of this reſolution, earneſtly intreated him to put her to death rather than ſuffer her to fall into the hands of the incenſed ſoldiery. Moved with her tears, he firſt diſpatched her, then his friend, and laſtly himſelf [w]. It is ſurpriſing, that *Sozomen* ſhould commend this in *Nonnichia*, as an action worthy of the chriſtian religion, which ſhe profeſſed [x]. As for *Maximus*, whom *Geroncius* had ſet up for emperor, as we have related above, he was ſecured by his own men, and brought to *Conſtantius*, who ſtripped him of the enſigns of majeſty, but ſpared his life, looking upon him as a perſon of himſelf inoffenſive, and incapable of giving the leaſt umbrage [y]. He retired into *Spain* amongſt the barbarians, and was ſtill alive when *Oroſius* wrote his hiſtory, that is, in 417 [z]. To return to *Conſtantius*: he purſued the ſiege of *Arles*, which *Geroncius* had begun. *Conſtantine*, who was in the place with his ſecond ſon, by name *Julian*, held out for the ſpace of four months, in expectation of the ſuccours which *Edobicus* was ſent to procure amongſt the *Franks*, and other *German* nations. *Edobicus* arrived at length, at the head of an army far more numerous than that of *Conſtantius*; which ſo terrified the emperor's generals, that they were for abandoning the ſiege, and retiring into *Italy*. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. *Ulphilas* therefore, who

Geroncius raiſes the ſiege of Arles, *and flies into* Spain.

Where he lays violent hands on himſelf.

Maximus *taken; but his life ſpared.*

[u] PHOT. p. 185. OROS. c. 43. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 16. p 817.
[w] OROS. p. 224. Soz. p. 815. PHOT. ibid. [x] Soz. ibid.
[y] OROS. ibid. [z] Idem ibid.

commanded under *Conſtantius*, paſſing the *Rhone* with a ſtrong detachment of foot, concealed himſelf among the woods, till the enemy paſſed, and were ready to engage *Conſtantius*; when falling unexpectedly upon their rear, while *Conſtantius* charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. *Edobicus* fled to the houſe of a *Gauliſh* lord, by name *Ecdices*, who notwithſtanding the many favours he had received at his hands, ſtruck off his head, and carried it to *Conſtantius*, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that inſtant, leſt his preſence ſhould draw down from heaven ſome misfortune upon the whole army [a].

The Germans *coming to the aſſiſtance of* Conſtantine *defeated.*

Conſtantius returned without loſs of time before *Arles*, which ſtill held out with great obſtinacy, till news being brought to the *Roman* camp, that *Jovinus*, having uſurped the imperial title in *Farther Gaul*, was advancing full march to *Arles*, at the head of a formidable army, conſiſting of *Alemans*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and *Alans*, with a deſign to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, *Conſtantius* thought it adviſeable to comply with the terms which had been propoſed before by the beſieged, but rejected by him, *viz.* to grant a general indemnity, and to promiſe upon oath, that the lives of *Conſtantine* and *Julian* ſhould be ſpared. Hereupon the gates were opened, and the victorious army received into the town. *Conſtantine* had ſome time before diveſted himſelf of the purple, and taking ſanctuary in a church, cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt, thinking that character would ſcreen him from the emperor's juſt reſentment. *Conſtantius* nevertheleſs cauſed both him and his ſon to be ſecured, and ſent into *Italy*, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from *Ravenna* [b]. *Honorius* would not grant them their lives, becauſe they had put to death his two couſins *Didymius* and *Verinianus*; but as they had been promiſed indemnity by his lieutenant, the chriſtian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the ſame time that *Conſtantine* diveſted himſelf of the purple, *Jovinus*, or, as he is ſtyled by *Sozomen* and *Philoſtorgius*, *Jovianus*, aſſumed it at *Mundiacum*, ſays *Olympiodorus* [c]; which ſome take to be *Mentz*. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Gaul*, and is ſaid to have cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at the inſtigation of *Goar* king of the *Alans*, and *Guntarius*, or *Gondicarius*, prince of the *Burgundians* [d]. It appears from his medals, that he made him-

Arles *ſurrendered to* Conſtantius.

Conſtantine *and his ſon beheaded.*

Jovinus *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

[a] Idem, p. 223. Prior. c. 80. p. 184. Greg. Tur hiſt. Franc. l. ii c. 9. p. 65. Soz. l. ix. c 14. p. 815 [b] Prior. Soz. Greg. Tur. ibid. [c] Prior. c 80. [d] Soz. p. 816, 817. Oros. p. 228. Prior p. 184.

ſelf

ſelf maſter of *Treves*[e]; but his reign was ſhort-lived, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the eaſt, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was diſturbed this year by the *Auſurians*, a *Mooriſh* nation, who, breaking into the *Pentapolis*, laid waſte that province; but were ſoon driven out by *Anyſius*, who had ſucceeded *Andronicus* in that government. The *Saracens* likewiſe committed great diſorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, but retired of their own accord.

The Goths *leave* Italy, *and break into* Gaul.

THE following year 412, when *Honorius* was conſul the ninth time, and *Theodoſius* the fifth, the *Goths* at length left *Italy*, either in virtue of a treaty between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus* their new king, as *Jornandes* ſeems to ſuppoſe[f], or becauſe they had already quite drained that country of its wealth, which, from the ſequel of the hiſtory, appears more probable. However that be, quitting *Italy*, they broke into *Gaul*, ravaging the countries through which they paſſed. Upon their arrival in that province, *Attalus*, whom *Ataulphus* had brought thither with him, adviſed the *Goth* to join *Jovinus* againſt *Honorius*, and divide *Gaul* between them. *Ataulphus* and *Jovinus* met upon that propoſal; but all we know of their interview is, that *Jovinus* was not at all pleaſed to ſee *Ataulphus* and his *Goths* in *Gaul*[g]. *Sarus*, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from *Honorius*, becauſe he refuſed to puniſh the authors of the murder of one of his officers, by name *Bellerid*, was going into *Gaul*, to offer his ſervice to *Jovinus*; which coming to the ears of *Ataulphus*, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him at the head of a thouſand men. *Sarus*, though attended only by twenty perſons, defended himſelf with ſuch reſolution, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the enemy. *Ataulphus* cauſed him ſoon after to be put to death; which, as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a miſunderſtanding between *Jovinus* and *Ataulphus*. *Jovinus* ſoon after took his brother *Sebaſtian* for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of *Ataulphus*, who was ſo provoked at his promotion, that he diſpatched privately deputies to *Honorius*, offering to reſtore to him his ſiſter *Placidia*, and to ſend him the heads of the two uſurpers, provided he would ſupply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor having readily complied with his demand, *Ataulphus* ſoon found an opportunity of diſpatching *Sebaſtian*; but *Jovinus*, upon the news of his death, fled to *Valence*, where he was cloſely beſieged, and in the end forced to ſubmit to *Ataulphus*, who delivered him

Sarus *taken priſoner by* Ataulphus, *and put to death.*

[e] SYNES. cataſt. p. 299. & ep. 78. p. 223, 224. [f] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 653. [g] OROS. p. 224. PHOT. ibid.

up

Jovinus is taken, and put to death.

up to *Dardanus*, prefect of *Gaul*, by whose orders he was put to death at *Narbonne* [h]. *Idatius* ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the generals of *Honorius*, who had perhaps joined *Ataulphus*. *Dardanus*, at this time prefect of *Gaul*, is highly commended by St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin*, who wrote several letters to him; but *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who is likewise honoured with the title of *saint*, paints him as a person of a most infamous character, in whom centred all the vices of the three usurpers *Constantine*, *Jovinus*, and *Geroncius* [i] (O). This year *Theodosius*, or rather *Anthemius*, caused the walls of all the frontier towns of *Illyricum* to be repaired [k].

Heraclianus *revolts in* Africa.

The next consuls were *Lucius* and *Heraclianus*: but the name of the latter was erased out of the *fasti*; for he revolted this very year from *Honorius*, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Africa*, which he had with so much bravery defended against *Attalus*, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, according to some, of three thousand seven hundred, according to others, if there is no mistake in the numbers [l]. *Orosius* writes, that his fleet was more numerous than those of *Xerxes*, of *Alexander*, or any other monarch mentioned in history [m]. With this formidable armada he sailed from *Africa*, and landing safe in *Italy*, marched strait to *Rome*, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count *Marinus* marching out to meet him, at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to flight, and hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to *Carthage*. Upon his flight, his men immediately submitted, and were received into favour by *Honorius*, who soon after published a law, dated the fifth of *July*, and addressed to the people of *Africa*, wherein he declared *Heraclianus* a

Lands in Italy; *but, seized with a sudden panic, returns to* Africa.

[h] Oros, ibid. Phot. p. 184. Soz. l. ix. c. 15. p. 817. [i] Sid. l. v. ep. 9 p. 139. [k] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 29. p. 322. [l] Marc. chron. [m] Oros. p. 224.

(O) From an antient inscription discovered near *Sisteron* in *Provence*, it appears, that *Dardanus*, or *Claudius Posthumius Dardanus*, as he is styled there, had been governor of *Vienne*, and its territory, prefect of *Gaul*, quæstor, and in the end raised to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was *Nevia Galla*; and that his brother, *Claudius Lepidus*, who is distinguished in the inscription with the title of *count*, had been governor of *Germania Prima*, and treasurer. This inscription was made in honour of *Dardanus*, and his wife *Galla*, for having built a castle on a steep rock which stood on their estate, that the country-people, in the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a safe place to retire to with their families and effects. This castle was then called *Theopolis*; but is known at present by the name of *Rochetaillée*.

public

public enemy, and impowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, where-ever they found him [n]. He was, soon after his return to *Carthage*, discovered by some soldiers in an antient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces [o]. His estate was confiscated, and bestowed upon *Constantius* [p]. The same year the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, set fire to the city of *Treves*, and laid waste the neighbouring country [q]. The *Burgundians*, who had entered *Gaul* in 407, with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, made themselves this year masters of the country now known by the name of *Alsace*, or *Alsatia*. *Constantius*, who had reduced the rest of *Gaul* after the death of the two usurpers *Constantine* and *Jovinus*, marched against them; but they demanding leave to settle in *Gaul*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, the *Roman* general, not caring to reduce them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered [r]. Such was the rise of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Gondicarius* or *Guntiarius*. *Socrates* commends them as a peaceable people, for the most part artificers, and willing to earn a livelihood with labour [s]. *Orosius* writes, that in 417, they had all embraced already the christian religion, and the catholic faith, and treated the *Gauls*, who lived under them, not as their vassals, but their friends [t]. About the year 440, the heresy of *Arius* began to prevail among them [u], which was probably owing to their intercourse with the *Goths*. *Ataulphus* had promised, as we have observed above, to restore to *Honorius* his sister *Placidia*, taken prisoner in *Rome*, but treated by him, as she had been by *Alaric*, with the utmost respect. *Constantius*, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually pressing *Ataulphus* to comply with this article; but as *Honorius* had not yet sent to the *Goths* the corn he had promised them, *Ataulphus*, who desired to marry *Placidia* himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promise, which he was not at that time in a condition to do: however, the *Romans* promised to send the corn as soon as *Placidia* was restored; and *Ataulphus* to restore *Placidia* as soon as the corn was sent [*]. After matters had continued for some time in this situation, *Ataulphus*, at last thinking himself deluded by the *Romans*, began hostilities anew; and, having reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*, advanced as far as

Where he is discovered, and cut in pieces by the soldiery.

The Burgundians *allowed to settle in* Gaul.

Ataulphus *makes himself master of* Narbonne *and* Toulouse.

[n] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 21. p. 320. [o] Oros. ibid. IDAT. chron. [p] PHOT. c. 80. p. 185. [q] GREG Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. [r] OROS. c 43. p. 224. VAL. p. 136 BUCH. de Belg p. 440. COINT. annal. eccles. Fran. ann. 407. [s] SOCR. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371. [t] OROS. p. 219. [u] SOCR p. 372. [*] PHOT. c. 80. p. 185.

Marseilles;

Marſeilles; but met there with ſuch vigorous reſiſtance from count *Bonifacius*, that he was forced to abandon the enterpriſe and retire, after having loſt great numbers of his men, and been himſelf wounded. From *Marſeilles* he bent his march to *Bourdeaux*, where he was received as a friend *. In the eaſt, one *Lucius*, a pagan who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young *Theodoſius* in extirpating idolatry, reſolved to ſave it from utter ruin by aſſaſſinating his prince. With this deſign he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his ſword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpoſe by a woman of an extraordinary ſtature, and a threatening aſpect, who, as often as he put his hand to his ſword, appeared to him holding the emperor in her arms. Thus *Damaſcus*, a pagan writer, who flouriſhed about the latter end of the preſent century. *Photius*, who copied it from him, calls it a moſt remarkable event, and not to be queſtioned, ſince related by a pagan writer [w], but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other hiſtorian. This year the city of *Conſtantinople* was ſurrounded with the walls, which *Socrates* ſtyles *the great walls* [x]. Thoſe which had been built by *Conſtantine the Great* were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, completed in two months [y]. But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of *Nicephorus*, an hiſtorian not much to be relied on. It was called *the new wall*, and the wall of *Theodoſius* [z]. The emperor publiſhed this year ſeveral laws againſt the *Re-baptizers*, the *Eunomians*, the *Sabbatians*, and the *Protopaſchites*, that is, againſt thoſe, who, in the celebration of *Eaſter*, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore ſtyled themſelves *Protopaſchites*, as if they followed the primitive practice and inſtitution.

Lucius *attempts upon the life of* Theodoſius

Conſtantinople *ſurrounded with new walls.*

The next conſuls were *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, both generals, the former in the weſt, and the latter in the eaſt. This year the negotiations between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus*, interrupted by the taking of *Narbonne* and *Toulouſe*, were reſumed. But the more the *Goth* was preſſed by *Conſtantius* to ſend back *Placidia*, the higher he raiſed his demands, that, the emperor refuſing to comply with them, he might have a more plauſible excuſe for detaining her. In the end, by means of one *Candidianus*, he prevailed upon her to marry him, and the nuptials were celebrated at *Narbonne*, in the month of *January* of this year 414, with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity. *Placidia* ap-

Ataulphus *marries* Placidia.

* Rutil. l. i. p. 137. Phot. p. 185. Val. ibid. p. 115. Hier. ep. xi. p. 93. [w] Phot. c. 242. p. 1072. [x] Socr. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. [y] Niceph. l. xiv. c. 1. p. 438. [z] Cange de Conſt. p. 53—56.

peared

peared on that occaſion ſitting on a bed of ſtate, and *Ataulphus* in the *Roman* dreſs. He yielded to the royal bride the moſt honourable place, and preſented her with fifty baſons filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, part of the ſpoils brought from *Rome*. *Attalus* aſſiſted at the ceremony, and ſung the *epithalamium* or nuptial ſong [a]; a degrading function for one who had been veſted with the imperial dignity. This marriage was generally looked upon as an accompliſhment of *Daniel*'s prophecy, that the king of the north ſhould marry the daughter of the king of the ſouth [b] (P). *Honorius* did not, it ſeems, conſent to this marriage; for ſoon after *Ataulphus* obliged *Attalus* to reſume the purple, and cauſed him to be acknowledged emperor by his *Goths*. However, he wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to conclude a laſting peace with *Honorius*, and ſeems to have ſet up *Attalus* anew, with no other deſign but to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him and his *Goths* more favourable terms [c]. *Oroſius* writes, that at firſt he had nothing leſs in view than the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire, and the eſtabliſhing the empire of the *Goths* in its room; of giving the name of *Gothia* to that country, which was then called *Romania*; and founding ſuch a monarchy among his countrymen as *Auguſtus Cæſar* had introduced among the *Romans*: but being by long experience convinced, that the *Goths* were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to reſtore, inſtead of deſtroying, the *Roman* empire; and with this view he courted the friendſhip of *Honorius*, eſpecially after he had by *Placidia* a ſon to whom he gave the name of *Theodoſius* [d]. But *Conſtantius*, and his party at court, defeated all the meaſures taken by *Ataulphus* and *Placidia* to

He obliges Attalus *to reſume the purple.*

[a] OLYMP. apud Phot. p. 188. IDAT. chron. [b] IDAT. ibid.
[c] OLYMP. ibid. [d] OROS. l. vii. c. 43. p. 224.

(P) At *St Gille* in *Languedoc* was found an inſcription made by the neighbouring people in honour of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, their princes and ſovereigns, as they are ſtyled, for having choſen *Heraclea*, that is, according to ſome, the preſent *St. Gille*, for the place of their reſidence (1). In this inſcription, which both *Spon* and *du Cange* look upon as genuine, *Ataulphus* is ſtyled *the moſt powerful king of kings*, and *the moſt juſt conqueror of conquerors*: he is likewiſe commended for having driven out the *Vandals*, probably ſome of that nation, who had remained in *Gaul*. *Placidia* is ſtyled *Cæſarea*, as if ſhe had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the *Cæſars*.

(1) *Spon.* p. 157.

bring about an accommodation: they would not ſuffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reaſonable; ſo that the war being renewed, *Ataulphus* was in the end obliged to quit *Gaul*, and retire into *Spain* [e]. *Valeſius* is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and *Conſtantius* [f]; but the expreſſion of *Oroſius*, that *he was forced to quit* Gaul, ſeems to import, that he was driven out by force [g]. *Honorius* publiſhed a law this year, dated the twenty-third of *March*, forbidding any one to moleſt ſuch as ſhould take ſanctuary in churches, on pain of being proſecuted and puniſhed as guilty of high treaſon [h]. The law dated the twentieth of *May* allows every one full liberty to kill ſuch lions as they ſhould find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and ſell them. Theſe lions were kept for the public ſhows; but *the intereſt of our people*, ſays the emperor in that law, *muſt be preferred to our diverſion* [i].

Ataulphus obliged to quit Gaul, *and retire into* Spain.

While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, *Pulcheria*, ſiſter to the emperor *Theodoſius*, being declared *Auguſta* in the eaſt, on account of her extraordinary wiſdom and piety, took upon her the adminiſtration, *Athemius* thinking her better qualified for it than himſelf, though ſhe had juſt then entered only the ſixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as ſhe was endowed with moſt extraordinary parts, and eminent for piety, her adminiſtration proved equally advantageous to the ſtate and the church. *Theodoſius* II. excelled perhaps in piety and religion even his grandfather *Theodoſius the Great*, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care *Pulcheria* took in inſpiring him with thoſe religious maxims, by which ſhe ruled her own actions [k]. In the very beginning of her adminiſtration, ſhe perſuaded the young prince to diſmiſs the eunuch *Antiochus*, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368, to 407 [l].

Pulcheria is declared Auguſta, *and takes upon her the adminiſtration in the eaſt.*

The following year, when *Honorius* was conſul the tenth time, and *Theodoſius* the third, *Theodoſius* the ſon of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, died in *Spain*, whither his father had retired with his *Goths*; and was buried in a ſilver coffin near *Barcelona*, in a place of prayer, ſays *Olympiodorus* [m], that is, in a church. *Ataulphus* himſelf did not long ſurvive him; for he

[e] Olymp. ibid. p. 184. [f] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii p. 110. [g] Oros. ibid. [h] Cod. Juſt l. i tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 107. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392. [k] Soz. p. 800. [l] Theoph. p. 70. Isid. Peluſ. l. i. ep. 36. p. 11. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28 p. 203. [m] Olym. apud Phot. p. 88.

was

was killed this very year at *Barcelona*, in the month of *August* or *September*, ſince the news of his death was brought to *Conſtantinople* on a *Friday* the twenty-fourth of the latter month [n]. He was ſtabbed in his ſtable by one of his own countrymen and domeſtics, named *Dobbius*, whoſe former maſter, a leading man among the *Goths*, *Ataulphus* had cauſed to be murdered ſeveral years before [o]. *Jornandes* ſuppoſes him to have waged a long war with the *Vandals* in *Spain*, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by one *Vernulphus*, whoſe former maſter *Ataulphus* had murdered [p]. But in what relates to *Ataulphus*, we have all along followed *Olympiodorus*, a contemporary hiſtorian, who, generally ſpeaking, agrees with the other writers of thoſe times. *Photius* has tranſmitted to us an abſtract of his work. We are ſurpriſed, that *Giannone*, in his hiſtory of the kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould to his authority prefer that of *Jornandes*, a writer of a much later date, who ſeldom agrees with other hiſtorians, and often diſagrees with himſelf. *Ataulphus*, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our hiſtorian, to ſend back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and to live in friendſhip with them [q]. But the *Goths*, inſtead of his brother, choſe for their king *Sigeric*, the brother of *Sarus*, who immediately ordered the ſix children that *Ataulphus* had had by a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging, by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother [r]. He even obliged *Placidia* to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was aſſaſſinated by his own people the ſeventh day after his election [s], and *Vallia* choſen in his room, after he had cauſed all thoſe to be murdered who ſtood in competition with him for the crown [t]. This year a great tumult happened at *Alexandria*; the chriſtians and *Jews*, who were very numerous in that city, quarrelling on account of certain ſports exhibited on a *Saturday*. St. *Cyril*, biſhop of the place, threatened to drive the *Jews* out of the city, which exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to vent their rage upon his whole flock, the more becauſe they were favoured by *Oreſtes*, prefect of the city, then at variance with the biſhop. Accordingly having provided themſelves with arms, ſome of them in the dead of the night began to cry *fire*, giving out at the ſame time, that the great church was in flames. Hereupon, the chriſtians, haſtening out of their houſes to ſave the church, were maſſacred in great numbers by the *Jews*, who lay in ambuſh for them,

Ataulphus murdered in Spain.

He is ſucceeded by Sigeric, *who cauſes all his children to be murdered, and is murdered himſelf.*

A great tumult at Alexandria *between the chriſtians and* Jews.

[n] Idem ibid. PHILOSTORG. l. xii. c. 4. d. 534. [o] Idem ibid. [p] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655. [q] OLYMP. apud. Phot. p. 188. [r] Idem ibid. OROS. p. 224. SOZ l ix. c 9. p. 811. [s] OLYMP. ibid. OROS. p. 224. [t] OROS. ibid. PROSP. chron.

and knew one another by a certain mark or badge, which they wore for that purpoſe. The biſhop, highly provoked at this barbarity, drove all the *Jews* out of the city; which the governor reſenting, as an encroachment upon his authority, the breach between him and the biſhop was widened, and they both wrote to court, complaining of each other's conduct. In the mean time, the hermits or monks, who led a retired life on the neighbouring mountains, being told, that *Oreſtes* had eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Jews* againſt *Cyril* and the chriſtians, flew to the city, and meeting the prefect in his chariot, reviled him with the names of pagan and idolater. *Oreſtes*, to appeaſe them, told them, that he was a chriſtian, and had been baptized by *Atticus*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. But while he was yet ſpeaking, one of the monks, by name *Ammonius*, wounded him on the head with a ſtone. His attendants, believing him killed, for he was in an inſtant covered all over with blood, betook themſelves to flight; but ſome of the citizens, coming to his reſcue, ſeized the monk, and delivered him up to the prefect, who cauſed him to be tortured till he died on the rack. The populace reſolved to revenge his death, which they did in the following manner, to the great ſcandal of the chriſtian name and profeſſion. At that time lived in *Alexandria*, *Hypatia*, the daughter of the celebrated philoſopher *Theon*, who had been brought up and inſtructed by her father with extraordinary care, and was thought to excel in learning and quickneſs of apprehenſion all the philoſophers of that age. She was thoroughly acquainted with the different doctrines of the various ſects of philoſophers, and publicly explained them to an incredible number of diſciples, who flocked from all parts to hear her. She was no leſs remarkable for her chaſtity and modeſt carriage, though her friendſhip was courted by all the great men of her age, than for her knowledge and erudition. As ſhe was in great favour and eſteem with the prefect *Oreſtes*, the populace, partly to revenge the death of *Ammonius*, and partly becauſe they imagined, as ſhe was a pagan, that ſhe incenſed the prefect againſt the biſhop and his friends, roſe ſuddenly in a tumultuous manner, and being headed by one *Peter*, a reader in a church, they ſtopped her as ſhe was returning to her houſe, and pulling her out of her chariot, dragged her to a neighbouring church, where they flayed her alive, and tearing her in pieces, carried her mangled members to a place called *Cinaron*, and there burnt them to aſhes. This unheard-of barbarity reflected great ſcandal on the chriſtian name, eſpecially on the church of *Alexandria*. Thus *Socrates* [a], whoſe authority is queſtioned by

The celebrated Hypatia inhumanly murdered by the chriſtians.

[a] Socr. l. vii. c. 13.

moſt

moſt eccleſiaſtic writers, who ſuppoſe him to have been a zealous *Novatian*, and conſequently an enemy to St. *Cyril*, who, upon his firſt coming to the ſee of *Alexandria*, had cauſed the penal laws againſt thoſe and all other ſectaries to be ſtrictly executed. This year, *Theodoſius*, by a law dated the ſeventh of *December*, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military [w]. By another law, dated the nineteenth of *October*, he depoſed *Gamaliel*, patriarch of the *Jews*, for having abuſed his authority [x]. *Gamaliel* is ſuppoſed to have been the laſt patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates choſen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

The pagans excluded from all employments both civil and military.

THE next conſuls were *Theodoſius*, the ſeventh time, and *Junius Quartus Palladius*, who was prefect of *Italy* this and the five following years [y]. *Vallia*, lately created king of the *Goths* in *Spain*, reſolved to purſue the war againſt the *Romans*, and attempt the reduction of *Africa*; but the fleet he was ſending thither being ſhipwrecked near the ſtraights of *Gibraltar*, and moſt of the *Goths* on board of it drowned, he entered into a treaty with *Conſtantius*, and in the end concluded a peace with *Honorius*, delivered up hoſtages, and, upon his receiving ſix hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, ſent back *Placidia* to her brother [z]. *Vallia* not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans* againſt the barbarians, who had ſettled in *Spain*, adviſing the emperor to let them fight it out among themſelves, ſince whatever ſide prevailed, he was ſure to be a gainer [a]. This advice *Honorius* followed, to the great advantage and relief of the empire, as we ſhall ſee anon. *Attalus*, whom the *Goths* had carried with them into *Spain*, ſeeing a peace concluded between them and the *Romans*, endeavoured to make his eſcape by ſea; but the ſhip was taken, and he carried to *Conſtantius*, then in *Gaul*, who ſent him to the emperor, by whoſe orders his right hand, or, as others will have it, only the fingers of his right hand, were cut off, to prevent his writing, and he confined to the iſland of *Lipari*, where the good-natured emperor cauſed him to be treated with great humanity [c]. This year, *Theodoſius*, leaving *Conſtantinople* for the firſt time after the twenty-ſecond of *July*, retired to *Eudoxiopolis*, called formerly *Selymbria*, on the ſea-coaſt between *Conſtantinople* and *Heraclea*, and continued partly there, partly at *Heraclea*, till the twenty-ninth of

Vallia, *king of the* Goths *in* Spain, *concludes a peace with* Honorius.

Attalus *taken and confined to the iſland of* Lipari.

[w] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit 10. leg. 21. p. 293. [x] Idem, tit. 8 leg. 22. p. 239 [y] IDAT. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 376. [z] OROS p. 224. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. OLYMP. ibid. p. 189 [a] OROS. ibid. [c] OLYMP. PHILOST. OROS. ibid.

September.

September [d]. The following year 417, when *Honorius* was conſul the eleventh time, and *Conſtantius* the ſecond, the emperor, to reward the ſervices of that brave general, gave him in marriage his ſiſter *Placidia*, an honour at which he had been long aſpiring. *Placidia* could not by any means be prevailed upon to give her conſent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it in ſpite of her to *Conſtantius* [e]. They were thus married on the firſt of *January* of the preſent year, when *Conſtantius* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip. A few months after, *Honorius*, leaving *Ravenna*, repaired to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, cauſing *Attalus*, brought for that purpoſe from *Lipari*, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, *Attalus* was remanded to the place of his exile, and *Honorius* returned ſoon after to *Ravenna* [f]. The *Armorici*, who had revolted in 409, and introduced a new form of government among themſelves, were this year brought again under ſubjection by *Conſtantius* [g]. About this time the *Franks*, after having dwelt for the ſpace of near two hundred years on the *German* ſide of the *Rhine*, were allowed to paſs that river, and ſettle in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons [h]. But whether *Faramond*, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, or was only more powerful than the reſt, is what we are no where told. He was the ſon of *Marcomir*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere [i], and the grandſon of *Priamus*, whom *Tiro Proſper* calls the firſt king of the *Franks* mentioned in hiſtory [k]. In the eaſt nothing remarkable happened this year beſides an earthquake, which overturned ſeveral houſes at *Conſtantinople*, and the city of *Cybyra* in *Phrygia* [l].

Placidia *married to* Conſtantius.

The Franks *allowed to ſettle in* Thongria.

Vallia *gains great advantages over the* Vandals *in* Spain.

THE following year, *Honorius* being conſul the twelfth time, and *Theodoſius* the eighth, *Vallia*, making war upon the barbarians in *Spain*, cut off all the *Vandals* called *Silingi*, who had ſettled in *Bætica* or *Andaluſia*. He likewiſe made ſuch a dreadful havock of the *Alans*, who had hitherto ruled over the *Vandals* and *Sucvians*, that their king *Ata* being killed among the reſt, they fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals* who had ſettled in *Galicia*, and ſubmitted to him. Hence the ſucceſſors of *Gonderic* uſed to ſtyle themſelves kings of the *Vandals* and *Alans* [m]. *Conſtantius*, to reward theſe eminent

[d] Socr. l. vii. c. 36. p. 381. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 163. [e] Olymp. p. 462. [f] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 164. [g] Rut. l. i. p. 132. [h] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 3. p 64. Buch. de Belg. p. 453. Cluent. tom. i. p. 44. [i] See before p. 7. [k] Prosp. chron. [l] Chron. Al. p. 718. [m] Idat. chron. Sid. Apoll. l. v. p. 140.

ſervices

ſervices of *Vallia* and his *Goths*, gave them *Aquitania Secunda*, compriſing the preſent archbiſhoprick of *Bourdeaux*, and ſome neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from *Toulouſe* to the ſea, to which he added ſoon after *Novempopulania* or *Aquitania Tertia*, that is, the province of *Auch*, and *Gaſcony*. *Vallia* fixed his reſidence at *Toulouſe*, which by that means became the capital of the kingdom of the *Goths* [n]. *Vallia* on the other hand yielded to the *Romans* the countries he had taken from the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Spain* [o]. He died ſoon after, leaving behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom ſhe had *Ricimer*, who completed the ruin of the weſtern empire. The deceaſed prince was ſucceeded by *Theodoric*, called by ſome *Theodorus*, and by others *Theodorides* [p]. In the eaſt one *Plintha*, by nation a *Goth*, revolted, but was defeated in *Paleſtine* [q]; which is all we know of this war. *Plintha*, notwithſtanding his defeat, muſt have concluded an advantageous peace with *Theodoſius*; for he was raiſed the following year to the conſular dignity, and preferred to the poſt of general of the *Roman* horſe and foot, in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation and fidelity [r]. In the conſulſhip he had *Monaxius* for his collegue, another of *Theodoſius*'s officers; ſo that both conſuls were in 419, ſubjects of the eaſtern empire, as they had been in 417, of the weſtern. Of the two conſuls, one was, generally ſpeaking, choſen in the eaſt, the other in the weſt; and he named the firſt, who was firſt in rank: if they were equal, each named in the firſt place his own conſul. This year *Honorius*, by a law dated from *Ravenna* the twenty-ſecond of *November*, extended the right and privileges of an aſylum to all places withing fifty paces of the church, declaring thoſe guilty of ſacrilege, who ſhould arreſt any one within that ſpace [s]. On the ſecond or third of *July* of this year, *Placidia* was delivered at *Ravenna* of a ſon, who was named *Valentinian*, and ſucceeded *Honorius* in the empire [t]. The barbarians in *Spain* being no longer harraſſed by the *Goths*, who had retired to *Gaul*, as we have related above, and ſettled there, began to quarrel among themſelves. *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, having gained great advantages over *Eremeric*, king of the *Suevians*, obliged him in the end to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biſcay*, where he kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, *Aſterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Maurocelus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut great num-

Vallia and his Goths allowed to ſettle in Aquitain.

He dies, and is ſucceeded by Theodoric.

Valentinian III. *born.*

[n] IDAT. PROSP. chron. [o] JORN. c. 33. p. 658. IDAT p 32, 33. [p] JOHN. p. 659. OLYMP. p. 193. [q] PHILOST. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166. [r] SOCR. l. v. c. 23. p. 292. [s] Cod. Theod p. 35. [t] IDAT. MARC. PROSP. OLYMP. p. 192. CANGE Byz. fam. p. 66, 67.

bers

Gonderic, *king of the* Vandals, *driven by the* Romans *out of* Biſcay *and* Galicia, *retires into* Andaluſia.

bers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon *Biſcay* and *Galicia*, and retire into *Bætica* [u]. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt, which hiſtorians have thought worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of *Aetius*, prefect of *Conſtantinople*, who was attacked by an aſſaſſin, named *Caryachus*, as he was returning from the great church [w]. We are not told what gave occaſion to this attempt, nor what became of the aſſaſſin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of *September*, *Theodoſius* declared thoſe guilty of death, who ſhould teach the barbarians the art of building ſhips, to which they were yet ſtrangers [x]. The following year, when *Theodoſius* was conſul the eighth time, and *Conſtantius* the third, the army mutinied in the eaſt, and put to death their general, by name *Maximinus*, as we read in the chronicle of *Marcellinus*: but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer. In the weſt nothing remarkable happened this year; but under the following conſuls *Agricola* and *Euſtatius*, the emperor *Honorius*, on the eighth of *February*, raiſed *Conſtantius* to the imperial dignity, declared him his colleague, and gave the title of *Auguſta* to his wife *Placidia* [y]. The images of *Conſtantius* and *Placidia* were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, with the news of their promotion; but *Theodoſius* refuſed, for what reaſon we know not, to acknowledge them; which would have kindled a war between the two empires, had not *Conſtantius* died ſoon after, that is, on the ſecond of *September*, after having reigned ſeven months wanting ſix days. He was buried at *Ravenna*, where he died of a pleuriſy, in a mauſoleum, built by his widow *Placidia*, near the church of St. *Vitalis* [z]. The ſame year the emperor *Theodoſius* married *Eudocia* on the ſeventh of *June*, on which occaſion there were great rejoicings at *Conſtantinople* [a]. *Euodocia* was the daughter of an *Athenian* philoſopher, by name *Heraclitus*, upon whoſe death her two brothers *Geſius* and *Aurelianus* defrauding her of the ſhare that was due to her of her father's eſtate, ſhe went to *Conſtaninople* to implore the protection of *Pulcheria*. As ſhe had been inſtructed by her father with extraordinary care in ſeveral languages, and in every branch of literature, and was beſides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, *Pulcheria*, after ſeveral conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother *Theodoſius*, whom accordingly ſhe perſuaded to marry her. Thus the modern *Greeks*; but the antient

Conſtantius *is raiſed to the empire, but dies ſoon after.*

Theodoſius *marries* Eudocia.

[u] Idat. chron. p. 192. Mar. chron. p. 193. Idat. chron. p 724.
[w] Chron. Al. p. 720.
[x] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 40. leg. 24. p. 322.
[y] Theoph. p. 72. Olymp. p. 537. Olymp. Mabil. it. Ital. p. 39, 40.
[z] Philost. l. xii. c. 12.
[a] Chron. Al.

writers

writers tell, that ſhe was the daughter, not of the philoſopher *Heraclitus*, but of *Leontius*, an *Athenian* ſophiſt, or profeſſor of eloquence at *Athens* [b]. Before the nuptials were celebrated, *Theodoſius* cauſed her to be baptized by *Atticus*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who changed the name of *Athenais*, which ſhe bore before, into that of *Eudocia* [c]. As *Eudocia* had been brought up to letters, ſhe uſed to divert herſelf with making verſes, and this very year ſhe compoſed a poem on the victory gained by the *Romans* over the *Perſians* [d], of which anon (Q). The two brothers of *Eudocia*, informed of her good fortune, and conſcious to themſelves of their behaviour towards her, abſconded; but ſhe, inſtead of reſenting the injury they had done her, invited them both to court, and raiſed them to great preferments [e]. What *Codinus*, a modern *Greek* author, writes of the ſeven philoſophers, who, he ſays, attended *Eudocia* to *Conſtantinople*, has the air of a fable [f]. This year the peace, which had long ſubſiſted between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occaſion. *Vararanes* V. who in 420, had ſucceeded his father *Iſdegerdes* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, having, at the inſtigation of the *Magi*,

War between the Perſians *and* Romans.

[b] SOCR. l. vii. p. 360 [c] EVAG. l. i. c. 20. p. 297. [d] SOCR. l. vii. c. 21. p. 360. [e] ZONAR. p. 44. Chron. Al. p. 724. [f] Vide CODIN. de off. Conſtantin. eccleſ. p. 30, 31.

(Q) She likewiſe put into hexameter verſe the five books of *Moſes*, with thoſe of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, and of *Ruth*. This performance, which conſiſted of eight books, is highly commended by *Photius*, as is likewiſe the paraphraſe, which the ſame princeſs wrote in verſe upon the prophecies of *Zechariah* and *Daniel*, and *Photius* found with a poem on St. *Cyprian* and St. *Juſtin*, done without all doubt, ſays that writer, by the ſame hand (3). The reader will find in *Photius* a long abſtract of that poem (4). *Zonaras* mentions another work of the ſame empreſs, which he calls *Homer*'s *rhapſody*. It contained the hiſtory of our Saviour, and intirely conſiſted of verſes borrowed from *Homer*. It was begun by a patrician, ſays *Zonaras*, but ended by *Eudocia* (5). Some take this patrician to have been one *Pelagius*, who was killed in the reign of *Zeno*, about the year 480, and is ſaid to have been the author of a rhapſody (6). But he was a pagan as appears from *Cedrenus* (7); and conſequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work, or any part of it.

(3) *Phot. c.* 183. *p.* 413—416. (4) *Idem, p.* 420. (5) *Zon. tom.* iii. *p.* 37. *Cange Byz. fam. p.* 71. (6) *Voſſ. poet. Greec. p.* 78. (7) *Cedr. p.* 354.

raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt the chriſtians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the *Roman* territotories, and repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where they were received with great kindneſs by *Atticus*, biſhop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor: who was ſo far from delivering them up, when redemanded by the *Perſian* embaſſadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his reſolution of defending them, and the religion they profeſſed, with the whole ſtrength of the empire. Some miſunderſtanding had ariſen before between the two princes, the *Perſian* king refuſing to ſend back ſome workmen, whom he had hired out of the *Roman* territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately diſcovered. Beſides, the *Perſians* had plundered and inſulted ſome *Roman* merchants trading to their country [g]. Upon theſe provocations, as *Vararanes* continued to perſecute the chriſtians in his dominions, *Theodoſius* proclaimed war with the *Perſians*, and, without loſs of time, diſpatched *Ardaburius*, an *Alan* by nation, at the head of a conſiderable army, into *Azazene*, a *Perſian* province beyond the *Tigris*, which he laid waſte, after having gained a complete victory over *Narſes*, whom the king of *Perſia* had ſent with a numerous army to oppoſe him. The battle was fought on the third of *September*, and the news of the victory brought on the ſixth of the ſame month to *Conſtantinople*, tho' ſeven hundred miles diſtant from the borders of *Perſia*, by a famous courier of thoſe times, named *Palladius*. He travelled with the ſame ſurpriſing expedition to what part ſoever he was ſent; whence of him it was pleaſantly ſaid, that he had found means to reduce the *Roman* empire to a petty ſtate [h]. *Narſes*, after his defeat, abandoning the province of *Azazene* to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into *Meſopotamia*, with a deſign to invade the empire on that ſide, which was then deſtitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. But *Ardaburius*, aware of his deſign, followed him cloſe, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Niſibis*, which place he immediately beſieged. In the mean time the king of *Perſia* having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of *Niſibis* were in, aſſembled all his forces; and entering *Meſopotamia*, laid ſiege to *Theodoſiopolis*, with a deſign to divert *Ardaburius* from that of *Niſibis*. But the beſieged, having at their head *Eunomius*, biſhop of the place, defended it with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the *Perſians*, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without inter-

Narſes, *the* Perſian *general, defeated by* Ardaburius.

Ardaburius *beſieges* Niſibis.

And the king of Perſia Theodoſiopolis.

[g] Socr. l. vii. c. 18. p. 353. [h] Socr. c. 19. p. 557, 558.

miſſion,

miſſion, were obliged to drop the enterprize and retire[i]. The enemy were ſoon after reinforced with a numberleſs multitude of *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Alamundarus*, a renowned warrior, who, to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the *Perſian* monarch, bragged, that in a ſhort time he would deliver into his hands, not only the *Romans* who beſieged *Niſibis*, but *Antioch* itſelf, the metropolis of *Syria*. But not long after, his men, being ſeized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themſelves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where an hundred thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed. The *Romans*, ſeized at the ſame time with the like fear, upon a falſe report, that the king of *Perſia* was advancing to the relief of *Niſibis* with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raiſed the ſiege, and retired in the utmoſt confuſion into the *Roman* dominions[k].

But are both ſeized with a panic, and retire.

THE following year, when *Honorius* was conſul the thirteenth time, and *Theodoſius* the tenth, the war was purſued with uncommon ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*. From *Socrates*, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main purpoſe, it appears, that *Ariobindus*, one of the *Roman* generals, killed in a ſingle combat a *Perſian* famed for his valour; that *Ardaburius* put to the ſword ſeven *Perſian* commanders, ſurpriſed in an ambuſcade; and that *Aviticanus* cut in pieces the few *Saracens* who had eſcaped being drowned in the *Euphrates*[l]. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, *Theodoſius*, imagining the *Perſians*, thus weakened and diſheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over perſecuting the chriſtians, in whoſe defence he had taken arms, ſent embaſſadors to *Vararanes*, with very reaſonable propoſals; which the *Perſian* would have accepted with joy, had he not been diverted from it by the *immortals*, that is, a corps of ten thouſand choſen men, ſo called becauſe they had never been conquered. Theſe perſuaded the king to keep the *Romans* in ſuſpenſe, with a deſign to ſurpriſe them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuſcade; but *Procopius*, who commanded a ſeparate body of *Romans*, obſerving their motions from an eminence where he was poſted, and appriſed of their deſign, attacked them in the rear, while *Ardaburius* charged them in front; by which means they were ſurrounded, and all to a man put to the ſword. *Vararanes* was no ſooner informed of this new calamity, than calling the *Roman* embaſ-

The Romans gain great advantages over the Perſians.

[i] Idem ibid. THEODORET. l. v. c. 37. p. 243. [k] SOCR. ibid. p. 357—360. [l] Idem, c. 18. p. 357.

A peace concluded between the Romans *and* Persians *for* 100 *years.*

ſadors, he agreed to the terms they had propoſed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years: which laſted, according to *Evagrius*, till the twelfth year of the reign of *Anaſtatius*; that is, to the year 502[m]. The chief article of this treaty was, that the *Perſian* king ſhould recal the baniſhed chriſtians, reſtore them to their eſtates, and put a ſtop to the cruel perſecution he had raiſed againſt them. While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, *Honorius* attempted in the weſt to recover *Spain* out of the hands of the barbarians, greatly weakened by their inteſtine wars. With this view he ordered *Caſtinus*, general of the foot, and *comes domeſticorum*, or captain of the guards, to march againſt them, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army. *Caſtinus* ſoon reduced them to ſuch ſtraights, that they were preparing to ſubmit, and abandon the country which they had ſeized; but the *Roman* general having unſeaſonably ventured an engagement, twenty thouſand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged with the reſt to take refuge in *Tarraco*[n]. *Idatius* aſcribes this defeat to the treachery of the *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* army; but all other writers to the raſh and imprudent conduct of *Caſtinus*.

The Romans *receive a great overthrow in* Spain.

THE following year, when *Marinianus* and *Aſclepiodotus* were conſuls, a miſunderſtanding aroſe between *Honorius* and his ſiſter *Placidia*, whom the emperor had entertained at court ever ſince the death of her huſband *Conſtantius*, with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, as gave occaſion to ſome very ſcandalous reflections. Some authors write, that the great ſway ſhe bore in the adminiſtration, giving no ſmall jealouſy to the other courtiers, they perſuaded the emperor, that ſhe correſponded privately with the *Goths*, who ſtill looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to them all his councils [o]. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto ſhewn her being this year changed into an averſion no leſs extraordinary, *Placidia* thought it adviſeable to quit the court, and retire, with her ſon *Valentinian*, and her daughter *Honoria*, to *Conſtantinople*; where ſhe was kindly received by her nephew *Theodoſius*, tho' he had formerly refuſed to acknowledge her huſband *Conſtantius* for emperor, and to give her the title of *Auguſta* [p]. Soon after, *Honorius* died at *Ravenna* of a dropſy, having reigned twenty-eight years ſince the death of his father *Theodoſius*, and thirty-one ſince the time he was firſt created *Auguſtus*. He died, according to *Theophanes*, on the fifteenth, according to *Olympiodorus*, on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* of the preſent

Placidia *obliged to quit the court and retire into the eaſt, with her ſon* Valentinian. Honorius *dies.*

[m] Evagr. l. i. c. 19. p. 276. Theodor. l. v. c 39. p. 245. Socr. c. 21. p. 359. [n] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63, 64. Salvian. l. vii. p 165—168. [o] Olymp. p 196. [p] Idem ibid. Cassiod. chron.

year

year 423 [q]. His body is ſaid to have been found in 1542, with thoſe of his two wives, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, the daughters of *Stilicho*, in the church of St. *Peter* at *Rome* [r]. If ſo, it muſt have been conveyed thither from *Ravenna*, where his mauſoleum, ſuppoſed to have been built by his ſiſter *Placidia*, is ſtill to be ſeen. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall ſpeak in note (R). *Honorius* no ſooner expired, than an expreſs was diſpatched

[q] THEOPH. p. 72. OLYMP. ibid. [r] MABILL. it. Ital. p. 145.

(R) Under *Honorius* flouriſhed *Olympiodorus*, who wrote in *Greek* the hiſtory of that prince, from the year 407, the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work conſiſted of twenty-two books, and was inſcribed to *Theodoſius* II. or *the younger* (8) The reader will find an abſtract of it in *Photius* (9), who cenſures the ſtyle as low, and altogether unworthy of an hiſtorian. However, both *Zoſimus* and *Sozomen* ſeem to have copied it in ſeveral places, with ſome alteration in the phraſe and expreſſion. The author was a native of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, and a pagan by religion. He was ſent, with others, in 412. on an embaſſy to a king of the *Hunns*, named *Donatus*. Of this voyage (for he went by ſea) he gives us an account, and likewiſe of his journey to *Athens*, and of another to *Syene* in *Egypt*, and to the country of the *Blemmyes* (10). This is all we know of him *Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus* wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of *Honorius*, from the year 406, to the death of that prince; but of his work only a few paſſages have reached our times, quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours* (11). *Claudian* may be ranked among the hiſtorians who have written of *Honorius*: for of him we have learnt ſeveral particulars of that prince's reign. He was a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, as he himſelf tells us in different places (12), and not the ſon of a merchant at *Florence*, as ſome modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He firſt applied himſelf to *Greek* poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the giants has reached our times (13). His firſt *Latin* poem was on the conſulſhip of the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, who were conſuls in 395. He continued to write on different ſubjects till the ſixth conſulſhip of *Honorius* in 404. He was ſent by the citizens of *Rome*, in 396, to congratulate *Honorius* on his third conſulſhip (14). He was honoured by the *Roman* ſenate with a ſtatue, which, in conſideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the ſquare of *Trajan* (15). This honour was conferred upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of *Pollentia*, fought in 403. (16). He was then tribune and notary, or ſecretary of ſtate, and

(8) *Phot. c.* 80 *p.* 177. (9) *Idem ibid.* (10) *Idem, p.* 177—193. (11) *Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc l.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 62—64. (12) *Claud. ep.* 1. *p.* 238. *ep.* 4. *p.* 241. *ep.* 5. *p.* 11, 15, *&c.* (13) *Claud. p.* 236. (14) *Idem, epig.* 9. *p.* 240. (15) *Idem, conſ. Hon.* 3. *p.* 39. (16) *Bell. Goth. p.* 156.

enjoyed

diſpatched to *Theodoſius* with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for ſome days, and in the mean time gave private

enjoyed the title of *clariſſimus*, which was given to the *Roman* ſenators. Having, by means of *Serena*, *Stilicho*'s wife, married a lady poſſeſſed of great wealth in *Africa*, he thenceforth became a profeſſed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and ſtatesman, inveighing at the ſame time with much bitterneſs againſt his rivals *Ruſinus* and *Eutropius* (17); neither does he ſpare his countryman *Adrian*, who was *præfectus prætorio* in 405, and 412, having probably been ill-uſed by him; for in an epiſtle addreſſed to him to appeaſe his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that of his friends ſome had been put to the rack, and others baniſhed; and that he himſelf was reduced to beggary (18). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from *Adrian*, he retired, perhaps to the eaſt; for *Evagr·s* ranks him among the poets who flouriſhed under *Theodoſius* II. (19). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of *Jupiter*, and all the other pagan gods. *Oroſius* calls him *a moſt obſtinate pagan*; but at the ſame time commends him as an excellent poet (20). St. *Auſtin* likewiſe ſpeaks of him as a perſon greatly attached to the pagan ſuperſtition (21). Hence ſuch pieces as contain chriſtian ſentiments are by the beſt critics thought not to have been written by him, tho' they paſs under his name, but perhaps by *Claudian Mamertius*, a chriſtian poet of *Vienne* in *Gaul*. *Baillet* prefers *Claudian* to all the poets who have written ever ſince the age of *Auguſtus*, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without ſome faults. His ſtyle is ſometimes flat, and ſometimes ſublime, and moſt of his poems filled with youthful ſallies (22). In all his poems there are ſeveral moſt beautiful paſſages. His invectives, eſpecially the two books againſt *Eutropius*, are moſt eſteemed by the learned (23). It is uncertain whether or no the poem on mount *Ætna* was written by him. *Rutilius*, or, as he is ſtyled at the head of his poem, *Rutilius Claudius Numatianus*, flouriſhed in the reign of *Honorius*. He was a native of *Gaul*, according to ſome, of *Toulouſe*. His father had been governor of *Hetruria*, quæſtor, *comes largitionum*, and prefect (24). The *Hetruſcans*, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good nature, and impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, erected ſeveral ſtatues to his honour at *Piſa*, and in other places. He was dead when his ſon wrote his poem. *Rutilius* bore two of the greateſt employments in the ſtate, *viz.* the office of *magiſter officiorum*, and that of prefect of *Rome* (25). In his poem he declares himſelf a pagan, and a ſworn enemy to the monks, eſpecially to thoſe who lived in the iſland of *Capraria* or *Capraia*, on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*, a young nobleman of his acquain-

(17) *Idem, ep.* 2. *p.* 239, 240. (18) *Idem. epig.* 29 *p.* 261, & *ep.* 1. *p.* 257. (19) *Evag. l.* i. *c.* 19. *p.* 278. (20) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 35 *p.* 221. (21) *Aug. civ. Dei. l.* v *c.* 25. *p.* 142. (22) *Baill. jugemens des ſçavans tom.* 6. *p* 485—492. (23) *Idem, p.* 490, 491. (24) *Rut. p.* 128, 137, 139. (25. *Idem. p.* 131, 138.

tance

vate orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, that they might be ready at hand, to prevent

ance having renounced a plentiful eſtate, and abandoned his friends, relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life among them (26). *Rutilius* left *Rome*, where he had lived many years, to return to *Gaul*, where he had not been ever ſince the barbarians entered that country in 407. He ſet out from *Rome* in 417, or 420, about the month of *October*; and embarquing on the *Tiber*, repaired to *Porto*, where he waited a whole fortnight for the new moon, and the ſetting of the *Pleiades* (27). Thoſe who are ſkilled in aſtronomy, may learn from thence the preciſe year and day of his departure. In 417, and 420, it was new moon in the latter end of *October*. At *Porto*, twelve miles diſtant from *Rome*, he heard, or imagined to hear, the ſhouts of the people in the circus. He embarqued there on board a ſmall veſſel, for the convenience of landing when he pleaſed to viſit his friends, and of lying every night aſhore (28). He landed at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence, called the baths of *Taurus*. Putting to ſea again, he diſcovered the ruins of *Graviſcæ*, and *Coſa* or *Coſſa*, two cities famous in former ages. The inhabitants of the latter are ſaid to have been forced, by prodigious ſwarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (29). He came aſhore likewiſe at *Port-Ercole*, beyond which he ſaw the iſland of *Elba*, more uſeful, ſays he, on account of its iron-mines, than the *Tagus* for its golden ſands. From *Port-Ercole* he purſued his voyage to *Piombino*, and from thence to *Volterra*, where he went to ſee the fine houſe of *Albinus* prefect of *Rome*, and the ſalt-pits at a ſmall diſtance from it. At *Volterra* he found *Victorinus* his intimate friend, who, having abandoned *Toulouſe*, the place of his nativity, after the ſettling of the *Goths* there, had retired to *Italy*, and led a country-life in the neighbourhood of *Volterra*. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of *Britain*, which office he diſcharged to the great ſatisfaction of the people. *Honorius*, upon his retiring from *Toulouſe*, had invited him to court, and given him the title of *count*; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (30). From *Volterra* he ſailed to the iſland of *Gorgona*, and from thence to the port of *Piſa*, where he landed, and went to the city of *Piſa*, to ſee one of his old friends, by name *Protadius*, who, having loſt a great eſtate in *Gaul*, ſeized, no doubt by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happineſs on a ſmall farm he had in *Umbria*, than he had ever done when poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and large territories in his own country. He had been prefect of *Rome*, and had been diſtinguiſhed with ſeveral other great employments (31). Several letters written to him by *Symmachus*

(26) *Idem*, p. 137. (27) *Idem*, p. 131, 132. (28) *Idem ibid.* (29) *Idem*, p. 133. (30) *Idem*, p. 137. (31) *Idem*, p. 138.

have

prevent the diſturbances, which, he apprehended, would be raiſed in the weſt by the death of *Honorius*, who had left no children

have reached our times (32). From the port of *Piſa*, where *Rutilius* was obliged to continue ſome time, by reaſon of the bad weather, he purſued his voyage to *Portus Lunæ*, now *Lerice*, as is commonly believed (33). Thus far his *itinerary*, that is, the poem in which he deſcribes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the latter is almoſt intirely loſt. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpoliſhed age, and informs us of ſeveral things relating to the hiſtory of thoſe times (34). Some groſs miſtakes that are to be found in it are, without all doubt, owing partly to the tranſcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have ſtrangely mangled and confounded ſeveral paſſages. The author betrays throughout the whole work an inveterate hatred both to the *Jews* and chriſtians; whence we may conclude *Lachalius*, *Lucilius*, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. *Lucilius* wrote ſome ſatires, in no reſpect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of *Rutilius*, to thoſe of *Turnus* and *Juvenal* (35); but none of them have reached our times. One *Flavius*, ſaid by St. *Jerom* to have wrote in verſe a treatiſe on phyſic, is ſuppoſed by *Voſſius* to have flouriſhed in the reign of *Honorius*, and likewiſe the author of a comedy, ſtyled *Querulus Plauti*, which is aſcribed to one *Rutilius* (36). About this time flouriſhed *Macrobius*, or, as he is ſtyled at the head of his works, *Aurelius Theodoſius Ambroſius Macrobius*; for all the perſons he introduces in his *ſaturnalia*, lived under *Theodoſius* I. and his ſon *Honorius*. He was born in a country where the *Latin* tongue was not common, that is, in *Greece*, or in the eaſt (37). To his name is added, in an antient manuſcript, the word *Siceſinus*, denoting perhaps his country (38); but to us quite unknown. He is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *illuſtrious*, peculiar to the firſt officers of the empire (39). Hence moſt writers conclude him to be the *Macrobius* who was great chamberlain to *Theodoſius* II. in 422; for whoſe ſake that prince equalled the office of great chamberlain to thoſe of the *præfectus prætorio* and the *magiſter militiæ* (40). But againſt this opinion may be objected, that *Macrobius*, the author of the *ſaturnalia*, had a ſon, by name *Euſtathius*; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally ſpeaking, eunuchs. Beſides, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Theodoſius* II. would have ſuffered a pagan (for ſuch was the writer we are ſpeaking of) to enjoy that office, which obliged him to be always about the emperor's perſon. The opinion of thoſe is better founded, who ſuppoſe the *Macrobius*, who was proconſul of *Africa* in 410, to be the author of the *ſaturnalia*. One *Macrobius* was vicar of *Spain* in 399 and 400; but ſtripped of

(32) *Sym. l.* iv. *ep.* 17, 34, 57. *p.* 150, 174. *ep* 30, 32, *&c.* (33) *Rut. p.* 141. (34) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat l.* iii. *c* 2. *p.* 746. (35) *Rut. p.* 137. (36) *Voſſ. ibid.* (37) *Macrob. ſ. t. l* i. *c.* 8. *p.* 161. (38) *Wilib. append. ad dipt. Leod. p* 4. (39) *Macrob. p.* 159. (40) *Cod. Theod. tit.* 2. *p.* 82.

his

children to ſucceed him. Having taken this ſtep, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the ſame time cauſed himſelf to be

his employment, and puniſhed for ſome neglect with reſpect to the poſts (41). The work by which *Macrobius* is chiefly known is his *ſaturnalia*, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the inſtruction of his ſon, and ſuppoſed to have been uttered in a familiar converſation among friends, during the *ſaturnalia*, or the feaſts of *Saturn*. The perſons he introduces were the moſt famous then at *Rome* for their learning and erudition. He addreſſes his work to his ſon, for whoſe ſake he undertook it. He relates moſt things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reaſon he could not expreſs himſelf with eaſe in the *Latin* tongue; and truly, when he ſpeaks himſelf, he plainly betrays his ſmall knowledge of that language (42). Beſides the *ſaturnalia*, he wrote two books on the dream of *Scipio*, which he likewiſe inſcribed to his ſon, for whoſe inſtruction he undertook that, as he had done the other, work. Theſe two books were tranſlated into *Greek* by *Maximus*, ſurnamed *Planudes* (43). Another book paſſes under the name of *Macrobius*, on the conformity and diſagreement of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (44). *Macrobius* wrote indeed a book on that ſubject; but the work which has reached our times was done by *John Erigenes*, who flouriſhed in the ninth century, and followed the plan of *Macrobius*, whom he copied, changing ſome things, and adding many of his own (45). One of the chief perſons introduced by *Macrobius* in his *ſaturnalia* is *Servius*, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at *Rome*, and is painted as a perſon of great learning, and at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his modeſty (46). He is introduced ſpeaking moſtly of *Virgil*, whoſe inimitable *Æneid* he explained daily to the *Roman* youth. *Maurus Servius Honoratus*, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the *Servius* of *Macrobius*; but moſt authors are of opinion, that what has reached us is but an abridgment of that learned work; nay, ſome take it to have been compiled from *Servius*, and ſeveral other antient critics. It is generally held in great eſteem, tho' not quite free from faults (47). In the fifth or ſixth century flouriſhed a grammarian, named *Martianus Minæus Felix Capella*, who publiſhed ſeveral philological pieces, partly in proſe, and partly in verſe, which are ſtill extant, and divided into ſeven books. He is ſaid in the manuſcript copies to have been honoured with the proconſular dignity. He was a native of *Carthage*; and truly his barbarous and uncouth ſtyle plainly ſhews, that he was no *Roman*. In his allegorical marriage of *Mercury* with the ſciences, there is a great deal of

(41) *Idem*, *l.* viii. *tit.* 5. *leg.* 61. *p.* 565. (42) *Vide Baillet. tom.* 2 *p.* 27, 28. (43) *Macrob. p.* 17. (44) *Idem*, *p.* 556. (45) *Idem*, *p.* 601, 604, 736. (46) *Idem*, *ſat. l.* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 166. & *l.* vi. *c.* 7. *p.* 478. (47) *Vide Baill. tom.* 2. *p.* 29—32.

Theodosius *causes himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west.*

be proclaimed emperor of the west in his room 9. This did not deter *John*, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, from assum-

9 Olymp. ibid. Socr. l. vii. c. 23. p. 363. Idat. chron.

erudition; but the invention is low and mean (48). *Securus Melior Felix*, who professed the christian religion, and taught rhetoric at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, was at the trouble of correcting in 534, one of the copies of *Capella*'s works. *Felix* is styled in that manuscript *V. SP. Com. Consist.* that is, *Vir spectabilis, comes consistorianus*, a man of rank, and one of the consistorial or the emperor's counsellors (49). *Capella* was greatly esteemed in *France* about the end of the sixth century, as appears from *Gregory* of *Tours* (50). *Sosipater Charisius*, who published five books of observations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to *Baillet*, in the time of *Honorius*, and before him a grammarian named *Diomedes*, whose works have likewise reached our times; but strangely mangled by *Johannes Cæsarius*, who published them, with many observations of his own. *Charisius* is quoted by *Priscian*, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (51). About the same time, *Fabius Fulgentius Planciades* published an explication of some words, addressed to one *Calcidius*, another grammarian. He is styled, and indeed deservedly both by *Vossius* (52) and *Baillet* (53), one of the most ignorant, impertinent, and trifling, authors that ever wrote. He ascribes to *Tacitus*, and other writers, works never before heard of. *Cave* calls him an arrant trifler (54); and all other critics speak of him with the utmost contempt. In the reign of *Theodosius* I. or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of *Peutinger*, which are a kind of itinerary made by some quarter-master, if we may so call him, for the use of those who conducted the *Roman* troops from one place to another. The author seems to have been altogether ignorant both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to one *Conrad Peutinger* in *Augsbourg*, and are thence called the tables of *Peutinger*; but they were published by *Velser*, who had them engraved by *John Moret* of *Antwerp*. The reader will find them in the *theatrum geographicum* of *Bretius*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1619, and among *Velser*'s works, published at *Nuremberg* in 1682. A civilian, by name *Eusebius*, described the war of *Gainas* in a poem, which he styled *Gainades*; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named *Ammonius*, who read it to *Theodosius* II. in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (55); but neither of them has reached our times. *Vossius* supposes them to have been written in the *Greek* tongue, and ranks the authors among the *Greek* poets (56).

(48) *Idem*, p. 34, 35. *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* iii. p. 712, 713. (49) *Wilt.* p. 4. (50) *Vide Voss.* p. 713, 714. (51) *Vide Baill. tom* 3. p. 36—40. (52) *Voss hist Lat. l.* i. c. 30. p. 159. (53) *Baill.* p 38, 39. (54) *Cave script. eccles.* p. 274.. (55) *Socr.* p. 309. (56) *Voss. poet. Græc. c.* 9. p. 77, 78.

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ing the purple in *Rome*, being, no doubt, encouraged in his uſurpation by *Caſtinus*, then commander in chief of all the troops in the weſt; for he was afterwards diſgraced and baniſhed, as one of the uſurper's chief friends and abetters. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but likewiſe in *Gaul* and *Dalmatia*; which encouraged him to diſpatch embaſſadors to *Theodoſius*, to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince refuſing to acknowledge him, and having even ordered his embaſſadors to be arreſted, and thrown into priſon, he began to prepare for war, and ſent the famous *Aetius*, with great ſums, to draw the *Hunns* over to his aſſiſtance. That celebrated commander, who governed the weſtern empire with an abſolute ſway during the reign of *Valentinian* III. was a native of *Doroſterum* in *Mœſia*, and the ſon of *Gaudentius*, who, tho' by birth a *Scythian*, was raiſed to the higheſt employments in the empire, and married an *Italian* lady of great diſtinction, called by ſome *Italica* [r]. By her he had *Aetius*, who ſerved at firſt among the emperor's domeſtics, or the troops of his houſhold, and was given as an hoſtage to *Alaric*, after the battle of *Pollentia* in 403, and afterwards to the *Hunns*, with whoſe chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the *Hunns*, he married the daughter of *Carpilio*, captain of the guards, and had by her two ſons, *Gaudentius*, who, after the death of *Valentinian*, was taken by *Genſeric*, and *Carpilio*, whom *Valentinian* ſent with the character of embaſſador to *Attila* [s]. *Aetius* was a perſon of a majeſtic mien, of a tall ſtature, and a robuſt conſtitution, which enabed him to bear with patience the greateſt fatigues and toils attending a military life. He is no leſs commended by the antients on account of his prudence, addreſs, and penetration, in ſtate affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience, in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was ſuch a lover of juſtice, that no recommendations, however preſſing, were capable of making him ſwerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by *Frigeridus*, a writer who flouriſhed in his time, as quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours* [t]. *Procopius* writes, that *Aetius* and *Bonifacius*, who defended, as we have obſerved above, *Marſeilles*, when attacked by *Ataulphus*, were the two greateſt commanders in the whole empire, and that they deſerved to be called the laſt *Romans* [u]. *John*, upon his uſurping the empire, committed to *Aetius* the care of his palace, and then ſent him

John, *the deceaſed emperor's chief ſecretary, aſſumes the purple.*

Aetius *his character.*

He ſides with the uſurper.

[r] VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220. [s] CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. PRIS leg. p. 53. SIDON. p. 169. OROS. p 305. [t] GREG. Tur. p. 50. [u] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p 183.

to engage the *Hunns* in his cauſe, with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of *Theodoſius*, if they entered *Italy*, while he himſelf charged them in front [w]. On the ſecond of *January* of the preſent year, *Eudocia* was declared *Auguſta* [x].

THE next conſuls were *Caſtinus* and *Victor*. The former, was general of the troops in the weſt. Of the latter we find no farther mention in hiſtory. In an antient inſcription, *John* the uſurper is ſtyled conſul, he being probably acknowledged in the weſt, and not *Victor*, whom we may ſuppoſe to have belonged to the eaſtern empire [y]. This year, *Theodoſius*, having drawn together all the forces of the eaſtern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of *Dalmatia*, under the conduct of *Ardaburius*, his ſon *Aſpar*, and *Candidianus*. With them he ſent *Placidia* and her ſon *Valentinian*, allowing the former to reſume the title and enſigns of *Auguſta*, which had been given her by her brother *Honorius*, but ſhe had quitted upon her entering the dominions of *Theodoſius*; and the latter to wear the habit peculiar to the *nobiliſſimi*; which title had ſome time ſince been given to the ſons of emperors before they were created *Cæſars*. This was renouncing all pretenſions to the empire of the weſt, and tacitly yielding it to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*. Before they left *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* betrothed his daughter *Licinia Eudoxia*, born in 422, to young *Valentinian*, born on the ſecond or third of *July* in 419. When this ceremony was over, *Placidia* ſet out from *Conſtantinople* with her ſon, who upon his arrival at *Theſſalonica*, received the enſigns peculiar to the *Cæſars*, at the hands of *Helio*, *magiſter officiorum* to *Theodoſius*, by whom he had been ſent thither for that purpoſe [z]. The following year, *Theodoſius* being conſul, the eleventh time, with *Valentinian*, the army of *Theodoſius*, having croſſed *Pannonia*, and *Illyricum*, appeared unexpectedly before *Salonæ*, which was taken by ſtorm. There it was agreed among the generals, that *Aſpar* ſhould lead the cavalry, with *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, by land to *Aquileia*, while the foot, under the command of his father *Ardaburius*, was conveyed thither by ſea. This ſcheme was ſo well executed on the ſide of *Aſpar*, that arriving at *Aquileia*, before the enemy had the leaſt notice of his march, he entered the place without oppoſition; but the fleet being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, *Ardaburius* was driven aſhore, and taken by the uſurper's ſoldiers, who immediately carried him to their emperor, then at *Ravenna*, by whom he was received with great joy, and treated with the utmoſt civility,

Theodoſius *grants to* Placidia *the title of* Auguſta, *and to* Valentinian *that of* Cæſar.

Aſpar *takes* Aquileia *from the uſurper.*

[w] OLYMP. p. 96. PROSP. chron. [x] Chron. Alex. p. 726. [y] SIDON. p. 137. [z] OLYMP. p. 169. PROSP. chron. PHILOST. p. 573. GREG. Tur. p 57.

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the uſurper hoping by his means to prevail upon *Theodoſius*, with whom *Ardaburius* bore a great ſway, to acknowledge him for his collegue. As he was allowed to converſe with whom he pleaſed, he gained over the chief officers, who had already begun to be tired of their new prince, and privately acquainting his ſon *Aſpar* with the ſecurity in which the tyrant lived, adviſed him to advance ſpeedily with his beſt troops to *Ravenna*. *Aſpar* immediately ſet out from *Aquileia* with the cavalry; and being conducted through the marſhes which ſurrounded *Ravenna* on the land-ſide by a ſhepherd, whom *Socrates* ſuppoſes to have been an angel, he entered the city, finding the gates open and unguarded, and, with the aſſiſtance of the officers gained over by his father, ſecured the tyrant before he had time to make his eſcape, and ſent him in chains to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, then at *Aquileia*, who ordered firſt his right hand, and then his head, to be cut off [a]. *Procopius* writes, that after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was, by way of deriſion, carried about the ſtreets on an aſs, expoſed to the outrages and inſults of the incenſed multitude [b]. Thus ended the uſurpation of *John*, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and ſix months, according to *Philoſtorgius* [c]. Three days after his death, *Aetius* entered *Italy*, with an army of ſixty thouſand *Hunns*, who being met by *Aſpar*, a bloody battle was fought, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but, in the mean time *Aetius*, informed of the death of the uſurper, thought it adviſeable to make the beſt terms he could for himſelf. Accordingly, *Placidia* promiſing not only to receive him into favour, but to diſtinguiſh him with the title of count, he ſubmitted, and prevailed upon the *Hunns* to return into their own country [d]. *Caſtinus*, who was ſuppoſed to have favoured the uſurpation of *John*, was ſent into exile [e]. When news of the captivity and death of the uſurper was brought to *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* declared his couſin, young *Valentinian*, emperor, and *Placidia* regent of the empire during her ſon's minority. He intended to have taken a progreſs into *Italy* in order to inveſt him there with the ſovereignty, and with that deſign advanced as far as *Theſſalonica*; but was ſeized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to *Conſtantinople*, whence he diſpatched *Helio* to *Rome*, where *Valentinian* then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of *October* of the preſent year 425 [f]. The ſame year, the

He ſurpriſes Ravenna, *and takes the uſurper, who is put to death.*

Aetius *ſubmits, and is received into favour.*

Valentinian III. *declared emperor of the weſt, and his mother* Placidia *regent.*

[a] SOCR. p. 363. PHILOSTORG. p. 538. OLYMP. ibid. p. 197. [b] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 181. [c] PHILOST. ibid. [d] Idem ibid. CASSIOD. chron. [e] PROSP. chron. [f] SOCR. l. vii. c. 24. p. 364. OLYMP. ibid. IDAT. chron.

Vandals,

Vandals, who had ſettled in *Spain*, ravaged the *Balearic* iſlands, and the *Goths*, to whom ſettlements had been allotted in *Gaul*, ſeized on ſome of the neighbouring cities, and even laid ſiege to *Arles*, which however they were forced to raiſe at the approach of *Aetius*, who was ſent againſt them with a conſiderable army [g]. In the eaſt, *Thrace* was laid waſte by the *Hunns*, probably the ſame who came to the aſſiſtance of the uſurper *John*, and even threatened *Conſtantinople* with a ſiege, but their leader, by name *Rougas*, or *Roilas*, being killed with lightning, and great numbers of them being daily ſwept away by a plague which broke out in their army, their reſt withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the *Romans*, ſays *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently eſpouſed the cauſe of *Theodoſius* [h]. The following year 426, when *Theodoſius* was conſul the twelfth time, and *Valentinian* the ſecond, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But under the next conſuls *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*, the *Goths*, who had held *Pannonia* ever ſince the year 377, when they firſt entered that province, were by *Theodoſius* transferred from thence into *Thrace*, where they continued for the ſpace of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themſelves maſters of *Italy*, under the conduct of *Theodoric* [i]. This gives us room to believe, that *Theodoſius*, in yielding the weſtern empire to *Valentinian*, retained *Pannonia*, which compriſed that part of the preſent *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, that lies on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the weſt. Great diſturbances happened this year in *Africa*, which were attended with the loſs of that province. The celebrated count *Bonifacius*, who is ſtyled by St. *Auſtin* the joy of the church, the bulwark of *Africa*, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by *Honorius*, for his gallant behaviour at *Marſeilles*, with the command of the troops in *Africa*; which province he defended with great bravery againſt the repeated attempts of *John*, tho' acknowledged by all the other commanders and governors of provinces. *Placidia*, highly pleaſed with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and, after beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, preferred him to the poſt of *comes demeſticorum*, and ſent him back into *Africa* with an unlimited power. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to his rivals at court, eſpecially to *Felix*, commander in chief of the *Roman* forces, and to *Aetius*, who, after his departure, perſuaded *Placidia*, that he had preſerved *Africa* for himſelf, and only waited an opportunity of eſtabliſhing there an

Thrace *ravaged by the* Hunns.

The Goths *removed from* Pannonia *into* Thrace.

Bonifacius *in great favour with* Placidia.

[g] Sidon. p. 22. Idat. chron. [h] Socr. p. 387. [i] Theop. p 81. Marc. chron.

independent

independent ſovereignty. *Aetius* added, that the empreſs might, when ſhe pleaſed, oblige him to pull off the maſk, by recalling him from his government; for he was very ſure *Bonifacius* would diſobey her orders. Hereupon the credulous princeſs immediately ordered *Bonifacius* to repair to *Rome*; but *Aetius* having written to him before, that the empreſs ſought his ruin, and, in order to compaſs it, would ſoon recall him, adviſing him at the ſame time, with great proteſtations of friendſhip, to conſult his own ſafety, he, upon the receipt of *Placidia*'s letter, concluded *Aetius* to be his true friend, and following his advice, refuſed to comply with the orders he had received. Hereupon *Placidia*, no longer queſtioning the truth of *Aetius*'s information, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, and diſpatched a ſtrong body of troops againſt him, under the command of *Mavortius*, *Galbio*, and *Sinex*, who beſieged *Bonifacius*, in what place we are no-where told, and kept him ſhut up, till quarrelling among themſelves, *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were killed by the treachery of *Sinex*, and he in a ſally by one man. *Placidia*, being reſolved, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of her three generals, to purſue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to *Sigiſvult*, by nation a *Goth*, who, without loſs of time, paſſing over into *Africa* with a great number of his countrymen, made himſelf maſter of *Carthage* and *Hippo*. *Bonifacius*, finding the empreſs obſtinately bent upon his ruin, and himſelf not in a condition to contend with the whole ſtrength of the empire, had recourſe to the *Vandals*, who, ever ſince the defeat of *Caſtinus* in 422, had peaceably enjoyed the province of *Bætica* or *Andaluſia*, and were at this time governed by *Genſeric*, brother to the late king *Gonderic*. *Genſeric* was, according to *Jornandes* [k] and *Procopius* [l], of a low ſtature, and lame by a fall from his horſe: he thought much, and ſpoke little; was an enemy to pleaſure and debauchery; had a wonderful addreſs in gaining the affection of the people, and ſowing diſſentions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no leſs ambitious and paſſionate; well ſkilled in the art of war, and long enured to the hardſhips and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he firſt profeſſed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius*, which prevailed among his countrymen the *Vandals* [m]. His brother *Gonderic* left ſeveral ſons behind him; but he cauſed them all to be put to death, together with their mother [n]. With this barbarian *Bonifacius*, whoſe piety had

He is forced by the treachery of Aetius *and* Felix *to revolt.*

Defeats the troops ſent againſt him.

Another army ſent to reduce him.

He returns to Genſeric *king of the* Vandals.

[k] JORN. c. 36. p. 657. [l] PROCOP. p. 184. [m] IDAT. p. 17. [n] MALEL. hiſt. chron.

been

been formerly ſo much extolled by St. *Auſtin* [o], was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty, whereof the chief, and perhaps the only, article was, that, upon their aſſiſting him, *Africa* ſhould be divided between *Gonderic*, ſays *Procopius* falſely, ſuppoſing him ſtill alive, *Genſeric*, and himſelf [p]. The treaty being agreed to, *Genſeric*, having aſſembled a great number of veſſels, ordered all his *Vandals*, women and children as well as men, to imbarque; and abandoning *Spain* in the month of *May* of the year 528, while *Felix* and *Taurus* were conſuls, croſſed the ſtraights of *Gibraltar*, and landed in *Africa* [q]. The *Romans* took poſſeſſion anew of the provinces which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, who by that means came to ſettle in that part of *Spain* [r].

Who paſſes over into Africa.

The ſame year, *Aetius* was ſent into *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Franks*, whom he defeated with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to abandon the country on the *Roman* ſide of the *Rhine*, in which they had been allowed by *Honorius* to ſettle, and to retire with their families beyond that river [s]. What gave occaſion to this war, we are no-where told. The *Francs* were governed at this time by *Clodius*, as *Proſper Tyro* ſtyles him [t], or *Clodion*, as he is called by *Gregory* of *Tours* and the modern writers [u]. He is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon, as well as the ſucceſſor, of *Faramond*. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt worthy of notice, except the publiſhing of a law, by which all brothels were ſuppreſſed in *Conſtantinople* [w]. *Florentius* and *Dionyſius*, conſuls for the year 429, were ſucceeded by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time, conſul. During the conſulſhip of the two princes, *Aetius* was raiſed to the chief command of all the troops of the weſtern empire, in the room of *Felix*, who was at the ſame time created a patrician; but ſoon after killed in *Ravenna* by the mutinous ſoldiery, ſtirred up againſt him by *Aetius*, jealous of his great credit at court. The ſame year, *Aetius* gained conſiderable advantages over the *Juthongi*, whoſe country bordered on *Rhætia*; over the inhabitants of *Noricum*, who had revolted; and over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, attempting to raiſe new diſturbances in that province [x]. The following year,

The Francs *driven out of* Gaul *by* Aetius.

Who is appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the weſtern empire.

[o] Aug. ep. 70. p. 126. [p] Procop. p. 45. [q] Prosp. chron. Idat. p. 18. Vict. Vit de perſec. Vandal. p. 3. [r] Procop. p. 19. Idat. ibid. [s] Cassiod. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. [t] Tyr Prosp. [u] Greg. Tur hiſt. Franc. l. ii c. 9. p. 64. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xv tit. 8. leg 13. p. 38. [x] Idat. Sidon. car. vii. p. 338. Jorn rer. Goth. c 34. p. 660.

wl.en

when *Baſſus* and *Antiochus* were conſuls, *Aetius* intirely reduced the *Noritæ*; and likewiſe the *Vindelici*, who had joined the former in the revolt. From *Noricum* he paſſed into *Gaul*, to awe the *Francs*, who were ſaid to be in arms [y]. This year, *Placidia* diſcovered at length the true cauſe of the revolt of *Bonifacius*. Some of that general's friends, greatly ſurpriſed at his entering all on a ſudden into an alliance with the enemies of the empire, after having defended it againſt the barbarians with ſo much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empreſs to paſs over into *Africa*, in order to confer with him in perſon, and hear what he could alledge in his own defence. *Bonifacius* was overjoyed to ſee them, and produced, upon their charging him with treaſon and rebellion, the letter which *Aetius* had written to him, proteſting, that nothing but his own ſafety and preſervation could have induced him to turn his arms againſt his prince and country. With this letter they returned to *Placidia*, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of *Aetius*; but not thinking it adviſeable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in *Gaul*, ſhe concealed her indignation for the preſent, and contented herſelf with expreſſing, in a letter to *Bonifacius*, her ſincere deteſtation of the injury that had been done him; withal aſſuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and conſulting, with his uſual zeal, the ſafety of the empire, drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own ſafety, he had called in. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them immenſe ſums provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, *viz. Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirtha*, *Genſeric* firſt returned him a ſcoffing anſwer; and then falling upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himſelf to fly to *Hippo*: which place the barbarians immediately inveſted; but were obliged, the following year, for want of proviſions, to raiſe the ſiege, after it had continued for the ſpace of fourteen months, *Genſeric* attacking the town almoſt daily with incredible fury, and *Bonifacius* defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity [z]. In the eaſt was held this year an œcumenic council at *Epheſus*, in which the doctrine of *Neſtorius*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, aſſerting not only two natures in Chriſt, but two perſons, was condemned, and he depoſed on the twenty-ſecond of *June*, the ſentence of his depoſition being ſigned by above two hundred biſhops. The next year, *Aetius* was raiſed to the conſulſhip, *Placidia* ſtill pretending to be unacquainted with his treacherous conduct towards *Bonifacius*. He

Placidia acquainted with the true cauſe of the revolt of Bonifacius.

He endeavours to perſuade the Vandals *to retire from* Africa. *Moſt of* Boniface's *men cut in pieces by* Genſeric.

[y] IDAT. p. 19. [z] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.

had for his collegue *Valerius*, the preceding year prefect of *Conſtantinople*. This year *Bonifacius*, reinforced with powerful ſuccours ſent both by *Placidia* and *Theodoſius*, offered battle to the *Vandals*; who readily accepting it, cut moſt of his men in pieces, took an incredible number of priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves among the rocks and mountains. Among the priſoners was *Marcianus*, who afterwards attained to the empire. *Aſpar*, who commanded on this occaſion the eaſtern troops, with much-ado eſcaped into *Africa*, and returned to *Conſtantinople*, as did *Bonifacius* to *Italy*, being invited thither by *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians overran all *Africa*, committing every-where dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties; which ſtruck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with ſuch terror, that they abandoned their city, which was firſt pillaged, and then ſet on fire, by the victorious enemy [a]. St. *Auſtin*, biſhop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the ſiege. *Carthage* and *Cirtha* were now the only places in all *Africa* held by the *Romans*. *Bonifacius*, upon his arrival at *Ravenna*, was received with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem by *Placidia*, and raiſed to the chief command of the army, in the room of *Aetius*; who, finding his treachery diſcovered, and dreading the power of *Bonifacius*, aſſembled the forces under his command, in order to deſtroy his rival. *Bonifacius*, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of choſen troops to meet him. Hereupon a battle enſuing, *Bonifacius* received a wound, of which he died three months after [b]. Thus *Marcellinus*, who did not, it ſeems, think it neceſſary to acquaint us in what place the battle was fought, nor which ſide carried the day. The ſame writer adds, that *Bonifacius* on his death-bed exhorted his wife *Pelagia* to marry no man but *Aetius*, if his wife ſhould die before him. *Aetius*, dreading the reſentment of *Placidia*, withdrew to the court of *Rugula*, or *Rouas*, king of the *Hunns*, whence he returned ſoon after, at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but the empreſs promiſing not only to pardon him, but reſtore him to his former poſt, he diſmiſſed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he was this very year raiſed to the rank of a patrician [c]. The following year, *Theodoſius* being conſul the fourteenth time, with *Petronius Maximus*, a dreadful fire broke out at *Conſtantinople*, which laſted three days, and conſumed all the public granaries, with many other ſtately edifices, and great part of the city [d]. In the following conſulſhip of *Aſpar* and *Areobindus*,

Bonifacius and Aſpar defeated by Genſeric,

Who overruns all Africa.

A civil war between Bonifacius and Aetius, in which the former was killed.

[a] Idem ibid. Prosp chron. [b] Marc. chron. [c] Prosp. Idat. chron. [d] Socr. l. vii. c. 39. p. 385.

Honoria,

Honoria, ſiſter to the emperor *Valentinian*, having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by one of her domeſtics, named *Eugenius*, was baniſhed the court, being then ſixteen years old, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, her mother *Placidia* having diſcovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, ſhe maintained a private correſpondence with *Attila*, who had ſucceeded *Rouas* king of the *Hunns*; that ſhe had even ſent him a ring, and was daily preſſing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The following year 435, *Theodoſius* being conſul the fifteenth time, and *Valentinian* the fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, to whom the *Romans* yielded great part of *Numidia*, all the province *Proconſularis*, and likewiſe *Bizacene*. This treaty was ſigned at *Hippo*, on the eleventh of *February*, by *Genſeric*, and by *Trigetius*, who had ſucceeded *Bonifacius* in *Africa*. The king of the *Vandals* delivered up to the *Romans* his ſon *Huneric* by way of hoſtage [e]. The ſame year, *Aetius* gained a great victory over the *Burgundians*, who having been allowed in 413 to ſettle in that part of *Gaul* which borders on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and plundered *Belgic Gaul*. *Gondicarius*, their king, was obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, as the conqueror thought fit to impoſe upon him and his people [f]. But *Gondicarius* did not long enjoy the peace which *Aetius* had granted him, being ſoon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when *Anthemius Iſidorus* and *Senator* were conſuls, attacked by the *Hunns*, and cut off, with twenty thouſand of his men [g]. *Socrates* writes, that of the unhappy *Burgundians* three thouſand only were left alive, who having embraced the chriſtian religion, and received the ſacrament of baptiſm, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thouſand, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight [h]. Thus *Socrates*. But *Oroſius* aſſures us, that the *Burgundians* had embraced the chriſtian religion, before the year 417 [i]. The *Goths*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Aquitain*, as we have obſerved above, and had *Theodoric* for their king, not ſatisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid ſiege to *Narbonne*; which, however, they were forced to raiſe, either this year 436 or the following, as *Idatius* will have it, count *Litorius* coming ſeaſonably to the relief of the place

Honoria, *ſiſter to* Valentinian, *privately correſponds with* Attila.

The Romans *yield a great part of* Africa *to the* Vandals.

20,000 Burgundians *cut off by the* Hunns.

The Goths *beſiege* Narbonne; *but are obliged to drop the enterprize and retire.*

[e] PROSP. chron. PROSP. p. 386. [f] IDAT. p. 21. SID. car. vii. p. 338. [g] IDAT. p. 25. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136—138. [h] SOCR. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. [i] OROS. l. vii. c. 32. p. 305.

with a numerous body of *Hunns*, who falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a very welcome ſupply, the inhabitants being by the long ſiege reduced to the utmoſt extremity [k]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, *Theodoſius* completed the ruin of idolatry in the eaſt, by a law enacted in 435, ordering all the temples, oratories, and places, conſecrated to the worſhip of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his ſubjects, on pain of death, to practiſe any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this lawthe very foundations of the temples were to be intirely demoliſhed, and the ſign of the chriſtian religion, no doubt the croſs, to be ſet up in the place where they had ſtood [l]. *Theodoſius* paſſed part of the year 436, at *Cyzicum*. The following year 437, when *Aetius* was conſul the ſecond time, with *Sigiſvultus*, or *Sigiſvult*, the *Romans*, aſſiſted by the *Hunns*, purſued the war againſt the *Goths* in *Gaul* [m]; but with what ſucceſs we are nowhere told. The *Saxon* pirates began this year to infeſt the coaſts of the *Armorici* [n]. *Eudoxia*, the daughter of *Theodoſius* by the empreſs *Eudocia*, had been betrothed to *Valentinian* in 424, as we have related above; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity at *Conſtantinople*, on the twenty ninth of *October*, *Valentinian* being then eighteen years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at *Theſſalonica*; but *Valentinian*, out of complaiſance to the royal bride, proceeded to *Conſtantinople*; which city he entered on the twenty-firſt of *October* [o]. *Theodoſius*, in giving, or as others will have it, in betrothing his daughter, to *Valentinian*, obliged the young prince to yield to him *Weſt Illyricum*, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the two *Noricums*, viz. *Mediterraneum* and *Ripenſe* [p]. The two *Pannonias* compriſed that part of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, that lies on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*; and the two *Noricums* the archbiſhopric of *Saltzburgh* with *Styria* and *Carinthia*. As for *Eaſt Illyricum*, it had belonged to the emperors of *Conſtantinople* ever ſince the time of *Gratian*, who yielded it to *Theodoſius the Great*. *Valentinian* left *Conſtantinople* in the latter end of this year; and having ſpent the winter at *Theſſalonica*, returned early in the ſpring to *Ravenna*. He had by *Eudoxia* two daughters, *viz.* *Eudocia* and *Placidia*.

Theodoſius's edict againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip.

Eudoxia the daughter of Theodoſius *married to* Valentinian III.

Who yields to Theodoſius Weſt Illyricum.

[k] Idat. p. 21. Sid. car. vi. p. 346. [l] Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 25. p. 296. Theodor. l. v. c. 36. p. 749. [m] Prosp. Marc. chron. [n] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [o] Socr. l. vii. c. 44. p. 388. Chron. Alex. p. 570. [p] Socr. ibid. Chron. Alex. Jorn. de reg. ſuc. p 92, 93.

The

THE following year, *Theodoſius* being conſul the ſixteenth time, with *Acilius Glabrio Fauſtus*, the *Suevians*, who had ſettled in *Galicia* in 409, under the conduct of their king *Ermeric* or *Hermeric*, came after a long and bloody war to an agreement with the antient inhabitants [q]; but the articles of that treaty have not been tranſmitted to us. The *Romans* ſtill purſued the war againſt the *Goths* in *Gaul*, of whom eight thouſand were this year cut in pieces by *Aetius* [r]. In the eaſt *Juſtinian* publiſhed, on the fifteenth of *February* of the preſent year 438, his famous code, that is, a collection of all the beſt and and moſt uſeful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his predeceſſors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was *Antiochus*, who had been conſul in 431. Such laws, as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the weſt; nay, it met with better ſucceſs there than in the eaſt, where it obtained only for the ſpace of about ninety years, that is, to the reign of *Juſtinian*, who abrogated this, and publiſhed a new code: but in the weſt it was received by *Theodoric*, and the *Oſtrogoths*, who made themſelves maſters of *Italy* about the end of the fifth century, and likewiſe by *Alaric*, king of the *Viſigoths* or *Weſtrogoths*, in *Languedoc*, and *Spain*. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by *Theodoſius*, and ſome other princes, were called *Novellæ*. *Theodoſius*, in publiſhing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince ſhould be of no force in the dominions of the other, unleſs confirmed and ſigned by him [s]. In the following conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, the ſeventeenth time conſul, and of *Feſtus*, *Litorius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, laid ſiege to *Toulouſe*, their capital. *Theodoric*, who was in the place, ſent ſeveral catholic biſhops to *Litorius*, with very reaſonable propoſals; nay, he offered in the end to ſubmit to what terms the *Romans* thought fit to impoſe upon him, begging only, that they would grant to him and his *Goths* their lives and liberty. But *Litorius*, confiding in the valour of his *Hunns*, and deſirous of taking the *Gothiſh* king alive, and carrying him in triumph, would hearken to no propoſals. Hereupon *Theodoric*, having firſt performed his devotions, and viſited all the churches of his capital in the habit of a penitent, ſallied out at the head of his *Goths*; and falling upon the enemy, cut moſt of them in pieces; put the few who ſurvived the general ſlaughter, to flight; and having ſurrounded *Litorius*, while he was attempting to make his

Eight thouſand Goths *cut in pieces by* Aetius *in* Gaul.

The Juſtinian *code publiſhed.*

Toulouſe *beſieged by* Litorius.

[q] IDAT. p 21, 22. [r] PROSP. chron. [s] PROSP. chron. DOVIAT. hiſt. jur. civ. c. 1. RITTERSHUT. in jur. Juſt. c. 3. Cod. Theod. nov. 1. p. 1.

eſcape,

His men are cut in pieces by Theodoric, *and he himself taken prisoner.*

escape, took him alive in spite of the vigorous and desperate resistance he made, and carried him with his hands tied behind his back in that city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* caused him to be exposed for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public prison, where he died soon after [t]. *Litorius* seems to have been a pagan; for he reposed great confidence in the answers of the aruspices [u]. He was, next to *Aetius*, the most powerful man, and the best general, in the western empire [w]. After this victory, the *Goths* might have easily extended their conquests to the *Rhine*; but *Theodoric*, thinking he ought to use with moderation a victory, for which he acknowledged himself in a particular manner indebted to heaven, hearkened to the proposals of *Avitus*, pre-

Theodoric *concludes a peace with the* Romans.

fect of *Gaul*, and this very year concluded a peace with the *Romans* upon very reasonable terms [x]. *Jornandes* supposes this peace to have been made by *Litorius*, and no battle to have been fought, or victory gained, by the *Goths*; so little was that writer acquainted even with the history of his own nation. The *Hunns*, who served under *Litorius*, were commanded by a king of their own nation, named *Gauseric*, who, during this war, laid siege to the city of *Bazas*, belonging to the *Goths*; but is said to have been obliged by a miraculous apparition to drop the enterprise and retire, as the reader will find related at length by *Gregory* of *Tours* [y]. The same year *Merida*, then the metro-

Merida *taken by the* Suevians, *and* Carthage *by the* Vandals.

polis of *Lusitania*, was taken by *Richila*, who the year before had succeeded his father *Hermeric*, king of the *Suevians*, in *Galicia* [z]. But the loss of *Carthage* in *Africa*, surprised on the twenty-third of *October* of the present year by *Genseric*, king of the *Vandals*, proved a more fatal blow to the western empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the *Romans* for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years, the *Vandals* remained masters of the *Proconsularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Getulia*, and part of *Numidia*. However, *Valentinian* maintained, so long as he lived, the two *Mauritanias*, viz. *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia* in which *Cirtha* stood. In the east, nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empress *Eudocia* undertook to *Jerusalem*, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there [*]. She passed

[t] Greg. Tur. hist Fran. l. ii. c. 27. p. 81. Salv. p. 164. Sid. car. vii p. 340. Idat. p. 22. [u] Salvian. de gub. l. vii. p. 164. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Prosp. Idat. chron. Sid. car. vii. p. 341. [y] Greg. Tur. de glor. martyr. l. i. c. 13. p. 31—34. [z] Idat. p. 22. [*] Socr. l. vii. c. 47. p. 390.

through

through *Antioch*, where, in the preſence of the ſenate and people, ſhe pronounced a ſpeech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious ſtones [a]. At her departure, ſhe preſented the magiſtrates with a very conſiderable ſum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindneſs ſhe had ſhewed them by erecting two ſtatues to her honour; placing the one, which was of braſs, in the muſeum, and the other, which was plated over with gold, in the ſenate [b]. At *Jeruſalem* ſhe preſented *Juvenal*, biſhop of the place, with great ſums, to be diſtributed among the poor, and with a croſs of gold, adorned with precious ſtones, to be ſet up on mount *Calvary*; for which the biſhop is ſaid to have preſented her in his turn with the right hand of St. *Stephen*, the protomartyr [c]. The following year, when *Valentinian* was conſul, the fifth time, with *Anatolius*, *Genſeric* made a deſcent upon *Sicily* in the month of *June*; and meeting with little or no reſiſtance, ravaged the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid ſiege to *Palermo*: but not being able to reduce the place, he returned to *Africa* with an immenſe booty [d]. The ſame year, count *Cenſorius*, who had been ſent by *Valentinian* to negotiate a peace between the *Suevians* in *Galicia* and the natives of that country, was beſieged by *Rechila* in *Merſola* on the *Guadiana*, where he reſided, and, upon the reduction of the place, taken priſoner [e]. About the ſame time, *Aetius*, removing the *Burgundians* from the banks of the *Rhine*, allotted them ſettlements in the preſent dutchy of *Savoy*, and rewarded a body of *Alans*, who had ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity under the conduct of their king *Eocaric* or *Eocric*, with lands on the *Loire* [f]. Theſe *Alans* are ſuppoſed to have ſettled afterwards with the *Britons* in *Armorica* [g]. *Bucherius* takes *Sangiban*, king of the *Alans*, mentioned by *Jornandes*, to have been the ſucceſſor of *Eocaric* [h]. As *Salvianus* wrote at this time his treatiſe on judgments, we ſhall tranſcribe out of that piece a paſſage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the ſeveral barbarous nations then infeſting the empire. The *Goths*, ſays that writer, are treacherous, but chaſte: the *Alans* are not ſo chaſte, but leſs treacherous: the *Franks* are liars, but kind to ſtrangers: the *Saxons* are exceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaſte. But tho' the *Saxons* are cruel, continues *Salvianus*,

Sicily *ravaged by* Genſeric.

The Burgundians *removed by* Aetius *to the preſent dutchy of* Savoy.

[a] EVAGR. l. i. c. 20. p. 277. [b] Idem ibid. Chron. Al. p. 731. [c] CEDREN. p. 337. THEOPH. p. 74. MARC. chron. [d] PROSP. IDAT. & Chron. Al. p. 730. [e] IDAT. p. 21, 23. [f] PROSP. chron. VALES. rer. Franc. p. 173. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 37. p. 665. [g] VAL. ibid. [h] BUCH. Belg. p. 492.

the

the *Gepidæ* are void of humanity, the *Hunns* lewd and deceitful, the *Alemans* drunkards, the *Alans* lovers of plunder, and the *Franks* deceitful and prefidious to ſuch a degree as to look upon falſe oaths as ornaments of ſpeech; yet theſe vices are not ſo criminal in the barbarians as in the *Romans*, who are inſtructed in the morals of the chriſtian religion [i]. The ſame writer obſerves elſewhere [k], that tho' the *Goths* would not ſuffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet in the countries allotted to them they kept up thoſe infamous places for the ſake of the *Romans*, who lived among them, and claimed the ſcandalous privilege of frequenting them without reſtraint. In the eaſt, *Paulinus*, the empreſs *Eudocia*'s chief favourite, who by her intereſt had been raiſed in 430, to the higheſt poſt of *magiſter officiorum*, was this year put to death by the emperor's orders at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* [l]. And this is all we find in the antient writers concerning this remarkable event. The more modern *Greeks* aſcribe his death to the jealouſy of *Theodoſius*; and tell us, that the emperor being preſented on the ſixth of *January* with an apple of an uncommon ſize, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately ſent it, as a rarity, to *Eudocia*, and ſhe to *Paulinus*, in whoſe converſation ſhe took great delight, as he was a man of learning, and the empreſs herſelf well verſed in all the branches of literature. *Paulinus*, not knowing by whom it had been ſent to the empreſs, thought it a proper preſent for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raiſed ſome jealouſy in *Theodoſius*, who thereupon diſmiſſed *Paulinus*; and ſending for *Eudocia*, aſked her what was become of the apple. The empreſs, not caring to own ſhe had given it to *Paulinus*, anſwered, ſhe had eat it. Upon this, the emperor, producing it commanded *Paulinus* to be immediately executed, and from that time, ſhewed himſelf ſo indifferent towards the empreſs, that ſhe begged leave ſoon after to return to *Jeruſalem*, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus *Conſtantine Manaſſes*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Glycas* and *Codinus* [m]. That *Eudocia* retired about this time to *Jeruſalem* is very certain; and likewiſe, that there was a miſunderſtanding between her and the emperor, who cauſed a prieſt, by name *Severus*, and a deacon, named *John*, whom *Eudocia* had carried with her from *Conſtantinople*, to *Jeruſalem*, to be murdered, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the empreſs lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich preſents. This giving, either jealouſy to the prince, or occaſion to ſcandalous re-

Paulinus put to death by the emperor's orders.

The cauſe of his diſgrace, as related by the more modern writers.

Miſunderſtanding between the emperor and his wife Eudocia, *who retires to* Jeruſalem.

[i] Sal. de jud. l v. p. 107. [k] Idem, l. vii. p. 160. [l] Marc. chron. [m] Manass. p 55. Zonar. tom. p. 37. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 23. p. 485. Glyc. p. 261. Codin. orig. Conſtantinop. p. 56.

flections,

flections, *Theodoſius* diſpatched *Saturninus*, his *comes domeſticorum*, to *Jeruſalem*, with private orders to diſpatch the two favourite eccleſiaſtics. *Eudocia* was ſo affected with their death, that, not miſtreſs of her temper, ſhe cauſed, in her turn, *Saturninus* to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her ſervice, and return to *Conſtantinople*; which was reducing her to the condition of a private perſon. Thus ſhe lived at *Jeruſalem* to her death, which happened in 460. She is ſaid to have ſolemnly declared on her death-bed, that ſhe was altogether innocent as to the crime, of which *Theodoſius* had ſuſpected her and *Paulinus* [n]. As ſhe was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which the emperor left untouched, ſhe built at *Jeruſalem* a great number of churches, monaſteries, and hoſpitals, adorned the city with many ſtately edifices, and, at a vaſt expence, repaired the walls, which in moſt places were intirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. *Stephen*, which ſhe had built in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* [o]. Her piety is greatly extolled by moſt writers, eſpecially by *Caſſiodorus*, who ſtyles her of all women the moſt pious, the moſt religious [p]. The following year, *Cyrus* alone was conſul: he excelled in polite learning, eſpecially in poetry; and having by that means gained the favour and protection of *Eudocia*, who took great delight in verſes, he had been raiſed by her intereſt to the firſt employments in the ſtate. As he entered the circus this year with the conſular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with ſuch acclamations, that the emperor, who was preſent, cauſed him out of jealouſy, a few days after, to be ſtripped of all his employments, and his eſtate to be confiſcated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganiſm, and that he aſpired at the empire. Hereupon *Cyrus* fled for refuge to a church, and cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt. The emperor, reſpecting his new character, granted him his life, and ſoon after ſuffered him to be ordained biſhop, and to be raiſed to the ſee of *Cotyea* in *Phrygia* [q]. As *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, was now become very formidable, *Theodoſius* reſolved in the end to aſſiſt *Valentinian*, his couſin and ſon-in-law, againſt ſo powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, conſiſting of eleven hundred large ſhips, and putting on board of it the flower of his army under the conduct of *Arcovindas*, *Anſilus* and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in

Where ſhe died.

The conſul Cyrus ſtripped of his conſular ornaments by the emperor.

Theodoſius ſends a powerful fleet and army againſt Genſeric.

[n] EVAG. l. i. c. 21. p. 277, 278. CEDR. p. 343. THEOPH. p. 88. [o] EVAGR. l. i. c. 22. p. 280. CED. p. 337. Chron. Al. p. 732. NICEPH. l xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559. [p] CASSIOD. pſ. l. p. 174. [q] ZON. p. 33. THEOPH. p. 83. Chron. Al. p. 736.

Africa, and joining the weſtern forces there, to drive *Genſeric* out of the countries he had uſurped. They ſteered their courſe to *Sicily*, in order to paſs more eaſily from thence over into *Africa*. But in the mean time, *Genſeric* having ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Theodoſius*, and pretending to be deſirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coaſt of *Sicily* the reſult of the negotiations, which *Genſeric* craftily ſpun out till the ſeaſon proper for action was over [r]. While his embaſſadors were ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, the *Perſians*, with an open breach of the treaty made between the two empires in 422, entered the *Roman* territories in a hoſtile manner; which obliged *Theodoſius* to recal his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genſeric*, which he could not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa*, which he had ſeized, as we have mentioned above [s]. *Anatolius* and *Aſpar* were diſpatched againſt the *Perſians*, who finding the *Romans*, whom they expected to ſurpriſe, upon their guard, hearkened to an accommodation; ſo that a peace was concluded, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that neither the *Perſians* nor the *Romans* ſhould for the future raiſe any new fortifications on the frontiers [t]. The ſame year, *Arſaces*, king of *Armenia*, dying, divided his kingdom between his two ſons *Tigranes* and *Arſaces*; but by his laſt will bequeathed the far greater part to *Tigranes*. Hereupon *Arſaces* had recourſe to *Theodoſius*, who threatening to make war upon *Tigranes*, terrified the young prince to ſuch a degree, that flying to the protection of the *Perſian* king, he yielded to him his ſhare, preferring the eaſe and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. *Arſaces*, on the other hand, dreading the power of the *Perſians*, put *Theodoſius* in poſſeſſion of his ſhare, upon certain conditions, one of which was, that his family ſhould enjoy for ever an intire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes [u]. Thus ended the kingdom of *Armenia*, after it had continued for many ages, and given occaſion to much bloodſhed and endleſs wars, waged by the *Romans* firſt with the *Parthians*, and afterwards with the *Perſians*. It began and ended in an *Arſaces*. The ſhare of *Tigranes* belonging to the *Perſians*, was called *Perſarmenia* and *Armenia Perſica* [w]. The part of *Arſaces* held by the *Romans* was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of *comes Armeniæ*, or count of *Armenia* [x]. The ſame year, the *Hunns*, taking ad-

But he is obliged to recal them; and Valentinian, *to conclude a peace with* Genſeric.

The end of the antient kingdom of Armenia.

[r] Theoph. p. 87. Chron. Al. p. 730. [s] Idem, p. 88.
[t] Agath. p. 237. Procop. bell. Perſ p. 8. [u] Procop. de ædif. l. iii. c. i. p 52, 53. [w] Procop. l. i p. 29. Theodoret. l. v. c. 34. [x] Theod. p. 77. Procop. p. 29.

vantage

vantage of the wars, in which the *Romans* were engaged with the *Vandals* and *Perſians*, paſſed the *Danube*, and with a formidable army fell unexpectedly upon *Thrace*. They had invaded that province in 425, under the conduct of *Rougas*, their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the ſame time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violence, in his army, the barbarians repaſſed the *Danube* of their own accord, not caring, ſays *Socrates*[y], to engage in a war with the *Romans*, whoſe cauſe heaven had evidently eſpouſed. *Rougas* was ſucceeded by *Roas* or *Rouas* in 434, who concluded a peace with the *Romans*, whereof one of the conditions was, that they ſhould pay him yearly a penſion of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the *Hunns* reſolving to drive out the *Boſchi*, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, under the protection of the *Romans*. *Rouas* diſpatched one *Eilas* to the court of *Conſtantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodoſius*, if he lent them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Hereupon the two generals, *Plintha* and *Dionyſius*, were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if poſſible, from the reſolution he had taken. But in the mean time, *Rouas* dying, and his nephew, the famous *Attila*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtory of the *Hunns*, ſucceeding him, the embaſſadors were ordered to treat with him and his brother *Bleda*, his partner in the ſovereignty. But in the room of *Dionyſius*, who could not agree with *Plintha*, was ſent the quæſtor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations. The embaſſadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia*, at a place where the *Margus* or *Margis* falls into that river. The *Romans* were obliged to confer with them on horſeback, the *Hunns* refuſing to diſmount. The peace was confirmed, but upon ſuch conditions as plainly betrayed the weakneſs and deplorable condition of the empire. Theſe were, 1. That the *Romans* ſhould deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda* ſuch *Hunns* as had taken, or ſhould for the future take, refuge in the *Roman* dominions. 2. That the *Roman* priſoners, who ſhould make their eſcape from the *Hunns*, without paying their ranſom, ſhould in like manner be delivered up, or eight pieces of gold be paid for each of them. 3. That, inſtead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* ſhould for the future pay annually ſeven hundred. 4. That the *Romans* ſhould not aſſiſt any nation whatſoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns*. In compliance with this ſhameful treaty, the *Romans* immediately delivered up to *Attila* ſome

The Hunns *invade* Thrace.

Rouas, *king of the* Hunns, *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Attila.

The Romans *conclude a peace with the* Hunns *upon moſt ſhameful conditions.*

[y] Socr. p. 387.

princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who were by his orders crucified like the meaneſt of ſlaves, in the ſight of the *Romans*, for no other crime but becauſe they had abandoned their own country to ſerve in their armies. *Attila*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conqueſt he pleaſed, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged even by the ſeveral barbarous nations lying north of the *Euxine* ſea [z]. Having thus extended his dominions, he reſolved to take advantage of the wars in which *Theodoſius* was engaged this year with the *Perſians* and *Vandals*; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he paſſed the *Danube* at the head of a very numerous and formidable army, and entering *Thrace*, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds, and, among the reſt, of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube*, and of *Margum*, which was betrayed to him by the biſhop of the place. Elated with this ſucceſs, he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Theodoſius*, requiring, or rather commanding, him, to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for ſome time, and to ſettle what ſhould be paid him for the future. *Theodoſius* could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon thoſe, who, after the declaration of war, had forſaken *Attila*, and come over to him. Whereupon *Attila* began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. He took by ſtorm *Retiarium* on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia*, *Singidunum*, *Naiſſus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum*, with ſeveral other cities and ſtrong-holds, inſomuch, that *Theodoſius*, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Conſtantinople*, retired the following year 442, when *Eudoxius* and *Dioſcorus* were conſuls, into *Aſia* [a]. As to the iſſue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodoſius*, who thereupon returned to *Conſtantinople*, and entered that city on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* [b]. From this time *Attila* continued quiet till the year 447, contenting himſelf with only threatening to make war upon the *Romans*, in order to draw from them corn, money, proviſions, and whatever elſe he ſtood in need of; for the *Romans*, trembling at the very name of *Attila*, complied with all his demands, however unreaſonable, and obeyed him, ſays *Priſcus*, like ſo many ſlaves, that he might have no pretence to take arms againſt them. The embaſſadors he ſent to *Conſtantinople* returned always loaded with preſents; inſomuch that, when he thought fit

Attila, *notwithſtanding the treaty of peace, paſſes the* Danube;

Attila makes himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities.

The Romans dread the name of Attila.

[z] Priſc. hiſt. Goth. de legat. p. 45—48. [a] Idem, p. 34—37. Chron. Alex. p. 730. Prosp. Marcel. chron. [b] Marc. Prosp. chron. Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 9. p. 898.

to

to reward any of his own people, he uſed to ſend them, under ſome pretence or other, with the character of embaſſadors to *Theodoſius*, who, to court the friendſhip of their maſter, never failed to load them with preſents to a great value. Thus were the ſubjects of the empire impoveriſhed to enrich the barbarians, their ſworn enemies [c]. *Attila*, finding himſelf thus become the terror of the *Romans*, is ſaid to have ſent, out of mere wantonneſs, two *Goths*, with the character of embaſſadors, the one to *Theodoſius*, and the other to *Valentinian*, whom, by his orders, they addreſſed thus; Attila, *my maſter and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception* [d]. During theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, the *Suevians* made great progreſs in *Spain*, where they took the city of *Seville*, and reduced all *Bætica* with the province of *Carthagena* [e].

His haughty behaviour and arrogance.

THE following year, *Maximus* being conſul, the ſecond time, with *Paterius*, *Theodoſius* leaving *Conſtantinople*, viſited the province of *Pontus*, where he cauſed the public edifices and walls of *Heraclea* to be repaired [f]. As he was one day, during this progreſs, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, duſt, and thirſt, an officer of his guards preſented him with a beautiful cup full of freſh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a moſt obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refreſh himſelf, when it was not in his power to refreſh thoſe who attended him [g]. In 444, when *Theodoſius* was conſul, the eighteenth time, with *Albinus*, died *Arcadia*, the ſiſter of *Theodoſius* [h]. The ſame year the eunuch *Antiochus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abuſing his authority to the oppreſſion of the people, was by *Theodoſius* degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia* at *Chalcedon*, ſtripped of the great wealth he had amaſſed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed [i]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Theodoſius* made him pope, meaning perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his diſgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician [k]. The following year, when *Valentinian* was conſul, the ſixth year, with *Nomus*, nothing remarkable happened in the eaſt; but in the weſt, *Vitus* being ſent with a conſiderable army into *Spain*, to ſupport the *Romans*, that is, the natives, againſt the *Suevians*, moſt of his men were cut off by *Rechila*, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, and abandon

Arcadia *dies.*

The eunuch Antiochus *diſgraced.*

The Romans *defeated by the* Suevians *in* Spain.

[c] PRISC. p. 36, 37. [d] Chron. Al. [e] IDAT. p. 23. [f] PARC. p. 315. Cod. Theod. nov. tit. 30. p. 13. [g] PASC. p. 590. [h] MARC. chron. [i] ZONAR. tom. iii. p. 34. THEOPH. p. 83. [k] Cod. p. 48.

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the inhabitants to the mercy of thoſe barbarians [l]. The next year, *Aetius* being conſul the third time with *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*, the *Britons*, no longer able to withſtand the *Scots* and *Picts*, had recourſe to *Aetius*, who, governed the weſtern empire almoſt with an abſolute ſway; to move him to compaſſion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, *The groans of the* Britons *to the conſul* Actius; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to lend them the leaſt aſſiſtance [m]. The learned *Uſher* thinks, that *Valentinian* was then under apprehenſion of a war with *Attila* [n]. The venerable *Bede* ſuppoſes the *Hunns* to have already broken into the weſtern empire [o]; but he was therein certainly miſtaken. In the eaſt a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, when *Ardaburius* and *Alypius* were conſuls; and violent earthquakes were felt in moſt provinces, which overturned ſeveral cities, and great part of the new walls of *Conſtantinople*, with fifty-ſeven towers, and many ſtately edifices, not only in that city but likewiſe at *Antioch* and *Alexandria* [p]. The ſame year, 447, *Attila*, upon what provocation we know not (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, however unjuſt and arrogant), broke into *Thrace* with a formidable army, conſiſting of *Hunns*, *Goths*, *Gepidæ*, *Alans*, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by their reſpective kings. *Attila*, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous hoſt, overran without oppoſition *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacias*, *Mæſia*, and *Scythia*. He took and plundered above ſeventy cities, and amongſt the reſt *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, properly ſo called, *Arcadiopolis* in the province of *Europe*, and *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœſia*. They extended their ravages on one ſide to the *Euxine* ſea, and on the other to the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ*, which part *Theſſaly* from *Achaia* or *Greece*. In the mean time, *Arnegiſcius*, governor of *Mœſia* and *Thrace*, having drawn together all the troops quartered in thoſe two provinces, marched againſt *Attila*; and engaging him in *Lower Mœſia*, on the banks of the river *Utis*, which falls into the *Danube* near a city of the ſame name, cut off great numbers of his men; but falling unluckily from his horſe, he was himſelf killed, after having ſold his life dear, and his army put to the rout [q]. Another battle was fought in the *Cherſoneſus* near *Gallipoli*, probably by the generals *Aſpar* and *Arcobindus*, who

The Britons *recur in vain to* Actius.

Attila *breaks anew into the empire at the head of a formidable army.*

He overruns ſeveral provinces.

[l] Sid. car. v. p. 315. Idat. p. 24. [m] Gild. excid. Britan. c. 6. p. 118. [n] Usser. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p. 1204. [o] Bed. hiſt. c. 13. p. 156. [p] Chron. Al. p. 734. Evagr. l. i. c. 17. p 275. Niceph. l. xiv. c 48 p. 543. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 44. p. 553 Theoph. p. 88. Chron. Al. p. 734. Prisc. p. 35, 36.

were

were both ſent againſt *Attila* [r]. But no better ſucceſs attended the *Romans* in this than in the other engagement; ſo that *Theodoſius* was obliged the following year 448, when *Zeno* and *Poſthumianus* were conſuls, to ſend *Anatolius*, with one *Vigilius*, who underſtood the language of the *Hunns*, to *Attila* to ſue for peace, which he was ſtrictly enjoined to conclude upon any terms. A peace was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the *Roman* name, *viz.* 1. That the *Romans* ſhould pay immediately to *Attila* ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred. 2. That they ſhould ſend back to him all his deſerters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they ſhould deliver up the *Roman* captives, who had eſcaped without paying their ranſom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold. 4. That the *Romans* ſhould ſend no embaſſadors to *Attila*, till they had delivered up to him all his deſerters and fugitives [s]. Purſuant to this ignominous treaty, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold were ſent immediately to *Attila*, with all the *Hunns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, among whom were ſeveral princes, who choſe rather to be killed by the *Romans* than to fall into the hands of *Attila* [t].

And defeats the Roman *generals ſent againſt him.*

The Romans *conclude a peace with him upon ſhamful terms.*

While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, *Rechila* king of the *Suevians* ſettled in *Spain*, died at *Merida* in 447, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Requiarius*, who the year following married the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, and ſoon after went to pay a viſit to his father-in-law at *Toulouſe*; but on his return to *Spain*, ſurpriſed the city of *Lerida*; and carrying with him from thence a great number of captives, pillaged the territory of *Saragoſa*, which, according to *Iſidorus*, belonged to the *Romans* [u]. This year a miſunderſtanding aroſe between *Attila* and *Valentinian* on account of ſome ſacred veſſels, which *Attila* falſſly pretended to have been ſtolen from him by one *Silvanus*, a banker in *Rome*. *Silvanus*, who was the lawful owner of theſe veſſels, had ſold them to the church. But as they were pieces of exquiſite workmanſhip, *Attila*, coveting them, or rather ſeeking a pretence to quarrel with *Valentinian*, claimed them as ſtolen from him by *Silvanus*, and with great arrogance preſſed the emperor either to reſtore the veſſels, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*. Hereupon count *Romulus* was ſent with *Promotus*, governor of *Noricum*, and *Romulus* an officer of diſtinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him, if poſſible, that the veſſels in diſpute had never belonged to him; or if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. *Attila* received

Rechila. *king of the* Suevians *in* Spain, *dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon* Requiarius.

Attila *ſeeks a pretence to quarrel with* Valentinian.

[r] PRIS. p. 34. [s] Idem ibid. & p. 51—53. THEOPH. p. 93.
[t] IDAT. p. 26.

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the embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the embaſſadors of *Theodoſius*, who arrived at his court much about the ſame time. But the only anſwer that he returned to their reaſoning and arguments was, that the veſſels belonged to him, and that he was determined to do himſelf juſtice, and declare war, if *Valentinian* did not either reſtore them, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*, who had ſtolen them. But notwithſtanding theſe menaces, he did not make war upon *Valentinian* till three years after, tho' that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands. The following year, when *Protogenes* and *Aſturius* or *Aſterius* were conſuls, one *Edecon* being ſent by *Attila* with the character of embaſſador to *Theodoſius*, the eunuch *Chryſaphus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, diſcovering him to be greatly taken with the ſplendor of the court, and deſirous to continue among the *Romans*, promiſed him great wealth and preferments, provided he diſpatched *Attila*; which he promiſing to do, *Theodoſius* conſented to the wicked attempt, and charged *Vigilius*, interpreter to the *Roman* embaſſadors at the court of *Attila*, to be aſſiſting to him in that undertaking. But *Edecon*, either apprehenſive of the dangers attending ſuch a deſperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his miniſter, upon his return diſcovered the plot to *Attila*; who thereupon cauſed *Vigilius* to be ſeized, and diſpatched his ſecretary *Oreſtes* to reproach *Theodoſius* with his treachery, and demand *Chryſaphus*, the chief author and contriver of the conſpiracy, to be delivered up to him. But *Nomus*, who was ſent embaſſador to the king of the *Huns* on this occaſion, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, gained his eſteem and affection to ſuch a degree, that he promiſed to live in peace and amity with *Theodoſius*, pardoned *Chryſaphus*, ſet *Vigilius* at liberty, and diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, loaded with rich preſents. Thus *Priſcus*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote, having attended the embaſſadors to the court of *Attila* [w].

Theodoſius attempts to get Attila *murdered.*

Who ſpares the conſpirators, and makes peace with the emperor.

The following year, 450, when *Valentinian* was conſul the ſeventh time, with *Avienus*, *Theodoſius* was ſo bruiſed with a fall from his horſe in hunting, that being with much ado carried in a ſedan to *Conſtantinople*, he died there the next day, the twentieth of *June*, according to *Theophanes* [x], or the twenty-eighth of *July*, as we read in *Theodorus* [y], who is followed by moſt chronologers. According to this opinion he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight ſince he had

Theodoſius dies.

[w] Priſc. p. 57—63. [x] Idem, p. 72. [x] Theoph. p 568.
[y] Theod. p. 88.

received

received the title of *Auguſtus.* He was buried on the thirtieth of *July*, in the ſame tomb with his father *Arcadius* [z]. He is generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but ſlender parts, and to have been intirely guided by thoſe about him, eſpecially by the eunuchs of the court, who, abuſing his authority, oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that many in his reign choſe rather to abandon their native country, and live among the *Hunns*, and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government of thoſe, who, by the eunuchs, were ſet over them. Authors give us the following inſtance of his diſattention to public affairs: As he had been uſed, when yet a child, to ſign all the acts that were brought to him by his miniſters, without reading them, he continued the ſame cuſtom even after he was married, till his ſiſter *Pulcheria*, to appriſe him of the evil conſequences that might attend it, cauſed an act to be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for ever the empreſs *Eudocia* as her ſlave. This act the emperor ſigned without peruſing it, or inquiring what it contained; which he had no ſooner done, than *Pulcheria* deſired him to read it, when, aſhamed of his paſt indolence and neglect, he reſolved to be upon his guard for the future, and to ſign no papers till he was well informed what they contained [a]. He was a great friend to the church, but yet, miſled by ill-meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the eccleſiaſtic writers give us of the two councils held by his orders at *Epheſus*, and of the progreſs which the hereſy of *Eutyches* made in his reign. Of the writers who flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, we ſhall ſpeak in note (S).

His character.

An inſtance of his diſattention to public affairs.

[z] THEOD. ibid. [a] THEOPH. p. 87. CONSTANT. MANASS. p. 55. ZOS. p. 36. SUID. p. 577.

(S) We are chiefly indebted to the eccleſiaſtic writers *Socrates*; *Sozomen* and *Philoſtorgius*, for the hiſtory of the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger. *Socrates* was born in *Conſtantinople* about the year 380, and ſpent moſt part of his life in that city (1). He ſpeaks of what happened after the year 395, as of things that had happened in his time (2). He tells us, that when he was yet very young, he knew a *Novatian* prieſt, by name *Auxano*, who remembered the council of *Nice*, and lived to the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger, that is, to the year 408 (3). *Socrates* ſtudied grammar under *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two pagan prieſts of *Alexandria*, who had retired to

(1) *Socr. l.* v. *c.* 24. *p.* 293. (2) *Idem, l.* vi. *c.* 1. *p.* 299. (3) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 13. *p.* 41.

Conſtantinople, when the temples of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which happened in the year 389. He probably ſtudied eloquence under *Troilus*, who in his time taught it with great applauſe at *Conſtantinople*; for he beſtows mighty encomiums upon that ſophiſt (4). He begins where *Euſebius* ended his hiſtory, but repeats the tranſactions of the firſt year of *Conſtantine*'s reign, that is, of the year 306, and carries his work down to the ſeventeenth conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* II, that is, to the year 439, ſo that it compriſes the ſpace of a hundred and thirty-four years. He addreſſes it to one *Theodorus*, by whoſe orders he undertook it. *Theodorus* was propably a biſhop or prieſt; for he calls him a perſon conſecrated to the worſhip of god (5). He writes in a familiar, but plain and eaſy, ſtyle. At firſt he followed *Ruſinus*, eſpecially in his firſt two books, copying even his miſtaſtes; but theſe he corrected, after having peruſed the works of *Athanaſius*. He informed himſelf with great care of the truth of what he relates, copying what had happened before his time from the authors that were moſt eſteemed, and relating only ſuch events of his own time as he himſelf had either ſeen, or learnt from perſons of unqueſtionable veracity (6). As he ſpeaks of the *Novatians* with great reſpect, and even pretends ſome of their biſhops to have wrought miracles, ſeveral writers conclude from thence, that he himſelf held the tenets of *Novatus*. But on the other hand, he blames the *Novatians* for ſeparating from the church (7), and in expreſs terms diſapproves the ſuppreſſing of the office of penitentiary in the church of *Conſtantinople*, againſt which office the *Novatians* had always exclaimed (8). *Socrates* wrote in *Greek*, but ſeems to have been acquainted with the *Latin* tongue. His hiſtory is quoted by *Liberatus*, and the ſeventh œcumenical council. *Sozomen*, or *Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes*, as he is ſtyled by *Photius*, was not, as ſome have conjectured from the firſt of theſe names, a native of *Salamis* in the iſland of *Cyprus*, but of a village in the territory of *Gaza*, named *Bethelia*, as appears from the account he gives of the converſion of his grandfather to the chriſtian religion (9). The title of *ſcholaſticus*, beſtowed upon him by *Photius*, (10) and others, gives us room to believe, that he was well verſed in polite literature. He pleaded at the bar in *Conſtantinople* (11), and was at the ſame time aſſeſſor or counſellor to *Iſidorus*, prefect of the eaſt in 435, and 436 (12). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote firſt in two books the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the aſcenſion of our Saviour to the depoſition of *Licinius* in 323 (13), which work has been long ſince intirely loſt. He afterwards undertook his great hiſtory, which was to compriſe whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third conſulſhip of *Criſpus* and

(4) *Idem*, *l.* ii. 1. *c. p.* 79. & *prol. p.* 6. (5) *Idem prol. p.* 7. (6) *Idem*, *l.* ii. *c.* 1. *p.* 79. (7) *Idem*, *l.* ii *c.* 38. *p.* 144. (8) *Idem. l.* v. *p.* 278. (9) *Soz. l.* v *c.* 15 *p.* 617. (10) *Phot. c.* 30. *p.* 17. (11) *Soz. p.* 105. (12) *Iſidor. Peluſ. l.* i. *ep.* 300. *p.* 880. (13) *Soz. l.* i *c.* 1. *p.* 401.

Conſtantine

Conſtantine Cæſar, that is, from the year 324, to the ſeventeenth conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* the younger, in 439 (14). Whence it is manifeſt, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, ſince it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from purſuing his deſign. St. *Gregory* writes, that the hiſtory of *Sozomen* was not received by the church of *Rome* on account of the many falſhoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author beſtowed on *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*. He is not indeed without faults; but notwithſtanding ſome miſtakes that are to be found in his work, he is commonly preferred to the other hiſtorians of thoſe times. Whoever compares his hiſtory with that of *Socrates*, will find, that the one has evidently copied from the other, moſt likely *Sozomen* from *Socrates*; for the latter ſeems to have written before the former. When *Socrates* wrote, the houſe in which *Arius* died was ſtill ſtanding; whereas *Sozomen* obſerves, that an *Arian*, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (15). Beſides, the candor and ſimplicity with which *Socrates* writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his hiſtory from another without owning it. Though *Sozomen* beſtows great commendations on ſome *Novatian* biſhops, as *Socrates* had done; yet he condemns in ſeveral places their tenets (16). About the beginning of the ſixth century, *Caſſiodorus* cauſed the hiſtories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* to, be tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue by one *Epiphanes*, that *Greece* alone, ſays *Caſſiodorus*, might not poſſeſs ſo valuable and neceſſary a work. He divided them, thus tranſlated, into twelve books, commonly known by the name of *Hiſtoria Tripartita*. Before him *Theodorus*, the reader, had begun to compile a hiſtory in *Greek*, from the three above-mentioned hiſtorians. But of that work, only the two firſt books, compriſing the reigns of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and, thoſe, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. *Philoſtorgius*, born about the year 368, in the province of *Cappadocia Secunda*, wrote an eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, or rather, under that name, an apology for the *Arians*, eſpecially the *Eunomians* whoſe tenets he himſelf held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, and carried it down to the acceſſion of *Valentinian* III. to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long ſince loſt; but an abſtract of it, which may be called a large hiſtory, has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (17), who commends the ſtyle, but thinks the author often too diffuſe and tedious. The whole is a continued ſatire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the *Arians*. *Philoſtorgius* ſeldom agrees with other writers, and relates ſeveral remarkable

(14) *Idem. ibid.* & *p.* 991, 397, 403. (15) *Socr. l.* i. *c.* 38. *p.* 74. *Soz. l.* ii. *c.* 30. *p.* 49. (16) *Soz. l.* vii. *c.* 16. *p.* 726. & *l.* viii. *p.* 754, &c. (17) *Phot. c.* 40. *p.* 25.

events, quite unknown to thoſe who lived at the ſame time with him, ſuch as the miracles wrought by *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, by *Theophilus* the *Indian*, by *Leontius* of *Tripoli*, &c. whence *Photius* ſtyles him *a fabulous and lying writer* (18). However, he is often quoted by *John* of *Antioch*, who wrote about the beginning of the ſeventh century, by *Nicetas Coniates*, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, by *Nicephorus* and others. *Suidas* likewiſe has copied ſeveral paſſages from him. *Philoſtorgius*, beſides his hiſtory, wrote a long panegyric on *Eunomius*, and an apology for the chriſtian religion againſt *Porphyrius*; but neither of theſe works has reached our times. About the ſame time flouriſhed *Philip* of *Sida* in *Pamphylia*, who wrote a very diffuſe hiſtory from the creation to his time, conſiſting of eight hundred and ſixty-four books, which he intitled the *Chriſtian hiſtory*. Of this voluminous work, which has been long ſince loſt, *Photius* ſpeaks with great contempt (19). The ſame author wrote another extenſive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor *Julian* (20); but that performance has undergone the ſame fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of *Conſtantinople*, and thought himſelf highly injured, becauſe he was not preferred to that ſee (21). *Priſcus*, who attended *Maximus* when ſent embaſſador to *Attila* in 449, wrote the hiſtory of the war between that prince and *Theodoſius*; the hiſtory of *Marcian*'s reign; an account of the journey of *Anthemius* to *Rome*; of the war carried on in the reign of *Leo* againſt *Genſeric*; and of the unhappy end of *Aſpar* and his children, put to death by the emperor *Leo* in 471 (22). *Suidas* aſcribes to him eight books of the *Byzantine* hiſtory, and of the war with *Attilus*, meaning, no doubt, *Attila* (23). *Priſcus* was a native of *Panes* or *Panium*, reckoned among the cities of the province of *Europe* in *Thrace* (24). He was a ſophiſt, or profeſſor of eloquence (25). He viſited *Rome*, where he ſaw the king of the *Franks* (26), no doubt *Merouée*, and travelled likewiſe to *Thebais* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. In the latter city he was an eye-witneſs of the diſorders which attended the election of the holy biſhop *Proterus* to that ſee, and greatly contributed to the appeaſing of them by the good advice he gave to *Florus*, prefect of *Egypt*. *Euphemius*, *magiſter officiorum* to the emperor *Marcian*, adviſed with him in all matters of importance (27). His hiſtory is ſaid to be ſtill extant and lodged in ſome libraries (28). Hitherto only ſome fragments of it, relating to embaſſies, have been publiſhed, which are to be found among the works of the other *Byzantine* hiſtorians. Some paſſages of his hiſtory are quoted by *Jor-*

(18) *Idem. p.* 16, 25. (19) *Idem, p.* 21, (20) *Socr. l.* vii. *c.* 27. *p.* 368. (21) *Idem ibid.* (22) *Evagr. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 273. & *l.* ii. *c.* 1. *p.* 283. (23) *Suid. p.* 590. (24) *Theopb. p.* 100. *Evagr. p.* 74. (25) *Evag. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 275. (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Idem, l.* ii. *p.* 295. *Priſc. p.* 41. (28) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 18. *p.* 488.

nandes;

nandes (29). He wrote with great exactneſs and elegance (30). *Suidas* mentions his declamations and letters (31). The hiſtory of *Theodoſius* the younger was likewiſe written by one *John*, who is often quoted by *Evagrius*, and by him ſtyled *orator*, or profeſſor of eloquence (32). He is thought to have been a native of *Antioch*, becauſe he is frequently quoted by *Evagrius* in what relates to the hiſtory of that city (33). His hiſtory ended with the ſeventh year of *Juſtin* I. of the chriſtian æra 525; whence we muſt diſtinguiſh him from another hiſtorian of the ſame name, whoſe hiſtory began with the death of *Juſtinian*, and was carried down to the reign of *Mauritius* (34). Another hiſtorian, named likewiſe *John*, a follower of *Eutyches*, wrote in five books the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the time of *Neſtorius* to the defeat of *Baſiliſcus*; that is, from the year 428, to 477. To his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory he added five books (35), the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

(29) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 24, 34, 35, 42, 49. (30) *Evag. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 275. & *l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 308. (31) *Suid. p.* 590. (32) *Evag. p.* 61. (33) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 16. *l.* ii. *c.* 12. *l.* iii. *c.* 14, 28. (34) *Idem, p* 274, & 383. (35) *Phot. c.* 41. *p.* 38.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Roman *history, from the death of* Theodosius II. *to the total failure of the western empire in* Augustulus.

IF the laws at this time in force concerning private estates and inheritances, had obtained with respect to kingdoms and empires, the right of *Eudoxia* to the imperial crown had been indisputable, that princess being the only child of the deceased emperor; but not the least regard was had, either to her, or to the emperor *Valentinian* her husband: and truly neither of them seems to have laid any claim to the eastern empire, tho' *Theodosius* left no issue male behind him. As *Pulcheria* had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of *Augusta*, she remained by his death sole mistress of the empire; and no person was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, she resolved to marry, notwithstanding the resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as the death of *Theodosius* was publicly known, she sent for *Marcianus*, a person famous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer her, agreeable to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. *Marcianus* readily complying with this condition, she sent for the patriarch *Anatolius*, and the senate, and in their presence declared *Marcianus* emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of *August* of the present year 450 [b]. His election was immediately notified to *Valentinian*; and he approving it, his images were, according to custom, sent into the west, and received at *Rome* on the thirtieth of *March* of the following year [c]. After this, the

Pulcheria resolves to marry Marcian.

He is declared emperor.

[b] THEOD. p. 551. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 1. p. 275. THEOPH. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 738. [c] EVAGR. p. 285.

marriage

marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, *Pulcheria* being then in the fifty-firſt, and *Marcian* in the fiftieth year of his age [d]. He was a native of *Thrace* or *Illyricum*, and deſcended from a family of no great diſtinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith [e]. As his father ſerved in the army, he reſolved to follow the ſame profeſſion; and, purſuant to this reſolution, ſet out for *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, in order to inliſt himſelf there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road, and, prompted by his good-nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This ſome perſons, accidentally coming by, obſerved, and immediately acquainted the magiſtrates of *Philippopolis* with what they had ſeen; who thereupon cauſed *Marcian* to be ſeized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been ſeaſonably diſcovered and convicted [f]. *Marcian*, thus ſet at liberty, liſted himſelf among the troops quartered at *Philippopolis*, and ſerved ſtill as a private man in 421, when, upon the breaking out of the war between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, the corps in which he ſerved was ordered into *Syria*; but *Marcian* falling ſick as they marched through *Aſia*, continued a long time indiſpoſed at a place called *Sydema*, and thence repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he liſted himſelf among the troops that were commanded by *Ardaburius*, and his ſon *Aſpar*, who diſcovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raiſed him to the poſt of their ſecretary. With that character he attended *Aſpar* in 431 into *Africa*, where he was taken priſoner by *Genſeric*, with many perſons of diſtinction, *Aſpar* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by *Genſeric*'s orders, brought into the palace, where, while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leiſure to view them, *Marcian* lying down on the ground fell aſleep, and an eagle at the ſame time appearing over him, ſays *Evagrius*, and intercepting with his extended wings the ſcorching rays of the ſun, afforded him a friendly ſhade. This *Genſeric* obſerved from his apartment, and concluding from thence, that he was deſtined by heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to ſwear, that he would never make war upon the *Vandals* [g]. From *Africa* he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was, according to *Theophanes* [h], honoured with the ſenatorial dignity. *Theodorus* ſtyles him only tribune; but adds, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in war [i]. He

His birth, education, and character.

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, p. 283. NICEPH. l. xv. c. 1. p. 595. [f] EVAGR. p. 283. [g] Idem, p. 284. [h] THEOPH. p. 81. [i] THEOD. l. i. p. 551.

had

had by his firſt wife, who died before his acceſſion to the empire, but one daughter, named *Euphemia*, whom, when he was raiſed to the ſovereignty, he married to *Anthemius*, afterwards emperor of the weſt. All writers agree, that *Martianus* was a prince of moſt exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a ſincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in ſhort, a perſon endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to *Conſtantine* and *Theodoſius the Great*. He preferred none but perſons of known abilities, and unblemiſhed characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of thoſe times, great encomiums beſtowed, not only upon him, but on all thoſe who were employed by him in the adminiſtration.

Pulcheria, mother to the emperor Valentinian *dies.*

In the weſt died in the ſame year 450, *Pulcheria*, mother to the emperor *Valentinian*, and was interred at *Ravenna*, where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen [k]. She is blamed by ſome writers for yielding, or inducing her ſon to yield, *Weſt Illyricum* to *Theodoſius*. She had governed the weſtern empire with an abſolute ſway for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, *Valentinian* ſuffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the ſame authority which ſhe had enjoyed in his minority.

Attila aſſembles a formidable army.

The following year 451, *Attila* aſſembled one of the moſt numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in hiſtory. It conſiſted of *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Oſtrogoths*, *Rugians*, *Gelonians*, *Burgundians*, *Belonatians*, *Squiri*, *Neurians*, *Baſtarnæ*, *Turingians*, *Bructerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marconians*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and in ſhort, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of ſeven, hundred thouſand men [l]. *Attila*, in raiſing ſo formidable an army, had nothing leſs in view, than to make himſelf maſter of both empires. But *Marcian* returning no other anſwer to his embaſſadors, ſent to demand the annual penſion or tribute paid him by *Theodoſius*, than that *he had gold for his friends, and ſteel for his enemies*, he thought it adviſeable to turn his arms firſt againſt *Valentinian*, whom he held in the utmoſt contempt, being well appriſed, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the eaſtern, after he had made himſelf maſter of the weſtern, empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon *Valentinian*, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to that prince, demanding his ſiſter *Honoria*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half the weſtern empire, as belonging of right to her. We have obſerved above, that *Honoria* had maintained, by

He reſolves to make war upon Valentinian.

[k] Prosp. chron. Idat. Marit. it Ital. p. 39, 40. [l] Prisc. p. 40. Jorn. c. 78. p. 666. Sid car. vii. p. 54.

means

means of her eunuchs, a private correſpondence with *Attila*, and even ſent him a ring, which the embaſſador produced to prove their marriage. *Valentinian* anſwered, that, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the ſame time diſpatched *Carpilio*, the ſon of *Aetius*, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him of the injuſtice of his claim. *Attila*, to the great ſurprize both of *Valentinian* and the embaſſadors themſelves, ſeemed to be fully ſatisfied with their reaſoning, and the arguments they alledged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new ſcheme. *Hemeric*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric* king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, cauſed her noſe to be cut off ſoon after, and ſent her back, thus diſfigured, to her father, upon a bare ſuſpicion, that ſhe deſigned to poiſon him. As he was well appriſed, that *Theodoric* would not fail to reſent ſuch an affront, he reſolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents to *Attila*, to engage him to fall upon *Theodoric*. *Attila*, who wanted only ſome pretence to enter *Gaul*, readily cloſed with the propoſal, pretending at the ſame time, that he might meet with no oppoſition from the *Romans*, to be fully ſatisfied with the reaſons alledged by their embaſſadors, and to relinquiſh all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he ſent to *Valentinian* embaſſadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, aſſuring him, that his warlike preparations were deſigned againſt *Theodoric* alone; that, as to the *Romans*, he ſhould ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not eſpouſe the cauſe of his enemy. At the ſame time he wrote to *Theodoric*, aſſuring him of his friendſhip, and exhorting that prince to join him againſt the *Romans*, as their common enemy. The better to ſurpriſe *Valentinian*, he did not wait the return of the embaſſadors he had ſent to him; but ſetting out immediately from *Scythia*, though in the midſt of winter, and directing his march through *Germany*, he never halted till he reached, early in the ſpring, the banks of the *Rhine*. There ſuch of the *Franks* as ſtill dwelt on the *German* ſide of thatriver, endeavoured to ſtop him; but they were eaſily defeated, *Childeric*, the ſon of *Merouée*, and grandſon of *Clodion*, being taken priſoner, with his mother and other perſons of diſtinction [m]. The *Franks* being thus overcome and diſperſed, *Attila* cauſed an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpoſe whole

Whom he endeavours to deceive.

Defeats the Franks, and enters Gaul.

[m] VAL. rer. Franc. l iv. p. 158. DU CHESNE tom i. p. 726. SID. car. vii. p. 541.

forefts, and, paſſing the *Rhine* without oppoſition, entered *Gaul* [n]. As he gave out, that he deſigned to live in friendſhip with the *Romans*, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the *Viſigoths* in *Languedoc*, ſeveral cities opened their gates to him; but the rapines and violences, which he ſuffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real deſign, the other cities ſhut their gates againſt him. Hereupon, pulling off the maſk, he beſieged, took by ſtorm, and pillaged, *Tongres*, *Treves*, *Straſbourg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into ſeveral bodies, he put all to fire and ſword, and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in aſhes, the cities of *Arras*, *Laon*, *Beſançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres* [o]. *Attila*, thus laying waſte the country far and near, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, arrived at length before *Orleans*, and laid ſiege to that city. In the mean time, *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, aſſembled what forces he could, having brought with him but a ſmall number of troops, which, however, were reinforced by a great number of *Viſigoths*, under the command of their king *Theodoric*, whom *Aetius* had perſuaded to join the imperial troops, and, with their united forces, oppoſe the furious torrent, which threatened both alike. The example of *Theodoric* was followed by ſeveral other nations, namely, by the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merouée*, who, by means of one of his own nation, named *Wiomaud*, had made his eſcape; by the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, the *Armorici*, the *Liſians*, the *Riverins*, the *Ibrions*, and ſeveral other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, who, apprehending themſelves to be in no leſs danger than the *Romans*, readily joined *Aetius* againſt the common enemy [p]. The *Liſians* dwelt, according to *Valeſius* [q], on the banks of the *Lis* in *Flanders*; the *Riverins* on the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*; and the *Ibrions* in *Vindelicia*, now *Suabia* and *Bavaria*. While *Aetius* was buſied in aſſembling the *Roman* forces and thoſe of their allies, *Attila* purſued the ſiege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the place night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines. At length he carried it by aſſault, according to *Apollinaris Sidonius*; but while his men were buſy in plundering, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, *Aetius* and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, entered the city, cut great numbers of the *Hunns* in pieces, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and obliged *Attila* to repaſs the *Loire*, in which many of his men were drowned, and

Takes and deſtroys ſeveral cities.

Aetius *arrives in* Gaul, *and is joined by* Theodoric *and other princes.*

Attala *beſieges, and takes,* Orleans;

But is driven out with great ſlaughter by Aetius.

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc l. ii. c. 57. p. 275. Idat. p. 28. Coint. annal. eccleſ. Franc. p. 451. [p] Jorn. p. 6664. Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [q] Val. p. 161.

to

to retire towards the *Rhine*. Having paſſed *Troyes*, he halted in the *Catalaunic* or *Mauriac* fields, that is, in the plains of *Chalons*, which city was then known by the name of *Catalauni*. The ſame plains were called, according to *Jornandes*[r], *Mauriaci* or *Mauritii*, no doubt, from ſome neighbouring city or village. *Valeſius* indeed diſtinguiſhes the *Catalaunic* from the *Mauriac* plains, and ſuppoſes two battles to have been fought, the one, which was not deciſive, in the *Mauriac*, and the other, which put an end to the war, in the *Catalaunic* plains[s]. But all the antients mention only one battle fought in the plains, called by ſome *Mauriac* and *Mauritian*, and by others *Catalaunic*. *Attila* choſe that place, as the moſt advantageous for his *Hunns*, who were all horſe, to engage in. *Aetius*, who followed him cloſe, reſolved, notwithſtanding the enemy's advantageous ſituation, to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who followed *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who ſerved under *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with ſuch fury, that, on both ſides, above fifteen thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot[t]. The next day *Attila* drew up his men in battle-array, placing the flower of his army in the centre, which he commanded in perſon, the *Oſtrogoths* in the left wing, and the *Gepidæ*, with other barbarous nations, in the right. On the other hand, *Aetius* placed the *Romans*, whom he commanded himſelf, in the left wing; the *Viſigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric* and his eldeſt ſon *Thoriſmond*, in the right; and the *Alans*, with their king *Sangiban*, the *Franks*, and the other auxiliaries, with their reſpective leaders, in the centre. That the *Romans* might not have time to purſue the victory, in caſe they gained it, *Attila* did not quit his camp till four in the afternoon, when the battle began, which, by all writers, is reckoned one of the moſt obſtinate and bloody engagements mentioned in hiſtory, *Aetius*, *Theodoric*, and his ſon *Thoriſmond*, diſtinguiſhing themſelves in a moſt eminent manner. *Theodoric*, notwithſtanding his great age, fought at the head of his *Goths* with a courage and reſolution hardly to be expreſſed. But while he was thus animating his men, more by his example than his words, he unluckily fell from his horſe, as ſome authors write, and was trod to death by his own people, who did no know him. Others write, that he was killed by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who ſerved under *Attila*, and was deſcended from the royal family of the *Amali*[u]. The *Goths*, not in the leaſt diſheartened by the death of their king, charged the *Hunns*

A bloody encounter between the Franks *and* Gepidæ.

The battle of Chalons.

Theodoric, *king of the* Goths, *killed.*

[r] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664. [s] VAL. notit. Gall. p. 342.
[t] JORN, c. 41. p. 671. [u] Vide BUCH. hiſt. Belg. c. 37—40.

Attila *retires to his camp.*

so vigorously, that they began, after a most obstinate resistance, to give ground; which *Attila* no sooner perceived, than he caused the retreat to be sounded, and retired to his camp. As it was already dark, *Aetius*, thinking it advisable not to pursue the enemy, withdrew likewise; but kept his men all night under arms, for fear of a surprise. The next morning, the extensive plains, in which the battle had been fought, appeared covered with heaps of dead bodies, and a neighbouring brook tinged with the blood of the slain. As *Attila* kept close in his camp, the *Romans* concluded from thence, that his army had suffered greatly, and that he owned himself conquered; but as his camp was well fortified, and surrounded with an incredible number of waggons, the *Romans* and *Goths* contented themselves with blocking it up, being well apprised, that the enemy would be soon obliged, for want of provisions, either to submit, or to quit their intrenchments, and venture a second battle in the open fields. In the mean time, the body of *Theodoric*, found among the slain, was interred with extraordinary pomp; and his son *Thorismond*, who had been dangerously wounded, proclaimed king of the *Visigoths* in his room [w]. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action. *Idatus* writes, that on both sides near three hundred thousand men were killed [x]; and *Jornandes*, according to the *Amsterdam* edition in 1655, makes the number of the slain amount to two hundred and fifty-two thousand [y]. Both armies were greatly weakened, and the loss on each side perhaps equal; but as *Attila* shut himself up in his camp, and declined a second engagement, the *Romans*, who remained masters of the field of battle, challenged the victory. *Cassiodorus*, and *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, ascribe this victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths* [z]; but *Gregory* of *Tours* will have it to have been chiefly owing to the prayers of St. *Agnan* bishop of *Orleans* [a]. *Thorismond*, who had not been informed of his father's death till the day after the battle, was for revenging it on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila* in his camp. With this view he had already drawn up his *Goths* in battle-array; but *Aetius* fearing, if the *Hunns* were intirely cut off, that the young prince, who was of an aspiring genius, would turn his arms against the empire, advised him to return home with his forces, and take possession of his paternal dominions, lest his brothers, during his absence, should raise disturbances, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. *Thorismond* followed his advice, which *Attila* no

The number of the slain.

[w] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 40. 41. p. 669—672. [x] Idat. p. 28.
[y] Jorn. c. 41. p. 672. [z] Cassiod. chron. & l. iii. ep. 1. p. 40.
[a] Vide Du Chesne p. 277. & Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 164.

sooner

ſooner knew, than he quitted his camp, and began to retire towards the *Rhine*. As he did not attack *Aetius* even after the departure of *Thoriſmond*, *Valeſius* concludes, that either the number of his troops was greatly increaſed by the writers of thoſe times, or the loſs he ſuſtained in the battle leſſened [b]; but the firſt is moſt likely. *Aetius* purſued *Attila* as far as the *Rhine*; but never offered to attack him, being willing, ſome authors ſay, that he ſhould make his eſcape, and, by awing the *Franks* and *Goths*, divert them from raiſing diſturbances in the empire. *Attila*, being thus driven out of *Gaul*, retired to *Pannonia*; and having there reinforced his army with ſupplies ſent him out of *Scythia*, he reſolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to meet with more booty and leſs oppoſition, there being no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Franks*, or *Burgundians*, there to oppoſe him. Purſuant to this reſolution he left *Pannonia*, and finding the paſſes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hoſtilities were expected on that ſide, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the preſent year 451, as *Idatius* and *Jornandes* ſeem to inſinuate [c], or in the beginning of the following year 452, when *Herculanus* and *Sporacius* were conſuls. It is impoſſible to expreſs the terror and conſternation, which ſo ſudden and unexpected an irruption occaſioned, even in the moſt diſtant provinces. *Aetius* was at firſt for ſaving himſelf by flight, and retiring with the emperor into *Gaul*; but ſhame getting the better of his fear, he continued in *Italy*, and began to aſſemble the forces that were diſperſed up and down the provinces. In the mean time, *Attila*, advancing as far as *Aquileia*, the metropolis of the province called *Venetia*, inveſted that important place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines; but as it was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the *Roman* troops, it held out, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, for the ſpace of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by aſſault, pillaged for ſeveral days together, and laid in aſhes, not one houſe being left ſtanding, nor one perſon alive that fell into the enemy's hands, *Attila* deſigning, by this barbarous and inhuman treatment, to ſtrike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into ſubmiſſion. The cities of *Arevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, and *Bergamo*, underwent the ſame fate, the barbarians raging every-where with ſuch fury, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived, and putting all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occaſion the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Hunns*, retired to the iſlands on

Thoriſmond *returns home with the* Viſigoths.

Attila *quits* Gaul,

And invades Italy.

Aquileia *taken and deſtroyed, with ſeveral other cities.*

The founding of Venice.

[b] VAL. p. 165. [c] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672. THEOPH. p. 92. GREG. Tur. l. ii. p. 277.

their

their coaſt, and there laid the foundations of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called, *Venetiæ*, and is now known by the name of *Venice* [d]. *Caſſiodorus*, ſpeaking of the *Venetians*, as he ſtyles them, about fifty years after, ſays, that they inhabited the iſlands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence againſt the waves but hurdles; no other food but fiſh; no wealth beſides their boats; and no merchandiſe but ſalt, which they exchanged for other proviſions [e]. To return to *Attila*: From the province of *Venetia* he advanced to *Milan*, then the metropolis of *Liguria*, which he took and pillaged, the city of *Pavia*, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood he laid in aſhes, after having plundered them, and put ſuch of the inhabitants to the ſword, as had not ſaved themſelves by a timely flight. Seeing at *Milan* ſome pictures, repreſenting the *Roman* emperors ſitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Hunns*,, proſtrate at their feet, he cauſed himſelf to be painted ſitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their ſhoulders ſacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet [f]. From *Liguria*, *Attila* was for advancing to *Rome*, which city was not in a condition to withſtand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died ſoon after he had plundered that metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithſtanding their thirſt after plunder, from that reſolution. *Attila* deſpiſed that omen; but his troops being greatly diminiſhed for want of proviſions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and *Aetius* having at the ſame time, with a reinforcement ſent him by *Marcian* out of the eaſt, defeated a party of *Hunns*, he thought it adviſeable to put off his march to *Rome*, and purſue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, *Valentinian*, having no other reſource, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, with propoſals for an accommodation. At the head of this embaſſy was *Leo* biſhop of *Rome*, a perſon famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His collegues were *Albienus* or *Avienus*, who had been conſul in 450, and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were by him received with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. He concluded with *Leo*, who ſurpriſed and ſoftened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it ſeems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and purſue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, unleſs the princeſs *Honoria* was ſent him, with the ſhare of the imperial treaſures, that

Milan taken and pillaged.

Valentinian concludes a treaty with Attila.

[d] Por. de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 169.
[e] Cassiod. l. xii. ep. 24. p. 199. [f] Jorn. ibid. p. 673.

was

was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor ſhould pay an annual penſion to *Attila*. It was no ſooner ſigned, than he ordered his *Hunns* to forbear hoſtilities, and, leaving *Italy*, retired beyond the *Danube* [g]. *Damaſcus*, who flouriſhed about this time, writes, that a bloody battle was fought under the walls of *Rome* between the *Romans* and the *Scythians* under the conduct of *Attila*; and that the ſlaughter was great on both ſides, none but the chiefs, and a ſmall number of their guards, being left alive; but as he adds, that the ſouls of the ſlain purſued the engagement with great noiſe for three days and three nights [h], his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous. The following year, 453, when *Opilio* and *Vincomalus* were conſuls, *Attila*, incapable of living himſelf, or ſuffering others to live in peace, croſſing *Rhætia*, and following the courſe of the *Rhone*, entered unexpectedly the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and fell upon the *Alans*, whom *Aetius* had allowed to ſettle in the *Valentinois*, under the conduct of *Sangiban*. But *Thoriſmond*, king of the *Viſigoths*, whoſe dominions were divided from thoſe of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well appriſed, that *Attila*, after having reduced the *Alans*, would not fail to invade his territories, joined his neighbours with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom, and having gained a complete victory over *Attila*, obliged him to return with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country [i]. *Jornandes* and *Sigebert* are the only writers who mention this ſecond irruption of the *Hunns* into *Gaul*; and their authority is ſuſpected by *Valeſius*, eſpecially that of *Jornandes*, who ſeems not to have been well acquainted with the hiſtory of the *Viſigoths*. *Attila* died ſoon after, that is, either in the preſent, or the following year, 454, and with him ended the kingdom, or rather empire, of the *Hunns* in the north, a civil war being kindled, upon his death, among his numerous iſſue; which gave the ſeveral nations he had ſubdued an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke, and recovering their antient liberty, as we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of the *Hunns*, and other northern nations. The ſame year, *Thoriſmond*, king of the *Viſigoths*, was murdered in *Toulouſe*, the capital of his kingdom, by two of his brothers, *viz.* *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, and ſucceeded by the former, on whom *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who was intimately acquainted with him, beſtows great encomiums, extolling him even above his father, and ſtyling him the protector and bulwark of the empire [k].

Who retires out of Italy.

And returns to Gaul.

Where he is defeated by Thoriſmond.

Thoriſmond *murdered.*

[g] Idem, p. 674—685. [h] PHOT. c. 242. p. 1040, 1041.
[i] JORN. p. 674, 675. [k] SID. car. vii. p. 347. et ep ii—vi p. 4. car. xiii. p. 400.

WHILE

The council of Chalcedon.

While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, the council of *Chalcedon* was held in the eaſt by *Marcian*'s orders, who nevertheleſs ſeems to have aſſiſted in perſon only at the ſeſſion of the twenty-fifth of *October*. The council began on the eighth of *October* of the year 451, and ended on the firſt of *November* [l]. The ſame year the emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to ſacrifice to the gods, or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and officers, who ſhould wink at ſuch wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of gold [m]. The following year, the *Saracens*, the *Nubians*, and the *Blemmyes*, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops of *Martian*, and forced to ſue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire, as *Priſcus* aſſures us, who attended the *Roman* embaſſadors to *Damaſcus*, where the treaty was concluded [n]. The following year 453, *Attila* dying, ſeveral nations, formerly ſubdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave of *Marcian* to ſettle in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, almoſt intirely diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the *Hunns* and other barbarians. Among theſe mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax*, their king or leader, ſettled in *Leſſer Scythia* and *Lower Mœſia*: to the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Ccmandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called *the caſtle of Mars*: to the *Goths*, commonly called *Oſtrogoths* or *Eaſtern Goths*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Viſigoths* or *Weſtern Goths*, who afterwards became maſters of *Spain*, *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmiſh*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at preſent *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*, a large tract compriſing many cities. Theſe *Goths* were then governed by three brothers, *viz.* *Valemir*, *Theodomir*, the father of *Theodoric the Great*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and *Vidimir*, who divided that extenſive country among them, *Valemir* ſettling in the eaſtern part of it, *Theodomir* in the weſtern, and *Vidimir* between the other two [o]. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperors, and were ſubjects of the empire; but at the ſame time their princes claimed an uncontrouled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the ſons of *Attila*, named *Ernac*, and ſeveral other *Hunns*, ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who granted

Several barbarous nations ſettle in Thrace *and* Illyricum.

[l] Concil. tom. iv. p 574, 576. [m] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 11. leg. 7. p. 105, 106. [n] Evagr. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. Pris. p. 40. Niceph. l. xv. c. 9. p. 61. [o] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 50—52. p 688, 689.

them

them lands on the moſt diſtant borders of *Leſſer Scythia*, in *Dacia*, and amongſt the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* [p]. The ſame year died, in the month of *July*, the empreſs *Pulcheria*, daughter to *Arcadius*, ſiſter to *Theodoſius* II. and wife to *Marcian*. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by *Marcian*, the immenſe wealth of which ſhe was poſſeſſed, and her rich moveables, to the poor [q]. She was a woman of moſt extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety, honoured both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* with the title of *ſaint*. *The empreſs* Pulcheria *dies.*

THE following year 454, when *Aetius* was conſul the fourth time with *Studius*, is remarkable for the downfal and death of that great commander, owing chiefly to the malice and inſinuations of an eunuch, by name *Heraclius*, who having gained an abſolute aſcendant over the emperor, eaſily perſuaded the weak prince, that *Aetius* aſpired at the empire, and maintained a private correſpondence with the barbarians, in order to raiſe himſelf by their means to the imperial dignity. *Aetius*, on his ſide, gave ſome occaſion to the accuſations of the eunuch, by preſſing the emperor with too much eagerneſs to perform the promiſe he had made of marrying his eldeſt daughter *Eudocia* to *Gaudentius*, the general's ſon. His importunity gave weight to the calumnies of *Heraclius*, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his ſuſpicions, which, according to *Gregory* of *Tours* [r] and all the writers of thoſe times, were altogether groundleſs. But after all, his treachery towards count *Bonifacius*, and ſeveral others, plainly proves, that he did not on all occaſions ſcruple ſacrificing his conſcience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but without any poſitive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the bottom of all the diſturbances that happened during his adminiſtration [s]. *Petronius Maximus* is ſaid to have greatly contributed to the death of *Aetius*, by prompting the eunuchs of the court to perſuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty. The view of *Maximus* therein was to remove out of the way the only perſon, who ſcreened the prince from the vengeace he was reſolved to take upon him for a late affront [t]; of which anon. However that be, the death of *Aetius* being reſolved on, *Valentinian* ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have ſome affair of the utmoſt importance to impart to him. *Aetius* obeyed the ſummons, repairing without delay to the emperor's apartment, attended by *The diſgrace and death of* Aetius.

[p] Idem ibid. [q] MARC. chron. [r] GREG. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 8 p 277. VALES. p. 175. [s] VAL. p. 176. BUCH. Belg. p 318. [t] JORN. reg. Suc. p. 654.

Boëtius, the *præfectus prætorio*, his intimate friend, and ſeveral others. But *Aetius* alone was admitted into the prince's chamber; which he had no ſooner entered, than *Valentinian* ran him through with his ſword; and with the aſſiſtance of the officers about him, namely, of *Heraclius*, diſpatched him in a moſt barbarous and inhuman manner [u]. Thus fell the beſt general of his age, the terror of *Attila*, the bulwark of the weſtern provinces, ſays *Sidonius*, by the hand of the greateſt coward in the whole empire [w]. We are told, that *Valentinian* having one day aſked a *Roman* whether he had done well in diſpatching *Aetius*? the *Roman* anſwered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left [x]. The prefect *Boëtius*, and all thoſe who had attended *Aetius* to the palace, were likewiſe diſpatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamber [y]. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to *Theophanes*, at *Rome* [z]. *Valentinian* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Suevians*, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of *Aetius*, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them [a]. But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it ſeems, ſome of them to make irruptions into the empire. For in the beginning of the following year, the *Armorici*, that is, the inhabitants of the preſent *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, were under daily apprehenſions of ſeeing the *Saxons* on their coaſts; the *Alemans* paſſed the *Rhine* near *Baſel*, and the *Franks* laid waſte the territories of *Mentz* and *Rheims* [b].

Who is treacherouſly murdered by Valentinian.

The following year 445, when *Valentinian* was conſul the eighth time with *Anthemius*, ſon-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, the weſtern empire was involved in endleſs calamities. The emperor *Valentinian* was murdered on the ſeventeenth of *March*, and the empire ſeized by *Petronius Maximus*, grandſon to *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, who having uſurped the ſovereignty in 383, was taken and put to death by *Theodoſius the Great* in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of *Valentinian*, and the uſurpation of *Maximus*. The latter having married a lady, equally famous for her beauty and chaſtity, *Valentinian*, taken with her charms, fell paſſionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof againſt all his preſents, menaces, and promiſes, he had recourſe to the following artifice: he ſent one day for *Maximus* to play with him at dice;

Valentinian falls in love with the wife of Maximus.

[u] Idat. p. 30. Prosp. Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 92. Sid. car. v. p. 318. [w] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [x] Perſec. Vand. hiſt. l. i. c. 4 p. 187. [y] Prosp. Idat. Marc. Cassiod. &c. [z] Theoph. p 92. [a] Idat. Cassiod. &c. [b] Sid. car. vii. p. 542.

and

and having won of him a conſiderable ſum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he ſent privately to the wife of *Maximus*, deſiring her in her huſband's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empreſs. The lady, knowing the ring, haſtened to the palace, in compliance with the ſuppoſed orders of her huſband; but was conducted by ſome perſons employed for that purpoſe to a remote apartment, where *Valentinian*, without any regard to her tears and intreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, ſhe burſt into a flood of tears, reproaching, in moſt bitter terms, her huſband, whom ſhe believed privy to her diſhonour, and his own infamy. *Maximus*, on the other hand, then firſt appriſed of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted his wife with it, and reſolved at all events to be revenged on *Valentinian* [c]. Purſuant to this reſolution, he applied to the friends of *Aetius*, whom the emperor had cauſed lately to be murdered, eſpecially to *Trauſtila* and *Optila* or *Occylla*, two barbarians, who had ſerved under that general, and had been diſtinguiſhed by him with particular marks of kindneſs and eſteem. Theſe readily undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the ſame time the diſhonour offered to *Maximus*; and accordingly falling upon *Valentinian*, while he was diverting himſelf in the *campus Martius* at *Rome*, they firſt killed his favourite eunuch *Heraclius*, who courageouſly interpoſed, and endeavoured to ſave his maſter, and then diſpatched, with many wounds, the emperor himſelf in the ſight of the whole court [d]. *Procopius* and *John* of *Antioch*, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to *Maximus*. *Sidonius* and *Idatius*, without taking the leaſt notice of that outrage, aſcribe the death of *Valentinian* to the unbounded ambition of *Maximus*, not to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the empire itſelf [e]. *Valentinian* was murdered on the ſeventeenth of *March* of the preſent year 455, after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of *October* 425, when he was firſt declared *Auguſtus* [f]. His tomb is thought to be ſtill extant at *Ravenna* [g]. As he had but very ſlender parts, he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who diſpoſed, at their pleaſure, of all the great offices, ſacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of

Maximus, to revenge the violence offered her, cauſes Valentinian to be murdered.

[c] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 186. 187. [d] MARC. IDAT. CASSIOD. chron. EVAGR. c. 7. p. 298. JORN. reg. Suev. p. 654. GREG. Tur. p. 277. [e] SID. l. ii. ep. 13. p. 57. IDAT. p. 31. [f] IDAT. p. 30. [g] MAB. Iteſ. Ital. p. 40.

The character of Valentinian.

the prince, to their private intereſt and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his armies in perſon: and beſides, by his effeminate education, became altogether incapable of bearing the the toils of a military life. The only journies he undertook were from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* back again to *Ravenna*, keeping himſelf in both places locked up in his palace with a herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without reſtraint, his moſt brutal inclinations, tho' married to one of the moſt beautiful women of that age [h]. The day after his death, *Maximus*, the author of it, aſſumed the purple; and being ſaluted by the *Roman* people with the title of *Auguſtus*, he immediately raiſed his ſon, by name *Palladius*, to the dignity of *Cæſar*. *Maximus* was ſprung from an illuſtrious family in *Rome*, and had diſcharged with great applauſe and reputation the firſt offices in the ſtate. He was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which he ſhared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an eaſy and quiet life, and indulging himſelf in all the diverſions and recreations, which his plentiful eſtate could afford him. Hence he no ſooner began to feel the anxieties inſeparable from a crown, eſpecially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the ſtep he had taken, panting after his former condition. *Sidonius* writes that the very firſt night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, *Happy* Damocles, *whoſe reign began and ended with a dinner*; nay, he had ſome thoughts of abandoning *Rome*, of quitting the enſigns of majeſty, and reſuming in ſome corner of *Italy* his former method of life [i]. But being diverted from that reſolution by his friends, he appointed *Avitus*, then in *Gaul*, commander in chief of the *Roman* armies, who immediately diſpatched *Meſſianus* to acquaint *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, with the acceſſion of *Maximus* to the empire. That general went ſoon after to confer in perſon with the *Gothiſh* king, and entered *Toulouſe*, attended by *Theodoric* himſelf on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with *Theodoric*, when he unexpectedly received the diſagreeable tidings of the death of *Maximus*, which put him upon other meaſures [k]. The wife of *Maximus* dying ſoon after the outrage ſuppoſed to have been offered to her, the uſurper, that he might have ſome title to the crown, obliged *Eudoxia*, the deceaſed emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her huſband; and at the ſame time married her daughter *Eudoxia* to his ſon *Palladius*. *Eudoxia*, who had loved *Valentinian* with great tenderneſs, highly

Maximus *aſſumes the purple.*

And appoints Avitus, *commander in chief of all the* Roman *forces.*

Eudoxia, *being forced to marry him, invites* Genſeric *into* Italy.

[h] Theoph. p. 93 Zon. p. 40. Const. Manass. p. 51. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 182. [i] Sid. l. ep. 13. p. 57, 58. [k] Idem, car. vii p. 343. 344.

provoked

provoked in seeing herself married against her will to the very person who had deprived him both of his life and empire, resolved, whatever it cost her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her person to his bed. Blinded therefore with passion and thirst of revenge, she took such measures as proved fatal to herself, to *Rome*, and all *Italy*. For expecting no assistance from *Marcian*, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, she dispatched a trusty messenger to *Genseric* in *Africa*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and to rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her husband [l]. Some authors affirm, that she wrote to the king of the *Vandals* with her own hand, assuring him, that he would meet with no great resistance in *Italy*, and promising to assist him to the utmost of her power. This message was very acceptable to *Genseric*, who had long wished for such an opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course strait to *Rome*. When his numerous fleet first appeared, the chief citizens, and all persons of distinction, struck with terror and dismay, instead of putting themselves in a posture of defence, thought only of consulting their safety by flight[m]. Among these was *Maximus* himself; but as he was flying with those of his court, the populace, highly incensed against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his duty to protect, rising, all on a sudden, pursued him with showers of stones; which some of *Valentinian*'s officers observing, they threw themselves upon him; and a *Roman* soldier, by name *Ursus*, gave him the fatal blow [n]. His body was ignominiously dragged through the chief streets of the city; and, after it had lain some time exposed to the insults of the incensed multitude, thrown into the *Tiber*. Such was the end of the usurper *Maximus*, after he had lived about sixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His son *Palladius* is supposed to have undergone the same fate. Three days after the death of *Maximus*, that is, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Genseric* entered *Rome* without opposition, and abandoned it to the mercy of his *Vandals*, strictly injoining them, however, not to set fire to the city, nor shed the blood of the inhabitants, pursuant to the promise he had made to *Leo the Great*, then bishop of *Rome*, who had gone out to meet him [o]. They continued in the city fourteen days, pillaging not only the private houses, but stripping the public buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches of their

Maximus *murdered.*

Rome *taken and plundered by* Genseric.

[l] EVAGR. l. ii. c 7. p. 298. [m] SID. p. 174. [n] PROCOP. p. 186. JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 45, 677. [o] THEOPH. p. 93. VICT. PROSP. chron.

sacred

sacred vessels. They took an incredible number of captives, every one seized such women as they liked best; and amongst the men, those who they thought would be of most use to them. *Genseric* himself forced the imperial palace; and having seized on the treasure, and all the rich moveables he found there, he caused them to be put on board a vessel, with the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Aetius*, and carried them all into captivity. Amongst the spoils, mention is made of a great many statues with which a vessel was loaded; of half the covering of the capitol, which was of brass plated over with gold; of sacred vessels of gold, enriched with precious stones; and of those which had been formerly taken by *Titus* out of the temple of *Jerusalem*, and brought to *Rome*. *Genseric*, having thus stripped the city of all its wealth and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to *Africa*, but lost in his passage the ship that carried the statues [p]. *Marcian*, sensibly affected with the misfortune of *Eudoxia* and the two princesses her daughters, dispatched embassadors to *Genseric*, earnestly intreating him to set them at liberty; but he despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462, when he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the successor of *Marcian*. As for *Eudocia*, he married her to *Hunneric*, his eldest son, who had by her *Ailderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* [q]. In the east *Marcian* enacted this year a famous law, dated, according to some, the first of *May*, according to others, the twenty-second of *April*, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics and monks what they pleased, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and deaconesses to leave any thing by will to the church [r]. This law is addressed to *Palladius*, the *præfectus prætorio*, to whom is likewise addressed another against the *Eutychians*, dated from *Constantinople* the first of *August* [s]. Of the few writers who flourished under *Valentinian* III. we shall speak in note (T).

Eudoxia *and her daughters carried into captivity.*

Avitus,

[p] Theoph p. 93. Evagr. p. 98. Procop. p. 189. [q] Theod. l. i. p. 552. Prisc. p. 41. [r] Cod. Theod. nov. l. iii. tit. 5. [s] Concil. tom. iv. p. 886, 888.

(T) The chronicle of *Idatius* has been of great use to us in writing the history of *Valentinian*'s reign. He was a native of *Lamego*, in the province of *Beira*, belonging then to *Galicia*, but at present to the kingdom of *Portugal*. His parents dying when he was very young, he left *Spain*, and retired to the east, where he saw St. *Jerom*, *Eulogius* of *Cæsarea*, *John* of *Jerusalem*, and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. He owns himself to have been but indifferently versed in polite literature, and

Avitus, or *Flavius Mœcilius Avitus*, as he is ſtyled on an ancient medal [t], had been appointed by *Maximus* commander in

[t] GOLTZ. p. 135.

and ſtill leſs in the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture (1). But as to the latter, *Leo the Great*, biſhop of *Rome*, ſeems to have been of a different opinion, ſince he employed him againſt the *Priſcillianiſts* (2). He was ordained biſhop in the third or fourth year of the reign of *Valentinian* III. that is, about the year 427, for he reckons from the time that prince was created *Cæſar* (3). *Sigibert*, and ſome other writers, ſuppoſe him to have been biſhop of *Lamego*. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was biſhop, or only a native, of that city; but in his chronicle he tells us, that the biſhop *Idatius* was taken in the church of *Aquæ Flaviæ*, and returned after three months captivity to *Flaviæ* (4). As he evidently ſpeaks in that place of himſelf, father *Labbé* concludes him to have been a native of *Lamego*, and biſhop of *Aquæ Flaviæ* (5); which laſt city *Sanſon* places in the territory of *Braga*, on the confines of *Portugal*, calling it *Aquæ Læ Turodorum*. *Leo* biſhop of *Rome* only writes, that *Idatius* was biſhop in *Galicia* (6). *Dupin* will have him to have been archbiſhop of *Lugo* (7), not reflecting, that *Idatius* was ordained biſhop in 427, and that ſix years after the ſee of *Lugo* was held by *Aſterius* (8). In the year 431, *Idatius* was ſent by the natives of *Galicia* to implore the aſſiſtance of *Aetius*, then in *Gaul*, againſt the *Suevians*, who contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from *Gaul* the following year with count *Cenſorius*, ſent by *Actius* to treat with the *Suevians*. He was taken by the *Suevians* in the church of *Aquæ Flaviæ* on the twenty-ſixth of *July* 462, but after three months captivity was ſet at liberty. Notwithſtanding the wars and diſturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, eſpecially in *Spain*, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly ſpeaking, a continuation of that of St. *Jerom*. What he wrote from the death of *Valens*, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of *Valentinian*'s reign, and his own epiſcopacy, he either copied, as he aſſures us, from the beſt writers, or learnt of perſons of unqueſtionable veracity: of all the reſt, he was himſelf an eye-witneſs. He writes, that he had the misfortune to ſee the *Roman* empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of loſing the little it retained; that the diſcipline of the church was utterly neglected in *Galicia*, and the liberties of the people intirely loſt, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third of *Anthemius*'s reign, that is, to the year 469, the forty-firſt of his epiſcopacy. The chronicle

(1) *Idat. Chron. p.* 2—10. (2) *Leo. ep.* xxxii. *c.* 17. *p.* 162. (3) *Idem, p.* 4. (4) *Idem, p.* 39. (5) *Labb. ſcript. tom.* ii. *p.* 496. (6) *Leo. tom.* ii. *p.* 827, 828. (7) *Dupin. tom.* iv. *p.* 557. (8) *Idat. p.* 20.

of

chief of all the *Roman* forces, and was at the court of *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, when news was brought him of the

of *Idatius* gives great light to the hiſtory of thoſe times, eſpecially to that of *Spain*; whence *Iſidore* and ſome others have copied almoſt word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, eſpecially in point of chronology, either the author himſelf, or his tranſcribers, reckoning ſometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two diſtinct years, which is a very groſs miſtake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the olympiads, and, in imitation of St. *Jerom*, the years of the ſupputation of *Euſebius* from the birth of *Abraham*. The æra of *Spain*, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is marked in the beginning on the margin. Father *Sirmond*, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of conſular tables, which he believes to have been done by the ſame author. Father *Sirmond* publiſhed only part of theſe tables. But father *Labbé* inſerted the whole in his *Bibliotheca nova*, and *Du Cange* in his *Chronicon Paſchale* (9), which extends from the conſulſhip of *Brutus*, the firſt conſul, to the ſecond conſulſhip of *Anthemius* in 468, ſo that the conſular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other æra is marked but that of *Spain*, which gives us room to believe that they were done by a native of that country (10). They are reckoned very exact; but yet ſome faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the tranſcribers. In the time of *Charlemagne*, a *French* chronologer publiſhed an epitome of the chronicle of *Idatius*, which is to be found in *Caniſius* (11). The work intitled *Notitia imperii* is ſuppoſed to have been written in the reign of *Valentinian* III. and *Theodoſius* II. but by ſome in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign of *Theodoſius*. This *notitia* contains a ſuccinct account of the ſtate of the empire in thoſe times, *viz.* of the provinces and their governors; of the other magiſtrates, both civil and military, their titles and offices; of their land and ſea-forces; of their foot and horſe; of their troops, both *Roman* and foreign, and the places where they were quartered, *&c.* This *notitia* was publiſhed by *Guidus Pancirollus* in 1593, with copious comments, of which father *Labbé* ſpeaks with great contempt, ridiculing the cuts with which they are adorned, repreſenting, as *Pancirollus* imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and dignity. To the *notitia* is added the deſcription of *Rome* by an anonymous author, who is ſuppoſed to have wrote under *Valentinian* III. To this deſcription of *Rome*, father *Labbé* adds one of *Conſtantinople*, done likewiſe by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of *Arcadius*, or of *Theodoſius* the younger. The treatiſe *de rebus bellicis*, which *Labbé* adds to it, is ſuppoſed to have been written about the ſame time; but the author, who ſeems to have been a private perſon, and to have profeſſed the ſtudy of philoſophy, is not known.

(9) *Labb. p.* 3. *Cange. chron. Paſc. p.* 439. (10) *Vide Wilt. ad. not. p.* 8. *& Noris de Dioceſ. num. p.* 11. (11) *Caniſ. tom.* ii. *p.* 640, 641.

death

death of the uſurper. He immediately acquainted *Theodoric* with what had happened, who thereupon preſſed him to aſſume the purple, and even cauſed him to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* in *Toulouſe*, on the tenth of *July* of the preſent year, promiſing to ſupport him in his new dignity with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom [u]. However, he did not, it ſeems, take upon him the title of emperor till he was proclaimed ſome time after, that is, on the eighth of *Auguſt*, by the *Roman* army at *Arles*, and by all the chief men in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his acceſſion to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed [w]. From *Arles* the new emperor ſet out ſoon after for *Rome*, where he was received by the populace with great demonſtrations of joy. *Marcian*, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the public welfare and tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his collegue [x]. The following year, when *Varanes* and *Johannes* were conſuls, a bloody war broke out between the *Suevians* in *Spain* and the *Viſigoths* in *Aquitain*. *Requiarius*, king of the former, taking advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, over-ran the province of *Cartagena*, which ſtill belonged to the *Romans*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Hereupon *Avitus*, diſpatching count *Fronto* to him with the character of embaſſador, put him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the *Romans*. *Theodoric* likewiſe, whoſe ſiſter *Requiarius* had married, interpoſed his good offices, conjuring his brother-in-not to diſturb the public tranquillity, and acquainted him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus*. But *Requiarius*, without any regard either to treaties or remonſtrances, purſued his ravages, laying waſte, not only the province of *Cartagena*, but that of *Tarraco* too, which likewiſe belonged to the empire. Upon this, *Theodoric* ſent him a ſecond embaſſy, to which he anſwered with great haughtineſs, that if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he would ſoon give him an account of it at *Toulouſe*. This anſwer piqued *Theodoric* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately entered *Spain* at the head of a powerful army; and being met by *Requiarius* about twelve miles from *Aſtorga*, a battle enſued, in which the *Suevians* were entirely defeated, and their king, who was dangerouſly wounded, obliged to fly for ſhelter to a diſtant corner of *Galicia*. *Theodoric* purſued him cloſe; and entering *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of *October*, gave that city up

Avitus proclaimed emperor at Toulouſe, *and after at* Arles.

Is received as ſuch at Rome, *and acknowledged by* Marcian.

War between the Viſigoths *and* Suevians.

The Suevians *defeated.*

[u] GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280. [w] IDAT. p 31. ISIDOR. chron. [x] IDAT. p. 32.

to be plundered by his ſoldiers. From *Braga* he advanced with all poſſible expedition to a place called *Portucal*, whither the fugitive king had retired [y]. Some writers take *Portucal* for the preſent city of *Porto* on the *Douro*, in the kingdom of *Portucal*, to which it is thought to have given name [z]. *Jornandes* writes, that *Requiarius* put to ſea, in order to ſave himſelf by flight, but was driven back by a ſtorm [a]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who, after having kept him ſome time in priſon, put him to death in the month of *December* [b]. The *Suevians*, diſheartened by the death of their king, and deſtitute of a leader, ſubmitted to *Theodoric*, who retained for himſelf the country he had conquered, appointing one *Aquiulphus* to govern it. *Aquiulphus*, revolting ſoon after from *Theodoric*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, but died the following year in the month of *June* at *Porto* [c]. *Jornandes* writes, that a powerful army being ſent againſt him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded [d]. Some *Suevians*, refuſing to ſubmit to the *Goths* retired to a diſtant corner of *Galicia*, and there choſe for their king one of their own nation, named *Maldra* [e].

Genſeric *defeated at ſea by* Ricimer.

The ſame year. *Genſeric*, putting to ſea with a numerous fleet, and a conſiderable army on board, with a deſign to ravage the coaſts of *Italy* or *Gaul*, was overtaken near *Corſica* by the *Roman* fleet, under the command of *Ricimer*, and utterly defeated [f]. *Ricimer*, ſtyled by ſome *Richimer* or *Richemer*, was ſprung from the royal family of the *Suevians*; but as his mother was the daughter of *Valla*, king of the *Goths* in 418, he is commonly looked upon rather as a *Goth* than a *Suevian*. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and acquired ſo much reputation by his warlike exploits, that *Sidonius* gives him the title of *invincible*, and *Jornandes* ſtyles him the beſt commander of his age; nay, *Sidonius* prefers him for courage to *Sylla*, for prudence to *Fabius*, for good-nature to *Metellus*, for eloquence to *Appius*, for vigour and reſolution to *Fulvius*, and for addreſs to *Camillus* [h]. But theſe good qualities were not without the allay of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour, or honeſty; ambitious to ſuch a degree, that, not ſatisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces in the weſt, patrician, and ſon-in-law to the emperor, he took upon him to raiſe and depoſe emperors at his pleaſure; and, ſince he was excluded by his birth from wearing the imperial crown himſelf, to command

[y] Idat. p. 33. Isidor. chron Jorn. p. 676. [z] Baud. [a] Jorn. ibid. [b] Idat. p. 24. Isidor. chron. [c] Idat. p. 37. [d] Jorn. p. 677. [e] Idat. p. 34. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Jorn. c. 45. p. 678. Sid. car. ii. p. 301. [h] Sid. car. v. p. 317.

and

controul those who wore it. This unbounded ambition, this unbridled luft of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raiſed by himſelf, and to ſtir up and aſſiſt under-hand the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the ſtrongeſt ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his ſucceſs over *Genſeric*, inſtead of purſuing it, he returned to *Rome*, and, revolting with *Majorianus*, obliged the ſenate to declare *Avitus* unworthy of the empire; which no ſooner came to the prince's ears, who was then in *Gaul*, than he haſtened back to *Italy*; but upon his arrival at *Placentia*, he was ſtopped by *Ricimer*, and ſtripped of all the badges of majeſty [i]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Avitus* was overcome in battle by *Ricimer*, on the ſixteenth of *October* [k]; ſo that he had ſcarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus diveſted of the purple, he cauſed himſelf to be ordained biſhop of *Placentia*, but the ſenate inſiſting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from *Placentia*, with a deſign to take ſanctuary in the church of St. *Julian* at *Brioude* in *Auvergne*, the place of his nativity. *Gregory* of *Tours* adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to *Brioude*, and buried near that of the holy martyr St. *Julian* [l]. During his ſhort reign the *Burgundians*, who had been removed from the banks of the *Rhine* in 438, or, as others will have it, in 443, and had ever ſince that time dwelt amongſt the mountains of *Savoy*, ſeized on part of *Gaul*, and made themſelves maſters of the city of *Lyons* [m]. In 463, the city of *Die* in *Dauphiny* was ſubject to them, as appears from a letter of *Gondiac* their king to *Hilarius* biſhop of *Rome* [n]. The next conſuls were *Conſtantine* and *Rufinus*, belonging both to the eaſtern empire, no emperor being yet choſen in the weſt. In the beginning of this year 457, died the emperor *Marcian*, after having reigned ſix years, five months, and two days. His death, which *Theodorus*, ſurnamed the *Reader*, aſcribes to his having aſſiſted at a proceſſion on the twenty-ſixth of *January* [o], muſt have happened about the end of that month; for *Leo*, who ſucceeded him, was proclaimed at *Conſtantinople* on the ſeventh of *February*. *Marcian* is commended by all the writers of thoſe times, for the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion [p]. *Leo* biſhop of *Rome*, calls him a prince of a bleſſed and venerable memory; and the *Greeks* honour him with the title of *ſaint*, celebrating his feſtival, with that of the empreſs *Pulcheria*, on the ſeventeenth of *February*.

Avitus *depoſed.*

The Burgundians *ſeize on part of* Gaul.

Marcian *dies.*

[i] GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280. [k] THEOPH. p. 94. [l] GREG. Tur. p. 280. [m] MARC. chron. p. 210. [n] CONCIL. tom. 4. p. 1043. [o] THEOD. l. i. p. 650. [p] Idem, p. 70. EVAGR. l. ii. p. 269. IDAT. MARC. & chron. Alex. p. 747.

He was buried in the church of St. *Zea* at *Conſtantinople*, which he had built [r]. *Priſcus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, wrote the hiſtory of his reign; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times [s]. A few days after the death of *Marcian*, *Leo* was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, people, and ſoldiery, and crowned by *Anatolius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople* [t]. This is the firſt inſtance we find in hiſtory of a prince's receiving the crown at the hand of a biſhop. *Leo*, diſtinguiſhed by the *Greeks* with the ſurname of *the Great*, was, according to the moſt probable opinion, a native of *Thrace*, and thence commonly called *Leo the Thracian*. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at *Selymbria* in *Thrace*, when he was raiſed to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flouriſhed in thoſe times. *Leo* is ſaid to have owed his promotion to the patrician *Aſpar*, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his ſon *Ardaburius*, who, not daring, tho' very powerful, to aſſume the purple themſelves, as they were *Arians* by religion, and not *Romans* by birth, but *Goths*, or rather *Alans*, conferred it upon *Leo*, in whoſe name they hoped to reign; nay, we are told, that *Leo* promiſed to raiſe one of *Aſpar*'s ſons to the dignity of *Cæſar* [u]. In the very beginning of his reign, great diſturbances were raiſed by the *Eutychians* in *Alexandria*, who, hearing of the death of *Marcian*, roſe in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic biſhop *Proterus*, and choſe in his room one of their own ſect, named *Timotheus Elurus*. The tumult was ſoon quelled; but the authors of it putting themſelves under the protection of *Aſpar*, a zealous patron of *Arianiſm*, were by him ſcreened from the puniſhment due to their wickedneſs [w]. In the weſt, after an inter-reign of about three months, during which time *Ricimer* governed with an abſolute ſway, *Majorianus* was proclaimed emperor by the ſenate, the people, and ſoldiery. *Ricimer* propoſing him as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified for that high ſtation. All we know of his family is, that his father had ſerved with great reputation under *Aetius*, and was afterwards raiſed to the office of treaſurer of the empire. His mother was daughter of *Majorianus*, appointed by *Theodoſius* I. or rather by *Gratian*, in 379, general of the *Roman* horſe and foot in *Pannonia*. From

Leo proclaimed emperor.

His birth, education, employments, &c.

Majorianus *raiſed to the empire in the weſt.*

[q] Leo. ep. 12. [r] Codin. orig. Conſtant. p. 48. [s] Evagr. l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. [t] Theoph. p. 95. Theod. p. 563. Marc. chron. [u] Zonar. p. 40. Theod. p. 568. Theoph. p. 575. [w] Cedren. p. 346. Leo. ep. 118. p. 671.

him

him the emperor took the name of *Majorianus*. He was raiſed to the empire in the flower of his age, having already given ſeveral inſtances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his good-nature, generoſity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. *Procopius*, ſpeaking of him, ſays, that he ſurpaſſed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him [x]. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with *Ricimer*, and therefore was eaſily prevailed upon by him to revolt from *Avitus*. Soon after the depoſing of that prince, he was raiſed to the poſt of general in the room of *Ricimer*, who was created patrician, probably by *Marcian*, or *Leo* his ſucceſſor; for the emperor of the eaſt is ſuppoſed to have governed the weſtern empire during the inter-regnum [y]. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about ſix miles from *Ravenna*, called *The little pillars* [z]. In the beginning of his reign, *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, having almoſt intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, entered *Luſitania*, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities there, and among the reſt of *Merida*, the metropolis of that country; but receiving diſagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not mentioned in hiſtory, he ſet out from *Luſitania* the day after *Eaſter*, which fell this year 457, on the thirty-firſt, and not on the twenty-eighth, of *March*, as we read in *Idatius*, and returned in great haſte to *Toulouſe* [a]. He left a body of troops in *Spain*, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet ſubmitted to him. Theſe forces being, on their march to *Galicia*, admitted as friends into the city of *Aſtorga*, which was held by the *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put moſt of them to the ſword, plundered their houſes, and ſetting fire to the place, carried all thoſe, whoſe lives they had ſpared, into captivity, and among the reſt the whole clergy and two biſhops, who happened to be there at that time. The city of *Palentia* met with the ſame treatment; but the caſtle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Aſtorga*, making a vigorous reſiſtance, the *Goths*, after having loſt great numbers of their men, thought it adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege, and return to *Gaul* [b]. The *Suevians* had, upon the death of *Requiarius* their king, choſen *Maldra* in his room, as we have obſerved above; but ſome of them, revolting from him, ſet up one *Frantan*. A civil war being thus kindled among them, they concluded a peace with the *Romans*, that is, with the natives, who ſtill held ſeveral ſtrong-holds in *Galicia*, and acknowledged the authority of the emperor; but, notwithſtanding this peace, the partizans of

Galicia almoſt intirely reduced by the Viſigoths.

[x] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. p. 194. [y] Vide VALES. p. 186. [z] JORN. rer. ſucc. p. 654. MARC. chron. [a] IDAT. p. 35. [b] Idem, p 36.

Maldra,

Liſbon *taken by the* Sue-vians.

Maldra, entering *Luſitania*, made themſelves maſters of *Liſbon*, after having been admitted into the place as friends [c].

The Van-dals *defeated by* Majoria-nus.

The following year, when the two emperors, *Leo* and *Majorianus*, were conſuls, the *Vandals* made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Campania*; but *Majorianus*, marching againſt them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of *Sinueſſa*, between the *Garigliano* and the *Volturno*; put great numbers of them to the ſword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genſeric* their commander, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves on board their fleet, which ſailed immediately for *Africa* [d]. *Majorianus*, reſolved to purſue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himſelf to the fitting out of a powerful fleet, and had, before the end of this year, aſſembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ſhips [e]. But of this enterprize hereafter. *Majorianus*, leaving *Ravenna* in the depth of winter, paſſed the *Alps*, and entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Burgundians*, who had made themſelves maſters of the city of *Lyons*, to deliver it up, and retire. From that city, where *Sidonius* pronounced his panegyric, *Majorianus* purſued his march to *Arles*, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter and part of the ſpring; for he was ſtill in that city on the ſeventeenth of *April* of the following year 459 [f]. In *Spain*, *Frantan*, one of the kings of the *Suevians*, dying, thoſe who had followed him ſubmitted to *Maldra*; ſo that the whole

Spain *ravaged by the* Sue-vians *and* Viſigoths.

nation was again united under one head. An army of *Viſigoths*, ſent into *Spain* by *Theodoric*, ravaged the province of *Bætica*, while the *Suevians*, notwithſtanding the peace concluded the preceding year with the natives, over-ran that part of *Galicia*, which borders on the *Douro*, putting all to fire and ſword [g]. In the following conſulſhip of *Ricimer* and *Patricius*, *Theodoric*, taking unexpectedly the field, ſurpriſed ſome cities in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*; but *Majorianus*, marching from *Arles* againſt him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſue for peace; which was granted him, upon his promiſing to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt the *Suevians* in *Spain*, and the *Vandals* in *Africa* [h]. In the eaſt, the city of *Antioch* was almoſt utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of *September*. Scarce a ſingle houſe was left ſtanding in the *new city*, the moſt beautiful quarter of that metropolis [i]. The following year 460, when *Magnus* and *Apollonius* were conſuls, *Majorianus*, leaving *Arles*, bent

[c] Idem, p. 37. Isidor. chron. [d] Sid. car. v. p. 325. [e] Idem, p. 324. Prisc. p. 42. Procop. bell. Vand c. 7. p. 194. [f] Sid. car. v p. 576. Cod. Theod. Nov. 9. p. 372. [g] Idat. p. 37. [h] Idem, p. 38. Vales. p. 191. [i] Evag. l. ii. c. 12. Theoph. p. 95 Niceph. chron.

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his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *May*, with a deſign to paſs over from thence into *Africa* [n]. *Procopius* writes, that the better to inform himſelf of the ſtrength of the enemy, the ſtate of the country, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, he went in diſguiſe to the court of *Genſeric*, pretending to be an embaſſador ſent by the *Roman* emperor, with propoſals for an accommodation [o]. This *Procopius* relates with ſuch circumſtances, as render the whole account altogether incredible. *Genſeric*, alarmed at the vaſt preparations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; but his propoſals being rejected, he diſpatched a ſquadron of his beſt ſhips, with orders to attack the *Roman* fleet riding in the bay of *Alicant*; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that they took moſt of the *Roman* ſhips, and returned with them in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of ſome on board the *Roman* fleet, put a ſtop to the enterprize, and obliged *Majorianus* to return to *Arles*, whence he iſſued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But, in the mean time, *Genſeric*, dreading the arms and valour of *Majorianus*, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with new propoſals; which in the end he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire [p]. Thus a peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genſeric*; but the articles of the treaty have not been tranſmitted to poſterity. In *Spain*, *Maldra*, king of the *Suevians*, being killed, *Remiſmond* his ſon, and *Frumarius*, probably another of his children, dividing his troops between them, the latter ſurpriſed *Aquæ Flaviæ*, and took *Idatius*, biſhop of the place, priſoner, on the twenty-ſixth of *July*, while *Remiſmond* laid waſte the territories of *Orenſo* on the *Minho*, and of *Lugo*. *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, two of *Theodoric*'s generals, marched againſt them; and, after having ravaged part of *Galicia* entered *Luſitania*, and made themſelves maſters of *Scalabis*, now *Santarein* on the *Tagus* [q]. In the eaſt, nothing happened this year that deſerves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of *Cyzicus* [r]. The following year 461, *Severinus* and *Dagalaiphus* being conſuls, *Ricimer*, who had raiſed *Majorianus* to the empire, thinking himſelf neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had gained by his wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration, reſolved to depoſe him; and accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from *Gaul* to *Rome*, he ſtripped him of the imperial ornaments at *Tortona* in the

Majorianus reſolves to paſs over into Africa.

His fleet ſurpriſed by the Vandals.

[n] IDAT. MARC. chron. PRISC. p. 42. [o] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194. [p] PROCOP. p. 194. PRISC. p. 42 [q] IDAT. P. 39. [r] MARC. chron.

Milaneſe

Majorianus *depoſed by* Ricimer *and put to death.*

Milaneſe on the ſecond of *Auguſt*, and cauſed him, on the ſeventh of the ſame month, to be put to death at *Iria*, now *Vogbera*, after he had reigned three years and ſome months [s]. The account which *Procopius* gives us of his death ſhews, that we muſt not lay great ſtreſs upon the authority of that writer [t]. *Majorianus*, in whoſe reign the empire ſeemed in a manner to revive, being thus removed, *Ricimer* cauſed *Severus* to be proclaimed at *Ravenna*, on the nineteenth of *November*, hoping to reign in his name, the new prince being no-ways qualified for that high ſtation. All we know of him is, that he was a native of *Lucania* [u]. In the eaſt, *Leo* refuſing to pay the uſual penſion to *Valamir*, *Theodomir*, and *Widemir*, kings of the *Oſtrogoths*, whom *Marcian* had allowed to ſettle in *Pannonia*, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waſte great part of *Illyricum*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities; but *Anthemius*, ſon-in-law to the late emperor *Marcian*, having obliged them to retire into *Pannonia*, they hearkened to the embaſſadors that were ſent by *Leo* to renew the antient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up to *Leo* as an hoſtage [w]. But of him we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*.

Severus *made emperor.*

The following year, when the emperor *Leo* was conſul for the ſecond time, with *Severus* emperor of the weſt, who nevertheleſs ſeems to have been acknowledged by the *Greeks*, *Genſeric*, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with *Majorianus*, after that prince's death, ſent a powerful fleet to pillage the coaſts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Sardinia* [x]. In *Gaul Ægidius*, a native of that country, and commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there, provoked at the death of *Majorianus*, who had raiſed him to that poſt, reſolved to march into *Italy*, and revenge it upon *Ricimer* and *Severus*. But in the mean time, the *Viſigoths*, in all likelihood ſtirred up by *Ricimer*, having made themſelves maſters of *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to them by one *Agrippina*, and beſieged *Arles*, *Ægidius* turned his arms againſt them, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege and retire, tho' they were powerfully aſſiſted by the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gondiac* their king, whom *Severus* had raiſed

[s] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. Idat. p. 40. Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 299. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l i. c. 7. p. 194. [u] Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 46. p. 654. Theoph. p 97. Idat. p. 40. Onuph. p. 306. Sid. p. 111. Evagr. p. 70. [w] Jorn. p 690. Prisc. p. 74. Phot. c. 78. p. 172. [x] Prisc. p. 74. Procop. bell. Vand. l. iv. c. 6. p. 192.

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to the command of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*, with the title of general [y]. The ſame year, *Marcellinus*, or, as *Procopius* calls him, *Marcellianus*, who had ſerved with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, no longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of *Ricimer*, revolted from *Severus*, and retiring into *Dalmatia*, eſtabliſhed there a new ſovereignty, independent of the empire [z]. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy*, ſeeing themſelves at the ſame time threatened by *Marcellinus*, by *Ægidius*, and by *Genſeric*, had recourſe to *Leo* emperor of the eaſt, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Genſeric* and *Marcellinus*. The latter, ſatisfied to ſee himſelf acknowledged, by *Leo*, prince of the country which he had ſeized, promiſed not to moleſt the *Romans*. But *Genſeric* openly declared, that he would hearken to no terms, till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him; which he claimed, becauſe his ſon *Huneric* had married *Eudocia*, that prince's eldeſt daughter. He likewiſe demanded the effects of *Aetius*, perhaps becauſe *Gaudentius*, that general's eldeſt ſon, whom he had taken at *Rome* in 455, was then at his court. However, he ſent back to *Leo*, *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian*, and *Placidia* her ſecond daughter; who being ſoon after married to *Olybrius*, of whom anon, *Genſeric* declared he would wage an eternal war with the weſtern empire, unleſs *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his ſon, was raiſed to the imperial dignity [a]. To this low ebb was the *Roman* grandeur reduced by the death of *Majorianus* and the adminiſtration of *Ricimer*. The following year 463, *Flavius Cæcina Baſilius* and *Vivianus* being conſuls, *Ægidius* gained a ſignal victory over the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*. The battle was fought between the *Loire* and the *Loiret*. The latter river, after a ſhort courſe of about ſix miles, falls into the former a little below *Orleans*. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, and among the reſt *Frederic*, the king's brother, who in this action commanded in chief [b]. After this battle *Ægidius* laid ſiege to the city of *Chinon* in *Touraine*; but the vigorous reſiſtance he met with obliged him to drop the enterpriſe [c]. The *Viſigoths* were attended with better ſucceſs in *Spain*, than in *Gaul*; for *Idatius* ſpeaks of them now as maſters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was ſtill held by the *Suevians*, and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*. Such of the natives of *Galicia*, as had not yet ſubmitted to the *Suevians*, ſent this very year one *Paiegorius*, to

Marcellinus *eſtabliſhes a new ſovereignty in* Dalmatia.

The Viſigoths *defeated in* Gaul *by* Ægidius.

[y] PRISC. p. 42. IDAT. p. 41. CUSP. p. 452. [z] PHOT. c. 242. PROCOP. p. 191. IDAT. p. 43. [a] IDAT. p. 32. PRISC. p. 42. SID. car. ii. p. 349. [b] IDAT. p. 41. DU. CHESNE p. 211. [c] IDAT. ibid.

implore the protection not of *Severus* but of *Theodoric* [d]; which plainly ſhews, that they acknowledged him, and not the *Roman* emperor, for their ſovereign. The next year *Ruſticus*, or *Ruſticius*, and *Olybrius* being conſuls, *Remiſmond*, king of the *Suevians*, ſurpriſed and plundered the city of *Coimbra*; but ſoon after concluded a peace with *Theodoric* [e]. In the beginning of the year, *Beorgor*, king of the *Alans*, having entered *Italy* with a conſiderable army, was met by *Ricimer* in the neighbourhood of *Bergamo*, and, on the 6th of *February*, cut off with all his men [f]. Whence theſe *Alans* came, is uncertain. This *Jornandes* ſuppoſes to have happened in the reign of *Anthemius*; but we have followed *Idatius*, who lived at that time. The ſame year, died *Ægidius* in *Gaul*, being, according to ſome, ſays *Idatius*, poiſoned, according to others, murdered. That writer adds, that, upon his death, the *Viſigoths* made themſelves maſters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. However, *Berri*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne*, ſtill belonged to the *Romans* in 472, and were governed by one *Paulus*, diſtinguiſhed with the title of count [g]. *Sygarius*, the ſon of *Ægidius*, held *Soiſſons* and its territory, for ſeveral years, having erected there a petty ſovereignty, according to the *French* hiſtorians, who give him the title of king [h]. At the ſame time, *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, laid ſiege to *Paris*, and reduced it; the *Franks* made themſelves maſters of the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*; the *Saxons* ſettled at *Nantes* and *Bayeux*; the *Alemans* in the country of the *Helvetii*; and the *Britons*, driven out by the *Angles* and *Scots*, in the territories of *Vennes* and *Treguier*, which, with the adjacent country, took from them, according to the moſt probable opinion, the name of *Bretagne* [i]. In 465, when *Baſiliſcus* and *Hermenericus* were conſuls, died at *Rome Severus*, after having borne the name of emperor almoſt four years. He is ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by *Ricimer* [k]. His death was followed by an inter-regnum of almoſt two years, *Ricimer* ruling, during that time, with an abſolute ſway; but not daring, as he was by birth a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The ſame year, a violent fire breaking out in *Conſtantinople*, on the ſecond of *September*, reduced to aſhes eight of the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at laſt overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the ſpace of ſix whole days, and as many nights [l]. The following year,

The Alans *defeated by* Ricimer.

Different nations ſettle in Gaul.

Severus *dies.*

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

[d] Idem, p. 42. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1062. [e] Idat. ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Greg. Tur. p. 282. [h] Idem, p. 285. [i] Val. rer. Franc. p. 236, 237. Sid. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [k] Jorn. p. 654. Sid car. ii. p. 317. Idat. p. 43. [l] Evagr. l. ii. c. 13. p. 307. Theodor. p. 555. Cedren. p. 348.

when

when the emperor *Leo* alone was conſul the third time, *Ricimer* aſſembled a powerful fleet, with a deſign to attempt the recovery of *Africa*; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole ſummer, obliged to drop that enterpriſe [m]. The ſame year, *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, after having reigned near thirteen years, was murdered by his brother *Euric*, who immediately took poſſeſſion of his dominions, and was proclaimed in *Toulouſe* [n]. *Jornandes*, always favourable to the *Goths*, only writes, that *Euric* was ſuſpected of having contributed to the death of his brother [o]. The new king ſent embaſſadors to the emperor *Leo*, to *Remiſmond* king of the *Suevians*, and to *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, acquainting them with his acceſſion to the crown [p]. In the eaſt, the *Hunns* broke into *Dacia*; but were defeated, firſt by *Anthemius*, and afterwards by *Anagaſtus*, ſtyled general of *Thrace*. They were commanded by *Dengizic*, one of *Attila*'s ſons, who was ſlain in the engagement. His head was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and there expoſed for ſome days to public view [q]. In the following conſulſhip of *Puſæus* and *Johannes*, the inter-regnum ended in the weſt. *Anthemius* was, with the conſent and approbation of *Ricimer*, declared emperor, notwithſtanding the great intereſt made by *Genſeric* in favour of *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his ſon. *Anthemius* was a native of *Conſtantinople*, deſcended of an antient, illuſtrious, and wealthy, family, and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the eaſt. He had ſome claim to the empire, having married *Marciana*, the only daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, by whom he had three ſons and one daughter. He had been conſul in 455, and was ſoon after, tho' yet very young, raiſed to the dignity of patrician, and the poſt of general. *Sidonius*, his panegyriſt, writes, that, upon the death of *Marcian*, no one thought of conferring the empire on *Leo*, till *Anthemius* had refuſed it [r]. *Theophanes* ſtyles him a moſt chriſtian prince [s]. Soon after his nomination, he left *Conſtantinople*, where he then was, and ſet out for *Italy*, attended by a greater number of choſen troops, and ſeveral counts, with other perſons of diſtinction: among whom was *Marcellinus*, prince of *Dalmatia*, whom *Leo* had perſuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly with him, make war upon the *Vandals* [t]. *Anthemius* was received at *Rome* by the

Theodoric, *king of the* Viſigoths, *murdered by his brother* Euric.

Anthemius *raiſed to the empire.*

[m] PRISC. p. 75. [n] IDAT. ISIDOR. MARC. chron. [o] JORN. c. 44. p. 677. [p] IDAT. p. 44, 45. [q] Chron. Alex. p. 744. JORN. c. 56. p. 688. PRISC. p. 44. [r] SID. p. 295. [s] THEOPH. p. 98. [t] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. JORN. c. 46. p. 654.

And proclaimed at Rome.

ſenate and people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed, according to ſome, on the twelfth of *April*, according to others, in the month of *Auguſt*, at a place about three miles from *Rome*, called *Bontrota* [u]. A few days after, he gave his daughter in marriage to *Ricimer*, purſuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes [w]. In the mean time, *Genſeric*, highly provoked againſt *Leo*, for having preferred *Anthemius*, and not *Olybrius*, to the empire, ſent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponneſus* and the *Greek* iſlands; which they did with great cruelty, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Leo* reſolved at all events to revenge the affront offered to the eaſtern empire; and accordingly the following year 468, when *Anthemius* alone was conſul, he fitted out the greateſt fleet, ſays *Procopius* [x], the *Romans* had ever had. *Cedrenus* writes, it conſiſted of one thouſand one hundred and thirteen ſhips, each ſhip having one hundred men on board [y]. *Theophanes* [z] and *Nicephorus* [a] will have no fewer than one hundred thouſand ſhips to have been employed in this expedition, a number altogether incredible. To the forces of *Leo* were joined all the beſt troops of the weſt, under the command of *Marcellinus*, who reinforced them with a choſen body of men, raiſed in his own dominions [b]. *Leo* gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to *Baſiliſcus*, brother to his wife *Verina*, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in *Thrace*. Under him commanded one *John*, a perſon of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war [c]. The iſland of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence *Marcellinus* was to ſail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately ſeized; *Heraclius* of *Edeſſa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Baſiliſcus*, with the greateſt part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to ſteer his courſe ſtrait to *Carthage*. *Marcellinus*, purſuant to this plan, landed in *Sardinia*, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland, while *Heraclius*, landing unexpectedly in *Libya*, defeated the *Vandals*, who attempted to oppoſe him, and reduced with incredible expedition *Tripolis* and all the other cities of that province [d]. *Genſeric*, receiving at the ſame time news of the loſs of *Sardinia* and *Libya*, and of the arrival of the *Roman* fleet at cape *Mercury*, about thirty miles from *Carthage*, began to look upon himſelf as irretrievably loſt, and is even ſaid to

Genſeric ravages the Greek *iſlands.*

Sardinia and Tripolis *recovered from the* Vandals.

[u] Idat. p. 44. Marc. Cassiod. Cuspin. chron. [w] Sid. l. i. ep. 21, 22. [x] Procop. l. i. c. 6 p. 192. [y] Cedren. p. 350. [z] Theoph. p. 99. [a] Niceph. l. xv. c. 27 p. 631. [b] Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. [c] Idem. p. 153. [d] Idem, p. 192. Theoph. p. 101. Sid. car. p. 1199.

have

have had ſome thoughts of yielding up *Africa* to the *Romans*, and retiring elſewhere; and indeed if *Baſiliſcus* had, during the panic which had ſeized the barbarians, marched directly to *Carthage*, he might have eaſily made himſelf maſter of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving *Genſeric* time to recover from his conſternation, he began to deſpiſe the *Roman* admiral, and had even the confidence to ſend deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to ſettle with him the conditions on which he was to ſubmit to *Leo*. Some authors write, that, with the embaſſadors, *Genſeric* ſent privately an immenſe ſum to *Baſiliſcus*, with whoſe avaricious temper he was well acquainted [e]. Others tell us, that *Aſpar*, who had lately quarrelled with *Leo*, fearing that prince would become too powerful, if he overcame the *Vandals*, had promiſed to raiſe *Baſiliſcus*, who was no leſs ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he ſpared *Genſeric* [f]. Be that as it will, *Baſiliſcus* readily conſented to the truce, during which *Genſeric* taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, ſailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ſhips, which being by the wind driven full ſail upon the *Roman* navy, ſet fire to many of their ſhips, and threw the whole fleet into the utmoſt confuſion. The next morning *Genſeric*'s fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, and falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover themſelves from their terror and conſternation, took ſeveral of their ſhips, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves in the beſt manner they could. *The* Roman *fleet in* Africa *put to flight.*

John, who commanded under *Baſiliſcus*, and was no-ways privy to his treachery, after having killed with his own hand an incredible number of barbarians, threw himſelf, when overpowered, on a plank into the ſea. *Genſon*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, greatly taken with his courage and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander anſwering, *It ſhall never be ſaid, that* John *owed his life to dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned [g]. As for *Baſiliſcus*, *Zonaras* writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a ſudden tacked about, and, crowding all ſails, betook himſelf to flight; which raiſed the courage of the enemy, and quite diſheartened his own people [h]. *Marcellinus*, after the reduction of *Sardinia*, returned to *Sicily*, with a deſign to paſs from thence over into *Africa*; but, before he ſet ſail, he was aſſaſſinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no

[e] THEOPH. p. 100. THEODOR. p. 555. [f] SUID. PHOT. c. 242. p. 164. [g] PROCOP. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. [h] ZONAR. p. 42.

ſmall

ſmall umbrage [i]. *Heraclius*, who was on full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of *Baſiliſcus*, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire [k]. *Baſiliſcus* returned to *Sicily*, with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, having loſt above fifty thouſand men [l]. From *Sicily*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took ſanctuary in the church of St. *Sophia*. Though both the emperor and people were incenſed againſt him, yet, by the mediation of the empreſs *Verina*, his ſiſter, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace* [m]. Such was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have coſt both empires above an hundred and thirty thouſand pounds weight of gold [n], not only the two princes, but all governors, and other perſons in employments, chearfully contributing large ſums to defray the charges of an enterpriſe ſo advantageous to the empire [o]. *Priſcus* the hiſtorian, who flouriſhed at that time, wrote a very minute and exact account of it [p]; but his work has not reached our time.

Leo *marries his daughter to* Zeno.

The ſame year, *Leo* married his daughter *Ariadne* to *Zeno*, deſcended from an illuſtrious family in *Iſauria*. His father's name was *Ruſumbladaſtes*, and his, before his marriage, *Traſcaliſſæus*, or *Taraſicodiſſa* [q]. He took the name of *Zeno* from another *Iſaurian*, who had been raiſed to great employments in the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger [r]. *Evagrius* refers us to one *Euſtathius*, a *Syrian* writer, who, he ſays, will inform us as to the motives that prompted *Leo* to prefer *Zeno* to many other perſons of great merit in the choice of a ſon-in-law [s]; but the works of *Euſtathius* have been long ſince loſt. *Theophanes* and *Candidus Iſaurus* write, that *Leo*, jealous of the too great power of *Aſpar*, and appriſed of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to *Zeno*, hoping by his means to gain over the *Iſaurians* his countrymen, who were deemed the beſt ſoldiers of the empire [t]. However that be, *Leo* immediately raiſed his ſon-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him at the ſame time captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the eaſt.

Liſbon *taken by the* Suevians,

In the weſt, *Remiſmond* made himſelf maſter of *Lisbon*, betrayed to him by one *Luſides*, a native of *Luſitania*, who commanded in that place. About the ſame time,

[i] Procop. p. 193. Phot. c. 242. p. 1048. Marc. chron. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Prisc. p. 193. [m] Idem ibid. Cedren. p. 330. Theoph. p. 100. [n] Procop. p. 191. Evagr. p. 74. [o] Evagr. ibid. [p] Idem, l. ii c. 16. p. 308. Theoph. p. 100. [q] Zon. p. 42. Agath. l iv. p. 149. [r] Theoph. p. 111. [s] Evagr. l ii. c. 15 p. 308. [t] Theoph. p. 101. Cand. Isaur. p. 18.

the

the *Goths* ſurpriſed *Merida*, and committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring country, ſparing neither *Romans* nor *Suevians* [b]. Here *Idatius* ends his chronicle, with telling us, that many prodigies appeared this year in *Galicia*, and, among the reſt, that ſeveral fiſhes were taken in the *Minho*, marked with *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, characters [c]. The next conſuls were *Marcianus* and *Zeno*, the two ſons-in-law of the emperor *Leo*, the latter having married *Ariadne*, and the former, who was the ſon of the emperor *Anthemius*, *Leoncia*. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but in the following conſulſhip of *Severus* and *Jordanes*, *Euric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himſelf maſter of *Auvergne*, *Berri*, and *Gevaudan*, after having defeated a body of twelve thouſand *Britons* dwelling on the *Loire*, who, under the conduct of *Riothim* or *Riotham*, came to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* [d]. At the ſame time one *Odoacer*, who had commanded a body of *Saxons* under *Ægidius* in 464, made himſelf maſter of *Angers*; but was overcome by *Childeric* king of the *Franks*, who reduced not only the city of *Angers*, but all the neighbouring country [e]. The *Burgundians* too, taking advantage of the weak and diſtracted ſtate of the empire, reduced the city of *Lyons*, and the whole province called *Lugdunenſis Prima* [f].

And Merida *by the* Goths.

The Viſigoths *extend their dominions in* Gaul,

And likewiſe the Franks *and* Burgundians.

THE following year, when *Leo* was conſul the fourth time with *Probianus*, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between that prince and *Aſpar*, who had raiſed him to the empire; but as *Aſpar* was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a ſeparate and independent body, having one *Quelcal*, by nation a *Hunn*, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it adviſeable to diſſemble for the preſent; and pretending to be reconciled with *Aſpar*, gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Patricius Secundus*, that general's eldeſt ſon, and ſoon after created *Aſpar Cæſar*. The inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, knowing *Aſpar* and his whole family to be greatly attached to the doctrine of *Arius*, were highly diſpleaſed at this promotion; but the emperor ſoon delivered them from the apprehenſion they were under of ſeeing an *Arian* raiſed to the empire; for being informed by ſome perſons, privy to all the counſels of *Aſpar*, that a plot was carrying on againſt him by that general and his children, he reſolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly cauſed *Aſpar*, and his ſon *Ardaburius*, to be murdered this very

Aſpar *created* Cæſar.

Aſpar *and his ſon* Ardaburius *murdered.*

[b] IDAT. p. 41. [c] Idem, p. 47, 48. [d] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. 678. SID. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74. GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282. [e] GREG. Tur. ibid. [f] SID. l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168. & car. xv. p. 386.

year.

year. The antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, *Leo* having ordered them to be put to death, becauſe they aſpired at the empire [g]. But the modern writers add ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeem inconſiſtent with what we read in the authors who flouriſhed in thoſe times. *Patricius* was dangerouſly wounded, but found means to make his eſcape, as did likewiſe *Aſpar*'s third ſon, named *Hermeneric* [h]. The friends of *Aſpar*, eſpecially the *Goths* in the emperor's ſervice, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great diſorders in *Conſtantinople*, being headed by one of their countrymen, named *Oſtroui*. But *Zeno*, who was then at *Chalcis*, haſtening with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the *Goths* were driven out of the city with a great ſlaughter. However they ravaged *Thrace*, and, being joined by the *Goths*, ſettled in *Pannonia*, made themſelves maſters of *Philippi* and *Arcadiopolis*; which they reſtored ſoon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promiſing to pay them a certain ſum, and to appoint *Theodoric*, ſon to *Triarius*, the brother of *Aſpar*'s wife, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice [i]. Upon the death of *Aſpar*, who had been a zealous patron of the *Arians*, *Leo* publiſhed ſeveral rigorous laws againſt thoſe heretics, depriving them of all their churches, and forbidding them to hold any public or private aſſemblies [k]. The following year, when *Feſtus* and *Marcianus* were conſuls, *Ricimer*, who was no leſs powerful in the weſt, than *Aſpar* had been in the eaſt, dreading the ſame fate, reſolved to be beforehand with the emperor *Anthemius*, who, he ſaw, began to miſtruſt him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* ſervice, but under his command, laid ſiege to *Rome*, where the emperor then was. The citizens, who were, generally ſpeaking, well-affected to *Anthemius*, made a vigorous reſiſtance, notwithſtanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the ſuccours they daily expected out of *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Bilimer*, who commanded the *Roman* troops there, and was greatly attached to the intereſt of *Anthemius*. *Bilimer* arrived at length with a conſiderable army, conſiſting partly of *Romans*, partly of barbarians; but having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by *Ricimer*; who, encouraged with this ſucceſs, purſued the ſiege with freſh vigour, and breaking in the end into the city, raged with no leſs fury than *Alaric* or

Rome beſieged by Ricimer.

Which is taken and plundered.

[g] Marc. chron. Procop. bell. Vand l. i. c. 6. p 139. Vict. Tun. Joan. reg. ſucc. p. 664. [h] Niceph. l. xv. c 27. p 373. Zonar. p. 39. [i] Marc. chron. Theoph p. 181. [k] Theodor. l. iv. c. 4. p. 273.

Genſeric

Genſeric had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houſes of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties [l]. As for the emperor *Anthemius*, *Ricimer* cauſed him to be put to death, and *Olybrius* to be proclaimed in his room [m]. *Zeno*, who ſucceeded *Leo*, reproached the *Roman* ſenate with the death of *Anthemius* [n]. He is ſuppoſed to have died on the eleventh of *July* [o]; but authors are quite ſilent as to the circumſtances of his death, contenting themſelves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of *Ricimer*, he loſt both his life and the empire. *Ricimer* did not long outlive *Anthemius*; for being ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of *September* [p]; and was followed ſoon after by *Olybrius*, who died a natural death at *Rome*, on the twenty-third of *October* [q]. This year, mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania* threw out ſuch an immenſe quantity of aſhes, as turned night into day, even at *Conſtantinople*, where the people were aſſembled in the circus, when the cloud firſt appeared. All the ſtreets and houſes were covered with aſhes three inches deep [r]. This happened according to *Marcellinus* on the ſixth, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the eleventh of *November*. The following year 473, when *Leo* alone was conſul the fifth time, *Glycerius* took upon him the title of emperor at *Ravenna*, on the fifth of *March*, being ſupported by *Gondibal*, nephew to *Ricimer*, whom *Olybrius* had raiſed, during his ſhort reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this new prince is, that he had been *comes domeſticorum*, and was, according to *Theophanes*, a man of ſome merit [s]. In the very beginning of his reign, the *Goths*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Pannonia*, reſolved, without the leaſt provocation, ſays *Jornandes*, to make war upon both empires. Purſuant to this reſolution, *Videmir* broke into *Italy*, while his brother *Theodomir* invaded the eaſtern empire; but the former dying, his ſon, bearing the ſame name, was, by the rich preſents of *Glycerius*, prevailed upon to quit *Italy*; whence he retired into *Gaul*, and there joined the *Viſigoths*, who, being thus reinforced, conquered ſoon after both that country and *Spain* [t]. *Theodemir* likewiſe died as ſoon as he entered the territories of the eaſtern empire, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodoric*, ſurnamed *the Great* [u]. The ſame year 473, *Leo* apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was fornaming

Anthemius *put to death, and* Olybrius *proclaimed emperor.*

Ricimer *dies, and the new emperor* Olybrius.

Glycerius *uſurps the empire.*

[l] MARC. chron. ONUPH. p. 57. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1238. [m] EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. [n] MARC. p. 94. [o] CUSPIN. p. 457. [p] ONUPH. p. 57. [q] Idem ibid. JORN. p. 67. THEOPH. p. 102. [r] ZONAR. 4. 42. THEODOR. p. 555. PROCOP. l. ii. c. 4. p. 398. [s] THEOPH. p. 102. [t] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 194, 195. [u] Idem de reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 655.

Zeno to ſucceed him; but both the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*, who hated *Zeno*, ſtrongly remonſtrating againſt his promotion, the emperor raiſed *Leo* the younger, the ſon of *Zeno* by his daughter *Ariadne*, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho' he was then only five, or at moſt ſix, years old [w]. The following year, when *Leo* the younger was conſul alone, the emperor, his grandfather, was ſeized with a bloody flux; which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a ſhort time. He died at *Conſtantinople*, in the month of *January*, after having reigned ſeventeen years, wanting ſome days [x]. Soon after his death, the empreſs *Verina* prevailed upon the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople* to ſuffer his ſon-in-law *Zeno* to be declared collegue to young *Leo* in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of *February*, not in the palace of *Hebdomon*, as uſual, but in the circus at *Conſtantinople* [y]. The young prince did not ſurvive his grandfather above ten months; for he died in the month of *November* of the ſame year [z]. *Victor Tununenſis* and *Ado* ſuppoſe, that he was diſpatched by his own father; but neither the antient nor modern *Greek* writers, tho' highly prejudiced againſt *Zeno*, charge him with that unnatural murder. *Leo* the elder, or, as he is commonly ſurnamed, *the Great*, not approving of the promotion of *Glycerius*, had, before his death, named to the empire of the weſt *Julius Nepos*, or, as ſome call him, *Nepotianus*, a native of *Dalmatia*, and nephew, by the mother, to *Marcellinus*, prince of that country, who was murdered in *Sicily*, as we have related above. *Nepos*, who, it ſeems, was then at *Conſtantinople*, ſailed from thence without loſs of time, for *Italy*; and landing at *Porto*, ſurpriſed *Glycerius* there, took him priſoner, and, ſtripping him of the imperial ornaments, cauſed him to be ordained biſhop of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, and ſome months [a]. In the mean time, the *Viſigoths*, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, broke into the territories which the *Romans* had ſtill left in *Gaul*; but he was prevailed upon by *Epiphanius*, biſhop of *Pavia*, whom *Nepos* ſent to him with the character of embaſſador to conclude a peace with the empire; whereof one of the articles was, that the city of *Clermont*, which *Euric* had not been able to reduce by force, ſhould be delivered up to him [b]. Thus the whole country lying between

Leo *the younger created* Cæſar.

Leo *the elder dies.*

Zeno *declared collegue to his ſon* Leo.

Leo *dies.*

Glycerius *depoſed, and* Julius Nepos *raiſed to the empire.*

Clermont *yielded to the* Goths.

[w] Zonar. p. 429. Theodor. p. 555. Evagr. p. 408. Goltz. p. 265. [x] Marc. Theoph. p. 103. [y] Evagr. l. vii. c. 17. p. 309 Theoph. p 111. [z] Chron. Alex. p. 751. Theoph. p. 103. [a] Phot. c. 78. p. 372. Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 654. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p 338. [b] Jorn. c. 45. p. 679. Sid. l. iii. ep. 7. p. 72.

the

the ocean, the *Rhone*, and the *Loire*, fell under the power of the *Goths* [c], who it ſeems, had made themſelves maſters of all the open places, before *Clermont* was yielded to them. The following year, when *Zeno* alone was conſul the ſecond time, *Nepos*, having raiſed *Oreſtes* to the poſt of general, appointed him commander of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*; but he, inſtead of haſtening into that country, purſuant to his orders, bent his march towards *Ravenna*, with a deſign to depoſe *Nepos*, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppoſe him. The emperor, ſuſpecting his deſign, and diſtruſting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by ſea to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertained by the biſhop *Glycerius*, whom he had lately deprived of the empire [d]. The flight of *Nepos* happened on the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 475 [e]. *Oreſtes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a ſubject of the empire [f]. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Hunns* in 430, he liſted himſelf among the troops of *Attila*; who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his ſecretary, and ſent him at leaſt twice to *Conſtantinople* with the character of embaſſador, *viz.* in 448, and 449 [g]. His father, by name *Tatula*, bore likewiſe ſome conſiderable employment at the court of *Attila* [h]. *Oreſtes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, ſent by *Valentinian* on an embaſſy to *Attila* in 449, and had by her a ſon, called by *Males*, or *Malus*, *Romulus Auguſtus* [i], but, by all other hiſtorians, *Romulus Auguſtulus*, either by way of deriſion, or becauſe he was very young when raiſed to the empire. *Oreſtes*, leaving the *Hunns*, ſerved with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and was raiſed to the rank of patrician, and appointed, by *Nepos*, general of the troops in *Gaul*; when turning his arms againſt the prince who had entruſted him with them, he drove him from the throne, as we have related above, and cauſed not himſelf, but his ſon *Auguſtus*, or *Auguſtulus*, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of *October* of the preſent year [k]. The new prince ſtyled himſelf *Auguſtus Romulus Auguſtus*, *Auguſtus* being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity [l]. As *Auguſtulus* was very young, his father took upon him the adminiſtration, contenting himſelf with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his ſon, during his minority *. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, the *Saracens* committed

Oreſtes revolts.

Nepos flies into Dalmatia.

Oreſtes cauſes his ſon Auguſtulus to be declared emperor.

[c] SID. l. iii. ep. 1. p. 62, 63. [d] JORN c. 45. p 679. ONUPH, p. 67. [e] ONUPH. MARC. chron. [f] JORN. ibid. [g] PRISC. p. 37. [h] Idem, p. 57, 60. [i] MAL. leg. p 93. [k] JORN. c. 45, 46. p. 679, 690. [l] JORN. ibid. EVAGR. l ii. c. 16. p. 308. * PROCOP. p. 308.

dreadful ravages in *Mesopotamia*; and the *Hunns* in *Thrace* put all to fire and sword, and afterwards retired unmolested, the emperor *Zeno*, a most lewd and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his scandalous pleasures and diversions [m]. However, he concluded a peace with *Genseric*, which was religiously observed by the *Vandals*, till the reign of *Justinian* [n]. The same year, the empress *Verina*, who had by her interest raised her son-in-law *Zeno* to the empire, highly provoked by his enormous vices and scandalous indolence, formed a conspiracy against him, at the head of which was her brother *Basiliscus*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. *Zeno* was privately informed of the whole; but, instead of putting himself in a posture of defence, and defeating their measures, as he might have easily done, he betook himself to flight, retiring first to *Chalcedon*, and from thence into *Isauria*, his native country. Upon his retreat, *Basiliscus* was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people of *Constantinople*, to the great disappointment of *Verina*, who designed to confer the empire on *Patricius*, *magister officiorum* to *Zeno*, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence [o]. *Basiliscus* immediately declared his wife *Zenonides Augusta*, and raised his son *Marcus* to the dignity of *Cæsar* [p]. The following year 476, when *Basiliscus* and *Armatus* were consuls, the barbarians who served in the *Roman* armies, and were distinguished with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in *Italy*, pretending that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged of right to them. As *Orestes* refused to comply with this insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice, as they called it; and, openly revolting, chose one *Odoacer* for their leader. Thus *Procopius* [q]. He is called by *Theophanes* a *Goth* [r]; by *Marcellinus*, king of the *Goths* [s]; and by *Isidore*, prince of the *Ostrogoths* [t]. We cannot conceive what could induce *Baronius*, and several others, to call him king of the *Heruli*. *Jornandes* styles him in one place king of the *Rugians* [u], and in another king of the *Turcilingians* [w]. The *Rugians* inhabited both the banks of the *Danube*, near the city of *Faviana*, a little above *Vienna*. As for the *Turcilingians*, we find no account in the antients of them, or their country. *Odoacer*, whether by birth a *Goth*, *Rugian*, or *Turcilingian*,

Zeno concludes a peace with Genseric.

Zeno *driven out by* Basiliscus.

The barbarians in the Roman *service revolt in the west, and chuse* Odoacer *for their leader.*

[m] Evagr. l. vii. c. i. p. 333. [n] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p 195. [o] Mal. p. 94. Agath. l. iv. p. 139. Chron. Alex. p. 750 Jorn. reg. succ c. 47. p. 654. [p] Jorn. ibid. [q] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. p 308. [r] Theoph. p. 102. [s] Vide Vales. rer. Franc. p. 228. [t] Isidor chron. [u] Jorn. reg. succ. c. 45. p. 659. [w] Idem, rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 679.

cilingian, was, according to *Ennodius*, meanly born [x], and only a private man in the guards of the emperor *Auguſtulus*, when the barbarians revolting, choſe him for their leader [y]. However, he is ſaid to have been a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a ſtate [z]. Having left his own country, when he was yet very young, to ſerve in *Italy*, as he was of a ſtature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that ſtation till the preſent year; when putting himſelf at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* pay, who, tho' of different nations, had, with one conſent, choſen him for their leader, he marched againſt *Oreſtes*, and his ſon *Auguſtulus*, who ſtill refuſed to give them any ſhare of the lands in *Italy*. As the *Roman* troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the barbarians, *Oreſtes* took refuge in *Pavia*, at that time one of the beſt fortified cities in *Italy*; but *Odoacer*, inveſting the place without loſs of time, took it ſoon after by aſſault, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and then ſet fire to it, which reduced moſt of the houſes, and two churches, to aſhes [a]. *Oreſtes* was taken priſoner, and brought to *Odoacer*, who carried him to *Placentia*; and there cauſed him to be put to death on the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, the day on which he had driven *Nepos* out of *Ravenna*, and obliged him to abandon the empire. From *Placentia Odoacer* marched ſtrait to *Ravenna*, where he found *Paul*, the brother of *Oreſtes*, and the young emperor *Auguſtulus*. The former he immediately put to death; but ſparing *Auguſtulus*, in conſideration of his youth, he ſtripped him of the enſigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to *Lucullanum*, a caſtle in *Campania*; where he was, by *Odoacer*'s orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed an handſome maintenance to ſupport himſelf and his relations [b]. *Rome* readily ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Italy*, but would not aſſume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity [c]. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the weſt. *Britain* had been long ſince abandoned by the *Romans*; *Spain* was held by the *Goths* and *Suevians*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; the *Burgundians*, *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Alans*, had erected ſeveral tetrarchies in *Gaul*; at length *Italy* itſelf, with its proud metropolis, which for ſo many ages had given law to the reſt of the world, was enſlaved by a

His character.

He beſieges Oreſtes *in* Pavia.

Who is taken priſoner and put to death.

Auguſtulus *ſtripped of the imperial ornaments, and confined to* Lucullanum.

Italy *and* Rome *ſubmit to* Odoacer.

[x] ENNOD. THEODOR. panegyr. p. 308. [y] PROCOP. p. 308. [z] MALEL. p. 93. [a] ENNOD. vit. Epiphan. p. 386. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46 p. 679. & reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 654. [b] JORN. ibid. PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. [c] JORN. rer Goth. c. 46. CANDID. ISAUR. c. 19. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

The end of the weſtern empire.

contemptible barbarian, whoſe family, country, and nation, are not well known to this day. The downfal and ruin of the greateſt ſtate the world ever beheld, were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the ſloth, luxury, and ambition, of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing ſuch ſwarms of barbarians to ſettle within the empire, and to ſerve in the *Roman* armies, under their own officers, in ſeparate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives; controuled the emperors; diſpoſed of the imperial crown as they pleaſed; and at length became abſolute maſters of thoſe whom they were employed to defend and aſſiſt. This great revolution happened in the weſt in the year 476 of the chriſtian æra, five hundred and ſeven years after the battle of *Actium*, when the *Roman* monarchy was firſt eſtabliſhed, and one thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine ſince the foundation of *Rome*. Moſt writers obſerve, that the empire began with *Auguſtus*, and ended in a prince of the ſame name. Of the ſtate of *Italy* under *Odoacer*, till he was overcome and ſlain by *Theodoric* the *Oſtrogoth*, and under the *Oſtrogoths*, from *Theodoric* to their expulſion by *Narſes*, we ſhall ſpeak in another part of this work; and in the mean time purſue the *Roman* hiſtory, that is, the hiſtory of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* empire, in which were preſerved the ſame marks of ſovereignty, the ſame ceremonies, titles, and employments, that had been firſt eſtabliſhed at *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the diſſolution of the weſtern empire, to the death of* Juſtinian the Great.

AT the ſame time that the *Roman* empire failed in the weſt, it was uſurped in the eaſt by *Baſiliſcus*; who, upon the flight of *Zeno*, the lawful prince, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and his ſon *Marcus* to be acknowledged *Cæſar*. *Zeno* fled into *Iſauria*, whither he was purſued by *Illus* and *Trocondes*, two of the uſurper's generals, who having eaſily defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle, which they immediately inveſted. But in the mean time, *Baſiliſcus*, having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unſeaſonable zeal for the doctrine of *Eutyches*, highly diſobliged the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*, as well as the ſoldiery, the two generals, informed of what paſſed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged, as ſome write, by the ſenate, inſtead of purſuing the ſiege, openly declared for *Zeno*; and joining him with all their forces, bent their march to *Conſtantinople*. *Baſiliſcus* no ſooner heard of their revolt, than he diſpatched *Harmatius* or *Armatus*, his kinſman, with a very numerous army againſt them, after having obliged him to ſwear, by his baptiſm, that he would not betray him. But, notwithſtanding this oath, he had no ſooner paſſed the *Boſporus*, than he joined *Zeno*, encamped with *Illus* and *Trocondes*, in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, upon that prince's promiſing to appoint him general of the troops of his houſhold, and to continue him in that office during his life; to raiſe his ſon, by name *Baſiliſcus*, who was yet very young, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and to leave him the empire after his death [d]. *Zeno*, thus reinforced, marched directly to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered without oppoſition, the uſurper flying for refuge, with his wife *Zenonides* and his children, to the great church, where he is ſaid to have laid down his crown upon the altar. *Zeno* ordered them to be immediately

Zeno beſieged in a caſtle of Iſauria.

Baſiliſcus diſobliges the people and ſoldiery.

Zeno reſtored.

[d] CANDID. p. 19. THEOPH. p. 106. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7 p. 295. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.

diately ſtripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and having ſoon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a ſecond time by *Harmatius*, as *Candidus Iſaurus* writes [e], or delivered up, as we read in *Procopius* [f], by *Acacius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, he confined them to a caſtle in *Cappadocia*, named *Limnos*, where they periſhed in a ſhort time with hunger and cold [g]. Thus ended the uſurpation of *Baſiliſcus*, after it had laſted, according to moſt writers, twenty months, that is, from *October* 475, to *June* of the preſent year 477. *Zeno*, purſuant to his promiſe, raiſed *Harmatius* to the poſt of general of the troops of his houſhold, and his ſon *Baſiliſcus* to the dignity of *Cæſar*; but ſoon after, diſtruſting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to *Baſiliſcus*, who had preferred him to the firſt employments in the ſtate, he cauſed him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpoſe one *Onoulus* or *Onoulphus*, by birth a barbarian, but brought up in the family of *Harmatius*, and by his intereſt raiſed from a mean condition to the dignity of count, and the poſt of general of *Illyricum* [h]. As for *Baſiliſcus*, the ſon of *Harmatius*, he was depoſed from the dignity of *Cæſar*, and made reader in a church near *Conſtantinople*. He was afterwards ordained biſhop of *Cyzicus*, the metropolis of *Helleſpont*, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and aſſiſted in 518, at the council of *Conſtantinople* [i]. During the uſurpation of *Baſiliſcus*, a dreadful fire happened at *Conſtantinople*, which conſumed great part of the city, with the library, containing an hundred and twenty thouſand volumes, and the works of *Homer*, written, as it is ſaid, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, an hundred and twenty foot long [k]. In the following year, 478, when *Illus* alone was conſul, *Theodoric*, the ſon of *Triarius*, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Baſiliſcus*, broke into *Thrace* with a numerous army of *Goths*, and advanced within four miles of *Conſtantinople*; which ſo terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that *Theodoric* ſhould be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* horſe [l]. The next year, *Zeno* being conſul the third time, *Marcian*, the ſon of *Anthemius*, who had reigned in the weſt, claiming the empire in right of his wife *Leontia*, the eldeſt daughter of the late emperor *Leo*, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in *Conſtantinople*, at

Baſiliſcus taken, and confined to a caſtle in Cappadocia, *where he periſhes.*

Harmatius murdered by Zeno's *orders.*

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

Marcian revolts;

[e] Candid. p. 19. [f] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i c. 7. p. 194. [g] Evagr. l. iii. c. 8. p. 341. Procop. ibid. [h] Candid. p. 19. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. Procop. p. 195. [i] Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. [k] Cedr. p. 35. Zonar. p. 43, 44. [l] Jorn. c. 57. p. 696.

the

the head of ſome malecontents prepared for any deſperate attempt. The emperor's guards, endeavouring to make head againſt them, were either diſperſed or cut in pieces, and *Zeno* himſelf ſhut up with a ſmall number of officers in the palace. Had *Marcian* purſued his deſign, and without loſs of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that conſternation he might have eaſily done, the emperor muſt have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmoſt imprudence put off till the next morning, *Zeno* in the mean time gained over, what with preſents, what with promiſes, moſt of *Marcian*'s men, who, thereupon diſtruſting the reſt, withdrew all on a ſudden, and took ſanctuary in the church of the apoſtles, whence he was dragged by the emperor's orders, ordained prieſt, and confined to a monaſtery in the neighbourhood of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*[m]. As *Zeno* had not for ſome years paid the *Oſtrogoths* in *Pannonia* their annual penſion, *Theodoric*, their king, no ſooner heard of the revolt of *Marcian*, than he broke into *Macedon*; and from thence advancing into *Epirus*, made himſelf maſter of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* ſea, that important place being betrayed to him by a *Goth* named *Sidimont*. But *Sabinianus*, an officer of great experience and addreſs, having ſurprized and cut in pieces a ſtrong reinforcement that was marching to the aſſiſtance of *Theodoric*, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimont*, and taken all their baggage and two thouſand waggons loaded with proviſions, the *Goths*, abandoning *Duras*, retired in great haſte into *Pannonia*[n]. The following year 480, when *Baſilius*, ſurnamed the younger, was conſul, *Zeno* not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with *Huneric*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Genſeric*, dead three years before[o]. In 481, when *Placidius* or *Placitus* was conſul, *Theodoric*, king of the *Oſtrogoths*, renewed his ravages, laying waſte the provinces of *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*; which obliged *Zeno* in the end to comply with his demands, that is, to yield to him part of *Lower Dacia* and *Mœſia*; to give him the command of the troops of the houſhold, and to name him conſul for the enſuing year 483. Upon theſe terms he withdrew in 482, when *Severinus* and *Trocundus* were conſuls, out of *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, reſtored *Lariſſa*, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken, and promiſed to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire[p]. The following year, when *Theodoric* was conſul at *Conſtantinople*, and *Venatius* at *Rome*, (for *Odoacer* made no change in the government, or magiſtrates of

But is abandoned by his own men; and forced to take refuge in a church.

Lower Dacia and Mœſia yielded to Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths.

[m] CANDID. p 20. EVAGR. p. 335. THEOPH. p. 109. [n] MAL. p. 78—81. [o] MARC. ad ann. 481. MALEL. p. 95. [p] JORN. de Goth c. 57. p. 696. MARCEL. ad ann 483. THEOPH. p. 142.

Leontius *revolts.*

the city) *Leontius*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, ſome ſay at the inſtigation of the empreſs *Verina*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Againſt him *Zeno* immediately diſpatched *Illus*, captain of his guards. But he, inſtead of oppoſing *Leontius*, joined him; and having ravaged the provinces of *Syria* and *Iſauria*, advanced to *Antioch*, with a deſign to ſeize on that metropolis. *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighhood, at the head of a conſiderable army; but his troops were all to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himſelf taken priſoner. After this victory, *Leontius* and *Illus* entered *Antioch* in triumph. *Zeno*, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, diſpatched *John*, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into *Syria*, with what troops he could aſſemble, and prevailed upon *Theodoric*, the *Oſtrogoth*, to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. Theſe two commanders were attended with better ſucceſs; for meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, they gained a complete victory, and the following year, when *Symmachus* was conſul, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to the ſtrong caſtle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia*, which *John* immediately inveſted, while *Theodoric* returned, as the war ſeemed now ended, with his troops to *Conſtantinople* [q]. *Trocundus*, the brother of *Illus*, taken priſoner by *John*, as he was attempting to make his eſcape out of *Syria*, in order to ſtir up the barbarians, was, by his orders, beheaded [r]. The ſame year, *Theodoric*, upon ſome diſguſt, withdrew from *Conſtantinople*, and returned to *Pannonia*. *Evagrius* writes, that *Zeno*, jealous of the glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great eſteem perſons of all ranks ſhewed him, attempted privately to diſpatch him [s]. However that be, it is certain, that *Theodoric*, after having ſpent the following year, when *Longinus* and *Decius* were conſuls, in raiſing troops and making other military preparations, as if he deſigned to make war upon the barbarians, broke ſuddenly into *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army; and putting all to fire and ſword, advanced within fifteen miles of *Conſtantinople*; but, inſtead of laying ſiege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he marched back to *Pannonia*, in virtue of a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, by which the emperor yielded to him, as ſome authors write, all the provinces of *Italy*, held then by *Odoacer*, encouraging him to reſcue them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promiſing to acknowledge him king

Is joined by Illus.

They are both defeated, and beſieged in Papyra.

Theodoric *the* Oſtrogoth *breaks into* Thrace.

Turns his arms againſt Odoacer, *king of* Italy.

[q] Theoph. p. 112. Liberat. c. 18. p. 125. [r] Theoph. ibid. [s] Evagr. l. iii. c. 27. p. 356.

of

of *Italy* [t]. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had ſent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himſelf, but for the emperor of the eaſt, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded it to be held for ever by the *Goths*. Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his life-time, but that upon his death it was to be reunited to the empire. However that be, *Theodoric*, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487, when *Boetius* was conſul, returned to *Novæ* in *Mæſia*, which city he had choſen for a place of his reſidence; and having ſpent the winter in military preparations, he ſet out the following year, when *Sifidius* and *Dinamius* were conſuls, at the head of a powerful army for *Italy*, and entering that country, overcame *Odoacer* in ſeveral battles, and eſtabliſhed a new monarchy there, as we ſhall relate at length hereafter. About the end of this year, *Leontius* and *Illus*, after having defended with incredible bravery the caſtle of *Papyra* for the ſpace of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and there expoſed for ſeveral days together to public view [u]. In the following conſulſhip of *Anicius Probinus* and *Chronion Euſebius*, *Zeno* cauſed ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction to be put to death, and baniſhed others, confiſcating their eſtates, under pretence that they had favoured *Leontius* and *Illus* [*]. The following year, when *Longinus* was conſul the ſecond time with *Fauſtus*, *Zeno*, raging with more cruelty than ever, cauſed *Pelagius*, a patrician of great diſtinction, to be ſtrangled, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had been told by an aſtrologer, that he was to ſucceed *Zeno* [w]. The emperor did not long ſurvive him; for in the month of *April* of the following year 491, when *Olybrius* was conſul, he was ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days, after he had lived ſixty-five years and nine days, and reigned ſeventeen years and three months [x]. The more modern *Greek* writers, and amongſt the reſt *Cedrenus*, tell us, that being ſeized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife *Ariadne*, who hated him, and was in love with *Anaſtaſius*, whom ſhe immediately married, not ſuffering him to be relieved, though he made a dreadful noiſe in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the fleſh off his own arms, and even his buſkins [y]. But of this tragical end no

Leontius and Illus taken, and put to death.

Zeno's cruelty.

His death.

[t] JORN. rer. Goth. l. ii. c. 57. p. 696. PHOT. c. 242. p. 1072. THEODOR. p. 558. CEDR. p. 354. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p 357.
[u] THEOPH. p. 114.
[*] THEOPH. p. 116.
[w] ZONAR. p. 44.
[x] Chron. Al. p. 758.
[y] CEDREN. p. 355.

mention is made by the more antient writers. He is painted by the antients as one of the moſt wicked and debauched princes recorded in hiſtory, as a perſon deſtitute of every good quality requiſite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a ſtate and commanding an army [z]. Of the writers, who flouriſhed about this time, we ſhall ſpeak in note (U).

Anaſtaſius *declared emperor.*

Upon the death of *Zeno*, his brother *Longinus* laid claim to the empire; but, he being univerſally abhorred on account of his lewdneſs and cruelty, *Ariadne*, widow of the deceaſed emperor, eaſily prevailed upon the ſenate to acknowledge *Anaſtaſius* for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of *April* in the circus, according to ſome, by *Ariadne* [a], according to others [b], by *Euphemius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who abſolutely refuſed to place the imperial crown upon his head,

[z] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. Marc. p. 1232. Evagr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 334. [a] Theoph. p. 117. Cedren. p. 357. [b] Evagr. p. 361. Theoph. Zonar. p. 45.

(U) *Theodulus*, a native of *Syria*, publiſhed in the reign of *Zeno* ſeveral pieces againſt the *Manichees* and other heretics, a comment on the epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, and a poem on the miracles related in the old teſtament, and on the fables of the poets (1). His comment has reached our times (2). *John* the grammarian publiſhed a book againſt the *Eutychians*, which has been long ſince loſt (3). He was ſtill alive, according to *Ginnadius*, in 494 (4). *Malus*, or *Males*, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, wrote the hiſtory of *Zeno* and *Baſiliſcus*; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached us (5). *Candidus*, by birth an *Iſaurian*, compriſed in three books a very particular and diſtinct account of what happened from the election of *Leo* to that of *Anaſtaſius*. A ſhort abſtract of his work has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (6). *Evagrius*, in ſpeaking of *Zeno*, often quotes and highly commends one *Euſtathius*, a native of *Philadelphia*, who wrote an abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory, from *Æneas* to the twelfth year of *Zeno*'s reign (7). The ſame hiſtorian is mentioned by *Nicephorus* (8). *Photius* ſpeaks of one *Victorinus*, who wrote ſome orations in commendation of the conſuls, and of the emperor *Zeno* (9). He was a native of *Antioch*, and the ſon of *Lampadius*. *Photius* commends the elegance, clearneſs, and propriety of his ſtyle (10).

[r] (1) *Marc. chron. Giannad. c.* 91. *Sixtus Senenſ. l.* iv. *p.* 381. *Poſſevin. p.* 469. *Sigebert. c.* 134. (2) *Biblioth. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 495. (3) *Trith. p.* 40. *Marc. chron. ad ann.* 486. (4) *Giannad. p.* 93. (5) *Phot. c.* 78. *p.* 172. *Zonar. p.* 44. *Evagr. p.* 78. (6) *Phot. c.* 78. *p.* 172. (7) *Evagr. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 308. *c.* 37. *p.* 367. & *l.* v. *c.* 24. *p.* 442. *Suid. p.* 1096. (8) *Niceph. l.* xiv. *c.* 57. *p.* 579. (9) *Phot. c.* 101. *p.* 276. (10) *Idem ibid.*

till

till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. He was no ſooner proclaimed emperor, than he married *Ariadne*, being then in the ſixtieth year of his age [c]. He was a native of *Duras*, the metropolis of *New Epirus* in *Illyricum* [d]. All we know of his family is, that his father was born in the ſame city; that his mother was a *Manichee*, and *Clearchus*, her brother, an *Arian* [e]. As for *Anaſtaſius* himſelf, he is by ſome ſtyled a *Manichee*, by others an *Eutychian* [f]. *Magna*, whom ſome will have to have been the emperor's ſiſter, others to have been wife to his brother, named *Paul*, was a zealous catholic [g]. *Anaſtaſius* had not yet attained to the rank of ſenator, when he was raiſed to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named *Silentiarii*, whoſe province it was to cauſe due ſilence to be obſerved in the palace [h]. He is ſaid to have led, while a private man, a very abſtemious life, and to have given ſignal inſtances of his integrity, whence, upon his receiving a purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, cried out with one voice, *Reign*, Anaſtaſius, *as you have lived* [i]. And truly the beginning of his reign was not undeſervedly applauded by perſons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted whatever to that time was due to the exchequer, and utterly aboliſhed the infamous tax called *chryſargyrum*, which was levied every fifth year upon thoſe, even common beggars not excepted, who ſold any thing, of how little value ſoever, whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to ſell their children, after they had been ſtripped of every thing elſe. It was not only raiſed on all traders, in what kind ſoever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public proſtitutes, who, by paying to the prince a conſiderable ſhare of what they earned by their infamous profeſſion, ſeemed to have purchaſed a right to purſue with impunity their ſcandalous practices [k]. *Alexander Severus* being aſhamed, though a pagan, to ſuffer the money thus raiſed to be lodged in the exchequer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices [l]. *Theodoſius* the younger utterly ſuppreſſed

He marries Ariadne.

His birth, education, employments, &c.

He aboliſhes the chryſargyrum.

[c] EVAGR. p. 357. THEOPH. p. 117. [d] EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. THEOPH. p. 117. [e] THEODOR. p. 558. THEOPH. ibid. [f] EVAGR. l. iii. c. 37. p. 361. THEOPH. p. 115. [g] NICEPH. chron. p. 305. THEOPH. p. 131. [h] EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. PROCOP. bell. Perſ. l. ii. c. 25. p. 138. [i] NICEPH. chron. p. 398. CEDREN. p. 357. [k] THEOPH. p. 566. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 39. Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [l] LAMPRID. in Al. p. 213.

this

this infamous tribute in 439, but it was ſoon after revived through the avarice of his ſucceſſors. *Zoſimus* will have the tax to have been firſt eſtabliſhed by *Conſtantine the Great* [m]; which is denied by *Evagrius* as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the chriſtian religion [n]. And indeed it is evident from the antient writers, that long before *Conſtantine*'s time a tax was laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; but that *Conſtantine*, to ſave charges, cauſed it to be levied, not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth or rather fifth year. However that be, *Anaſtaſius*, looking upon it as no leſs burdenſome to the people than ſhameful in the prince, not only utterly aboliſhed it, with the conſent and approbation of the ſenate, but, to prevent its ever being revived, cauſed all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus [o]. This abolition of the *chryſagyrum* is recorded by all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of *Anaſtaſius*, as an action truly great, heroic, and almoſt divine, worthy of being tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too deſervedly laid to that prince's charge [p]. *Timotheus* of *Gaza* wrote a tragedy on the *chryſargyrum*, which he aſcribed to *Anaſtaſius*. *Cedrenus*, who ſtyles that writer a man of univerſal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was in great meaſure induced by the reading of that piece to propoſe to the ſenate the ſuppreſſing of ſuch an infamous tax [q]. The ſame writer adds, that *Anaſtaſius* aboliſhed two kinds of *chryſargyrums*, one of which was raiſed on the poor, on the beggars, ſlaves, freemen, harlots, and divorced women, who, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, paid every fourth year a certain ſum for themſelves, and another for their horſes, mules, dogs, aſſes, oxen, *&c* [r]. At the ſame time, the new prince drove all informers out of *Conſtantinople*, and put a ſtop to the enormous abuſe introduced by *Zeno* of expoſing to ſale all public offices, and beſtowing, to the great oppreſſion of the unhappy people, the beſt governments on the higheſt bidders [s]. *Anaſtaſius* having, by theſe and ſeveral other acts of generoſity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people, they all to a man joined him againſt *Longinus*, the deceaſed emperor's brother, who in the beginning of the following year 492, when the emperor *Anaſtaſius* and *Rufus* were conſuls, raiſed ſome diſturbances in *Conſtantinople*, but was immediately ſeized, deprived

The nature of this tax.

Informers driven out of Conſtantinople.

[m] Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [n] Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. [o] Evagr. l. iv. c. 39. p. 368. Cod. Theod. 2, 5. p. 2, 4. [p] Evagr. p. 370. Const. Manass. p 63. Suid. p. 913. [q] Cedren. p. 357. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem, p. 358.

of

of all his employments, and ſent back into *Iſauria*, his native country, with orders to continue there. With him were driven out of *Conſtantinople* all the *Iſaurians*, who had borne great ſway in the late reign. The *Iſaurians*, thus baniſhed the city, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Longinus*, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by *Longinus*, the late emperor's brother, by another *Longinus*, ſurnamed *Selinontius*, no doubt from the city of *Selinus* in *Iſauria*, the place of his nativity, by *Indus*, *Theodorus*, *Niniling-hus*, and ſeveral other *Iſaurians* of great diſtinction, who had been raiſed by *Zeno* to the firſt employments in the ſtate. *Conon*, biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, for he was by birth an *Iſaurian*, and became one of the ringleaders of the revolt [t]. Under theſe heads the rebels ſeized on an immenſe quantity of arms, and vaſt ſums lodged by *Zeno* in a ſtrong hold of *Iſauria*, which enabled them to raiſe and arm above an hundred and fifty thouſand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progreſs they made, diſpatched the flower of his troops againſt them, under the conduct of two of the moſt renowned generals of that age, *viz.* of *John the Scythian*, and *John*, ſurnamed *Gibbus*, or the *hunch-backed*, who coming up with the rebels in the neighbourhood of *Cotyæa* in *Phrygia*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to take refuge amongſt the inacceſſible mountains of *Iſauria*, where they maintained themſelves for the ſpace of ſix years, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the beſt generals of the empire [u]. *Ninilinghus*, one of the chief leaders, was killed in the above-mentioned battle. The following year, when *Euſebius* was conſul the ſecond time with *Albinus*, ſurnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithſtanding the generoſity he affected on his acceſſion to the empire, was naturally of a moſt avaricious temper, laid a heavy tax on the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, called by *Evagrius chyſotelia*, which, as it was no-ways expected, incenſed them to ſuch a degree, that, riſing all on a ſudden, they pulled down the emperor's ſtatues, and dragged them through the chief ſtreets of the city with thoſe of the empreſs *Ariadne*, uttering moſt injurious invectives both againſt her and *Anaſtaſius* [w]. How this tumult ended, we are no-where told. The ſame year *Theodoric* the *Goth*, having completed the conqueſt of *Italy*, by the reduction of *Ravenna* after a three years ſiege, as we ſhall relate more at length hereafter, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of the em-

Longinus and the Iſaurians revolt.

They are defeated, but continue in arms.

A tumult in Conſtantinople.

[t] EVAGR. l. iii. p. 366. THEOPH. p. 118. [u] EVAGR. THEOPH. ibid MARC. chron JORN p 655. [w] MARC. chron. p. 401.

baſſadors,

Theodoric *acknowledged king of* Italy.

baſſadors, whom he had ſent to *Conſtantinople* for the enſigns of royalty. However, he diſpatched *Feſtus*, or *Fauſtus*, and *Ireneus*, two perſons of rank, to ſolicit the emperor's approbation, and excuſe the liberty he had taken. *Anaſtaſius* received his excuſes, promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the country he had conquered, and ſent him the enſigns of the royal dignity [x]. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in ſome degree, as *Odoacer* had done, the authority of the emperor. Beſides, he ſuffered the *Romans* to receive the conſulſhip from the emperor of the eaſt. 'Tis true he named in 511, one *Felix* to that dignity; but at the ſame time he wrote to *Anaſtaſius*, begging him to confirm what he had done [y]. In 494, when *Aſterius* and *Præſidius* were conſuls, *Diogenes*, one of the emperor's generals, having ſurpriſed the city of *Claudiopolis* in *Iſauria* held by the rebels, he was cloſely beſieged in it by the biſhop *Conon*, and reduced to ſuch ſtraights, that he muſt have ſoon either periſhed with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not *John*, ſurnamed *Gibbus*, opening himſelf a way over mount *Taurus*, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with great ſlaughter. The biſhop, fighting with great reſolution and intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound, of which he died ſoon after [z]. The two following years, in the firſt of which *Viator*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Victor*, was conſul, and in the other *Paul*, the emperor's brother, ſome inconſiderable advantages were gained over the *Iſaurian* rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor *Anaſtaſius* was conſul the ſecond time, by *John* the *Scythian*. *Longinus*, brother to the late emperor *Zeno*, and *Theodorus*, or *Athenodorus*, being taken priſoners, they were both put to death by that general's orders, and their heads ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where they were expoſed to public view in the ſuburbs called *Sycæ*. The head of *Athenodorus* was afterwards ſent to *Tarſus*, and ſet up on a pole before the gate of that city [a]. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely *Longinus Selinontius* and *Indus*, were taken the following year, when *John* the *Scythian* was conſul with *Paulinus*, and ſent loaded with chains to *Conſtantinople*. *Longinus* was afterwards racked to death at *Nice*. As ſeveral cities in *Iſauria* were utterly ruined during this war, which had laſted ſix years, the inhabitants of *Iſauria* were removed into *Thrace*, and the annual penſion of five thouſand pieces of gold, paid to

The Iſaurians *defeated a ſecond time by* John *the* Scythian.

Longinus, *and the other heads of the rebels, taken and put to death.*

[x] Ammian. anonym. p. 408. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. [y] Procop p. 402. Cassiodor l. ii. ep. 1. [z] Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 119. [a] Evagr. l. iii. 35 p. 366. Theoph. p. 120. Vict. Tun p. 127.

them

them by *Zeno*, taken away for ever [b]. This year the emperor narrowly escaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refusing to cause some prisoners to be set at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was with the utmost difficulty that the guards screened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the showers of stones discharged against him. When the multitude found themselves repulsed by the soldiery, they set fire to the hippodrome, which consumed that and several other stately edifices, with a square of *Constantinople*, in which not a single building was left standing [c]. The same year, the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, named *Scenitæ*, broke into *Palestine Syria Euphratesiana*; but in *Syria* they were defeated by *Eugenius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops there, and in *Palestine* by *Romanus*, governor of that province; who on that occasion recovered to the empire the island of *Jotape* in the *Red Sea*, which the *Arabs Scenitæ* had seized, and re-established there the *Roman* merchants trading to *India* [d].

A tumult in Constantinople.

IN 499, when *Joannes Gibbus* and *Asclepion* were consuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking into *Thrace*, *Aristus*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, marched against them at the head of fifteen thousand men, engaged them on the banks of the *Zurta* or *Zorta*; but was defeated with the loss of four thousand men, amongst whom were the counts *Nicostratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, and several other officers of distinction. The barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in *Thrace*, returned of their own accord beyond the *Danube* [e]. The same year, *Neocæsarea* and several other cities in *Pontus* were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake [f]. The year 500, when *Patritius* and *Hypatius* were consuls, is quite barren of events. In the following consulship of *Pompeius* and *Avienus*, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the circus of *Constantinople*, above three thousand of the former were killed [g]. The following year, *Probus* and *Avienus* being consuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking anew into *Thrace*, and the *Saracens* into *Palestine*, committed dreadful ravages in those two provinces [h]. The same year *Cabades*, king of *Persia*, being highly provoked at the emperor's refusing to lend him a certain sum, which he owed to the king of the *Nephthalite* or *Epthalite Huns*, entered unexpectedly *Armenia* at the head of a numerous army; and having easily reduced the cities of *Theodosiopolis* and *Martyropolis*, laid close siege to *Amida*, which the inhabitants (for there was no garison in the place) defended with such vigour and resolution,

mans *defeated by the barbarians.*

A tumult in the circus at Constantinople.

The Persians *break into the empire.*

[b] CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 23. l. ii. ep. 3. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. MARC chron. [c] Chron. Al. p. 760. [d] THEOPH. p. 21. EVAGR. l iii. c. 36. p. 366. [e] MARC. chron. ZONAR. p. 47. [f] THEOPH. p. 123. MARC. chron. [g] MARC. chron. [h] Idem ibid. THEOPH. p. 153.

ſolution, that the king, deſpairing of being ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants, eſpecially ſome women, probably common proſtitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expreſſed by a modeſt writer, he reſolved at all events to purſue the ſiege; which he did accordingly, and in the end made himſelf maſter of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or, as others write, four months [i]. Moſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword, and the town pillaged. In the mean time, *Anaſtaſius* diſpatched a powerful army againſt the enemy, commanded by *Patritius*, *Hypatius*, and *Areobindus*, who had married *Juliana*, the daughter of the emperor *Olybrius*. Under them commanded *Celer*, *Juſtin*, afterwards emperor, his ſon *Vitalianus*, *Patritiolus*, *Romanus*, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. But the *Perſians* having reduced *Amida* before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the ſide of *Amida*, and the other marching, under the command of *Areobindus* to *Niſibis*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe that important place. In the mean time, *Cabades*, having drawn his troops together, went to meet *Areobindus*; who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmoſt confuſion to *Conſtantina*, after having preſſed in vain *Hypatius* and *Patritius* to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppoſe the enemy, who was far ſuperior in number to either of the parties they commanded. *Areobindus* being thus put to flight, *Cabades*, without loſs of time, marched againſt *Hypatius* and *Patritius*; and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with much-ado eſcaped by a timely flight the common ſlaughter. *Cabades*, having now no enemy to oppoſe him, over-ran *Meſopotamia*, extending his ravages to the very borders of *Syria*, till he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into *Perſia* [k]. The following year, when *Cethegus* was conſul, *Celer*, entering the province of *Arzanene*, belonging to the *Perſians*, at the head of a conſiderable army, laid it waſte far and near, while the other generals undertook the ſiege of *Amida*, the *Perſians* being diverted by a ſudden irruption of the *Hunns*. The place held out till both the *Romans* and *Perſians* being quite tired out with the fatigues of a ſiege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that the *Perſians* ſhould deliver up the city to the *Romans*, upon their paying to the king of *Perſia* fifty talents;

And take Amida.

The Roman *generals defeated and put to flight.*

Amida *reſtored to the* Romans.

[i] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 7. p. 20, 21. Theoph. p. 124, 125. Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. [k] Procop. p. 22. Theoph. p. 125.

which

which was immediately done. Thus the *Romans* recovered the important city of *Amida*, in the conſulſhip of *Sabinianus* and *Theodorus*, after it had been held two years by the *Perſians* [l]. Upon their entering the place, they found that the enemy had not ſufficient proviſions to ſupport them ſeven days longer, tho' they had lived very ſparingly during the ſiege. Not long after, a truce for ſeven years, which laſted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, *Cabades* being engaged in a war with the *Caduceans*, *Hunns*, and other barbarians [m]. The ſame year one *Mondon* or *Mondo*, by nation a *Goth*, having ſettled with ſome of his countrymen in ſuch places beyond the *Danube* as he found uninhabited, ſeized on a ſtrong-hold called *Herta*; and thence, by frequent incurſions into the *Roman* territories, continued for ſome time harraſſing the ſubjects of the empire, giving himſelf the title of king. *Anaſtaſius* diſpatched againſt him *Sabinianns*, the ſon of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thouſand choſen men, which obliged *Mondon* to have recourſe to *Theodoric*, the *Goth*, king of *Italy*, who the year before had re-conquered *Pannonia*, and recovered *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Gepidæ*. As *Mondon* had entered into an alliance with *Theodoric*, *Pitzia*, one of that prince's generals, marched to his aſſiſtance, defeated *Sabinianus* in a pitched battle near *Margus* in *Lower Dacia*, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Nato* [n]. This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between *Theodoric* and *Anaſtaſius*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*. The next conſuls were *Arcobindus* and *Meſſala*, who were ſucceeded in 507 by the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, the third time conſul, and *Venantius*. This year *Anaſtaſius*, to defend not only the city of *Conſtantinople*, but the adjacent country, againſt the ſudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall, called the *Long-wall*, and the wall of *Anaſtaſius*; of which frequent mention is made by the *Byzantine* hiſtorians. It was diſtant from *Conſtantinople* two hundred and eighty furlongs, extended from ſea to ſea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round, and incloſed not only the metropolis, but the city of *Selymbria*, and the neighbouring country; which was a continued garden, with an incredible number of ſtately villa's and houſes of pleaſure, richly furniſhed and adorned. The wall was twenty foot in breadth, and defended by towers at ſmall diſtances from each other: by which means the inhabitants, upon the ſhorteſt warning, had an opportunity of putting

A truce with the Perſians

The Romans *defeated by* Pitzia, *the* Oſtrogoth.

Anaſtaſius *builds the* Long-wall.

[l] Idem, p. 127. & 25, 26. [m] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 9. p 27. THEOPH. p. 127. [n] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 599. ENNOD. in panegyr. Theodoric p. 309.

themſelves in a poſture of defence, and repulſing with great eaſe the barbarians [o]. In the following conſulſhip of *Celer* and *Venantius*, ſtyled the younger, *Anaſtaſius* cauſed the city of *Daras*, a frontier-town towards *Perſia*, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the *Perſians* from breaking into the empire on that ſide. *Daras* ſtood on the *Cardus*, about fifteen miles from *Niſibis*, and three from *Carrhæ* [p]. The ſame year *Clovis*, king of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, having gained a complete victory over *Alaric*, king of the *Viſigoths* in *Languedoc* and *Aquitain*, *Anaſtaſius*, who was at variance with *Theodoric*, whoſe daughter *Alaric* had married, ſent ambaſſadors to the king of the *Franks*, to congratulate him upon his victory, and to preſent him with the conſular ornaments, and a diadem, which he received in the church of St. *Martin* at *Tours*, taking upon him thenceforth the title of conſul, and likewiſe that of *Auguſtus*. He removed ſoon after from *Tours* to *Paris*, where he fixed his reſidence, declaring that city the metropolis of his kingdom [q]. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509, 510, in the firſt of which *Importunus* was conſul, and in the ſecond the famous *Boëtius*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the kingdom of *Italy*. In 511, when *Secundinus* and *Felix* were conſuls, the *Heruli*, after having long roved about from one country to another, paſſed the *Danube*, and were received the following year, when *Paulus* and *Muſchianus* were conſuls, into *Thrace*; where lands were allotted to them, upon their promiſing to ſerve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required [r]. In the next conſulſhip of *Probus* and *Clementinus*, the emperor, at the inſtigation of the *Eutychians*, whom he favoured, drove *Macedonius*, the orthodox patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, from his ſee, and preferred one *Timotheus*, an avowed follower of *Eutyches*, in his room; who, by attempting to introduce novelties in the public worſhip, raiſed great diſturbances in *Conſtantinople*. Many of the inhabitants, ſome ſay ten thouſand, were killed in a tumult between the catholics and *Eutychians*, and ſeveral houſes burnt, amongſt the reſt that of the prefect *Martinus*, with its rich furniture, he himſelf having narrowly eſcaped being conſumed in the flames [s]. The following year 514, when *Caſſiodorus Senator* was conſul, *Vitalianus*, one of the emperor's generals, eſpouſing the cauſe of *Macedonius*, and the other or-

Daras *repaired and fortified.*

Clovis *fixes his reſidence to* Paris.

The Heruli *admitted into* Thrace.

Great diſturbances in Conſtantinople.

Vitalianus *eſpouſes the cauſe of the catholics againſt the* Eutychians.

[o] Evagr. l iii. c. 38. p. 367. Procop. ædif. l. iv. c. 9. p. 86. Gyl. de Conſtantinop. l. i. c. 21. p. 83. Zonar. p. 48. [p] Procop. ædif. l. ii. c. 2 p. 31. Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. [q] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 38. p. 291. [r] Procop. bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 14. p. 42. [s] Surius, p. 173.

thodox

thodox biſhops, perſecuted by *Anaſtaſius*, approached *Conſtantinople*, at the head of a numerous army, raiſed in three days time, threatening to depoſe the emperor, if he did not reſtore the baniſhed biſhops to their ſees, and drive out the *Eutychians*. *Anaſtaſius*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Eutyches*, refuſing to comply with his requeſt, he made himſelf maſter of *Mœſia* and *Thrace*, took *Cyril*, governor of the latter province, priſoner, defeated *Hypatius*, the emperor's nephew, who likewiſe fell into his hands; and returning before *Conſtantinople* with his victorious army, *Anaſtaſius*, who was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe him, ſolemnly promiſed to comply with his demands, *viz.* to put an end to the perſecution, which he had raiſed againſt the catholics, to reſtore *Macedonius*, and the other orthodox biſhops, to their ſees, and to call an œcumenical council, and ſtand to the deciſions of the prelates of the church. *Anaſtaſius* had no ſooner ſigned theſe articles, than *Vitalianus* withdrew from the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*; and diſbanding his troops, ſent *Hypatius*, whom he had taken priſoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in *Thrace* [t]. *Anaſtaſius*, thus delivered from his fears, purſued the perſecution againſt the catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at length by the eccleſiaſtic writers. In 515, when *Anthemius* and *Florentius* were conſuls, and 516, when *Petrus* alone bore that dignity, nothing happened which hiſtorians have thought worthy of notice. In 517, when *Anaſtaſius* was conſul the fourth time with *Agapetus*, the northern barbarians, called by *Marcellinus Getæ*, breaking into *Illyricum*, laid waſte *Macedon* and *Epirus*, defeated *Pompeius*, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*; and, penetrating as far as *Theſſaly*, returned from thence beyond the *Danube* unmoleſted, with an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives [u]. The following year, when *Magnus* alone was conſul, the emperor *Anaſtaſius* was found dead in his chamber on the ninth of *July*. Authors vary as to the circumſtances of his death: ſome write, that a violent ſtorm ariſing, the dread and terror with which he was ſeized, as being conſcious to himſelf of many cruel and unjuſt murders, put an end to his life [w]; others ſuppoſe him to have been killed by a flaſh of lightning [x]. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-ſeven years, and three months, wanting two or three days [y]. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor

The emperor promiſes to comply with his demands

The Getæ *break into* Illyricum.

Anaſtaſius *dies.*

[t] MARC. chron. VICT. TUNUNENSIS, p. 132. [u] MARC. chron. JORN. reg. ſucc. c. 48. p. 655. [w] THEOD. p. 505. MARC. chron. Chron. Al. p. 764. [x] ZONAR. p. 47. CEDREN. p. 362.

more

more hated in the end, of his reign. He gave at firſt ſeveral inſtances of generoſity, good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, ſeeming to have nothing ſo much at heart as the welfare of his ſubjects. But he ſoon abandoned himſelf to all manner of wickedneſs, ſelling the public offices, and ſharing with the governors of provinces the ſpoils of the unhappy people, whom he ſuffered them to oppreſs with moſt enormous exactions. The eccleſiaſtic writers paint him in the blackeſt colours imaginable; but as he perſecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the utmoſt of his power, the *Eutychians*, they were perhaps ſo far prejudiced againſt him as to overlook the few good qualities, which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

Juſtin proclaimed emperor. His birth, education, &c.

Anaſtaſius being dead, *Juſtin*, then *præfectus prætorio*, was by the ſoldiers of the houſhold proclaimed emperor in his room. He was deſcended of an obſcure and mean family in *Thrace*, having been in his youth employed in keeping cattle. He afterwards liſted himſelf among the troops that guarded *Thrace*; and having on ſeveral occaſions given ſignal proofs of an extraordinary valour, and addreſs, he was raiſed from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier to the poſt of a tribune, and from that ſoon after to the office of *præfectus prætorio*, which he held when he was preferred to the empire. *Evagrius* writes, that *Amantius*, the deceaſed emperor's great chamberlain, having intruſted *Juſtin* with large ſums to purchaſe the votes of the ſoldiery in favour of *Theocritus*, his intimate friend, *Juſtin* diſtributed the money in his own name; and having by that means ſecured the army to his intereſt, he was by them ſaluted with the title of *Auguſtus*, as ſoon as the death of *Anaſtaſius* was known [z]. Thus *Evagrius*, whoſe account does not at all agree with what we read in the letters, ſaid to have been written by *Juſtin* himſelf to *Hormiſda* biſhop of *Rome*, ſoon after his promotion; wherein he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and againſt his will, to the imperial dignity *. But by what means ſoever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and, by his ſteady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent adminiſtration, healed in great meaſure the diviſions which had long rent the church, as well as the ſtate, into factions and parties.

Some conſpire againſt him, but are diſcovered and executed.

He was ſcarce warm in his throne, when *Amantius*, *Theocritus*, and ſeveral of the deceaſed emperor's relations, perſons of great intereſt and authority in the empire, conſpired againſt him; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered

[y] Evagr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 381 Chron. Al. p 764. [z] Evagr. l. iv. c 1, 2. * Vide Baron. ad ann. 518.

by

by ſome who were privy to it, the chief authors of it, and among the reſt *Anantius* and *Theocritus*, were publicly executed, to the great ſatisfaction of the people; who hated them as the avowed patrons of the *Eutychians*, and the chief promoters of the late perſecution againſt the catholics [a]. The following year 519, *Juſtin* being conſul with *Eutharic*, the ſon-in-law of *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, all the orthodox biſhops, who had been baniſhed by *Anaſtaſius*, were by the emperor's orders reſtored to their ſees, and ſeveral ſynods aſſembled, in which the doctrine of the church was eſtabliſhed, and that of *Eutyches* condemned [b]. The following year, *Vitalianus*, of whom we have made mention above, was raiſed to the conſulſhip with *Ruſticus*, but was ſoon after diſpatched in the palace by the emperor's orders, upon his attempting to gain over ſome of the chief officers, with a deſign to depoſe *Juſtin*, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in his room. He had eſpouſed the catholic cauſe in the reign of *Anaſtaſius*; but his caballing againſt *Juſtin*, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the *Eutychians*, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms againſt his ſovereign [c]. The following year, *Juſtinian*, the emperor's nephew, being conſul with *Valerius*, *Cavades*, king of *Perſia*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Juſtin*, offering to conclude a laſting peace with him, provided he would adopt *Coſrhoes*, the *Perſian* king's youngeſt ſon, whom, to the prejudice of his eldeſt ſon *Caoſes*, he had declared his ſucceſſor. This he looked upon as the only means of engaging the *Roman* emperor to eſpouſe his cauſe, and of firmly eſtabliſhing him in the kingdom. The propoſal was received at firſt with great joy both by *Juſtin* and his nephew *Juſtinian*; but *Proclus*, the quæſtor, a man of great integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws, demonſtrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, *Coſrhoes* might claim the *Roman* empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; which ſo piqued *Cavades*, that he immediately entered *Iberia*, with a deſign to invade from thence the *Roman* territories. *Gurgenes*, king of the *Iberians*, had recourſe to *Juſtin*; who diſpatched a body of troops to his aſſiſtance, under the conduct of *Sittas* and the famous *Beliſarius*, who was then but a youth, and ſerved in the guards of *Juſtinian*, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. *Sittas* and *Beliſarius* broke into that part of *Armenia* which belonged to the *Perſians*, and laid it waſte; but being met by *Narſes* and *Aratius*, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the *Roman* dominions.

Vitalianus put to death.

The Perſian war.

[a] JORN reg ſucc. c 48. p. 132. [b] EVAGR. l. iv c. 3. [c] Idem ibid.

nions. *Narſes* and *Aratius* revolted ſoon after from the *Perſians*, and ſerved under *Beliſarius* in *Italy*. The emperor, well pleaſed with the conduct of *Beliſarius*, gave him the command of the forces in *Daras*, on the frontiers of *Perſia* [d]. Theſe things happened in the third conſulſhip of *Severinus Boëtius*, and the firſt of *Symmachus*; who were ſucceeded in 523, by *Maximus* alone in the weſt, and he by *Juſtin*, the ſecond time conſul, and *Opilio*; during whoſe conſulſhip we find nothing tranſacted in the empire that deſerves notice. In 525, when *Probinus* or *Probus*, and *Philoxenes*, were conſuls, *Juſtin*, by an edict, deprived the *Arians* of all their churches in his dominions; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Arius*. But what relates to that prince, we reſerve for the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*. The ſame year the city of *Antioch* was almoſt utterly overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their biſhop *Euphraſius*, under the ruins [e]. The cities of *Epidamnus*, *Corinth*, and *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, underwent the ſame fate, but were at a vaſt expence reſtored, as well as *Antioch*, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor: who was ſo affected with their misfortune, that, putting off the purple, and laying aſide the diadem, he appeared for ſeveral days in ſack-cloth [f]. In 526, *Olybrius* alone was conſul, and ſucceeded in that dignity by *Mavortius*; during whoſe conſulſhip, *Juſtin* on the firſt of *April*, declared his nephew *Juſtinian* his partner in the empire. He was the ſon of *Sabatius*, by *Bigleniza*, the ſiſter of *Juſtin*, called by the *Romans Vigilantia*. He was a native of *Taureſium*, but brought up at *Bederina*, the birth-place of his uncle *Juſtin*, both cities on the confines of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; whence he is by ſome ſtyled a *Thracian*, by others an *Illyrian*. He was ſent, when yet a youth, by *Juſtin*, then commander in chief of the *Roman* army, as an hoſtage to *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*; who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, ſuffered him to return to *Conſtantinople*; where he was immediately honoured with the title of *nobiliſſimus*, and upon the death of *Vitalianus*, raiſed to the chief command of the army in his room [g]. Some authors write that *Juſtin*, at the requeſt of the ſenate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the ſenate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Juſtinian* was this year declared emperor; and upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other enſigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him

Beliſarius commander of the troops in Daras.

The Arians deprived of their churches.

A great earthquake at Antioch.

Juſtin aſſumes Juſtinian for his partner in the empire.

[d] Procop. bell. Perſ. c. 11, 12. [e] Evagr. l. iv. c. 5, 6.
[f] Idem ibid. c. 8. [g] Vide not. Alam. in Procop. ſecret. hiſt.

with

with loud acclamations: he wa then as *Zonaras* obſerves, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor *Juſtin* died about four months after, that is, in the latter end of *September*, or the beginning of *Auguſt*, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and ſome days. His death is generally aſcribed to a wound received in battle many years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents in keeping cattle, till he liſted himſelf in the army; but was nevertheleſs a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon addreſs, in the management of the moſt difficult affairs, well ſkilled in the art of war, and in every reſpect equal to the high ſtation to which he was raiſed.

Juſtin *dies:*

His character.

Juſtinian, now ſole maſter of the empire, made it his firſt and chief buſineſs to ſecure the frontiers towards *Perſia*. With this view he ordered *Beliſarius*, commander of the troops in *Daras*, to build a fort in the neigbourhood of *Mindon*, which might be as a curb upon the *Perſians*, and prevent them from breaking into the empire on that ſide. *Beliſarius* had no ſooner begun the work, than *Cabades*, who ſtill reigned in *Perſia*, after having attempted in vain, by threats and menaces, to divert him from it, diſpatched a body of troops againſt him. On the other hand, *Juſtinian* ordered the two brothers, *Curtzes* and *Buzes*, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount *Libanus*, to join *Beliſarius*. But notwithſtanding this reinforcement the *Romans*, in the battle which enſued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken priſoners, and among the reſt *Curtzes*, to whoſe raſh and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the *Perſians*, finding the fort abandoned by the *Romans*, levelled it with the ground [h]. War being thus declared, *Juſtinian* appointed *Beliſarius* general of the eaſt, ordering him to make an inroad into *Perſia*. *Perozes* the *Perſian* general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood of *Daras*; whereupon a battle enſuing, the *Perſians* were defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men. As the *Perſians* fled in great confuſion, the *Romans* would, in all likelihood, have cut moſt of them in pieces, had not *Beliſarius*, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, ſounded a retreat [i]. The like ſucceſs attended the *Roman* arms in *Armenia*, where *Mermeroes*, who commanded another army, conſiſting of *Perſarmenians*, *Sunites*, and *Huns*, was ſurpriſed and defeated by *Dorotheus*, the *Roman* governor of *Armenia*, and *Sittas*, general of the forces quar-

What gave riſe to the Perſian war.

The Romans defeated.

And the Perſians in their turn by Beliſarius.

And by Dorotheus in Perſarmenia.

[h] Procop. bell. Perſ. c. 13. [i] Idem, c 15.

tered in that province. *Mermeroes*, being put to flight, the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in *Perſarmenia*, and among the reſt of *Pharangium*, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one *Simeon*. About this time, *Narſes* and *Aratius*, two brothers, who, in the latter end of *Juſtin*'s reign, had commanded the *Perſian* army in *Armenia*, and gained ſome advantages over *Beliſarius* and *Sittas*, as we have related above, revolting from the *Perſians*, came over to the *Romans*, who are now maſters of the greateſt part of *Perſarmenia*, their native country. *Narſes*, the emperor's quæſtor in thoſe parts, who was likewiſe a *Perſarmenian*, received them with extraordinary marks of kindneſs and eſteem, making them rich preſents in the emperor's name: which encouraged their younger brother, by name *Iſaac*, to follow their example, after having held a private correſpondence with the *Romans*, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a ſtrong-hold in the territory of *Theodoſiopolis*, named *Bolus* [k]. *Juſtinian*, notwithſtanding the advantages gained by his troops in *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Cabades*, with propoſals for an accommodation; but the treaty being ſoon broken off, the *Perſians*, early in the ſpring of 530, invaded the *Roman* territories under the command of *Azarethes*, who was joined by an incredible number of *Saracens*, commanded by *Alamundarus* their king, who, as he was a perſon of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, adviſed the *Perſians* to break into the *Roman* territories, not by the way of *Meſopotamia* and *Oſrhoene*, as they uſually did, but to march directly into *Syria*, which country they might lay waſte, and plunder *Antioch* itſelf, before the army in *Meſopotamia* could receive the leaſt intelligence of their motions. The *Perſian* generals approving the ſcheme, the army began to march; but *Beliſarius*, appriſed of their deſign, flew with a ſtrong detachment to the frontiers of *Syria*, where the *Perſians* finding him, to their great ſurpriſe, ready to diſpute their paſſage, they reſolved to proceed no farther, but rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, *Beliſarius*, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far ſuperior to him in numbers, was for ſuffering them to retire unmoleſted. But his men upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on againſt the enemy, by whom, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, they were put to the rout, *Beliſarius*, with a ſmall body of horſe, who were aſhamed to forſake him, keeping the field, and by that means preventing the enemy from purſuing the fugitives.

Narſes and Aratius revolt to the Romans.

The Perſians, attempting to break into Syria, are prevented by Beliſarius.

The Romans engaging againſt the opinion of Beliſarius. are defeated.

[k] Idem, c. 15, 16.

fugitives. The next day the *Perſians*, who had loſt in the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a ſecond battle, retired in good order, the *Romans*, who were greatly diſheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them [l]. The following year 531, *Juſtinian* being deſirous of concluding a peace with the *Perſians*, that he might be at leiſure to make war upon the *Vandals*, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had ſeized, diſpatched *Hermogenes* to the king of *Perſia*, with very reaſonable propoſals. But *Cabades*, inſtead of hearkening to them, ſent early in the ſpring a freſh army into *Meſopotamia* under the command of *Chanaranges*, *Aſpendes*, and *Mermeroes*; who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and ſword, ſat down before *Martyropolis*, a city about thirty miles north of *Amida* on the river *Nimphius*, which parted the *Perſian* and *Roman* dominions. The place was no-ways in a condition to maintain a ſiege, being deſtitute both of ſoldiers and proviſions. The emperor had recalled *Beliſarius* to adviſe with him about a war with the *Vandals*, on which he was chiefly bent; and *Sittas*, who had ſucceeded him in the command of the troops in the eaſt, had not ſufficient ſtrength to attempt the relief of the place. While affairs ſtood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of *Maſſagetes* was marching into *Perſia*, with a deſign to invade from thence the *Roman* dominions. This intelligence *Juſtinian* turned to his great advantage, by perſuading the *Perſian* deſerter, who brought it, to ſpread a report in the army before *Martyropolis*, that the *Maſſagetes* were in the *Roman* pay, and their true deſign was to fall upon the *Perſians*, and raiſe the ſiege. This report, with the news that was ſoon after brought of the death of *Cabades*, inclined the *Perſian* generals to hearken to the overtures that were made them by *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, with whom they firſt concluded a truce, retiring from before *Martyropolis*, and ſoon after a peace, upon the following terms: 1. That the *Roman* emperor ſhould pay to *Coſrhoes*, who had ſucceeded his father *Cabades*, a thouſand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes ſhould reſtore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the commander of the *Roman* forces in *Meſopotamia* ſhould no longer reſide at *Daras*, but at *Conſtantina*, as he had formerly done. 4. That the *Iberians*, who had ſided with the *Romans*, ſhould be at liberty to return to their own country, or ſtay at *Conſtantinople* [m]. Upon theſe terms the *Romans* and *Perſians*

The Perſians *beſiege* Martyropolis.

A perpetual peace concluded between the Romans *and* Perſians.

[l] Idem, c. 18. [m] EVAGR. l. iii. c. 38. AGATH. l. iv. c. 13. NICEPH. l. xvii. c. 10. THEOPH ad ann. Juſt. 5, 6. CEDREN. p. 366. Hiſt. miſcell. l. xvi. PROCOP. bell. Perſ. ibid.

concluded an eternal peace, as it was ſtyled, in 532, the ſixth year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, which, as it was without conſuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the faſti; *The ſecond year after the conſulſhip of* Lampadius *and* Oreſtes. About this time happened at *Conſtantinople* the greateſt tumult we find mentioned in hiſtory. It began amongſt the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion, the multitude, highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of *John* the *præfectus prætorio*, and of *Trebonianus*, then quæſtor, forcing *Hypatius*, nephew to the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great ſolemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned miniſters were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately diſcharged them, hoping by that means to appeaſe the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and moſt of the ſenators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and diſheartened, would have abandoned the city, and made his eſcape by ſea, had not the empreſs *Theodora*, with a manly courage, perſuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by ſeaſonably putting him in mind of the old ſaying, *How glorious a ſepulchre is a kingdom! Juſtinian*, thus encouraged, reſolved to continue in the palace, and, with the aſſiſtance of the few ſenators who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the laſt. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried *Hypatius* in triumph to the circus; where, while he was beholding the ſports from the imperial throne, among the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, *Beliſarius*, who had been recalled from *Perſia*, entering the city with a conſiderable body of troops under his command, and appriſed of the uſurpation of *Hypatius*, marched ſtrait to the circus, fell ſword in hand upon the diſarmed multitude; and, being ſeaſonably joined by *Mundus*, governor of *Illyricum*, at the head of a band of *Heruli*, cut above thirty thouſand of them in pieces, took *Hypatius* the uſurper, and *Pompeius*, another of the nephews of *Anaſtaſius*, priſoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whoſe orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies caſt into the ſea. Their eſtates were confiſcated, and likewiſe the eſtates of ſuch ſenators as had joined them; but the emperor cauſed great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards reſtored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children [n]. *Marcellinus* ſuppoſes that this tumult was raiſed by *Hypatius*, *Pompeius*, and *Probus*, all three nephews to the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, each of them ſetting up for himſelf; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of

A great tumult at Conſtantinople.

The manly courage of the empreſs Theodora.

The tumult quelled with the death of 30,000 *perſons.*

[n] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. p. 265.

citizens

citizens was murdered, and many ſtately buildings laid in aſhes[o]. The tumult being thus appeaſed, and a peace concluded with the king of *Perſia*, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in *Africa*, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned *Beliſarius* carried on with amazing ſucceſs in the reign of *Juſtinian*, firſt with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and afterwards with the *Goths* in *Italy*, we ſhall ſpeak at length hereafter. Theſe two wars laſted from 533 to 541, a year remarkable for the triumphant return of *Beliſarius* to *Conſtantinople*; and no leſs on account of its being the laſt that is marked by conſuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by conſulſhips, tho' conſuls were ſtill created for ſome time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the *Goths* in *Italy*, the *Hunns*, probably ſtirred up by them, paſſed the *Danube*, and entering *Illyricum*, laid waſte the whole country, took above thirty-two caſtles, deſtroyed *Caſſandria*, and returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty, and an hundred and twenty thouſand captives. At the ſame time the *Armenians*, ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, gained ſome advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundleſs report ſpread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of *Beliſarius*, would no longer truſt him with the command of his armies, encouraged *Coſrhoes* to invade the *Roman* dominions with a very powerful army, in defiance of the treaty ſolemnly concluded a few years before. *Buzes*, who commanded in the eaſt, inſtead of aſſembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, diſappeared all on a ſudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleaſure. As *Coſrhoes* met with no oppoſition, he bent his march to *Syria*; and having taken and plundered *Beræa*, *Hierapolis*, and ſeveral other cities, he laid ſiege to *Antioch* itſelf, which he ſoon maſtered, and gave up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all they met to the ſword. The king himſelf ſeized on all the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the great church; cauſed all the valuable ſtatues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into *Perſia*: and having thus ſtripped the proud metropolis of the eaſt of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to ſet fire to it, and lay it in aſhes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings, even without the walls, being ſpared by the outrageous and inſulting enemy. Thus periſhed the moſt wealthy, beautiful, and populous, city of the eaſt. Such of the inhabitants as

The Hunns *commit great ravages in* Illyricum.

Coſrhoes *invades the* Roman *dominions.*

Antioch *beſieged, taken, and laid in aſhes.*

[o] MARC. chron.

eſcaped

eſcaped the common ſlaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and ſold in *Perſia* to the higheſt bidder *. *Juſtinian*, upon the firſt news of the *Perſians* entering the *Roman* territories, had diſpatched embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alledged ſeveral frivolous pretences for the hoſtilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on *Juſtinian*; but after he had waſted *Syria*, and enriched himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accommodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the *Romans* ſhould, within two months, pay to the *Perſian* king five thouſand pounds weight of gold, and an annual penſion of five hundred. 2. That the *Perſians* ſhould relinquiſh all claim to *Daras*, and maintain a body of troops to guard the *Caſpian* gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above-mentioned ſum, *Coſrhoes* ſhould immediately withdraw his troops out of the *Roman* territories [p]. The treaty being ſigned, and the ſtipulated ſum paid, *Coſrhoes* began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war had ſtill continued, the cities of *Apamea* and *Chalcis*; and croſſing the *Euphrates*, laid waſte *Meſopotamia*, carrying with him from thence an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives. Hereupon *Juſtinian*, now well appriſed, that with *Coſrhoes* no treaties were binding, reſolved to purſue the war with the utmoſt vigour, and with that deſign ſent for *Beliſarius*, then employed againſt the *Goths* in *Italy*, and, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, appointed him general againſt the *Perſians*. While that brave commander was making the neceſſary preparations to take the field early in the ſpring of the enſuing year 542, the *Lazians*, no longer able to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the *Roman* troops in that country, revolted to the *Perſians*, and delivered up to them all their caſtles and ſtrong-holds. *Lazica*, formerly part of *Colchis*, lay between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the *Roman* emperor, and received at his hands the enſigns of royalty. Their preſent king's name was *Gubazes*, who had ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity, and continued attached to their intereſt, till *Joannes Tzibus*, commander of the *Roman* troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring *Iberians*, by erecting a fort, as a curb upon the *Lazians*, and exacting exorbitant con-

A peace concluded with the king of Perſia,

Who nevertheleſs ravages Meſopotamia.

The Lazians *revolt to the* Perſians.

* Procop. bell. Perſ. l. ii. c. 12. Evagr. Agath. ibid.
[p] Procop. l. ii. c. 2.

tributions

tributions for the payment of his ſoldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince and his ſubjects, tho' otherwiſe well-affected to the empire, to have recourſe to the king of *Perſia*, who, upon the firſt invitation, entered their country, and, being aſſiſted by the natives, drove out the *Romans*, and placed every where *Perſian* gariſons in their room [q]. In the mean time *Beliſarius*, not appriſed of the revolt of the *Lazians*, entered *Perſia* at the head of a powerful army; and having made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong-hold called *Siſibranum*, laid waſte *Aſſyria*; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the diſtempers that began to rage in his army, to return before the end of the ſummer, into the *Roman* dominions. *Coſrhoes* was no ſooner informed of the invaſion of *Beliſarius*, than, quitting *Lazica*, he haſtened into *Aſſyria*; but being informed on his march, that the *Romans* were retired, he put his army into winter-quarters, and withdrew to *Cteſiphon* [r]. The ſpring following, he invaded anew the *Roman* territories, bending his march through *Comagene*, with a deſign to enter *Paleſtine*, and enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of that fertile and wealthy province. *Beliſarius*, who was returned to *Conſtantinople*, upon the firſt news of this invaſion, flew to *Europus* on the *Euphrates*, and there drew together what forces he could ſome time after *Coſrhoes* had paſſed that river; which ſo alarmed the *Perſian* king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he thought it adviſeable to drop his intended expedition into *Paleſtine*, and return to his own dominions, before *Beliſarius* was in a condition to cut off his retreat. The emperor being ſoon after obliged to recal *Beliſarius*, and ſend him into *Italy*, where the *Goths* had gained great advantages over the *Romans*, as we ſhall relate hereafter, *Coſrhoes* reſolved once more to invade the *Roman* territories, notwithſtanding the dreadful plague that raged in *Perſia*, being encouraged thereunto by the magi, and by a ſhameful overthrow of thirty thouſand *Romans*, who, attempting to break into *Perſarmenia*, had been defeated by four thouſand *Perſians*. Upon this ſucceſs he invaded *Meſopotamia*, and ſat down before *Edeſſa*; but not being able to maſter the place, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he agreed to raiſe the ſiege, and ſoon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thouſand pounds weight of gold, and ſending him a celebrated phyſician, by name *Tribunus*, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous diſtemper *. Not long after the concluſion of the truce, *Coſrhoes*, obſerving the *Lazians* no-ways pleaſed with their late change, and apprehending they would ſoon revolt from him to the *Romans*, reſolved to prevent a ſecond revolution,

Beliſarius *enters* Perſia, *and ravages* Aſſyria.

Coſrhoes *attempts to invade* Paleſtine.

But dreading Beliſarius, *drops that enterprize.*

[q] Idem ibid. c. 15, 29 [r] Idem ibid. * PROCOP. l. ii. c. 12. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 27.

by

by causing *Gubazes* their king to be murdered, by transplanting the natives into *Persia*, and peopling the country, which opened him a passage into the *Euxine* sea, with *Persians*, and other nations well affected to his interest. But his design being discovered to *Gubazes*, by those who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourse, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to *Justinian*; who, forgetting his past conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loss of time, dispatched eight thousand men, under the command of *Dagistæus*, to his assistance; who, being joined by a numerous body of *Lazians*, laid siege to *Petra*, one of the strongest places in *Lazica*, defended by a *Persian* garison, and stored with all manner of provisions. *Cosrhoes*, alarmed at this sudden revolution, sent a powerful army, under the conduct of *Mermeroes*, to the relief of the place. At their approach, *Dagistæus*, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost consternation towards the *Phasis*. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* advanced to *Petra*, the garison of which place, consisting at first of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite disabled, and unfit for service. *Mermeroes* repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garisoned the place with three thousand men, and returned with the rest of his army into *Persarmenia*, not thinking it safe to continue in *Lazica*, whither, he was informed, fresh forces were marching, under the conduct of *Recithangus*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had served in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his age. At his departure, he left a body of five thousand men encamped on the banks of the *Phasis*, to watch the motions of the *Romans* and *Lazians*. Of these *Gubazes* and *Dagistæus* surprised one thousand, as they were straggling about in quest of booty; and having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly in the dead of the night upon the main body, put most of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitous flight. The *Romans* made themselves masters of their camp, in which, besides their ensigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a considerable number of mules and horses. They pursued the fugitives to the confines of *Iberia*, intercepted several other parties that were conveying provisions into *Petra*; and having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives. *Cosrhoes* was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched *Coriames*, with an army of *Persians* as well as *Persians*, into *Lazica*. But *Coriames* was attended with no better success than the other *Persian* generals;

The Lazians *revolt to the* Romans.

The Romans *obliged to raise the siege of* Petra.

The Persians *fail to regain.*

generals; for being met on the banks of the *Hippus* in *Colchis* by *Gubazes* and *Dagiſtæus*, his army was, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, utterly defeated, and he himſelf ſlain [a]. Theſe advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Gubazes*, at whoſe requeſt *Dagiſtæus*, who had ſhamefully abandoned the ſiege of *Petra*, as we have related above, was recalled, and *Beſſas*, an officer of great experience, appointed to command in his room. He immediately inveſted *Petra*, and in the end reduced that important place, tho' defended by the *Perſian* gariſon with ſuch obſtinacy, as ſavoured of madneſs and deſpair. *Beſſas* ordered *Petra* to be diſmantled; and leaving only twelve thouſand men in *Lazica*, viz. three thouſand in *Archæopolis* the metropolis, and nine thouſand encamped on the banks of the *Phaſis*, under the command of *Odonachus*, he retired with the reſt into *Armenia*, his own government. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* entered *Lazica*; and having firſt obliged *Odonachus* to withdraw into the *Roman* territories, he laid ſiege to *Archæopolis*, which however he was forced to raiſe, having, in ſeveral aſſaults, been repulſed with great loſs by the gariſon. Notwithſtanding theſe hoſtilities, the *Perſian* embaſſadors, who had been ſent to *Conſtantinople* the preceding year, continued ſtill there, and ſoon after the reduction of *Petra*, concluded a five years truce with the emperor, upon his paying to the *Perſian* king an immenſe ſum, which raiſed great complaints among the people, who were rather for purſuing the war, than ſubmitting to pay a tribute, as they ſtyled it, to the king of *Perſia* [b]. But *Juſtinian* was glad to come to any agreement with the *Perſians* upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from purſuing the advantages he had gained over the *Goths* in *Italy*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. The truce was no ſooner expired, than the *Perſians*, invading anew *Lazica*, took by ſtratagem the ſtrong caſtle of *Telepſis*; and then falling upon the *Roman* army, which lay encamped at a ſmall diſtance, put them to flight at the firſt onſet. *Gubazes*, king of *Lazica*, provoked at the cowardice of the *Roman* generals, acquainted the emperor with their ſhameful behaviour; which incenſed them to ſuch a degree, that they agreed to diſpatch him: and accordingly, having accuſed him at court of treachery, as if he privately correſponded with the *Perſians*, by wreſting the inſtructions ſent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving out, that he deſigned to betray them, and deliver all the *Romans* into the hands of the *Perſians*. The *Lazicans*, highly incenſed againſt the authors of his death, would have

The Perſians *utterly defeated.*

Petra *taken by the* Romans.

A truce between the Romans *and* Perſians.

The king of Lazica *barbaronſly murdered by the* Romans.

[a] Idem, l. iv. c. 25, 26. PROCOP. l. ii c. 19. [b] Idem, l. ii. c. 17, 28, 29.

revolted from the *Romans*, and joined the *Perſians*, had not *Juſtinian* appeaſed them, by cauſing all thoſe who were anyways acceſſory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceaſed king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room. In the mean time the *Perſians*, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, advanced, under the command of *Nachoragan*, into *Lazica*, and laid ſiege to *Phaſis*; but *Juſtin*, who commanded the *Roman* troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thouſand of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt, with their general, to ſave themſelves within the *Perſian* dominions. This defeat ſo diſheartened *Coſrhoes*, that he immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to ſue for a peace; which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes [u]. The public rejoicings for a peace with *Perſia*, after ſuch a long and deſtructive war, were diſturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for ſeveral days, and overturned a great many ſtately edifices, and ſeveral churches, in which periſhed an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confuſion. About the ſame time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out anew at *Conſtantinople*, and ſwept off many thouſands of people. The ſame year 558, the *Hunns*, paſſing the *Danube* in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for *Conſtantinople*, and laying waſte the countries through which they paſſed, came, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But *Beliſarius*, though now weakened by old age to ſuch a degree, that he was ſcarce able to hold a ſhield, or brandiſh a ſword, marching out againſt them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them [w]. However, the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the *Roman* dominions, agreed to pay them an annual penſion, upon their promiſing to defend the empire againſt all other barbarians, and to ſerve, when required, in the *Roman* armies [x]. This was the laſt exploit performed by *Beliſarius*, who, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, was diſgraced, ſtripped of all his employments, and confined to his houſe. *Agathias* aſcribes his diſgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deſervedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, perſuaded the emperor, whoſe jealouſy increaſed with his years, that *Beliſarius* aſpired at the ſovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the moſt

The Perſians *defeated.*

A peace concluded.

The Hunns *break into* Thrace.

Are put to flight by Beliſarius.

Beliſarius *diſgraced.*

[u] Idem ibid. & bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 8, 9. Agath. l. iii. p. 81—90. [w] Agath. l. v. p. 155. [x] Idem, p. 156, 157.

renowned

renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to second him in his ambitious views; that the ſoldiery were ſtill more attached to him than the people, &c. Upon theſe malicious and groundleſs inſinuations, the emperor, forgetting the paſt ſervices of the moſt deſerving of all his ſubjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the reſtorer of the antient military diſcipline, recalled him, according to *Agathias*, without ſo much as ſuffering him to purſue his late victory over the *Hunns*; and upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, which he deſerved to enter in triumph, confined him to his houſe, after having, with the utmoſt ingratitude, diveſted him of all his authority, honours, and employments [y]. The more modern writers pretend, that *Juſtinian* cauſed his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to ſuch poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople*. But the antient authors aſſure us, that the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, reſtored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther diſgrace, to his death. About this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, *viz.* *Ablavius*, *Marcellus*, and *Sergius*, conſpired againſt him, upon what provocation we know not; but the plot being diſcovered by ſome perſons, whom *Ablavius* had attempted to draw into it, the conſpirators were ſeized, before they could put their deſign in execution. *Marcellus*, after having defended himſelf with great reſolution againſt the officers who were ſent to arreſt him, ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword. *Ablavius* and *Sergius* were publicly executed, and the reſt of the conſpirators baniſhed [z]. The emperor eſcaped the conſpiracy; but did not long out-live it, being ſoon after carried off by a natural, but ſudden, death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and ſeven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried on with ſurpriſing ſucceſs by his two renowned generals *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, and the new form which he gave the *Roman* juriſprudence, have deſervedly procured him the ſurname of *Great*. Of his public buildings, the reader will find a diſtinct account in *Procopius*, who aſſures us, that there was ſcarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect ſome ſtately edifice, nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair ſome city, fort, or caſtle [a]. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, *Africa* and *Italy*, after they had been long held, the former by the *Vandals*, and the latter by the *Goths*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of theſe

A conſpiracy againſt Juſtinian.

Juſtinian *dies*.

[y] AGATH. hiſt. Juſtin. c. 9. [z] PROCOP. hiſt. ſecr. 3. 13. [a] Idem, de ædif.

two nations. In peace he ſignalized his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the *Juſtinian code*. In the very beginning of his reign he publiſhed an edict, directed to the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he choſe the moſt famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian *Tribonianus*, who were to collect into one volume all the conſtitutions contained in the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian*, and *Theodoſian* codes, and join to them ſuch as had been publiſhed by *Theodoſius* the younger, and the other lawful emperors his ſucceſſors, down to *Juſtinian* himſelf. Whatever in thoſe laws ſeemed ſuperfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their ſenſe and meaning was to be rendered more clear, and the names of the princes who publiſhed them, the place, the time, and the perſons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each conſtitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in little more than a year; ſo that it was publiſhed in the beginning of the third year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declared all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the conſtitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Juſtinian*; whereas the *Theodoſian* code began with *Conſtantine the Great*. *Juſtinian*, not ſatisfied with the code alone, undertook ſoon after a more noble, and far more difficult, work, which was to collect, and digeſt into order, the opinions and anſwers of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the *Roman* laws, eſpecially on the *edictum perpetuum*, their different treatiſes, *&c.* in all above two thouſand volumes. This hard and crabbed taſk was completed in the ſpace of three years by *Tribonianus* and ſixteen other able civilians, and called by the *Latins digeſta*, becauſe the opinions of the antient civilians were there digeſted into order, and by the *Greeks pandectæ*, as containing all the antient juriſprudence. When this great work was near completed, *Juſtinian* ordered *Tribonianus*, *Theophilus*, and *Dorodeus*, to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the *inſtitutes*, or firſt principles of the law, which were publiſhed about a month before the pandects [b]. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and *Juſtinian* himſelf had, after the publication of it, enacted ſeveral laws; in the eighth year of his reign, that is, in 534, he ordered a ſecond code to be made, in which were inſerted all the conſtitutions, about two hundred in number, which he had enacted ſince the publication of the firſt,

His code.

His pandects.

His inſtitutes.

[b] Vide Baldvin. in Juſtinian. p. 497. Ritters. in jure Juſtin. in proœm. c. 1. num. 4. Edmund. Meril. ad 50 deciſ. Juſtin.

and

and ſeveral others contained in the former code, either corrected or annulled. This ſecond code, ſtyled *de repetita prælectione*, was publiſhed five years after the firſt, and at the ſame time a decree, declaring the firſt to be of no force, and forbidding any conſtitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of juſtice, that were not contained in the new code *de repetita prælectione* [c]. Thus was the firſt code, in a manner, aboliſhed, and all authority given to the ſecond, *viz.* to that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix articles, containing the conſtitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Juſtinian*. After the publication of the *inſtitutes*, *pandects*, and *code*, *Juſtinian* enacted ſeveral laws, which were joined together in a diſtinct volume, called the *novellæ conſtitutiones*. Theſe were publiſhed from time to time by *Juſtinian*, not in the *Latin*, excepting ſome few, but in the *Greek*, tongue, and collected into one volume after his death [d]. *Juſtinian* is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the *Roman* juriſprudence, but for his piety, prudence, juſtice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a perſon in his high ſtation. As for the ſecret hiſtory, filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Juſtinian*, and the empreſs *Theodora*, it is, by the ableſt critics, looked upon as not the work of *Procopius*, but as a ſcandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raiſed was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful paſſion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embelliſhing with ſtately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he ſeemed to countenance the *Eutychians*, no doubt, at the inſtigation of the empreſs *Theodora*, who held their doctrine; which has given occaſion to many bitter invectives againſt her memory. *Juſtinian* may deſervedly be called the laſt *Roman* emperor; for in his reign the majeſty of the empire ſeemed to revive, but ſoon vaniſhed again, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the preſent hiſtory.

His code de repetita prælectione.

His novellæ.

[c] BALDUIN. RITTERS. ibid. [d] CUJAC. l. viii. obſ. c. ult. BALDUIN. Juſtin. p. 573. RITTERS. in procem. c. 4. num. 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Juſtinian the Great, *to the depoſing of* Irene, *and the promotion of* Nicephorus.

Juſtin *proclaimed emperor.*

JUSTINIAN dying without iſſue, *Juſtin*, the ſon of his ſiſter *Vigilantia*, whom, in his life-time, he had deſigned for his ſucceſſor, was by the ſenate proclaimed emperor, and crowned, with great ſolemnity, by *John* patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. As the people were highly diſpleaſed with the deceaſed emperor, for aboliſhing the office of conſul, the only mark they had left of their antient liberty, *Juſtin* promiſed to reſtore it; and accordingly took upon him that title on the firſt of *January* of the year 566, diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people, according to the antient cuſtom.

He refuſes to pay the annual penſion to the Avari.

During his conſulſhip, the *Avari* or *Abari*, a *Scythian* nation, ſent embaſſadors to demand the penſion formerly paid them by *Juſtinian*; but the *Maſſagetes*, who at this time began to be called *Turks*, and inhabited the country bordering on the *Tanais* to the eaſt, preſſing the emperor not to comply with the demands of the *Avari*, their declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, *Juſtin* not only refuſed to pay them the uſual penſion, but threatened to make war upon them, if they offered to diſturb the peace of the empire. The courage and reſolution which the emperor exerted on this occaſion, gave ſo great ſatisfaction to the people, that they began to prefer him even to *Juſtinian*, who, they ſaid, had, with the ſpoils of his own ſubjects, enriched the barbarians, the avowed enemies of the empire. But *Juſtin* ſoon forfeited, by his cruelty, and inſatiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained of him; for the following year, he cauſed *Juſtin* his kinſman to be ſeized in his houſe, and conveyed to *Alexandria*, where he was, by his orders, inhumanly murdered, for no other crime but becauſe he was beloved by the people. The empreſs *Sophia*, niece to the late empreſs *Theodora*, a woman of a cruel, haughty, and ſuſpicious temper, is thought to have put him upon this, and ſeveral other bloody executions [c]. The following year 569, is remarkable

He cauſes Juſtin *his kinſman to be murdered.*

[c] EVAGR. l. ii. c. 14. PHOT. c. 113.

for

for the irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, where they founded a new kingdom, which continued for the ſpace of two hundred years, and upwards. But of their wars with *Juſtin* and his ſucceſſors, till the total reduction of *Italy*, and of the kings of the *Lombards* who reigned there, from *Alboin* to *Deſiderius*, taken priſoner by *Charlemagne*, we ſhall ſpeak at length hereafter. *Italy* was anew diſmembered from the empire, and great part of it loſt in the reign of *Juſtin*; but ſome amends was made for ſo great a loſs by the acquiſition of *Perſarmenia*, the inhabitants, who were cruelly perſecuted by the *Perſians*, on account of the chriſtian religion, which they profeſſed, ſhaking off the yoke, and recurring to the protection of the *Roman* emperor, to whom they ſubmitted, upon certain articles ſworn to by both parties. *Coſrhoes*, informed of their revolt, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to divert the emperor from eſpouſing their cauſe, which, he ſaid, was contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two empires. *Juſtin*, deſpiſing their menaces, reſolutely anſwered, that the truce was expired, and that he could not deny his protection and aſſiſtance to a brave nation, who, profeſſing the ſame religion with himſelf, were on that ſcore cruelly perſecuted and oppreſſed. Hereupon *Coſrhoes*, having with incredible expedition raiſed a powerful army, divided it into two bodies, ordering the one to march directly into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Artabanus*, while he himſelf with the other invaded *Meſopotamia*. *Juſtin* in the mean time, utterly neglecting the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, wallowed in his uſual pleaſures, till news was brought him, that the *Perſians* had already broken into his dominions. He then diſpatched *Martianus*, captain of his guards, into the eaſt, but without men, money or arms; ſo that he was forced to inrol ſuch vagabonds, thieves and robbers, as offered themſelves to him in his way. With theſe however he ſurpriſed and put to flight a ſmall body of *Perſians*, and, elated with that advantage, however inconſiderable, he had the confidence to ſit down before *Niſibis*, the inhabitants, who ſcorned to ſhut their gates, rallying him from the walls, and aſking him, Whether he had been placed there with his men to watch ſheep, or beſiege the town? The emperor nevertheleſs, highly incenſed againſt him for protracting, as he ſaid, the ſiege, deprived him of his command, and ſent one *Acacius* to ſucceed him; which ſo diſpleaſed the officers, who were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of *Acacius*, that they abandoned the ſiege, and retired into *Syria*. In the mean time *Artabanus*, having paſſed the *Euphrates*, advanced to *Antioch*; but not being able to reduce that metropolis, he ſat down before *Heraclea*, which he took by aſſault,

The Lombards *invade* Italy.

The Perſarmenians *revolt to the* Romans.

The Perſians *invade the* Roman *dominions.*

The Romans *abandon the ſiege of* Niſibis.

The Perſians *take ſeveral places*

assault, and laid in ashes. From *Heraclea*, he marched to *Apamea*, which submitted upon terms; but was nevertheless by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of *Apamea*, he joined the king, who had undertaken the siege of *Daras*, which being now carried on with fresh vigour, the garison was in the end obliged to submit, after having held out with great resolution and intrepidity for the space of five months. The loss of *Daras*, a place of the utmost importance, and the wonderful progress of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, affected the emperor, now convinced of his imprudent conduct, to such a degree,

Justin *seized with a kind of madness.*

that he was seized with a kind of madness, which rendering him altogether incapable of managing the public affairs, *Tiberius*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had discharged, with great reputation, the first employments in the state, was, by the advice and interest of the empress *Sophia*, with the unanimous consent of the senate, appointed to govern in his room. *Tiberius* immediately dispatched *Trajan*, a person highly esteemed for his wisdom and address, to *Cosrhoes*, with a letter from the empress *Sophia*, wherein she acquainted him with the misfortune that had befallen her husband, laid before him the deplorable state of the empire, and conjured him by all that was sacred, to forbear insulting a helpless woman, or invading a weak and defenceless state. She ended her letter by putting him in mind of the humanity formerly shewn him by the emperor *Justinian*, who, upon his being seized with a dangerous malady, sent the best physicians of the empire to attend him. *Cosrhoes* was so sensibly affected with this letter, that, looking upon it as highly ungenerous to pursue the war, he immediately consented to a truce for three years [f]. The following year 573, the emperor, who continued still indisposed, by the advice of the empress *Sophia*, raised *Tiberius* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, resigning to him the whole management of affairs, and reserving for himself the bare name of emperor. *Tiberius*'s first care was to put himself in a condition of making head against the *Persians*, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, as soon as the truce was expired. With this view he raised a very numerous and formidable army; but at the same time endeavoured, by means of his embassadors, to change the truce into a lasting peace, and to establish a good understanding between the two empires. *Cosrhoes*, deaf to all proposals, would not so much as admit the embassadors to his presence, being bent upon recovering *Persarmenia*; which accordingly he over-ran upon the expiration of the truce, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties, and was already marching to *Cappadocia*,

Tiberius *governs in his room.*

The generosity of Cosrhoes.

Tiberius *declared* Cæsar.

Cosrhoes *breaks into the* Roman *dominions.*

[f] Evagr. l. v. c. 7—13. Cedren. l. iii. c. 18. Menand. c. 16.

with

with a design to besiege *Cæsarea*, the metropolis of that province; but *Justinian*, the brother of *Justin*, who had been basely murdered at *Alexandria*, as we have related above, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement, in which great numbers of his troops were cut in pieces, and the rest forced to save themselves by a precipitous and disorderly flight. *Cosrhoes* was so grieved for this overthrow, that he fell sick, and died, after a long and glorious reign of forty-eight years. *Justinian* in the mean time, entering *Persia* with his victorious army, continued there, putting all to fire and sword, till the latter end of *June*, when he returned in triumph to the *Roman* territories [g]. The following year, the emperor *Justin* died, after having reigned sixteen years, nine months, and some days. He is painted by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, so addicted to his pleasures, as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the state is said to have suffered no less from his inactivity and indolence, than from the tyranny and cruelty of any of his predecessors [h]. Upon his death, *Tiberius*, who, had for some years governed the empire with an absolute sway, was by the senate and people declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of *Augusta* upon *Anastatia*, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme disappointment of *Sophia*, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a presumption that he would marry her, grew his implacable enemy, when she found him married to another, and attempted to raise *Justinian* to the empire. But the plot being seasonably discovered, the emperor caused all her treasures to be seized, which was the only punishment he inflicted upon her; and depriving *Justinian* of the command of the army in the east, sent *Mauritius* to succeed him. *Mauritius* was descended from an antient *Roman* family; but born in *Arebissus*, a city of *Cappadocia*, had served in the army from his infancy, and was no less esteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the east, he found *Hormisda*, who had succeeded *Cosrhoes* in the kingdom of *Persia*, obstinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantageous proposals offered him by the emperor. Hereupon, having drawn together his forces, he marched with incredible expedition to the confines of *Persia*, and falling unexpectedly upon the *Persian* army, commanded by the king in person, gave them a total overthrow, took their camp, with all the royal plate and treasure, which he immediately sent to *Constantinople*, and made an incredible number of prisoners,

Is defeated and dies of grief.

Justin *dies.*

Tiberius *declared emperor.*

The empress Sophia *conspires against him.*

The Persians *defeated by* Mauritius.

[g] EVAG. l. v. c. 17. AGATH. l. iv. c. 13. [h] PAUL. DIACON. de gest. Langob. l. iii. c. 11.

who were likewiſe ſent to the emperor, by whoſe orders they were richly cloathed, and ſuffered to return to *Perſia*, *Tiberius* hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation. But *Hormiſda*, determined to purſue the war at all events, diſpatched his two generals, *Tamochoſroes* and *Aduaſmenes*, to the borders, at the head of the moſt numerous army that had been ſeen for many years in *Perſia*. *Mauritius*, however, according to the ſuccinct and confuſed account which *Evagrius* gives us of this war, gained a complete victory over them, diſperſed their numerous forces, took ſeveral caſtles, ſtrong-holds, and towns, enriched his army with an immenſe booty, and made ſuch numbers of captives, as were ſufficient to people the iſlands and countries that had been long uninhabited, and to form armies againſt other nations at enmity with the empire [i]. Upon his return to court, he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations imaginable of eſteem and affection by *Tiberius*, who ſoon after gave him in marriage his daughter *Conſtantia*, and raiſed him to the dignity of *Cæſar*; which was declaring him his ſucceſſor [k]. In the mean time, *Hormiſda*, quite disheartened after the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but not long obſerved by that faithleſs prince, as we ſhall ſee anon. The year following the *Avari* or *Abari*, dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a ſudden irruption into *Pannonia*, under the conduct of their *Chagan*, or king, and made themſelves maſters of *Sirmium*. *Chagan*, elated with this ſucceſs, diſpached embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to demand the annual penſion, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before, and beſides, an immenſe ſum by way of intereſt. But *Tiberius*, highly provoked at the arrogance of the embaſſadors, inſtead of complying with their exorbitant demands, ordered his troops to take the field. The *Avari*, not caring to venture an engagement, retired beyond the *Danube*, watching an opportunity of invading anew the *Roman* territories [l]. The year following, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, in 586, died the emperor *Tiberius*, after having reigned four years alone, and three years and eleven months with *Juſtin*. All the antients ſpeak of him as a prince of extraordinary abilities, and one who proved a true father to his people. Some time before his death, he had cauſed *Mauritius* to be declared emperor, in the preſence of *John* the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, of all the nobility, and the chief citizens, as a perſon the beſt qualified in the whole empire for that high ſtation. *Hormiſda*, king of *Perſia*, no ſooner heard of the death of *Tiberius*, than he

He gains a ſecond victory, takes ſeveral places, &c.

He marries the emperor's daughter, and is declared Cæſar.

The Avari *break into the empire.*

Tiberius *dies.*

Mauritius *ſucceeds him.*

[i] Evag. l. v. c. 9. [k] Zicerh. l. xviii. c. 6. Evag. ibid.
[l] Menand. c. 23. Theophyl. Simocat. c. 3.

broke

broke into the empire at the head of a numerous and powerful army, pretending that the peace he had lately concluded with *Tiberius* was no longer binding. Againſt him the emperor diſpatched one *John* a *Thracian*, who at firſt gained ſome ſmall advantages over the enemy; but being ſoon after defeated, he was recalled, and *Philippicus*, who had married the emperor's ſiſter, ſent in his room. The new general was attended with better ſucceſs; for having engaged the *Perſians*, who, encouraged by the predictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to the battle as to a certain triumph, he obliged them to retire with great loſs to their camp. The next morning the *Perſians* renewed the fight, but were again defeated with a far greater loſs than they had ſuſtained the day before. After this victory, *Philippicus* detached *Heraclius*, his lieutenant, with part of his army, ordering them to enter and lay waſte the enemy's country. The *Perſian* general, named from his office *Cardariga*, being informed by ſome deſerters, that the *Roman* army was divided, rallied his forces; and falling in the dead of the night upon *Philippicus*, put him to flight, and took a great number of priſoners. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, having paſſed the *Tigris*, laid waſte the country far and wide, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and then returned loaded with booty to *Philippicus*, who was drawing all his forces together with a deſign to retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms with ſome remarkable exploit. But in the mean time, the emperor, being informed of his late miſconduct, ordered him to reſign the command of the army to *Priſcus*, and return to *Conſtantinople*. *Priſcus* was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he was univerſally abhorred by the ſoldiery, on account of his ſeverity and imperious temper, a few days after his arrival, they roſe up in a general mutiny againſt him, plundered his tent, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not ſaved himſelf by a timely flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of *Edeſſa*. Upon his retreat the mutineers obliged *Germanus*, governor of *Phœnicia*, to take upon him the command of the army, which he had not long held, before the emperor, informed of the mutiny, ſent *Philippicus* again into the eaſt to bring them back to their duty. *Germanus* was for reſigning the command to him; but the mutinous ſoldiery openly declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both againſt his own will and the emperor's, whom he was unwilling to diſoblige, to continue in the poſt to which they had raiſed him. In the mean time, the *Perſians*, taking advantage of theſe diſturbances, broke into the empire, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword. But *Germanus*, marching againſt them, engaged them, according to *Evagrius*, with

The Perſians *defeated by* Philippicus.

Who is defeated by him in his turn.

A general mutiny in the Roman *army.*

The Perſians *defeated by* Germanus.

ſuch ſucceſs, that ſcarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into *Perſia* [m]. Not long after this victory, the mutiny was at length appeaſed, after it had laſted a year and upwards, by *Gregory*, biſhop of *Antioch*, a perſon greatly beloved and revered by the ſoldiery for the ſanctity of his life, and the kindneſs he had on ſeveral occaſions ſhewed them. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they ſubmitted in the end to *Philippicus*, who, after having publiſhed a general act of oblivion, marched without loſs of time againſt the *Perſians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, in which the general himſelf, by name *Marazas*, and almoſt the whole army, were cut in pieces, only two thouſand two hundred of ſo great a multitude having eſcaped the general ſlaughter [n]. The ſame year, the city of *Antioch* was once more almoſt utterly deſtroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thouſand perſons were either buried under the ruins, or ſwallowed up by the earth [o]. The following year 588, *Sittas*, one of the citizens of *Martyropolis*, having betrayed that important place to the *Perſians*, *Philippicus*, early in the ſpring, laid ſiege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and *Commentiolus* appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the *Perſians* ſoon after his arrival, gained a complete victory over them, made himſelf maſter of a caſtle called *Ochas*, built on a high rock over-againſt *Martyropolis*, and from thence ſo annoyed the gariſon with his warlike engines, that they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, and deliver up the place. *Hormiſda*, aſcribing the bad ſucceſs of his arms to the cowardice of his general, by name *Barames*, deprived him of his command, ſending him at the ſame time the habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. *Barames*, to revenge this affront, conſpired againſt *Hormiſda*, who was univerſally hated on account of his cruelty, and having eaſily gained over the greater part of the army, and amongſt the reſt *Ferrochanes*, who had been ſent to command in his room, he fell upon the king with the other conſpirators, and pulling him down from his throne, tore the diadem from off his head, and conveyed him under a ſtrong guard to the public priſon. The next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruelties, ordered his wife, and one of his ſons, to be ſawed aſunder in his preſence; and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated with great humanity by his eldeſt ſon *Coſrhoes*, whom the rebels had raiſed to the throne. But the depoſed king, not able to bear ſo great a change, inſtead of acknowledging the kindneſs ſhewn

The mutiny appeaſed by Gregory, *biſhop of* Antioch.

The Perſians *defeated by* Commentiolus.

Hormiſda, *king of* Perſia, *depoſed, and* Coſrhoes, *his ſon, raiſed to the throne.*

[m] Evagr. ibid. Theophylact. c. 8, 9. [n] Evagr. ibid. Theophylact. c. 10, 15. [o] Evagr. l. iii. c. 10.

him

him by his ſon, who dared not releaſe him, trampled under foot whatever was ſent him; which provoked *Coſrhoes* to ſuch a degree, that in the tranſport of his paſſion he cauſed him to be beaten to death. Though the *Perſians* abhorred *Hormiſda*, yet the averſion they conceived againſt *Coſrhoes*, on account of this unnatural murder, was ſo great, that the nobility, people, and ſoldiery, conſpiring againſt him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take refuge in the *Roman* dominions. *Mauritius*, touched with compaſſion, and reflecting on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at *Conſtantinople* with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him in a manner ſuitable to his condition, and having preſented him with immenſe ſums, ſent him back at the head of a powerful army, which, entering *Perſia*, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged *Barames*, their ringleader, to take refuge amongſt the neighbouring barbarians, and, reſtoring the baniſhed prince to the throne of his anceſtors, returned in triumph to the *Roman* territories [p]. Upon the reſtoration of *Coſrhoes*, a profound peace enſued in the eaſt, ſo that the emperor was at leiſure to purſue the war againſt the *Avari*, who, paſſing the *Danube*, had entered *Thrace*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in that province. *Mauritius* marched againſt them in perſon at the head of the army lately returned from the eaſt; but, after ſeveral battles fought with dubious ſucceſs, he was in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace; which, however, the king of the *Avari* did not long obſerve: for entering into an alliance with the *Gepidæ*, the *Sclavi*, and other neighbouring barbarians, he returned the following year, bragging that he would utterly aboliſh the *Roman* name, and eſtabliſh a new empire over all people and nations. After he laid waſte *Thrace*, he approached *Conſtantinople* with his numerous army; which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting *Europe*, and retiring with their families and effects to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Aſia*. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending ſtorm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the barbarians, aſſuring them, that heaven would not ſuffer the peace, which *Chagan* had confirmed with the moſt ſolemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity. The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unneceſſary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's camp, ſwept off daily great numbers of them, and amongſt the reſt ſeven of *Chagan*'s ſons; which ſo terrified the

Coſrhoes, driven out, is reſtored by Mauritius.

The Avari *invade the empire.*

Obliged by a plague to return to their own country.

[p] NICEPH. l ii. c. 4. EVAGR. ibid.

barbarians,

barbarians, that they reſolved to abandon the *Roman* territories, and return beyond the *Danube*. *Caghan*, when upon the point of departing, offered to ſet at liberty the *Roman* captives, of whom he had twelve thouſand, for a very inconſiderable ſum a head. But the emperor refuſing to ranſom them, becauſe they had been for the moſt part concerned in the mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign, *Chagan*, tranſported with rage, put them all to the ſword. This occaſioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at *Conſtantinople*, where the populace inſulted the emperor in a moſt outrageous manner [q]. The following year, the *Avari*, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were in five ſucceſſive battles overthrown by *Priſcus*, with the loſs of above thirty thouſand men, and obliged to quit the *Roman* dominions. *Priſcus* returned to *Conſtantinople*; but *Peter*, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the *Danube*, was ordered to croſs that river, and winter in the enemy's country. This order the ſoldiers, who had conceived an irreconcileable averſion to *Mauritius* ever ſince he refuſed to ranſom the captives, would by no means comply with, looking upon it as given on purpoſe to expoſe them to new hardſhips. Hereupon a general mutiny enſuing, they declared a centurion, by name *Phocas*, emperor, beſtowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of *Auguſtus*. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of *Phocas*, being brought to *Conſtantinople*, the populace, ever fond of change, roſe againſt *Mauritius*, who finding himſelf abandoned by his guards, embarqued on a ſmall veſſel with his wife and children, propoſing to retire in diſguiſe to ſome place of ſafety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr *Autonomus*, about an hundred and fifty furlongs from *Conſtantinople*. In the mean time, *Phocas* arriving with his army, entered the city amidſt the loud acclamations of the populace, and was ſolemnly crowned in the church of St. *John Baptiſt*, with his wife *Leontia*, by the patriarch, after he had promiſed to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. The following days he exhibited public ſports, during which warm diſputes ariſing between the two factions, *viz.* the blue and the green, *Phocas* ſent his guards to appeaſe the tumult, who having uſed roughly a tribune of the blue faction, thoſe of the ſame party, threatening the emperor, cried out, that *Mauritius*, who would do them juſtice, was not yet dead. This awakened the jealouſy of the tyrant, who

Mauritius diſobliges the people and ſoldiery.

The army on the Danube *declares* Phocas *emperor.*

Mauritius *retires.*

Phocas *crowned emperor at* Conſtantinople.

[q] Theophylact. l. vii. c. 1—17. & l. viii. c. 2. Cedren. ann. Maur. 19. Zonar. p. 137.

thereupon

thereupon immediately ordered *Mauritius* to be dragged from his asylum to *Chalcedon*, where, by the tyrant's orders, five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he himself beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness and christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, *Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments*; nay, he was so far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not suffer this kind fraud to take place, but discovered it to the executioners. The head of the emperor and the young princes were for some days left exposed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. *Mamas* [r]. Such was the end of *Mauritius*, after he had lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen years, three months, and some days [s]. *Mauritius, and five of his children put to death.*

The tyrant, not satisfied with the death of *Mauritius*, caused *Peter* his brother, *Commentiolus*, who had the chief command of the army, *George* the son of *Philippicus*, and *Præsentinus*, an officer of great distinction, and much attached to the family of the deceased emperor, to be inhumanly massacred. *Theodosius*, the eldest son of *Mauritius*, had been sent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to solicit succours from *Cosrhoes*, whom he had restored to the throne of his ancestors; but before the young prince reached the confines of the empire, he was seized, and executed at a place called *Leucatta*, at a small distance from *Nicæa* in *Bithynia* [t]. *The emperor's brother, and several others, murdered by* Phocas.

Phocas, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at *Constantinople*, sent, according to custom, his own image, and that of his wife *Leontia*, to *Rome*, where they were received, in the month of *April* of the present year 603, with loud and joyful acclamations, the people there being highly incensed against *Mauritius*, on account of the cruel exactions of the exarchs, and his other ministers in *Italy*. *Gregory*, surnamed the great, then bishop of *Rome*, caused the images to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr *Cæsarius*, and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his advancement to the throne, which he said was effected by a particular providence to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities, and heavy oppressions, under which they had long groaned. Had we no other character of *Phocas* and *Leontia*, but that which has been conveyed Phocas's *character.*

[r] THEOPH. l. viii. c. 10. NICEPH. l. xviii. c. 41. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid. l. v. c. 23. [s] NICEPH. ibid. CEDREN. annal. an. Phoc. 1. [t] GREG. l. xi. ep. 38.

to

to us in *Gregory*'s letters, we ſhould rank him amongſt the beſt princes mentioned in hiſtory. But all other writers paint him in quite different colours; and his actions, tranſmitted to us by ſeveral hiſtorians, evidently ſpeak him a moſt cruel and blood-thirſty tyrant. He was of middling ſtature, ſays *Cedrenus* [w], deformed, and of a terrible aſpect: his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was marked with a ſcar, which, when he was in a paſſion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to wine and women, blood-thirſty, inexorable, bold in ſpeech, a ſtranger to compaſſion, in his principles a heretic. His wife *Leontia* was no better than he; in their reign therefore, continues the ſame writer, the unhappy people were overwhelmed with all manner of calamities, both public and private; great numbers of people were ſwept off either by famine or peſtilence; the earth refuſed her fruits in ſeaſon; the the winters were ſo ſevere, that the ſeas were frozen, and the fiſh deſtroyed. He endeavoured in the beginning of his reign to gain the affections of the people by celebrating the circenſian games with extraordinary pomp, and diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people; but finding that, inſtead of applauding, they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them, who wounded ſome, killed others, and ſeizing great numbers of them, dragged them to priſon: but the populace riſing, ſet them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcileable averſion to the tyrant [x]. The death of *Mauritius* was no ſooner known in the eaſt, than the celebrated *Narſes*, who at that time commanded the troops quartered on the frontiers of *Perſia*, revolted; and ſeizing on the city of *Edeſſa*, eaſily perſuaded *Coſrhoes* to join him, in order to depoſe the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince, to whom he was indebted for his crown. *Coſrhoes*, upon the firſt invitation, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a mighty army, and over-ran without oppoſition all *Meſopotamia*. Hereupon *Germanus* was ſent into the eaſt; but *Narſes* meeting him not far from *Edeſſa*, engaged him, and put him to flight. *Germanus* dying a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, *Leontius*, who was ſent to ſucceed him, having, upon his arrival, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by *Narſes*, was in like manner defeated, and his army diſperſed; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he not only recalled him, but ordered him to be led about in chains, expoſing him thus to the outrages and inſults of the populace. *Phocas*, deſpairing of ſucceſs ſo long as *Narſes* continued in the *Perſian* intereſt, left no ſtone unturned to gain him over; but after he had in the end,

The calamities of his reign.

He is hated by the people.

Narſes *revolts.*

And defeats Germanus *ſent againſt him.*

[w] Cedren. ad Phoc. ann. 1. [x] Idem ibid.

with

with the moſt ſolemn oaths, and repeated aſſurances of indemnity and favour, perſuaded him to return home; he no ſooner had him in his power, than, unmindful of his promiſes and engagements, he cauſed him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and diſſatisfaction of the *Romans*, by whom he was in a manner adored on account of the eminent ſervices he had rendered the empire, and to the no leſs ſatisfaction of the *Perſians*, who dreaded the very name of *Narſes*, and beſides were highly provoked againſt him for his having lately forſaken them [y]. Though deſtitute of ſo renowned a leader, they purſued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*; and having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immenſe booty, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. *Phocas*, finding himſelf univerſally hated by the people on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, to ſtrengthen and ſecure his authority by alliances with the nobility, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 607, married his daughter *Domitia* to *Priſcus*, a patrician, and captain of the guards. But in the magnificent ſhows that were exhibited on occaſion of the nuptials, the people having ſaluted the bride and bridegroom with the title of *Auguſti*, the jealous emperor ordered *Theophanes* and *Pamphylus*, who ſuperintended the ſports, and had expoſed the images of *Priſcus* and *Domitia*, without any evil deſign, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have likewiſe put *Priſcus* to death, had not the people interpoſed in his behalf [z]. The jealouſy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one *Peronia*, who was privy to all the ſecrets of *Conſtantina*, the widow of *Mauritius*, informed the emperor, that ſhe maintained a private correſpondence with *Germanus*, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a deſign to raiſe her ſon *Theodoſius*, whom ſhe believed ſtill living, to the empire. Hereupon *Conſtantina* was immediately ſeized, and being put to the rack, confeſſed, that *Romanus*, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conſpiracy. *Romanus* diſcovered upon the rack ſeveral others, and among the reſt *Theodorus*, prefect of the eaſt, *Helpidius*, *John*, *Zixa*, and many other perſons of great diſtinction, who were all, by the emperor's orders, put to death, together with *Romanus* and *Germanus*, the tyrant not ſparing even the daughter of the latter. As for *Conſtantina*, ſhe was carried to the place where her huſband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly executed with her three daughters [a]. The jealouſy of the ſuſpicious tyrant being heightened by theſe diſcoveries, incredible

Phocas gains over Narſes, who is by his orders burnt alive.

The emperor's cruelty.

Conſtantina, with her daughters, and many others, put to death.

[y] CEDREN. & miſc. hiſt. ad ann. Phoc. 3. [z] THEOPH. hiſt. miſcel. l. lvii. c. 40. [a] Idem ibid. NICEPH. l. xviii. c. 41.

multitudes of perſons of all ranks were daily dragged to priſon, which by that means was ſo crouded, that great numbers died daily, ſuffocated with the ſtench and noiſomneſs of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compaſſion for the unhappy perſons detained there, yielded her houſe adjoining to it to inlarge it [b]. While *Phocas* thus raged at home, *Coſrhoes* in the eaſt laid waſte without oppoſition *Syria*, *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*, putting all to fire and ſword; and the following year having put to flight the troops that were ſent againſt him, he entered *Galatia*, and committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in *Paphlagonia*, advanced as far as *Chalcedon* [c]. In the mean time, *Phocas*, inſtead of protecting his people againſt an implacable and inſulting enemy, raged with greater fury than *Coſrhoes* himſelf; for this year, the ſixth of his reign, he not only put to death all thoſe who were any-ways related to *Mauritius*, but cauſed *Commentiolus*, governor of *Thrace*, and one of the beſt officers of the empire, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, to be inhumanly murdered. Theſe cruelties alarmed *Priſcus*, ſon-in-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending ſooner or later the ſame fate, reſolved by ſome means or other to provide for his own ſafety, and to rid the world of ſo great a plague. Accordingly, being informed that *Heraclius*, governor of *Africa*, was privately carrying on a conſpiracy in that province, inſtead of diſcovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the chief men in the ſenate to the party of the conſpirators, and at the ſame time diſpatching perſons, in whom he could confide, to *Heraclius*, adviſed him to ſend, without loſs of time, his ſon *Heraclius*, and *Nicetas*, the ſon of *Gregoras*, his lieutenant, with what forces he could ſpare, to ſupport the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt [d]. *Phocas*, in the mean while, not appriſed of the danger that threatened him, diſpatched *Bonoſus*, whom he had lately appointed count of the eaſt, with a conſiderable army to make head againſt the *Perſians*; but while he was on his march, he received freſh letters from the emperor, injoining him to haſten to *Antioch*, where the *Jews*, riſing againſt the chriſtians, had maſſacred great numbers of them, and among the reſt *Anaſtaſius*, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whoſe dead body they had ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets, and inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner. *Bonoſus* having attempted in vain to appeaſe the tumult by fair means, fell upon the mutineers ſword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces,

Syria, Paleſtine *and* Phœnicia *over-run by the* Perſians.

Priſcus *conſpires againſt the emperor.*

An inſurrection of the Jews *at* Antioch.

[b] Glic. annal. in Conſt. mag. [c] Glic. in annal. p. 170. Theoph. hiſt. miſc. l. xvii. Cedren. in annal. Phocæ. [d] Glic. Theoph. Cedr. ibid.

and

and drove the reſt out of the city [e]. Thus was the tumult ſuppreſſed at *Antioch*; but at the ſame time far greater diſorders happened at *Conſtantinople*, where the people, reviling the emperor at the public ſhows for his cruelty, drunkenneſs, and debaucheries, provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, tranſported with rage, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, who were either beheaded on the ſpot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the ſea; which ſo enraged the reſt, that they ſet fire to the palace, and the public priſon; by which means thoſe who were detained there made their eſcape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by thoſe in whom he moſt confided. The chief authors of it were *Theodorus*, a *Cappadocian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, *Helpidius*, who had the care of the warlike engines, and *Anaſtaſius*, the *comes largitionum*. Theſe, with ſeveral others of great authority near his perſon, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered by *Anaſtaſius*, the emperor ordered all thoſe who had been privy to it, *Anaſtaſius* himſelf not excepted, to be put to death [f]. *Phocas* eſcaped this danger; but the following year 610, the eighth of his reign, he was overtaken by the bloody doom he had long deſerved. For *Heraclius*, the ſon of the governor of *Africa*, who bore the ſame name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as ſuch by the people of *Africa*, ſailed from thence, with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army on board, for *Conſtantinople*, while *Nicetas* marched thither by the way of *Alexandria* and the *Pentapolis*. *Heraclius* ſteered his courſe to *Abydus*, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy by ſeveral perſons of rank, who had been baniſhed by *Phocas*. From *Abydus* he ſailed to *Conſtantinople*, where he engaged and utterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. *Phocas* took refuge in the palace; but one *Photinus*, whoſe wife he had formerly debauched, purſuing him with a party of ſoldiers, forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having ſtripped him of the imperial robes, and cloathed him with a black veſt, carried him in chains to *Heraclius*, who commanded firſt his hands and feet, then his arms and privy parts, and at laſt his head, to be cut off. The remaining part of his body was delivered up to the ſoldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that *Heraclius* having reproached him with his evil adminiſtration, he anſwered with great calmneſs, *It is incumbent on you to govern better* [g]. Such was the deſerved end of this cruel and bloody tyrant, after he

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

A conſpiracy againſt the emperor diſcovered.

Heraclius *proclaimed emperor in* Africa.

Phocas, *overcome in a ſea-fight, is depoſed and put to death.*

[e] Hiſt miſcel. l. xvii. ann. Phoc. 7. CEDREN. an 7. [f] Hiſt. miſcel. an 7. Phoc. [g] NICEPH. l. xviii. c. 26. Miſcel. ann. 7. Phoc.

had reigned ſeven years and ſome months. Upon his death, *Heraclius proclaimed emperor.* *Heraclius* was with loud acclamations proclaimed emperor; and being crowned by *Sergius*, the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, he placed the imperial crown on the head of *Fabia*, thenceforth called *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Rogatus*, an *African*, who had been formerly betrothed to him. *Heraclius* was deſcended of a noble and opulent family in *Cappadocia*, of a majeſtic aſpect, well ſkilled in the art of war, courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life. The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predeceſſor, were highly pleaſed with the change: but their joy was ſomewhat allayed by diſmal tidings from the eaſt, where the *Perſians* made themſelves maſters of *Edeſſa* and *Apamea*, and penetrating as far as *Antioch*, cut off almoſt to a man a body of *Romans*, who attempted to ſtop them, committing every-where, without controul, moſt dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties. *Heraclius*, to anſwer the expectation the world had conceived of him, cauſed new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being ſo intirely exhauſted, that, of the many thouſands who had ſeven years before revolted from *Mauritius*, and declared for *Phocas*, only two ſoldiers were now living, the reſt being cut off, ſays *Cedrenus*, by the avenging hand of providence, for their treachery to their lawful prince [h]. The new-raiſed troops were ſent into *Cappadocia* under the command of *Criſpus*, who nevertheleſs could not prevent the *Perſians* from over-running that province the following year, and making themſelves maſters of *Cæſarea*, which they ſacked, and laying waſte both that province and *Armenia*, returned home loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives [i]. On the third of *May* of the ſame year 611, the empreſs *Eudocia* was delivered of a ſon; but ſhe died ſoon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The ſon was called *Heraclius*, and afterwards *Conſtantine the younger* [k]. *Heraclius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to reſtrain the *Perſians* by force of arms, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, offering to pay him a yearly penſion, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms. But *Coſrhoes*, deaf to all propoſals, ſent the next year a formidable army into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Riſmizus*, who, after having ravaged without oppoſition that country, broke into *Paleſtine*, and took the city of *Jeruſalem*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties. They are ſaid to have ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians to the *Jews*, who purchaſed them not with a deſign to uſe them as ſlaves, but to vent their

The Perſians *make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities.*

Ravage Cappadocia *and* Armenia.

Over-run Egypt *and* Paleſtine, *and take* Jeruſalem.

[h] Cedren. Heracl. ann. 1. [i] Theoph. hiſt. miſcel. ann. 2. Heracl. [k] Zonar. p. 140.

inveterate

inveterate hatred, and implacable rage againſt the chriſtians, by racking them with all the torments cruelty itſelf could invent. *Zacharias*, the patriarch, was carried into *Perſia*, with an immenſe booty, and part of the croſs, as was believed, on which our Saviour ſuffered [l]. The ſame year *Heraclius* married *Martina*, his brother's daughter, and cauſed her to be crowned with the uſual pomp by *Sergius* the patriarch of *Conſtantinople* [m]. To this inceſtuous marriage *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* aſcribe all the calamities that afterwards befel him. The following year the *Perſians* over-ran all *Egypt*, took and pillaged the city of *Alexandria*, and advancing from thence, as they met with no oppoſition, into *Africa*, laid ſiege to *Carthage*; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmoleſted into *Perſia*, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the ſpoils of the ſeveral provinces, through which they paſſed [n]. *Heraclius*, who continued all this time at *Conſtantinople*, where he created his ſon *Conſtantine Cæſar*, and gave the title of *Auguſta* to his daughter, being well appriſed, that he had not ſufficient ſtrength to make head againſt ſo formidable an enemy, ſent once more embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, putting him in mind of the kindneſs formerly ſhewn him by *Mauritius*, and offering to conclude a laſting peace with him upon what terms he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable. But *Coſrhoes*, elated with his ſucceſs, and aiming at nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of the *Roman* name, returned the embaſſadors the following blaſphemous anſwer; *Let your maſter know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his ſubjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the ſun, the great god of the* Perſians [o]. *Heraclius*, by this impious and inſulting anſwer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the *Chagan* or king of the *Avari*; and having, with the conſent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the churches, as the treaſury was quite drained, he raiſed a powerful army, conſiſting not only of *Romans*, but of *Hunns*, *Avari*, and other barbarous nations. With theſe forces he reſolved to march in perſon againſt *Coſrhoes*; and acccordingly having appointed his ſon to govern in his abſence, and under him *Sergius* the patriarch, and the patrician *Bonus*, a perſon of great wiſdom and experience, he ſet out from *Conſtantinople* the day after *Eaſter*, training on his march ſuch of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time *Sais*, the *Perſian* general, who had ravaged all *Cappadocia*, taken by ſtorm the city of *Ancyra*,

Coſrhoes *will hearken to no terms.*

Heraclius *raiſes a powerful army.*

He marches in perſon againſt the Perſians.

[l] THEOPH. ad ann. Heracl. 5. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Hiſt. miſcel. l. iv. CEDREN. ann. Heracl. 6. LEONT. in vit. Joan. Eleemoſ. [o] Hiſt. miſcel. l. xviii.

and

and penetrated as far as *Chalcedon*, hearing that *Heraclius* was advancing with a mighty army, ſent deputies to him to invite him to an interview, which he hoped, ſaid the treacherous *Perſian*, would end in a laſting peace, between the two empires. The emperor complied with his requeſt; and believing him in earneſt, ſent ſeventy perſons of diſtinction on an embaſſy to the king of *Perſia*. But theſe the *Perſian* general, with the utmoſt treachery, loaded with chains, and carried them thus bound into *Perſia*, where they were thrown into priſon, and treated with great inhumanity by *Coſrhoes*. *Sais* met with the puniſhment his treachery deſerved; for the king, highly provoked againſt him for having ſeen the *Roman* emperor, and not brought him away priſoner with the reſt, cauſed him to be flayed alive †. One *Sarbaras* was appointed to command in his room, who, entering *Aſia* at the head of a numerous army, made a dreadful havock in that province. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, bent his march to the confines of *Armenia*; and having put to flight a party of *Perſians* who guarded the ſtraights leading into that province, he purſued his rout towards *Pontus*. As the year was far ſpent, the *Perſians*, imagining he deſigned to take up his winter-quarters in *Pontus*, withdrew to theirs; which they had no ſooner done, than *Heraclius* broke into their territories, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſword. This ſudden irruption obliged the *Perſians* to quit *Cilicia*, which they had entered, and haſten to the defence of their own country. *Heraclius*, appriſed of their approach, drew together his men diſperſed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were intirely defeated, the *Romans* remaining maſters both of their camp and baggage. The emperor being, by the ſeaſon, that was already far advanced, prevented from purſuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned himſelf to *Conſtantinople* ‖. The following year *Coſrhoes* ſent early in the ſpring *Sarnabazas* or *Sarmanazaris* to lay waſte the *Roman* provinces, which obliged *Heraclius* to quit *Conſtantinople*, and haſten into the eaſt. Upon his arrival in *Armenia*, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes* with new propoſals for an accommodation; which being by the *Perſian* monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded *Perſia* anew, took ſeveral towns, which he levelled with the ground, and ravaged the country without controul. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty thouſand choſen men near the city of *Gazacum* or *Gazacotis*, he directed his march

The treachery of their general.

Heraclius *invades* Perſia, *and gains a great victory.*

† Theoph. ibid. Cedren. annal. ann. 4. ‖ Niceph. in Heracl. c. 5 Theoph. & Cedren. ad ann. 13.

thither

thither with a design to surprise him. But *Cosrhoes*, receiving timely notice of his approach, instead of making the necessary preparations to receive him, betook himself to a precipitous flight. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered *Gazacum* without opposition, where he is said by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* to have found the immense treasures of *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*, which he seized; and having secured them, with the many rich ornaments of a celebrated temple of the sun, he set fire to the city, and marching with all possible expedition in pursuit of the king, he arrived at *Thebatman*, where *Theophanes* places the above-mentioned temple; and laying waste the countries through which he passed, continued his march to the frontiers of *Media*. But the summer being far spent, he thought it adviseable to give over the pursuit. Accordingly having set apart three days to return public thanks for the success of this glorious campaign, and implore the further protection of heaven, he opened the book of the gospels, pursuant to a custom which began to obtain about this time, and imagining he was injoined there to winter in *Albania*, he directed his march to that province. In his retreat the *Persians*, desirous of recovering the immense booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were constantly repulsed with great loss. As the weather proved very severe, and the captives, fifty thousand in number, were more affected with it than the rest, as being accustomed to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be released without ransom, giving them leave to return unmolested to their respective countries [q]. The following campaign proved no less successful to the *Romans*, *Heraclius* having defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them, with their general *Sarablacas*, tho' the *Lazians* and other auxiliaries had shamefully abandoned him, and marched home. Encouraged with this success, he took the field next year early in the spring; and crossing the *Euphrates*, made himself master of *Samosata*, and several other places. *Sarabazas*, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to check the progress of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the *Sanis*. In this last battle the emperor gave signal proofs of his conduct, and personal courage. After this victory, *Heraclius* took up his winter-quarters at *Sebastia*, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. *Cosrhoes*, transported with rage on seeing his armies thus shamefully defeated, seized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, out of hatred to *Heraclius*, raised a cruel persecution against the catholics, sparing none but such as embraced the doctrine of *Nestorius*. At

Puts Cosrhoes *to flight.*

Ravages the Persian *dominions, and takes several places.*

An instance of his good-nature.

He gains great advantages over the Persians.

Cosrhoes *stirs up the barbarians.*

[q] THEOPH. CEDREN. NICEPH. ibid.

the

the ſame time, by his embaſſadors, he engaged in his cauſe the *Avari*, the *Hunns*, the *Sclavonians*, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading *Thrace*, and laying ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, were to divert the emperor from purſuing the war in *Perſia*. *Heraclius*, appriſed of theſe negotiations, tho' carried on with great ſecrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of *Conſtantinople*; the ſecond under the conduct of *Theodorus*, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of *Sais*, who threatened to invade *Aſia*, while the emperor himſelf led the third into *Lazica*, in order to invade from thence the *Perſian* dominions. Purſuant to this plan, *Heraclius* advanced into *Lazica*, and being there joined by forty thouſand *Chazari*, or, as *Cedrenus* calls them, eaſtern *Turks*, he entered *Perſia* in the depth of winter; and meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte ſeveral provinces.

Who ſit down before Conſtantinople, *but are forced to raiſe the ſiege.*

On the other hand the *chagan*, or king of the *Avari*, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of *Perſia*, breaking into *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages there, and in the end laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*; but being in ſeveral attacks repulſed by the gariſon, and having loſt the flower of their army, they thought it adviſeable to drop the enterpriſe, and retire. About the ſame time *Sais*, who had under his command the flower of the *Perſian* army, received a dreadful overthrow from *Theodorus*, who loſt but a very ſmall number of men. The following year 626, *Heraclius*, invading *Perſia* in the depth of winter, advanced as far as *Nineveh*, where he was met by *Razaſtes*, to whom *Coſrhoes*, diſtruſting his other generals, had committed the whole management of the war. Hereupon a battle enſuing, the *Perſians*, after an obſtinate diſpute, were put to flight, and their general himſelf ſlain, the *Romans* having loſt on that occaſion but fifty men; which the eccleſiaſtic writers aſcribe to the miraculous aſſiſtance of heaven. In this battle the emperor behaved with his uſual bravery, having killed three *Perſian* commanders with his own hand [r]. *Coſrhoes*, upon the news of this defeat, fled to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and there ſhut himſelf up with his wives, children and treaſures, while *Heraclius*, having now no army to oppoſe him, made a dreadful havock of the moſt fertile provinces of the *Perſian* dominions, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. At *Diſtagerda* he found the enſigns and ſtandards, which at different times had been taken from the *Romans*, and in other places reſcued incredible numbers of *Roman* captives. In the mean time *Sarbarazes*, to divert *Heraclius* from ravaging *Perſia*, laid ſiege to *Chalcedon*;

The emperor gains other victories.

[r] Idem ad ann. Heracl. 17.

but,

but, after he had continued ſome time before the place, without being able to reduce it, *Coſrhoes* ſent private orders to *Chardarichas*, another officer, to murder the general, and lead the army back into *Perſia*. But the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's ſon at *Conſtantinople*, by whom it was immediately ſent to *Sarbarazas*, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the ſame time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger ſon *Merdaſa* his ſucceſſor; which *Seroes*, his eldeſt ſon, no ſooner underſtood, than he joined *Chardarichas*; and being aſſiſted by the *Roman* captives, whom he ſet at liberty, purſuant to the advice given him by *Heraclius*, he ſeized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with *Merdaſa*, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his unnatural ſon, moſt outrageouſly inſulted by all the nobility [t]. *Syroes*, thus raiſed to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with *Heraclius*, upon terms no leſs honourable than advantageous to the empire; for he reſtored all the provinces that had been ſeized by his predeceſſor, with three hundred enſigns, and the wood which was ſuppoſed to have been part of the croſs on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by *Coſrhoes* in triumph from *Jeruſalem* into *Perſia*. He likewiſe ſet at liberty all the *Roman* captives, and among the reſt *Zacharias* patriarch of *Jeruſalem* [u]. A peace thus concluded, *Heraclius* returned to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at ſome diſtance by his ſon *Conſtantius*, the patriarch, and almoſt all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with ſongs of triumph, and repeated acclamations. And truly no prince ever deſerved better of the empire; for in the ſpace of ſix years he recovered the ſeveral provinces which had been diſmembered from it by the *Perſians*, fully revenged all the indignities offered to the *Roman* name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the moſt potent and formidable of all the enemies of the empire to ſuch a low ebb, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. Theſe things *Heraclius* performed, though, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found it over-run by ſeveral barbarous nations, the exchequer quite drained, the military diſcipline decayed, and the army conſiſting of raw and unexperienced levies, ſcarce deſerving the

One of the Perſian *generals revolts.*

Coſrhoes *depoſed, and his ſon* Syroes *put in his room.*

Who concludes a peace with the Romans.

[t] THEOPH. hoc. ann. & CEDREN. [u] Idem ibid.

name of ſoldiers. *Heraclius* having paſſed the winter at *Conſtantinople*, in the ſpring of the following year 628, took a progreſs to *Jeruſalem*, carrying with him that part of the croſs which had been taken by the *Perſians* fourteen years before. He entered the city in great pomp; and having returned in the chief church ſolemn thanks to the Almighty for the many ſignal victories he had been pleaſed to grant him, and for chuſing him to reſcue that ſacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the chriſtian name, he reſtored it with great ſolemnity to its former place. Upon this occaſion was inſtituted the feſtival of *the exaltation of the holy croſs*, which is celebrated to this day by the church of *Rome* on the fourteenth of *September* [u]. Of the miracles that are ſaid to have happened on this occaſion, the reader will find a particular account in *Cedrenus*, and other eccleſiaſtic writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor publiſhed an edict baniſhing all the *Jews* from *Jeruſalem*, and forbidding them, under ſevere penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city. From *Jeruſalem*, *Heraclius* took a farther progreſs into the eaſtern provinces. Upon his arrival at *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, he received news of the death of *Syroes*, the new king of *Perſia*, murdered, according to ſome, by *Sarbaras*, one of his generals, according to others, by his own ſon *Adeſer*, who ſucceeded him, but was aſſaſſinated in the ſeventh month of his reign by *Barrazas*, whom the *Perſians*, a few months after, depoſed and put to death, raiſing *Barabanes*, the ſon of *Coſrhoes*, to the throne in his room. *Barabanes*, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, was ſucceeded by *Hormiſda*, the laſt *Perſian* king of the race of *Artaxerxes*; for in his reign the *Saracens* put an end to the *Perſian* monarchy, and eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the *Arabians* in its room, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. From *Hierapolis* the emperor removed to *Edeſſa*, where he received embaſſadors from the king of *India* in the eaſt, and from *Dagobert*, king of the *Franks*, in the weſt, ſent to congratulate him on his late ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, and to court his friendſhip and alliance [w]. While the emperor continued at *Edeſſa*, *Athanaſius*, the patriarch of the *Jacobites*, a man of great addreſs, having inſinuated himſelf into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in *Chriſt*, which created a dangerous ſchiſm in the church, and gave riſe to warm diſputes, *Heraclius* ever after maintaining it to the utmoſt of his power, and countenancing the *Monothelites*, that is, thoſe who acknowledged but one will in *Chriſt*.

Heraclius carries back the croſs to Jeruſalem.

Perſia *conquered by the* Saracens.

Heraclius *embraces the doctrine of the* Monothelites.

[u] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Heracl. 19. [w] Theoph. ann. 22. Heracl. Aimoin. l. iv. c. 21.

This

This hereſy, however, did not prove ſo prejudicial to the church as the peſtilent and impious doctrine of the impoſtor *Mohammed*, which was firſt broached in the reign of *Heraclius*, and by him ſuffered to take ſo deep a root, that his ſucceſſors were never able to ſuppreſs it. The impoſtor died this year, the twenty-firſt of the reign of *Heraclius*, and 630th of the chriſtian æra, after having reduced, with the aſſiſtance of the rabble, whom he had ſeduced, and of the *Saracens*, who had joined him, the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Arabia*. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, neglecting the affairs of the ſtate, to promote and eſtabliſh the hereſy of the *Monothelites*, which he had lately embraced. *Mohammed*, who, by a double uſurpation, had declared himſelf both the king and prophet of the *Saracens*, was ſucceeded by *Eububezer*, his kinſman, who reduced great part of *Perſia*, and breaking into *Paleſtine* in 632, laid waſte the territory of *Gaza*, after having defeated and cut in pieces the governor of that province, with all his troops. The following year *Eububezer* died, and was ſucceeded by *Haumar*, who made himſelf maſter of *Boſtra*, and ſeveral other cities of *Arabia*, and gained a compleat victory over *Theodorus*, the emperor's brother, ſent to oppoſe him. Hereupon *Heraclius* appointed *Boanes* to command in the room of his brother, and at the ſame time diſpatched *Theodorus Sacellarius* into *Arabia*. The latter was met, near *Edeſſa*, by the *Saracens*, under the command of *Haumar*; but he prudently declined an engagement, being informed, that the emperor had injoined *Boanes*, who lay encamped at *Damaſcus*, to join him. In the mean time, *Heraclius*, dreading the iſſue of the war, leaving *Edeſſa*, haſtened to *Jeruſalem*, and repaired from thence to *Conſtantinople*, carrying with him the croſs, and whatever elſe was of value in the city, which, he feared, would ſoon fall into the enemy's hands. The following year *Boanes* having engaged the *Saracens*, was by them intirely defeated, heaven itſelf ſeeming to eſpouſe their cauſe; for a violent wind aroſe in the very beginning of the engagement, which blowing the duſt in the faces of the *Romans*, rendered them quite incapable of managing their arms; ſo that they were driven headlong into the *Jerinochta*, in which river moſt of them periſhed. After this victory they made themſelves maſters of *Damaſcus*; and advancing from thence into *Phœnicia*, reduced that province without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. *Haumar*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, took the field early next ſpring; and dividing his numerous army into two bodies, he ſent one to invade *Egypt*, and led the other in perſon againſt *Jeruſalem*. They were met upon the borders of *Egypt* by *Cyrus*, biſhop of *Alexandria*, who, by promiſing in the name of the people to pay them an annual penſion of two

Mohammed *preaches his doctrine.*

He reduces the cities of Mecca *and* Medina.

The Saracens *make themſelves maſters of ſeveral provinces.*

They defeat the Romans, *and take* Damaſcus.

hundred thouſand *denarii*, prevailed upon them to ſpare the country, and retire. This agreement was obſerved for three years, during which the *Saracens* never offered to moleſt the *Egyptians*. But in the mean time the emperor being adviſed to break the agreement, one *Manuel*, by birth an *Armenian*, was appointed governor of *Egypt*, and ſent thither with a ſtrong body of troops; ſo that the commiſſioners from the *Saracens*, when they came at the year's end to demand the uſual penſion, were received with contempt and diſdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a prieſt, but a *Roman* general, at the head of an army, and therefore would not ſubmit to ſuch ignominious conditions. The *Saracens*, provoked at this anſwer, flew to arms; and invading *Egypt*, put *Manuel* to flight, and made themſelves maſters of the whole country. The emperor, not having ſufficient ſtrength to drive them out, ſent *Cyrus* to them, promiſing to ſtand to the former agreement, provided they withdrew out of *Egypt*. But the *Saracens* refuſed to quit upon any terms their new conqueſt [x]. The loſs of *Egypt*, which had continued ſubject to the empire ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, happened in the twenty-fifth year of *Heraclius*'s reign, and 634th of the chriſtian æra. *Egypt* being thus reduced, the troops which had been employed in that expedition were by *Haumar* ſent into *Syria*; which province they conquered in the ſpace of two years, making themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong-holds there, and of *Antioch* itſelf, the metropolis of the eaſt. *Haumar* in the mean time, entering *Paleſtine*, marched without oppoſition to *Jeruſalem*, which city he took in 636, after a two years ſiege. Thus were the moſt wealthy and beautiful provinces of the empire torn from it by the *Saracens*, an upſtart nation, hitherto looked upon with a contempt ſuitable to their original. But of them we ſhall ſpeak at length in a more proper place. *Heraclius* in the mean time, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progreſs of this new enemy, was ſo taken up with unſeaſonable diſputes about religion, with public feſtivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened him. The eccleſiaſtic writers look upon his ſupine and unaccountable ſecurity, as a puniſhment inflicted upon him by heaven for countenancing the *Monothelites*, and perſecuting the catholics; for, not ſatisfied with holding the doctrine of thoſe heretics himſelf, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh it in all the provinces of the empire, by the famous edict called *ecthefis*, or *expoſition*. But, before he could put this wicked deſign in execution, he died of a dropſy, which was attended with ſtrange and unac-

They reduce Egypt *and* Syria.

Jeruſalem *beſieged and taken by the* Saracens.

Heraclius *dies.*

[x] Theoph. ad ann Heracl. 24, 25.

countable

countable ſymptoms. His death happened in the month of *May*, after he had reigned thirty years, and ſome months [y].

Heraclius was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, who died after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, poiſoned, as was ſuppoſed, by his ſtep-mother *Martina*, to make room for her own ſon *Heracleonas*; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. But he had not held the empire quite ſix months, when the ſenate, revolting, depoſed him; and after having cut off his noſe, and pulled out *Martina*'s tongue, ſent them both into baniſhment. *Pyrrhus*, the heretical patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, ſuppoſed to have been privy to the death of *Conſtantine*, abandoning his ſee, fled into *Africa*. The ſenate, having thus delivered the empire from the uſurper *Heracleonas*, advanced *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, and grandſon of *Heraclius*, to the throne. The firſt years of this prince's reign are almoſt quite barren of events; for *Theophanes*, and the other *Greek* writers, only tell us, that, in his ſecond year, *Haumar* began to build a temple at *Jeruſalem*; that in his third happened an eclipſe of the ſun, and violent ſtorms in his ſixth; which were looked upon as the forerunners of more violent concuſſions: for the ſame year the *Saracens*, not ſatisfied with *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, and *Paleſtine*, broke, like a torrent, into *Africa*; and having defeated the imperial prefect, by name *Gregory*, made themſelves maſters of that ſpacious and fruitful country. The following year 648, *Mahias* or *Mahuvias*, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the iſland of *Cyprus*, which he eaſily reduced, and laid in aſhes the city of *Conſtantia*. From *Cyprus* he ſailed to the iſland of *Aradus*, which he took, together with the city; and from thence ſteering his courſe to *Rhodes*, made himſelf maſter of that iſland, deſtroying the famous coloſſus of the *Sun*, one thouſand three hundred and ſixty years after it had been ſet up by *Laches* or *Chares*. It had been overturned ſixty-ſix years after it was erected by a violent earthquake, which ſhook the whole iſland; and the *Rhodians*, pretending the prohibition of an oracle, had never attempted to erect it anew; yet looking upon the braſs as in a manner ſacred, they had never preſumed to apply it to any other uſe; but *Mahuvias* cauſed it to be broken to pieces, and ſold it to a *Jewiſh* merchant of *Emeſa*, who, with the metal, loaded nine hundred camels. While *Mahuvias* was thus employed in the iſland of *Rhodes*, his countrymen, breaking into *Armenia*, laid waſte that country far and wide, the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at *Conſtantinople*, or buſying himſelf only in matters of religion, and promoting,

Conſtans *declared emperor.*

Africa *conquered by the* Saracens.

And likewiſe the iſlands of Cyprus, Aradus, *and* Rhodes.

Armenia *laid waſte.*

[y] THEOPH. ad ann. Heracl. 31.

moting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His ſupine negligence, and unaccountable indolence, encouraged *Mahuvias* to make an attempt upon *Conſtantinople* itſelf. With this view he fitted out a ſtrong fleet at *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, both chriſtians, and the ſons of a *Grecian* trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public priſon, crouded with chriſtian captives, with their aſſiſtance killed the *ameras*, as the *Saracens* called him, or the governor of the place, ſet fire to the fleet, deſtroyed all the naval preparations, and then eſcaped, in a ſhip provided for that purpoſe, into the *Roman* dominions. *Mahuvias*, having with incredible expedition fitted out another fleet, ſailed to *Phœnice* in *Lycia*, where he engaged and defeated the imperial navy, commanded by *Conſtans* in perſon, who with much-ado eſcaped in diſguiſe to *Conſtantinople* [z], whence, to retrieve his reputation, he marched the following year againſt the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, who had ſeized on that country, which to this day is called from them *Sclavonia*. The emperor defeated them in ſeveral encounters; but not being able to drive them quite out, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he found embaſſadors from the *Saracens*, now divided among themſelves, come to ſolicit a peace; which the indolent and unwarlike prince readily granted them, yielding to them the many provinces they had ſeized, upon their paying to him and his ſucceſſors, by way of tribute, a thouſand nummi a year, with a horſe and a ſlave. The following year 659, the emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother *Theodoſius*, who, on account of his virtue and integrity, was the darling of the people, cauſed him to be ordained deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears not being yet quite appeaſed, he ordered him ſoon after to be murdered; which he had no ſooner done, than he was ſeized with dread and terror, imagining that he ſaw his brother conſtantly ſtanding before him, with a cup of blood in his hand, commanding him to quench his inhuman thirſt. Haunted and terrified with this imagination, and the remorſe of his conſcience, he left *Conſtantinople*, where the murder had been committed, and repaired to *Sicily*, reſolving to transfer the ſeat of the empire to *Syracuſe*; but the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, appriſed of his deſign, kept in that metropolis his wife and children. From this time forward he wandered, like a ſecond *Cain*, from place to place; but his guilt purſuing him whitherſoever he went, he became an object of compaſſion even to his moſt in-

The emperor's fleet defeated.

A peace with the Saracens.

The emperor murders his brother.

[z] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 15—18.

veterate

veterate enemies. In the mean time *Mahuvias*, who had cauſed his competitor *Hali* to be murdered, and now reigned alone, without any regard to the late treaty, ſent his ſon *Izod* to lay waſte the *Roman* territories, who advancing as far as *Chalcedon*, and having made himſelf maſter of *Amorium*, a ſtrong city of *Phrygia*, left a gariſon in the place, and returned with an immenſe booty to his father. *Amorium* however, was ſoon after ſurpriſed, and retaken by *Andreas*, one of the emperor's officers, who put all the *Saracens* he found in the place to the ſword. During the emperor's ſtay in *Sicily*, a war broke out between the *Franks* and *Lombards*; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of *Italy*, fitted out a mighty fleet, and landing at *Tarentum*, marched directly to lay ſiege to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria*, and ſeveral other cities belonging to the *Lombards*, in his way. But *Grimoald*, duke of *Beneventum*, marching, after a ſignal victory over the *Franks*, to the relief of the place, the emperor, raiſing the ſiege in great haſte, retired to *Naples*. Not long after, a body of twenty thouſand *Romans* was almoſt entirely cut off, with *Saburrus* their general, by *Romoald* the ſon of *Grimoald* *. After this defeat, the emperor, laying aſide all thoughts of diſpoſſeſſing the *Lombards* of that part of *Italy* which they held, took a progreſs to *Rome*, which he entered in great pomp, being met ſix miles from the city by *Vitalianus*, biſhop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in *Rome*, and cauſed the moſt remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to *Conſtantinople*, he returned to *Naples*, and from thence to *Syracuſe*, where he reſided for the ſpace of five years, oppreſſing his people with moſt enormous exactions, and even plundering the churches of their rich ornaments, and ſacred veſſels. Having thus rendered himſelf both odious and contemptible to all his ſubjects, one *Andrew*, the ſon of *Troilus*, reſolved to rid the world of ſo great a plague; and accordingly diſpatched him in the bath of *Daphne* at *Syracuſe*, by repeated blows on the head, with the veſſel that was made uſe of to pour hot water upon him. Thus periſhed *Conſtans* II. in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, and 668, of the chriſtian æra. Upon his death, the people of *Syracuſe* proclaimed one *Mezizius*, by birth an *Armenian*, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comelineſs of his perſon. The news of his promotion no ſooner reached *Conſtantinople*, than *Conſtantine*, the ſon of the deceaſed emperor, having, with the utmoſt expedition, equipped a fleet, ſailed to *Sicily*; and having defeated, taken, and put to death the uſurper, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor in

The Saracens ravage the Roman territories.

The emperor's unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Lombards.

His avarice.

He is murdered.

* PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c. 6.

his

His son Constantine Pogonatus *made emperor.*

his room [a]. He must have continued some time in the west, settling the provinces that were still subject to the empire there; for we are told by *Zonaras*, that he was, by the people of *Constantinople*, surnamed *Pogonatus*, because, at his departure from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of *Constantinople* received him, on his return from *Sicily*, with loud acclamations; but he had not been long in the city, when some, misled by a strange notion, that as there were three persons in the trinity, so there ought to be three emperors on the throne, pressed him to take his two brothers, *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, for his partners in the empire. This alarmed the young emperor, who, having got the broachers of this new doctrine into his power, put them to death, and caused the noses of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire *. While

Several provinces ravaged by the Saracens.

these things passed at *Constantinople*, the *Saracens*, entering *Africa*, where the people had insulted some of their garisons, committed unheard-of barbarities, and having ravaged the country returned with eighty thousand captives. The following year they made a descent upon *Sicily*, took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and over-ran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. They laid waste in like manner *Cilicia*; and having passed the winter at *Smyrna*, they entered *Thrace* in the month of *April* of the following year 672, and laid siege to *Constantinople* itself; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, who had already, with indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it adviseable to withdraw in the month of *September* to *Cyzicus*. However, the ensuing spring they renewed the siege, continuing thus to attack the city in the summer, and retire to *Cyzicus* in the winter for the space of seven years, say the *Greek* writers; though from some of them it appears, that in the fourth year of the siege, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Saracens*, as we shall relate anon. In this long siege, the *Saracens* lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water, being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*.

They besiege Constantinople;

But drop that enterprise. Their fleet shipwrecked, and their army defeated.

The enemy at length despairing of success, abandoned the enterprise; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the same time three of the emperor's lieutenants, *viz.* *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, gained a signal victory in *Syria*, over *Suphianus*, who commanded there a numerous body of *Saracens*; but lost

[a] Theoph. annal. ad ann. Const. 27. Paun. Diac. l. v. prope fin. * Theoph. Cedren. ad hunc ann.

in

in the engagement thirty thouſand of his men [c]. Theſe misfortunes encouraged the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites* to ſeize on mount *Libanus*, where they fortified themſelves; and being joined by multitudes of chriſtian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount *Taurus* and *Jeruſalem*, made frequent incurſions into *Syria*, and ſo haraſſed and terrified the *Saracens*, that *Mahuvias*, not thinking himſelf able to contend with them and the *Romans* at the ſame time, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with *Conſtantine*; which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That it ſhould be inviolably obſerved by both nations for the ſpace of thirty years. 2. That the *Saracens* ſhould retain the provinces they had ſeized. 3. That they ſhould pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his ſucceſſors three thouſand pounds weight of gold, fifty ſlaves, and as many choice horſes. This peace was thought, as affairs then ſtood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire [d]. It was ſcarce concluded, when the *Bulgarians*, leaving their native ſeats on the banks of the *Volga* or *Bulga*, whence ſome think they took their name, advanced as far as the *Danube*, which they paſſed without oppoſition, to the number of one hundred thouſand perſons; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged far and wide the countries through which they paſſed. The emperor ſent a numerous army againſt them; which being put to flight by the barbarians, he choſe rather to conclude a peace, by promiſing to pay them an annual penſion, than to purſue an expenſive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domeſtic, laboured with indefatigable pains to eſtabliſh in the church that peace and tranquillity which reigned in the ſtate. In order to this, he aſſembled the ſixth general or œcumenical council, which was opened at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-ſecond of *November* of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the *Monotheliſites* was condemned, and by that means tranquillity, in a great degree, reſtored to the church, the abettors of that doctrine not daring, under a prince who had ſo much at heart the purity of the faith, to raiſe diſturbances, as they had done under the preceding emperors. *Conſtantine* enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet, which his piety, juſtice and moderation well deſerved, the *Saracens*, religiouſly obſerving the treaty between them and the empire, and the *Lombards* being, by their inteſtine broils, diverted from extending their conqueſts in *Italy*. In the beginning of the year 685, he was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, of which he died in the

They conclude a peace with the empire.

The Bulgarians *break into* Thrace.

The ſixth œcumenical council.

Conſtantine *dies.*

[c] Idem ibid. ad ann. Conſt. 5. [d] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 9.

month of *September*, after having reigned ſeventeen years and ſome months [c].

Juſtinian III.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Juſtinian*, a youth but ſixteen years old. With him *Abdelmelech*, the new prince of the *Saracens*, confirmed the peace made with the empire, and at the ſame time propoſed by his embaſſadors a new treaty, in virtue of which *Juſtinian* was to repreſs the *Maronites*, who, by their frequent excurſions from mount *Libanus*, greatly haraſſed the *Saracens*; and *Abdelmelech* to pay him for this ſervice a thouſand nummi a day, a horſe, and a ſlave. To this treaty the young and unwary prince readily agreed, and immediately diſpatched *Magiſtrianus*, with a choſen body of troops, againſt the *Maronites*, whom he overcame, and put out of a condition of moleſting the *Saracens* for a long time after. In the ſecond year of his reign, he marched in perſon againſt the *Bulgarians*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Lower Mœſia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, and without any regard to the treaty concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country, and took ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds. But the *Bulgarians*, ſoon recovering from their conſternation, drew together their forces; and falling upon the emperor, drove him out of their country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and reſtore the captives, he had taken. He was attended with better ſucceſs againſt the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles; which encouraged him to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the *Saracens*, tho' *Abdelmelech* had faithfully performed every thing required of him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to prevent a rupture. At length, finding the emperor obſtinately bent upon a war, he raiſed a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals named *Mohammed*; who, cauſing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a ſpear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of *Sebaſtopolis*; but in the engagement that enſued, was obliged to give ground, and retire to his camp, where he muſt have periſhed with hunger, or ſubmitted to the conqueror, had he not in the mean time gained over the commander of the *Sclavi* in the emperor's ſervice; whoſe unexpected deſertion, with twenty thouſand of his men, cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the *Roman* army, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, being purſued with great ſlaughter by the enemy. The emperor with much-ado reached *Leucate*, where, tranſported with rage, he cauſed the *Sclavi* or *Sclavini* who had continued with him, to the number of ten thouſand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be

Is put to flight by the Bulgarians.

Makes war upon the Saracens.

He is defeated by them.

[c] Cedren. ad ann. Conſt. 17. Niceph. c. 3.

thrown

thrown into the ſea. From *Leucate* he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where, without betraying the leaſt concern for his late diſgrace, or attempting to reſtrain the victorious *Saracens*, by whom the abandoned provinces were haraſſed in a moſt cruel manner, and *Armenia* intirely reduced, he was wholly taken up in embelliſhing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the reſt he erected a magnificent banquetting-houſe, from him called *Juſtinianeum*, and a theatre near the palace, cauſing a church, dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, to be pulled down, to make room for it. This unchriſtian and unpopular action gained him the ill-will of the people, whoſe averſion to him was heightened by the tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel, conduct of his two chief miniſters *Stephen* and *Theodotus*. The former, by nation a *Perſian*, cauſed ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be put to death, upon ſuſpicions altogether groundleſs; and in the end came to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to threaten in a moſt diſreſpectful manner *Anaſtaſia Auguſta*, the emperor's mother. *Theodotus* was by profeſſion a monk; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and intruſted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty *Stephen* himſelf, cauſing, under various pretences ſuch of the nobility, as ſeemed to deſpiſe him, to be put to no leſs cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred, which the people had on ſeveral occaſions ſhewn him, and his two favourite miniſters, reſolved to be before-hand with them, and accordingly ordered *Stephen* the eunuch, and *Rufus* one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* in the night-time, and maſſacre them in their houſes, beginning with the patriarch *Callinicus*. But this bloody and inhuman maſſacre was happily prevented in the following manner: *Leontius*, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the eaſt, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in priſon, was at this time ſet at liberty, and appointed governor of *Greece*, with orders to embarque immediately for his government; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, ſeveral of his friends came to viſit him, and among the reſt two monks, *Gregory* the ſuperior of a monaſtery, and *Paul*, who, as they were ſkilled in aſtronomy, ſays *Cedrenus*, had foretold him, while he lay in priſon, expecting every moment his laſt doom, that he ſhould attain to the empire before his death. Theſe, upon his expoſtulating with them for having deceived him with vain promiſes, encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity to make good their prediction; which, they ſaid, he might eaſily do, the emperor being univerſally abhorred, both by the nobility and people, and ready to receive him as their deliverer. *Leontius* hearkened to them; and taking with him his own ſoldiers, that is, thoſe who

He renders himſelf odious to the people.

The cruelty of his miniſters.

He orders a general maſſacre.

who had been appointed to attend him into *Greece*, he broke open the priſon, and being joined by many others, who had been long detained there, he led them to the forum, inviting the people, as he went, to meet him in the church of St. *Sophia*; which being ſoon crouded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the aſſembled multitude, *This is the day which the Lord hath made.* The people, thus animated by the patriarch, proclaimed *Leontius* emperor, and haſtening to the palace, ſeized on *Juſtinian*, carried him to the circus, and there, after many other indignities, cut off his noſe, and with one voice baniſhed him to *Cherſona*. At the ſame time *Theodotus* and *Stephen* were dragged to the forum, where they were burnt alive [f]. This revolution happened in the tenth year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, and 694 of the chriſtian æra.

Juſtinian *depoſed.*

THE firſt year of *Leontius*'s reign was not diſturbed by any foreign wars, or domeſtic troubles. In the ſecond, *Sergius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Lazica*, betrayed that province to the *Saracens*, who the following year invaded *Africa*, made themſelves maſters of *Carthage*, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by *John* the patrician, a man of great valour, and experience in war, whom the emperor had ſent againſt them. The *Saracens*, to repair the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, equipped another fleet, and returning to *Africa*, obliged *John* to fly to the ſea-coaſt, where he embarked with the troops under his command for *Conſtantinople*. But the fleet having touched at *Crete*, ſome of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to an account for thus abandoning *Africa* to the enemy, prevailed upon the ſoldiers to revolt, and proclaim *Apſimar*, one of *Leontius*'s generals, emperor. *Apſimar*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Tiberius*, readily accepted the imperial dignity, and ſailing without loſs of time to *Conſtantinople*, ſurpriſed the city, took *Leontius* priſoner, and having cauſed his noſe to be cut off, confined him to a monaſtery in *Dalmatia*, after he had reigned ſcarce three years [g]. *Tiberius*, thus raiſed to the empire, ſent his brother *Heraclius* into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Saracens*. He, taking advantage of ſome diviſions that reigned among them, penetrated into *Syria* as far as *Samoſata*, waſting all before him, and returned to *Cappadocia* loaded with booty, after having put to the ſword, as we are told, no fewer than two hundred thouſand of the enemy [h]. Notwithſtanding this loſs, the *Saracens* broke into the *Roman* territories the

Leontius.

The Saracens *maſters of* Africa.

Leontius *depoſed, and* Apſimar *made emperor.*

200,000 Saracens *cut in pieces.*

[f] THEOPH. CEDREN. ann. JUST. 10. NICEPH. c. 4. [g] THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leont. 3. NICEPH. c. 5. [h] THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 2.

following

following year, and laid ſiege to *Antaradus* in *Syria*; but not being able to maſter that place, they ſat down before *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia*, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, *Beanes*, ſurnamed *Heptadæmon*, betrayed *Armenia* to the *Saracens*. The ſame year *Tiberius* baniſhed *Philippicus*, a patrician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into *Cephalenia*, for relating a dream, which *Tiberius* interpreted, as portending the empire to him. The following year, the nobility of *Armenia*, taking arms againſt their new maſters, drove them out with great ſlaughter, and ſent to *Tiberius*, demanding his aſſiſtance. But in the mean time *Mohammed*, entering *Armenia* with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, they invaded *Cilicia* once more, under the conduct of *Azar*; but were, to the number of ten thouſand, either cut in pieces by *Heraclius*, or taken priſoners, and ſent in chains to *Conſtantinople* [i]. In the mean time *Juſtinian*, the depoſed emperor, who had been confined to a monaſtery at *Cherſona*, having betrayed a great deſire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of *Tiberius*, and the evils attending a civil war, reſolved to prevent them, by either killing *Juſtinian*, or ſending him in chains to *Conſtantinople*; but he, ſuſpecting their deſign, fled privately to the *Chagan* or king of the *Chazari*, who received him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, and gave him his ſiſter *Theodora* in marriage. But being ſoon after gained by the rich preſents and large promiſes of *Tiberius*, he undertook either to deliver up to him the unfortunate prince alive, or to ſend him his head. The deſign was revealed by one of the king's domeſtics to *Theodora*, and by her to her huſband, who thereupon fled to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, by whom he was received with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. We are told, that being overtaken, on his flight from the country of the *Chazari*, by a violent ſtorm, near the ſtreights of *Danaprium*, *Myaces*, one of his domeſtics, apprehending the veſſel to be in imminent danger, and therefore conjuring him to make a vow, that he would forgive his enemies, if it ever pleaſed heaven to reſtore him to his throne, he anſwered ſternly, *Let God drown me this moment, if I ſpare any of them* [k]. *Trebelis* not only entertained the fugitive prince with extraordinary magnificence, but, having raiſed a powerful army, marched with him ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*, and laid ſiege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who looked upon their city as impregnable, rallying and reviling both princes from the walls; but

Armenia *betrayed to the* Saracens.

Who are defeated in Cilicia.

Trebelis, *king of the* Bulgarians, *eſpouſes the cauſe of* Juſtinian.

[i] Idem ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 3, 4, 5. [k] NICEPH. c. 5.

but the third day of the ſiege, ſome *Romans*, having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the reſt; which *Tiberius* no ſooner knew, than he fled with his treaſures to *Apollonius*, leaving *Juſtinian* once more maſter of the imperial city and the empire. Being thus reſtored to his former dignity, he diſmiſſed *Trebelis*, loaded with rich preſents, and beſtowed upon him part of the *Roman* dominions, called afterwards *Zagoria*. Having, after a diligent ſearch, got into his power *Tiberius*, *Leontius*, by whom he had been driven out, and *Heraclius* the brother of *Tiberius*, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the ſhows ſitting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconſtant multitude repeating in the mean time that verſe of the pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder*, &c. After this inſulting pageantry, he cauſed their heads, and that of *Heraclius*, to be cut off. As for *Callinicus* the patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then baniſhed him to *Rome*, that he might have the cruel mortification of depending for his ſubſiſtance upon the biſhop of that city, whoſe authority he had always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power [1]. The emperor, having now got rid of thoſe whom he moſt dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury againſt all who had adhered to them, putting to death incredible multitudes of citizens and ſoldiers, and diſpeopling, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his reſtoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded *Thrace*, at the head of a mighty army, with a deſign to recover the country he had yielded to him. But he was attended with no better ſucceſs than his ingratitude deſerved, his army being utterly defeated, and he himſelf obliged to make his eſcape in a light veſſel to *Conſtantinople*. The following year he equipped a mighty fleet, not with a deſign to oppoſe the *Bulgarians*, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without controul, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of *Cherſona* and the *Boſporans*, who had reſolved to diſpatch him, or deliver him up to *Tiberius*, while he lived in exile among them. On board this fleet was imbarqued a numerous army, with expreſs orders to put all the inhabitants of thoſe parts to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, of guilty or innocent. Theſe cruel orders were executed with the utmoſt barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the ſword; ſome were by the cruel ſoldiery roaſted alive, others caſt into the ſea, &c. The children,

Who is reſtored.

Leontius *and* Tiberius *put to death.*

Juſtinian *defeated by the* Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

[1] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 7. Niceph. ibid.

however,

however, were ſpared; which the inhuman emperor no ſooner underſtood, than, tranſported with rage, he diſpatched freſh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all maſſacred; but ſome of the leading men among the *Boſporans* having made their eſcape and taken refuge in the country of the *Chazari*, with the aſſiſtance of that neighbouring nation, they defeated in ſeveral encounters the emperor's forces; and, renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed *Philippicus*, the ſon of *Bardanes*, who had been baniſhed by *Tiberius* to *Cephalenia*, as we have related above, but happened to be then at *Cherſona*. The troops that were ſent againſt them by *Juſtinian*, finding they could not reduce the city of *Cherſona*, purſuant to his orders, and dreading the implacable humour of the tyrant, reſolved to conſult their own ſafety, by acknowledging *Philippicus*; which they did accordingly, joining thoſe againſt whom they had been ſent. *Philippicus*, thus proclaimed and ſupported by two powerful armies, marched ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered without oppoſition, the emperor being then at *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia* with a body of *Thracians*, againſt whom *Philippicus* diſpatched *Elias* prince of the *Boſporans*; who, having gained over the *Thracians*, took the emperor priſoner, and cutting off his head, ſent it to *Philippicus*, by whoſe orders it was conveyed to *Rome*. *Tiberius*, the emperor's ſon by *Theodora*, took ſanctuary in a church; but was dragged from the altar, which he graſped, and ſlain by *Maurus* a patrician, in the preſence of *Anaſtaſia* his grandmother [m]. Such was the deſerved end of *Juſtinian* II. in the eighth year after his reſtoration, and 711, of the chriſtian æra.

Philippicus *proclaimed emperor.*

Juſtinian *killed.*

Philippicus had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than, openly eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Monothelites*, he ſummoned a council of biſhops, who were all infected with that hereſy, and conſequently eaſily prevailed upon to condemn and revoke all the acts of the ſixth general council. The emperor was induced to ſummon this council by a *Monothelite* monk, who had foretold him he ſhould one day attain the empire, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, and now promiſed him a long and happy reign, provided he aboliſhed the ſixth general council, and eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the *Monothelites*. But while *Philippicus* was thus buſying himſelf in matters relating to religion, the *Bulgarians*, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*; and having laid waſte the country, and put to the ſword an incredible multitude of people, returned, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition,

Philippicus.

The Bulgarians *break into* Thrace.

[m] THEOPH. ad ann. Juſt. S. NICEPH. c. 6.

loaded

loaded with booty. At the ſame time, the *Saracens*, invading the *Roman* territories, committed dreadful ravages, took the city of *Medæa* and ſeveral other places, and returned likewiſe unmoleſted, carrying with them great numbers of captives. Theſe calamities rendering *Philippicus* odious to the people, one *Rufus*, at the inſtigation of two patricians, *viz. Theodorus*, and *Georgius* commander of the troops in *Thrace*, entering the palace with a company of *Thracians*, while the emperor was reposing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiſcovered [n]. *Nicephoras* writes, that *Rufus*, ſeizing the emperor, dragged him to the hippodrome, and there cauſed his eyes to be plucked out [o]. Be that as it will, the next day, being *Whitſunday*, the people, aſſembling in the great church, proclaimed *Artemius*, chief ſecretary to *Philippicus*, emperor; who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch [p]. *Artemius*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Anaſtaſius*, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon ſucceſs in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous catholic, he made it his chief ſtudy to heal the diviſions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the ſtate; for in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed *Leo*, an *Iſaurian*, a perſon of great experience in war, commander in chief of all his forces, and ſent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of *Syria*, to protect *Aſia Minor* againſt the inroads of the *Saracens*. Being informed, that the *Saracens* deſigned to lay ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, he cauſed a great number of light ſhips to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered ſuch of the citizens as had not laid up proviſions for three years to depart the city. But news being brought in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet was ſailed to *Phœnicia*, he ordered his to aſſemble from the different ports of the empire at *Rhodes*, appointing *John*, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral puniſhing with more ſeverity than prudence ſome refractory ſeamen, the reſt mutinied and killed him; and being well appriſed they could by no other means avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, they declared *Anaſtaſius* unworthy of the empire, and obliged one *Theodoſius*, a perſon of a mean extraction, and then receiver of the revenue at *Adramyttium*, to accept of the purple. *Anaſtaſius*, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fled to *Nice* in *Bithynia*, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in *Conſtantinople*; which city *Theodoſius* immediately beſieged by ſea and land, and reduced, after having continued ſix months before it. He had no ſooner entered the city, than he diſpatched

Philippicus *depoſed.* Anaſtaſius *ſucceeds.*

The ſeamen, mutiny, kill their admiral, and declare Theodoſius *emperor.*

[n] Theoph. ad ann. Phil. 2. [o] Nicephi. c. 7. [p] Idem ibid.

tho

the magiſtrates and the patriarch to acquaint *Anaſtaſius* with what had happened, who, upon promiſe of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, and, taking the habit of a monk, delivered himſelf up to the new prince, by whom he was baniſhed to *Theſſalonica*, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years[q]. But *Leo*, whom *Anaſtaſius* had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, refuſing to acknowledge *Theodoſius*, drew together all the forces in the eaſt, with a deſign, as he gave out, to reſtore the depoſed emperor; but being perſuaded by *Maſalnias*, prince of the *Saracens*, to aſſume the purple, and powerfully aſſiſted by *Atavaſdes*, an *Armenian*, a man of great intereſt in that country, he marched, at the head of a conſiderable army, to *Nicomedia*, where he met, defeated, and took priſoner, the ſon of *Theodoſius*, who had been ſent againſt him. From *Nicomedia* he purſued his march to *Conſtantinople*, being acknowledged emperor in all the places through which he paſſed. Hereupon *Theodoſius*, finding it was in vain to contend with ſo powerful a rival, diſpatched to him *Germanus* the patriarch, and ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, offering to reſign the purple, on condition his life was ſpared. To this *Leo* readily agreed; and *Theodoſius*, diveſting himſelf of the purple, entered, with his ſon, into orders, after having reigned one year. Thus *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*[r]. But *Nicephorus* writes, that the officers of the army, finding *Theodoſius* unequal to the high ſtation to which he had been raiſed, perſuaded him to abdicate, and choſe *Leo* in his room[s]. Be that as it will, *Leo* was received with loud acclamations at *Conſtantinople*, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of *March* of the preſent year 716, by the patriarch *Germanus*, after he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to preſerve, and, to the utmoſt of his power, defend, the orthodox faith. He was a native of *Iſauria*, of a mean extraction, and had ſerved ſome time in the low ſtation of a common ſoldier, from which he was raiſed by *Juſtinian* II. and admitted on account of the tallneſs of his ſtature, and comelineſs of his perſon, amongſt the *ſpatarii*, that is, the emperor's guards. *Anaſtaſius* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, which poſt he held when he aſſumed the purple. He is diſtinguiſhed from the other emperors bearing the name of *Leo* by the ſurname of *Iconomachus*, which was given him on account of his combating the worſhip of images. In the firſt year of his reign, *Maſalnias*, prince of the *Saracens*, at whoſe inſtigation he had aſſumed the purple, took by ſurpriſe the city of *Pergamus*; which is looked upon by the hiſtorians, as a puniſhment juſtly inflicted

Leo *revolts from* Theodoſius.

Theodoſius *abdicates.*

Leo *crowned emperor.*

Pergamus *taken by the* Saracens.

[q] Idem, c 8. THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Anaſt. 2. [r] THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 1. [s] NICEPH. c. 9.

by heaven upon the wicked and barbarous inhabitants, who, hearing the *Saracens* were preparing to invade *Aſia*, had ripped up the belly of a woman big with child, and boiling the infant in a kettle, had dipped their right hands in the water, being perſuaded by a magician, that they would by that means become invincible, and defend their city againſt all the attempts of the enemy [t]. In the ſecond year of *Leo*'s reign, *Solyman*, one of the generals of the *Saracens*, broke into *Thrace*; but he dying, *Haumar* was appointed to command in his room, who loſt moſt of his men by the ſeverity of the winter. However, in the following ſpring he approached *Conſtantinople*, and inveſted it by land, while *Suphiam* and *Izeth*, arriving with two mighty fleets, the one from *Egypt* and the other from *Africa*, blocked it up by ſea; but moſt of their ſhips being deſtroyed, either by the artificial fire, of which we have ſpoken above, or by ſtorms, they thought it adviſeable to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lain before the city thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years. The calamities, which the inhabitants ſuffered during the ſiege, can hardly be expreſſed; thirty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed with hunger, and the like number to have been ſwept off by the plague [u]. *Haumar*, prince of the *Saracens*, highly provoked at the diſappointment of his armies and fleets before *Conſtantinople*, began to rage with great fury againſt the chriſtians in his dominions, forbidding them at firſt to exerciſe their religion, and ſoon after commanding them, on pain of death, to renounce it, and embrace the abominable ſect of *Mohammed*. Many, to avoid death, made an outward profeſſion of the religion, if we may ſo call it, of their inſulting maſter, while ſome few, notwithſtanding the ignorance and depravity of that age, maintained, with unſhaken conſtancy, the true religion, at the expence of their lives [w]. The ſame year, *Sergius*, governor of *Sicily*, revolting, declared one *Baſilius*, the ſon of *Onomagulus*, emperor, changing his name into that of *Tiberius*; but *Paul*, an officer of the houſhold, who was ſent againſt the uſurper, having got him into his power and cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, reſtored the iſland to its former tranquillity. *Sergius*, the chief author of the revolt, took refuge amongſt the *Lombards* in *Italy* [x]. The ſame year, the empreſs *Maria* was, to the unſpeakable joy of the emperor and the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, delivered of a ſon, named *Conſtantine*, and commonly nicknamed *Copronymus*, from his

Who beſiege Conſtantinople; *but are forced to abandon the enterprize.*

They perſecute the chriſtians.

Sergius *revolts in* Sicily; *but is cut off.*

Conſtantine Copronymus *born.*

[t] Idem ibid. Theoph. Cedren. ubi ſupra. [u] Cedren. ann. Leon. 2. Beda de ſex. ætat. Paul. Diacon. l. vi. c. 47. [w] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 3. [x] Niceph. c. 10. Theoph. Cedren. ibid.

having

having defiled the ſacred font at his baptiſm. *Theophanes*, the true author of the hiſtory intitled *miſcella*, which is falſely aſcribed to *Paulus Diaconus*, tells us, that *Germanus* the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the infant would one day prove a great plague to the church [y]. The joy for the birth of the young prince was ſomewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of *Bulgarians*, headed by the late emperor *Anaſtaſius*, who, weary of a private life, had prevailed upon thoſe barbarians to acknowledge him for emperor, and ſupport his claim to the crown. They laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, hoping, by means of the partizans of *Anaſtaſius*, among whom were ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, to make themſelves ſoon maſters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation, with a vigorous oppoſition, they ſeized on the unfortunate *Anaſtaſius*, and delivered him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom was the biſhop of *Theſſalonica* [z]. *Leo*, having happily weathered this ſtorm, cauſed his ſon *Conſtantine* to be ſolemnly crowned emperor, in order to ſecure the empire to his poſterity. The ceremony was performed by the patriarch *Germanus*, on *Eaſter-day* in 720, the fifth of *Leo*'s reign [a]. In the mean time the *Saracens*, under the conduct of their new prince *Ized*, who had ſucceeded *Haumar*, having equipped a mighty fleet, ravaged the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*; and landing in *Sardinia*, raged there with unſpeakable fury, deſtroying all with fire and ſword; but being ſoon after diverted from moleſting the empire by the inteſtine diviſions that aroſe amongſt them, another *Ized*, ſurnamed *Mualabis*, having ſet up for himſelf in *Perſia*, the emperor was more at leiſure to reform ſeveral abuſes, that had crept into the court and ſtate under the former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign, and 725, of the chriſtian æra, he publiſhed the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches, and forbidding any kind of worſhip to be paid to them. This edict was, with great vigour, oppoſed in the eaſt by *Germanus*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and *Johannes Damaſcenus*; but *Leo*, having depoſed *Germanus*, and raiſed *Anaſtaſius* to the ſee of *Conſtantinople* in his room, cauſed his edict to be put in execution at *Conſtantinople*, and the images to be pulled down and deſtroyed by his officers throughout the city, without ſparing the ſtatue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the imperial palace by *Conſtantine the Great*. The people, ſtruck with horror in ſeeing the images of our Saviour and his ſaints thus inſulted, and either torn in pieces, or

Anaſtaſius *attempts to reſume the empire.*

Conſtantine *crowned emperor.*

Leo's *edict againſt images.*

[y] Hiſt. miſcel. p. 74. [z] NICEPH. c. 10. [a] Idem, c. 11. THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 5.

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

burnt, by the emperor's officers, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and having firſt vented their rage upon *Leo*'s ſtatues and images, flew to the palace; but being repulſed and purſued with great ſlaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced to diſperſe, and ſuffer the edict to take place. But in the weſt, eſpecially in *Italy*, it was had in ſuch abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave *Luitprand*, king of the *Lombards*, an opportunity of ſeizing on *Ravenna* and ſeveral other cities of the exarchate. He was, however, ſoon after driven out by the *Venetians*, who, at that time, made no ſmall figure in *Italy*.

The people revolt in Italy.

Gregory II. then pope, or biſhop, of *Rome*, jealous of the growing power of the *Lombards*, had, by a letter to *Orſus* duke of *Venice*, prevailed upon him to eſpouſe the intereſt of the emperor, and lead his forces againſt *Ravenna*; which city he ſurpriſed, before *Luitprand*, who was then at *Pavia*, had the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. *Gregory* had, from the very beginning, oppoſed with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worſhipping of images; and now, preſuming upon the eminent ſervice he had rendered the empire, he wrote a long letter to *Leo*, earneſtly intreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well appriſed, that *Gregory* had been prompted by his own intereſt, and not by that of the empire, to prevent the *Lombards* from making new conqueſts in *Italy*, was exaſperated to ſuch a degree againſt him, for continuing ſtill to oppoſe his edict, that he ſent private orders to his officers in *Italy*, eſpecially to *Paul*, exarch of *Ravenna*, and to *Mauritius*, governor, or, as he was then ſtyled, duke, of *Rome*, injoining them to get *Gregory*, by ſome means or other, into their power, and ſend him dead or alive to *Conſtantinople*. But the people of *Rome*, who had a great veneration for their biſhop, diſcovering the plot, guarded him ſo carefully, that the emperor's officers could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three aſſaſſins undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death, which the third eſcaped, by taking ſanctuary in a monaſtery, and there embracing a religious life. *Gregory*, finding himſelf thus ſupported by the people of *Rome*, ſolemnly excommunicated the exarch, for publiſhing, and attempting to put in execution, the emperor's edict, writing at the ſame time letters to the *Venetians*, to king *Luitprand*, to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſt in the catholic faith, and oppoſe, with all their might, the execution of the impious, as he ſtyled it, and heretical edict. Theſe letters made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of *Italy*, though of different intereſts and often at war with each other, *viz.* the people of *Rome*, the *Venetians*,

Gregory *the ſecond oppoſes the emperor's edict.*

Leo *attempts upon his life.*

The exarch excommunicated.

Venetians, and the *Lombards*, entering into an alliance, resolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the utmost of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of *Rome*, and those of the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d' Ancona*, did not stop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor's statues, openly revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an *iconoclast*, that is, *a breaker of images*, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; nay, they had some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to *Constantinople*: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In *Ravenna* the people rose in defence of the images against *Paul* the exarch; and having killed him and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to *Luitprand* king of the *Lombards*, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the general discontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In *Naples* the people took arms against *Exhilaratus* their duke (for *Naples* was then governed by dukes sent from *Constantinople*) and murdered him, with his son *Adrian*, and one of his chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the religion of their prince. However, as they hated the *Lombards*, with whom they had been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to *Leo*, and received *Peter*, who was appointed duke of *Naples*, in the room of *Exhilaratus*. The people of *Rome*, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the disturbances, resolved at length to renounce their allegiance to *Leo*, and to continue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the *Lombards*, whom they had but too much reason to mistrust [b]. *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and other *Greek* writers, tell us, that the *Romans*, withdrawing their obedience to *Leo*, chose pope *Gregory* for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the *Romans* to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated *Leo* as an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and solemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, say they, had the temporal and independent dominion of the pope over *Rome* its rise, which was afterwards inlarged by *Pepin* and *Charles the Great*, and extended to the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and *Pentapolis*, and several

The people of Italy revolt.

Ravenna submits to the Lombards.

The inhabitants of Naples kill their duke or governor.

The Romans revolt.

And chuse the pope for their head.

The rise of the temporal dominion of the pope.

[b] ANAST. in Greg. II. PAUL. DIAC. l. vi. SIGON. ad ann. 725, 726. Epist. 1. & 2. Greg. ad Leon.

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ral other cities of *Italy*. But it appears from *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Joannes Damascenus*, who all flourished nearer those times, and in the places where the things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of *Gregory* himself to *Leo*, that he acknowledged him for his lawful sovereign as long as he lived, as did likewise *Gregory* III. his successor [c]. The *Latin* writers take no notice of *Gregory*'s excommunicating and deposing the emperor, or absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when *Leo* deposed the patriarch *Germanus*, and appointed *Anastasius* in his room, *Gregory* excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earnestly intreated him not to abuse the power with which he had been trusted, to introduce innovations in the church [d]. However, the authority of the *Greek* historians has been preferred to that of the *Latins*, by all the protestant, and most of the *Roman* catholic, writers; but with very different views. The protestants followed them, that they might thence take occasion to make a comparison between our Saviour and the pope. When the multitude, say they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, saying, *My kingdom is not of this world:* when the *Romans* offered the principality to *Gregory*, he readily accepted it, and, from *the servant of servants* became the lord and master. Our Saviour expressly commanded tribute to be paid to *Cæsar:* the pope would suffer no more tribute to be paid to *Leo* his lawful sovereign, *&c* [e]. On the other hand, the *Roman* catholics, by standing to what the *Greeks* write, think they can defend the pope from all usurpation, and establish his temporal power and jurisdiction upon a better and more plausible foundation, *viz.* the unanimous consent of the people, conferring upon him, freely and without constraint, the principality [f]; not reflecting, that those, who thus chose him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful sovereign; and consequently that *Gregory*, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and usurpation. But from what we shall relate in the history of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, it will plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the sovereignty of *Rome* at this time, but many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its rise in *Rome*, but in the exarchate of *Ravenna* and the *Pentapolis*, which were taken by the celebrated *Pepin* from *Astulphus* king of the *Lombards*, and given to pope *Stephen*,

[c] Anast. Bibl. in Greg. II. Greg. II. in epist. 1. ad Leon. & Greg. III. epist. 3. ad Bonifac. [d] Vide Anastas. ad ann. 658. [e] Vide Spanh. contra Maimburg. in histor. imag. p. 52. [f] Giannetas, hist. Neap. l. v. p. 94.

whom

whom ſome call the ſecond, others the third, of that name. As for the ſovereignty of *Rome*, the popes did not enjoy it, as we ſhall demonſtrate in a more proper place, till the year 876, when it was yielded to the apoſtolic ſee, as it began then to be called, by *Charles* ſurnamed the *Bald*. But to return to *Leo*: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in ſuppreſſing the worſhip of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty againſt thoſe who refuſed to comply with his edict; while the *Saracens*, breaking into the eaſtern provinces, laid them waſte without controul, carrying yearly back with them an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, and 732, of the chriſtian æra, he married his ſon *Conſtantine* to the daughter of the king of the *Chazari*, after ſhe had been inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian religion, and received at her baptiſm the name of *Irene*, a word ſignifying in the *Greek* tongue *peace*. The ſame year, the emperor cauſed a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a deſign to chaſtize and bring back to their duty the *Romans* and other people of *Italy*, who had revolted on occaſion of the edict againſt images; but, the fleet being ſhipwrecked in the *Adriatic* ſea, *Leo* could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppoſe the execution of his edict, than by cauſing the revenues of the *Roman* ſee in *Calabria* and *Sicily* to be confiſcated [g]. In the laſt year of *Leo*'s reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at *Conſtantinople*, which overturned many churches, monaſteries, and private houſes, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after *Leo* died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, who no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſole maſter of the empire, than he led an army againſt the *Saracens*, who had made an irruption into *Aſia*. In his abſence *Artabazdus*, who had married his ſiſter, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people and proclaimed emperor, he cauſed the ſons of *Conſtantine* to be ſecured; but as he was well appriſed, that the report he had induſtriouſly ſpread of *Conſtantine*'s death would be ſoon contradicted, he began to conſult with the patriarch *Anaſtaſius*, by what other means he might keep the people ſteady in their allegiance to him. *Anaſtaſius* had been a zealous iconoclaſt in the late reign; but to curry favour with *Artabazdus*, who had a great veneration for images, and to eſtrange the minds of the people from *Conſtantine*, he aſſembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy croſs, he took the following oath: *By him who*

Conſtantine *married to* Irene.

Leo's fleet ſhipwrecked.

Leo *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Conſtantine Capronymus.

Artabazdus *revolts;*

[g] THEOPH. ad ann. Leon. 17.

died

died upon this wood, I ſwear, that Conſtantine *one day addreſſed me with theſe words; I do not believe him to be the ſon of God, who was born of* Mary, *and is called Chriſt, but a mere man; for* Mary *was delivered of him after the ſame manner, as* Mary *my mother was delivered of me.* This depoſition of the patriarch, whether true or falſe we cannot take upon us to determine, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately depoſed *Conſtantine* with one conſent, and, with repeated acclamations, ſaluted *Artabazdus* again emperor, who took *Nicephorus* his eldeſt ſon for his partner in the empire [h]. This gave riſe to a civil war, the greateſt, ſays *Cedrenus*, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that had happened ſince the beginning of the world. But all we know of it is, that *Artabazdus*, and his ſon *Nicephorus*, being defeated by *Conſtantine* in ſeveral encounters, were in the end beſieged in *Conſtantinople*; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to ſubmit. *Artabazdus* and his two ſons were taken and delivered up to the emperor, who cauſed their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and either baniſhed, maimed, or put to death, all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the revolt. *Anaſtaſius* the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders, publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominious manner through the moſt frequented ſtreets of the city on an aſs, with his face to the tail. However, the time-ſerving prelate was continued in his ſee, becauſe the emperor could not find a worſe, ſays *Theophanes*, to prefer to it in his room [i]. *Conſtantine*, having thus got rid of his enemies at home, reſolved to march once more againſt the *Saracens*, who were at war among themſelves. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he entered *Syria*; and having overthrown the enemy in ſeveral encounters, made himſelf maſter of *Germanicia* and ſome other ſtrong-holds, which had been long in their hands. The *Saracens*, notwithſtanding their domeſtic quarrels, to divert the emperor from purſuing his conqueſts in *Syria*, aſſembled a mighty fleet, which ſteered its courſe to the iſland of *Cyprus*, where it was to be joined by other ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports with land-forces on board. But the *Roman* fleet coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that iſland, deſtroyed the whole navy, except three ſhips, which they ſuffered to eſcape with the news of ſo great a calamity [k]. However, the emperor was diverted from purſuing the advantages, that might have thence accrued to the empire,

But is defeated, and Conſtantinople *taken by* Conſtantine.

Conſtantine *recovers ſeveral places from the* Saracens. *Deſtroys their fleet.*

[h] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 1. [i] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 3. [k] Nicephorus in Conſt. c. 13.

by

by the frequent earthquakes that happened about this time, and were by far the moſt deſtructive that had been known in any age. In *Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſeveral cities were ſwallowed up, others intirely ruined, and ſome, if we may give credit to *Nicephorus*, removed, without any conſiderable damage, ſix miles and upwards from their former ſeats. At the ſame time happened an extraordinary darkneſs, which laſted from the fourth of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *October*, there being little or no diſtinction, during that time, between day and night [l]. This calamity was followed by another ſtill more terrible, *viz.* a plague, which, breaking out in *Calabria*, ſoon ſpread all over *Sicily*, *Greece*, the iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, and at length reached *Conſtantinople*, where it raged for three years together with ſuch fury, that the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead [m]. The plague no ſooner ceaſed, than *Conſtantine*, having cauſed his ſon *Leo*, then ſcarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into *Armenia*, and, taking advantage of the diviſions that ſtill reigned among the *Saracens*, made himſelf maſter of *Mitylene*, *Theodoſiopolis*, and ſeveral other places. But he was diverted from purſuing his conqueſts in the eaſt by a ſudden irruption of the *Bulgarians*, who, provoked at the emperor's cauſing ſome forts to be built on the frontiers of *Thrace*, broke into that province, and, advancing as far as the long wall, laid waſte the whole country. *Conſtantine*, having recalled his forces out of the eaſt, marched againſt them in perſon; but being ſurpriſed by the enemy in a narrow paſſage called *Beragaba*, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to *Conſtantinople* [n]. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he renewed the edict publiſhed by his father againſt images, forbidding at the ſame time any worſhip to be paid to the ſaints, or their relics, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the biſhops as oppoſed the execution of this edict were driven from their ſees; and the monks, who preached againſt either, ſent into baniſhment, or ſentenced to death. At the ſame time, an edict was publiſhed in *Conſtantinople*, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, any one to embrace a monaſtic life; nay, at *Conſtantinople* moſt of the religious houſes were ſuppreſſed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the ſtreets. But of this perſecution the reader will find a more particular and diſtinct account, in the eccleſiaſtic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place [o].

Dreadful earthquakes.

A violent plague.

Conſtantine *defeated by the* Bulgarians.

He perſecutes the worſhippers of images.

[l] Idem ibid. THEOPH. ad ann. Conſt. 6. CEDREN. ibid. [m] NICEPH. THEOPH. CEDREN. ibid. [n] THEOPH. ad ann. Conſt. 19. [o] Vide THEOPH. CEDREN. &c. ad ann. Conſt. 19—25.

A ſurpriſing froſt.

The twenty-third year of *Conſtantine*'s reign and 763 of the chriſtian æra, is remarkable for an extraordinary froſt, which began on the firſt of *October*, and laſted till the latter end of *February*. At *Conſtantinople* both ſeas were frozen for an hundred miles from the ſhore, the ice being ſo thick as to bear the heavieſt carriages, and covered with ſnow twenty cubits deep. When the froſt broke, mountains of ice and frozen ſnow, being driven by the winds through the ſtraights, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the caſtle of *Conſtantinople*. The reader will find a ſurpriſing account of this froſt in *Theophanes*, who, with thirty others, paſſed the ſtreights upon one of theſe floating iſlands, as he ſtyles it [p]. The month following ſeveral prodigies appeared, or were thought to appear, in the air. At the ſame time, a comet, which the *Greeks* called *docites*, becauſe it reſembled *a beam*, was ſeen for ten days in the eaſt, whence it moved to the weſt, and ſhone there for one and twenty days more, the people being ſtruck with terror and amazement at the ſight of theſe prodigies, and apprehending the laſt day to be at hand. *Conſtantine*, in the mean time, continued to perſecute with great ſeverity thoſe who appeared moſt zealous and forward in the worſhip of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the *Bulgarians*; who, breaking into the territories of the empire, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties. But *Conſtantine*, marching in perſon againſt them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*. This the emperor ſtyled his *noble war*, becauſe not one chriſtian periſhed in it. However, he owed the victory, it ſeems, to the treachery of ſome *Bulgarians*, whom *Elerich* their king diſcovered by the following device: He wrote to *Conſtantine*, pretending a deſire to reſign the crown, and lead a private life at *Conſtantinople*; for which purpoſe he begged the emperor to ſend him a ſafe conduct, and at the ſame time to acquaint him what friends he had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Conſtantinople*, being unwilling to truſt his perſon or deſign to others. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, not ſuſpecting any deceit, ſent him a liſt of the names of thoſe who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no ſooner received, than he cauſed them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himſelf thus deluded, reſolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the ſpring againſt *Elerich*; but being ſeized on his march with a violent fever, he returned to *Archadiopolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Selymbria*, and from thence by ſea to *Strongy-*

Several prodigies.

Conſtantine *defeats the* Bulgarians.

Is deluded by their king.

[p] Vide Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 23, 24.

lum,

lum, where he died on the fourteenth of *September* of the year 775, after he had reigned twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-ſix days [q]. As *Conſtantine* was a moſt zealous iconoclaſt, and did all that lay in his power to ſuppreſs the worſhip of the ſaints, their images, and relics, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and the other writers of thoſe times, paint him in the blackeſt colours, biaſſed in ſome meaſure, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, by paſſion, intereſt, and prejudice. However, ſtanding even to the accounts of his declared enemies, we muſt allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well ſkilled in war, and in every reſpect equal to the high ſtation to which he was raiſed. As for the great ſeverity which he exerted againſt ſuch as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worſhip images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the chriſtian religion. After all, his ſeverity againſt the worſhippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all chriſtian writers, againſt the worſhippers of idols. He defended the empire with equal bravery and ſucceſs againſt the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*; but was not in a condition to prevent the loſs of the far greater part of his dominions in *Italy*, *Aſtulphus*, king of the *Lombards*, having reduced it in 751, the city and exarchate of *Ravenna* with the *Pentapolis*, which were ſoon after wreſted from him by *Pepin* king of *France*, and given to pope *Stephen* III. and hence ſprung the temporal dominion of the pope in *Italy*, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of *Ravenna* comprehended *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, *Adria*, *Ceavia*, and *Secchia*; the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d'Ancona*, compriſed *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Sinogaglia*, *Ancona*, *Oſimo*, *Umana*, *Jeſi*, *Foſſombrone*, *Montefeltro*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*, as appears from the grant of *Lewis the Pious*, confirming the donation of *Pepin*. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a ſubject of the empire; but adding the ſovereignty to the prieſthood, and the ſceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in *Italy* on the ruins of the eaſtern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of *Calabria* and *Brutium*, with the dukedoms of *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*. But of the ſtate of *Italy* at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtory of the *Lombards*.

He marches againſt them; but dies.

His character.

The exarchate and Pentapolis *given to the pope.*

Conſtantine was ſucceeded in the empire by his ſon *Leo*, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, took his ſon *Conſtantine*, whom he had

Leo III.

[q] THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Conſt. 25.

by *Irene*, for his partner in the empire, causing him to be solemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and bestowing at the same time the title of *nobilissimi* on his two brothers *Anthemius* and *Eudoxius*, *Nicephorus*, his second brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time [r]. *Constantine* was crowned in the latter end of *April* of the year 776, and the following month *Nicephorus*, *Leo*'s brother, formed a conspiracy against the emperor and his son; but the plot being discovered, he was apprehended, and banished with his accomplices to *Chersona*. The same year *Elerich*, king of the *Bulgarians*, who had done great mischief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earnest desire of embracing the christian religion, resigned his crown and repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was received by *Leo* with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and, after he had received the sacrament of baptism, created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empress *Irene* [s]. In the third year of *Leo*'s reign, some advantages were gained by the emperor's forces over the *Saracens*, who, by way of revenge, began to persecute the christians in a most cruel manner, causing all their churches in *Syria* to be pulled down and levelled with the ground. The following year, *Leo*, who had hitherto dissembled his real sentiments concerning the worship of images, openly declared against that superstitious, as he styled it, and idolatrous, practice, reviving the edicts of his father and grandfather, and punishing, with the utmost severity, such as presumed to pay any kind of worship to the saints, the virgin *Mary*, or their images. Having found two images in the closet of the empress *Irene*, he never after admitted her to his bed, and caused those who had conveyed them to her to be racked to death [t]. He did not long out-live them, being soon after seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the sixteenth of *September* 780, after having reigned five years and ten days. *Theophanes* writes, that *Leo*, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been deposited there by the emperor *Heraclius*, and was enriched with carbuncles of an inestimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the same time seized with a fever, which, by a just judgment, soon put an end to his life [u].

Elerich, *king of the* Bulgarians, *embraces the christian religion.*

Leo *an enemy to images.*

Constantine Porphyrogenitus *and* Irene.

Leo was succeeded by his son *Constantine*, surnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, because he was born while his father was emperor; but, as he was then only ten years old, his mother *Irene* took upon her the administration. The young prince had scarce reigned

[r] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 1. [s] Idem ad ann. 2. [t] Idem ad ann. 5. Cedren. in comp. annal. [u] Theoph. ibid.

forty

forty days, when ſome of the ſenators and great officers conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to prefer his uncle *Nicephorus* to the imperial dignity; but *Irene*, having ſeaſonably diſcovered the plot, cauſed the chief authors of it to be ſeized, and confined to different iſlands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, ſhe obliged all the late emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and adminiſter the ſacrament to the people on *Chriſtmas-day*, when ſhe and her ſon reſtored to the church the crown of *Heraclius*, which *Leo* had ſeized. The ſame year 780, the *Saracens*, upon the news of *Leo*'s death, broke into the eaſtern provinces; but were driven back with great loſs by the troops which *Irene* had, upon the firſt notice of their motions, diſpatched againſt them [m]. The following year, the empreſs, to procure a ſtrong alliance by the marriage of her ſon, ſent embaſſadors into *France*, to propoſe a match between him and the daughter of *Charles* king of that country, who was afterwards ſurnamed the *Great*, and crowned emperor of the weſt. The propoſal being well received by *Charles*, an eunuch, by name *Eliſæus*, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named *Rotdrudris*, the *Greek* tongue, and inſtruct her in the manners and cuſtoms of the *Greeks* [n]. The ſame year, *Helpidius* governor of *Sicily* revolted; but was driven out of the iſland by *Theodorus* a patrician, whom *Irene* had ſent with a powerful fleet againſt him, and obliged to take refuge among the *Saracens* in *Africa*, who, acknowledging him for emperor in oppoſition to *Conſtantine*, fell with ſuch fury upon the eaſtern provinces, that *Irene* was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herſelf to pay them an annual penſion [o]. The peace with the *Saracens* was ſcarce concluded, when the *Sclavi* or *Sclavini*, breaking into *Greece* and *Peloponneſus*, ſeized on thoſe countries. Againſt them the empreſs diſpatched *Saturacius* a patrician, who overcame them in ſeveral battles; but ſuffered them to continue in the countries they had ſeized, upon their promiſing to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788, the match between *Conſtantine* and *Rotdrudris*, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by *Irene*, who obliged her ſon, much againſt his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean deſcent, named *Mary*, by birth an *Armenian* or *Paphlagonian*, and the niece or daughter of one *Philaretus*, remarkable for his good-nature and charitable diſpoſition. Some aſcribe the breaking off of the match with *Rotdrudris* to the ambition of *Irene*, apprehending, that *Conſtantine* would no

A conſpiracy diſcovered, and the conſpirators puniſhed.

Helpidius *revolts.*

An annual penſion paid to the Saracens.

[m] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 1. [n] Idem ad ann. 2. [o] Idem ibid.

longer

longer be governed by her, but by his father-in-law. Others tell us, that the empreſs was provoked againſt *Charles*, on account of his invading the dukedom of *Benevento* in *Italy*, which ſhe had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empreſs on that occaſion diſobliged her ſon to ſuch a degree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, appriſed of the miſunderſtanding that paſſed between him and his mother, and deſirous of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counſels of a woman. *Conſtantine* hearkening to their inſinuations, they reſolved to ſeize on *Saturacius*, who governed with an abſolute ſway, as *Irene*'s firſt miniſter, and, after having baniſhed him, to oblige the empreſs to reſign the adminiſtration. But *Saturacius*, having notice of their deſign as ſoon as it was concerted, immediately imparted it to *Irene*, who cauſed all thoſe who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods and ſent into baniſhment. As for her ſon, ſhe chaſtiſed him with her own hands, and, having confined him to his apartment, obliged the ſenate and ſoldiery to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath not to acknowledge *Conſtantine*, but her alone, for their ſovereign, ſo long as ſhe lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in the different provinces, except ſome legions in *Armenia*, who reſolutely declared they would adhere to *Conſtantine*, purſuant to the oath which they had already taken. The reſolution of the *Armenian* legions encouraged the reſt, notwithſtanding their late oath, to proclaim *Conſtantine* anew, and demand, with unanimous conſent, that he might be forthwith veſted with the whole power and authority. *Irene*, dreading the fury of the incenſed multitude, immediately releaſed her ſon from his confinement, who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and ſoldiery, took the reins of the empire into his own hands. *Conſtantine*, now at liberty to act without controul, recalled and advanced to the firſt employments ſuch as had been baniſhed on his account, ſending into exile *Saturacius* and his mother's other favourites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for *Irene*, he led her with great reſpect out of the palace, and attended her in perſon to a houſe built by herſelf, in which ſhe had laid up an immenſe treaſure [p]. The ſame year 790, a dreadful fire happened at *Conſtantinople*, which conſumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's palace, in which were the comments of St. *Chryſoſtom* on the ſcripture, written with his own hand. The following year the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake,

A miſunderſtanding between Conſtantine *and* Irene.

Irene *obliges the ſenate and ſoldiery to take an oath of allegiance to her.*

Conſtantine *deprives her of the adminiſtration.*

[p] Idem, & Cedren. ad ann. Conſt. 10.

which

which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations, and retire to the open fields [q]. The ſame year the emperor marched at the head of a conſiderable army againſt the *Bulgarians*, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in *Thrace*; but with what ſucceſs is uncertain: for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a great victory; but *Zonaras* will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, the friends of *Irene*, what by extolling her wiſdom, prudence, and experience in public affairs, what by intreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty, prevailed upon him to recal his mother to court, and reſtore her to her former authority; which, however, the *Armenian* legions could never be induced to acknowledge [r]. Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew againſt the *Bulgarians*, encouraged thereunto by ſome mathematicians, who promiſed him certain victory; but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to obtain it, the *Bulgarians*, taking advantage of his ill-grounded ſecurity, gave him a dreadful overthrow. Beſides a great number of common ſoldiers, the beſt officers of the army and the moſt conſiderable men in the empire loſt their lives in the battle, with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occaſion to the overthrow [s]. The emperor growing jealous and diſtruſtful upon this defeat, ſome malicious and deſigning courtiers took care to improve that diſpoſition, by inſinuating to him, that the ſoldiers quartered in *Conſtantinople* had formed a deſign of preferring *Nicephorus* to the empire; which heightened his jealouſy to ſuch a degree, as he was conſcious to himſelf of his evil conduct, that he not only cauſed his eyes to be put out, but thoſe likewiſe of his other uncles, *Nicetas*, *Anthemius*, and *Eudoxius*, though nothing had been alledged againſt them. *Alexius Moſoles*, whom the *Armenian* legions had demanded for their leader, when they refuſed to conſent to the reſtoration of *Irene*, was, at her inſtigation, treated with the like ſeverity; which ſo provoked thoſe legions, that they refuſed to obey *Camilianus*, appointed by the emperor to command them. Hereupon *Conſtantianus*, *Artaſeras*, and *Chryſochires* were ſent againſt them at the head of a ſtrong party; but the mutinous legions, having defeated and taken them priſoners, cauſed, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out; which ſo provoked *Conſtantine*, that he marched againſt them in perſon; and having defeated them in a pitched battle, put all their officers to death, cauſing the common ſoldiers to be led in chains to *Conſtantinople*, and conveyed from thence into different

Irene recalled.

The emperor defeated by the Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

The Armenian legions broken and diſperſed.

[q] Idem ad ann. 10, 11. [r] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 2. [s] Idem ibid.

ferent islands [t]. The *Armenian* legions, who had always suspected and been ready to oppose the ambitious designs of *Irene*, being thus broken and dispersed, she began to put the emperor, now destitute of that support, upon such measures, as she thought, would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empress *Mary*, whom she had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, she advised him to divorce her, and marry *Theodota* or *Theodecta*, one of the maids of her chamber; who was accordingly crowned empress at *Constantinople*, where the nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together. This marriage occasioned great contests among the clergy concerning the lawfulness of it, in which *Irene* artfully sided with those who opposed her son, encouraging them underhand to estrange the minds of the people from him. However, the success which attended his arms against the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians* prevented the people from revolting, tho' privately stirred up, by *Irene* and her emissaries, to depose him. The *Saracens* had broken into *Cilicia*; but were driven back with great loss by the troops which *Constantine* seasonably dispatched against them. As for the *Bulgarians*, *Cardames* their king having sent embassadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of *Constantinople*, and there take it by force, if it was refused him, *Constantine* replied, that since he was stricken in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched against him at the head of a considerable army; upon the sight of which, the barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost consternation. Upon his return to *Constantinople*, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empress *Theodota* was delivered of a son; at which he was so overjoyed, that he returned in great haste to *Constantinople*. *Irene*, taking advantage of his absence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promised to depose *Constantine*, and commit the government to her alone. Pursuant to this promise, some of them, returning to *Constantinople*, seized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of *Porphyra*, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in such a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after in the utmost agony, having reigned seven years alone, and ten with his mother [u]. Our historian observes, that five years before his uncles lost their eyes by his orders, on the same day of the same month, and in

Constantine divorces Mary, and marries Theodota.

He puts the Bulgarians to flight.

He is murdered.

[t] Idem ad ann. 3. [u] Idem ad ann. 7. Const. fol.

the

the ſame chamber [w]. *Nicephorus* and *Chriſtopher*, her huſband's brothers, hearing of the death of *Conſtantine*, took ſanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence and baniſhed to *Athens*, where they are ſaid to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raiſe diſturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of *Leo Iſauricus*; ſo that no one was now left to diſpute with *Irene* her title to the empire. She no ſooner received intelligence of the death of her ſon, than leaving *Pruſa*, ſhe repaired to *Conſtantinople*; which ſhe entered in a gilded chariot, drawn by four horſes, being attended by ſeveral patricians, who waited as her ſlaves on either ſide, while ſhe threw money among the people, as was uſual at the ſolemnity of a coronation [x]. In the mean time, the *Saracens*, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eaſtern provinces; and having defeated the forces *Irene* ſent againſt them, entered *Thrace*, made their excurſions to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives. In 798, the ſecond of *Irene*'s reign, her great favourite, *Saturacius*, prompted by his boundleſs ambition, conſpired againſt her, with a deſign to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon his own head; but his deſign being diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, *Irene*, after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herſelf, in conſideration of his former ſervices, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empreſs ſhewed him, joined to a lively ſenſe of his ingratitude to her, made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon his mind, that he died of grief ſoon after [y]. *Irene*, finding ſhe could not depend even upon thoſe whom ſhe thought ſhe had moſt reaſon to confide in, made it her chief ſtudy to gain the hearts of her people. With this view ſhe remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of *Conſtantinople*, encouraged commerce, and, what moſt of all obliged the people, promoted, to the utmoſt of her power, the worſhip of images, cauſing them to be ſet up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted againſt them by former emperors [z]. In 802, *Charles*, ſurnamed *the Great*, who had been crowned emperor of the weſt, by pope *Leo* III. on *Chriſtmas-day* of the year 800, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, with propoſals of a firm and laſting peace between him and *Irene*. To theſe embaſſadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with ex-

Irene *proclaimed empreſs.*

Saturacius *conſpires againſt her.*

She ſtudies to gain the affections of the people.

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ad ann. Iren. 1. [y] Idem ad ann. Iren. 2. [z] Idem ad ann. 4.

A match proposed between Irene, *and* Charles the Great.

traordinary pomp at *Constantinople.* The embassadors of *Charles*, among their other instructions, were ordered to propose a match between him and *Irene*, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their persons. *Irene* readily entered into the negotiation; but *Aetius* an eunuch, who bore the chief sway at court, by daily starting new difficulties, put off from time to time the conclusion of the treaty. As he was excluded from the empire himself, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand to prefer to it his brother, by name *Leo*, at that time governor of *Thrace* and *Macedon*; but being well apprised, that his design would be unavoidably defeated, should the treaty between *Irene* and so powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no stone unturned to divert the empress from it, at least to get the conclusion of it suspended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private design. In the mean time, the nobility, who hated *Aetius*, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, suspecting his design, and apprehending the empress, over whom he had gained a great ascendant, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take *Leo* for her partner in the empire, resolved to set up *Nicephorus*, a patrician of great wealth and interest among the people. Accordingly, having first disposed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that *Irene* not only designed to marry *Charles*, but to transfer the seat of the empire to the west, by which means the eastern empire would soon become a province to the new empire of the west, they assembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they seized on *Irene* without opposition; and confining her under a strong guard to her chamber, conducted *Nicephorus*, their new emperor, with the usual solemnity, to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom *Irene* had obliged by several acts of generosity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curses against him. *Nicephorus* treated *Irene* with great civility and respect, till he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to discover to him the place where her treasures lay concealed; which she had no sooner done, than, contrary to his solemn promise, he confined her to a monastery, which she herself had built in an island; but soon after removed her from thence to the island of *Lesbos*, where she died of grief [a]. She is greatly extolled, notwithstanding her unnatural conduct towards her son, by all the writers of those times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worship of images, and the great pains she took utterly to suppress the heresy, as it was then cal-

Which is opposed by Aetius.

The nobility revolt, and set up Nicephorus.

Irene *deposed, and* Nicephorus *created emperor.*

[a] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 1.

led,

led, of the iconoclaſts. She built a great many monaſteries and hoſpitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained, if the writers of thoſe times are to be credited, both the eſteem and affections of her ſubjects. Her great attachment to the ſee of *Rome*, and the indefatigable pains ſhe took to get the doctrine of the iconoclaſts condemned in the ſecond council of *Nice*, by her aſſembled for that purpoſe, have ſo far biaſſed ſome writers of that party, that they have not been aſhamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy ſcripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her ſon, who perhaps well deſerved ſuch treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. *Irene* was thus depoſed in 802, after having reigned ten years with her ſon, and five alone.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the promotion of* Nicephorus, *to the death of* Baſilius II.

Nicephorus.

THE embaſſadors who had been ſent, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, by *Charles the Great* to propoſe a marriage between him and the empreſs *Irene*, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, and utterly diſconcerted the ambitious views of their maſter. However, as they were injoined to conclude a firm and laſting peace with the eaſtern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well appriſed of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendſhip of *Charles*, received his embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which *Charles* was acknowledged emperor of the weſt, and all *Italy*, to the rivers of *Vulturnus* and *Aufidus*, yielded to him. *Nicephorus*, in the third year of his reign, cauſed *Nicetas Tryphillius*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, to be taken off with poiſon, for no other crime but becauſe he was beloved by the army. He gave ſeveral other inſtances of a moſt cruel, ſuſpicious, and covetous, temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged *Bardanes*, governor of one of the eaſtern provinces, to revolt, and aſſume the title of emperor. *Michael* and *Leo*, two officers of great reputation in the army, joined him at firſt; but ſoon after, finding him unequal to ſo great a charge, they abandoned him and went over to *Nicephorus*, who raiſed them to the firſt poſts in the army. *Bardanes*, thus forſaken by his friends, ſent a ſubmiſſive meſſage to *Nicephorus*, and, upon his promiſing to pardon him, retired to a monaſtery, and there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending to be intirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly manner to *Conſtantinople*; but on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by perſons ſent for that purpoſe. The emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, and ſecure the crown to his family, took his ſon *Saturacius* for his partner in the empire, and cauſed him to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. Having thus ſettled his affairs at home, he marched againſt the *Saracens*, who

Concludes a treaty with Charles the Great.

Bardanes *revolts*;

But ſubmits.

who had broke into the eaſtern provinces; but his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight, having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. The following year, the *Saracens*, to the number of three hundred thouſand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing without oppoſition as far as *Tyana*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia Minor*, made themſelves maſters of that city and ſeveral other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very gates of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*. *Nicephorus* marched againſt them with what forces he could raiſe; but not daring to venture an engagement, he diſpatched embaſſadors with rich preſents to *Aaron* their kaliff, who, with much-ado, was prevailed to grant a peace upon the following terms: That the emperor ſhould pay to the *Saracens* a yearly tribute of thirty thouſand pieces of gold, beſides three thouſand for his own head, and as many for that of his ſon; and that he ſhould not preſume to repair ſuch forts as had been diſmantled. *Nicephorus* agreed to theſe terms; but the enemy was no ſooner retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demoliſhed; which ſo provoked the *Saracens*, that they returned the ſame year, and raged with more fury than ever, putting all to fire and ſword, both on the continent and in the iſland of *Cyprus*, where they demoliſhed the churches, and put an incredible number of the inhabitants to the ſword. The following year they made a deſcent upon the iſland of *Rhodes*, and took a great number of priſoners; but their fleet ſuffered much by a violent ſtorm, which overtook them as they were returning home [x]. The ſame year *Nicephorus* married his ſon *Saturacius* to *Theophania*, a near relation of the late empreſs *Irene*, though ſhe had been ſome time before contracted to another, which gave occaſion to great complaints, and encouraged ſome to conſpire againſt him: but they were all detected and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity: nay, many perſons of great diſtinction, eccleſiaſtics as well as laymen, were, upon bare ſuſpicions, dragged to priſon, and there either put to death, or racked with the greateſt cruelty. In the ſeventh year of his reign, the *Bulgarians* making an irruption into the empire, under the conduct of *Crumus*, their king, ſurpriſed *Sardica*, a city of *Mœſia*, and put the whole gariſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to the ſword. *Nicephorus* marched againſt them with a conſiderable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at his approach, inſtead of purſuing them, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, and impoſed a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of *Sardica*; which incenſed them to ſuch a degree, that they roſe in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the

Nicephorus defeated by the Saracens.

Nicephorus concludes a diſhonourable peace with them.

They invade the empire anew.

The Bulgarians take Sardica.

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

[x] THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 2—6. CEDREN. ibid.

the palace, but were repulſed by the emperor's guards with great ſlaughter. In the ninth year of his reign, he raiſed a powerful army, and, marching at the head of it, entered the country of the *Bulgarians*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Crumus*, their king, alarmed at his approach, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting them with indignation, purſued his ravages, waſting the country, deſtroying the cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. *Crumus*, ſenſibly affected with the calamities of his ſubjects, ſent the emperor a ſecond ſubmiſſive meſſage, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But *Nicephorus* diſmiſſing the embaſſadors with ſcorn, *Crumus*, puſhed on by deſpair, attacked unexpectedly the emperor's camp; and having forced it, in ſpite of all oppoſition, cut off almoſt the whole army, with the emperor himſelf, a great number of patricians, and moſt of the chief officers. *Saturacius* received a dangerous wound in the neck, but eſcaped in a litter to *Adrianople*. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of *Nicephorus* being found among the ſlain, *Crumus* cauſed his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for ſome time expoſed to the view of the ſoldiery, he incloſed the ſcull in ſilver, and made uſe of it inſtead of a cup [y]. Such was the end of *Nicephorus*, after having reigned eight years, as many months, and twenty-ſix days. He is ſaid to have been ſtrongly inclined to the execrable doctrine of the *Manichees*, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdneſs, cruelty, avarice, and all manner of debaucheries [z].

Nicephorus *ravages with great cruelty the country of the* Bulgarians.

He is defeated and ſlain.

Saturacius fled, as we obſerved above, to *Adrianople*, where he was acknowledged emperor by ſome of the officers, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter. But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public, and at the ſame time knew himſelf to be univerſally hated both by the nobility and people, he reſolved to confer the empire on his wife *Theophania*. But, in the mean time, the ſenate cauſed *Michael*, who had married *Procopia*, ſiſter to *Saturacius*, to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which *Saturacius* no ſooner underſtood, than he retired with his wife to a monaſtery, where he embraced a religious life, and died ſoon after, having reigned two months and ten days. *Michael*, mindful of

Saturacius.

Michael *proclaimed emperor.*

[y] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 9. [z] Cedren. Zonar. in Niceph. Theoph. ibid.

the

the oath he had taken to *Nicephorus* and his ſon, declined at firſt the imperial dignity; but being afterwards informed that *Saturacius*, the better to ſecure the crown to his wife, had reſolved to deprive him of his ſight, he accepted the offer, and was crowned in the great church by *Nicephorus* the patriarch, after he had by a ſolemn promiſe under his own hand obliged himſelf to maintain the privileges of the church, and to abſtain from ſhedding chriſtian blood [a]. The new emperor a few days after cauſed his wife *Procopia* to be likewiſe crowned by the patriarch with his ſon *Theophylact*, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was ſcarce warm in his throne, when the *Saracens* broke into the empire on one ſide, and the *Bulgarians* on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by *Leo*, who governed the eaſtern provinces, with the loſs of two thouſand men. Againſt the *Bulgarians Michael* marched in perſon; but having, after ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes, ventured an engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with ſhame and diſgrace to *Conſtantinople*. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to quit the purple, which required a perſon of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyſter. Accordingly he earneſtly preſſed *Leo* to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to *Michael*, and at the ſame time ſenſible of the dangerous ſtate of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his requeſt, though backed by the intreaties of the magiſtrates, the ſoldiery, and the patriarch. *Michael* no ſooner underſtood, that *Leo* had in the end ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired, with his wife *Procopia* and his children, to the monaſtery of *Pharus*, where he took the monaſtic habit on the eleventh of *July* 813, after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days [b]. Thus *Theophanes*, who lived at this time, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote. But *Cedrenus* gives us a very different account of the promotion of *Leo*. According to that writer, *Michael* had the advantage in the engagement with the *Bulgarians*, till *Leo*, who aſpired to the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which ſo diſheartened the *Romans*, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, leaving the *Bulgarians* maſters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, eſcaped to *Adrianople*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, attended by a ſmall body of horſe. In his abſence, *Leo*, by exclaiming againſt him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from *Michael*, and offer the empire to himſelf; which, however,

Takes his ſon for his colleague.

Is defeated by the Bulgarians, *and reſigns the empire.*

Leo *raiſed to the empire.*

[a] THEOPH. ad ann. Niceph. 9.

[b] Idem ad ann. Mic. 2.

ever, he pretended to decline, till *Michael Trauſus* or *Balbus*, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his ſword, as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with preſent death, if he did not immediately comply with the earneſt intreaties of the whole army, who, he ſaid, placed their ſafety and that of the empire in him alone. When news was brought to *Conſtantinople* of the revolt of the army and the uſurpation of *Leo*, ſome of the emperor's friends adviſed him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor ſharply reprimanded them, declaring, he had rather loſe his life, than involve the ſtate in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effuſion of much chriſtian blood. Accordingly he ſent to *Leo* the diadem, the purple robes, and the ſcarlet ſhoes, the enſigns of ſovereignty, requiring him to come, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, to *Conſtantinople*, and take poſſeſſion of the imperial palace. Thus *Cedrenus* [c], to whoſe authority we ſhould, without the leaſt heſitation, prefer that of *Theophanes*, were we ſure that the latter part of the hiſtory, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as ſome able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the reign of *Nicephorus*, and that the remaining part was added by ſome other writer, who, favouring *Leo*, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether *Leo* uſurped the ſovereignty, or was raiſed to it by the voluntary abdication of *Michael*. The new emperor, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, took care to have *Michael* and his wife, who had retired to the ſame monaſtery, ſeparated; and therefore confined him to a monaſtery on the iſland *Prota*, and baniſhed *Procopia*, with her children, to another place, having firſt cauſed *Theophylact*, their eldeſt ſon, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no iſſue [d]. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when the *Bulgarians*, elated with their late ſucceſs, entered *Thrace*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Leo* having drawn together what forces he could, marched out againſt them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, great multitudes were ſlain on both ſides, but at length the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were purſued by the enemy in great diſorder, *Leo*, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unexpectedly upon the barbarians with a reſerve of choſen men, who attended him, renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an intire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and more taken priſoners. Some reckon the king himſelf, by name *Crumus*, among the former; but others will have

He gains a complete victory over the Bulgarians.

[c] Cedren. in Leon. [d] Zonar. Cedren. in Mich.

him

him to have been only wounded. However that be, the *Bulgarians* were ſo diſheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for ſome years after [e]. The emperor, having now nothing to fear either from the *Bulgarians* or the *Saracens*, who were at variance among themſelves, applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of the worſhip that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the obſervance of the council held at *Conſtantinople* in 754, under *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, and publiſhed an edict forbidding any worſhip to be paid to images, and commanding them to be removed out of the churches. *Nicephorus* the patriarch, *Nicetas* a patrician, and one of the empreſs *Irene*'s relations, *Theodorus* a monk in great reputation, *Theophanes* the hiſtorian, and many others, were baniſhed for refuſing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redreſſing the abuſes both in the church and ſtate, *Michael*, ſurnamed *Balbus*, or the ſtammerer, whom he had preferred to the firſt employments, conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to deprive him of the crown, and place it upon his own head. But the plot being diſcovered, *Michael* was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But as the officers were leading him, on *Chriſtmas-eve*, to the place of execution, the empreſs *Theodoſia*, by upbraiding her huſband with cruelty and irreligion for not reſpecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy ſacrament, prevailed upon him to reſpite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his eſcape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himſelf. But *Michael* having, by means of ſome religious perſons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permiſſion, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to diſcover them to *Leo*, unleſs they ſpeedily procured his releaſe, alarmed them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved, without loſs of time, to put their deſign in execution. Accordingly, mixing themſelves with thoſe who performed divine ſervice in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a ſignal agreed on beforehand, they ſtarted up; but by miſtake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the perſon who preſided over the clerks, or, as we may call him, the dean of the chapel. *Leo*, in the mean time, well appriſed of their deſign, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conſpirators, now ſenſible of their miſtake; but defended himſelf with the chain of the incenſory, or, as ſome write, with the croſs, till one of his

He oppoſes the worſhip of images.

Michael Balbus conſpires againſt him.

But is ſeized and condemned.

[e] Idem ibid.

hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conſpirators, ruſhing upon him, diſpatched him with many wounds, and in the end ſtruck off his head [f]. Such was the end of *Leo* IV. after he had reigned ſeven years, five months, and fourteen days. He is allowed, even by ſuch as were his avowed enemies, on account of his zeal in ſuppreſſing the worſhip of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to have reformed many abuſes, that had long prevailed in the ſtate. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch *Nicephorus*, who had been baniſhed by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, though a wicked, prince. The body of the unhappy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there expoſed for ſome time to public view. After this the conſpirators, having ſeized on the empreſs *Theodoſia*, confined her to a monaſtery, and baniſhed her four ſons, *viz.* *Sabbatius*, called alſo *Conſtantine*, *Baſil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodoſius*, to the iſland of *Prota*, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by *Michael*'s order, in which cruel operation *Theodoſius* died. *Michael*, in the mean time, being ſet at liberty, and conducted by the conſpirators from the priſon to the palace, placed himſelf upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he ſtill was, with his irons, the keys being no-where to be found: at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Leo murdered.

His character.

Michael Balbus *proclaimed emperor.*

Michael, thus raiſed to the empire, was a native of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*, and ſuch chriſtians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. *Michael* himſelf obſerved the *Jewiſh* ſabbath, denied the reſurrection of the dead, and held ſeveral other tenets condemned by the catholic church [g]. In the firſt year of his reign he recalled a great number of biſhops, monks, and others, who had been baniſhed by *Leo* for not complying with his edict forbidding the worſhip of images, but at the ſame time ſummoned them to diſpute in a council at *Conſtantinople* the point in queſtion. With this ſummons they refuſed to comply, alledging, that as the worſhipping of images had been already approved of and eſtabliſhed by a general council, it could admit of no diſpute. This anſwer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheleſs was ſo far from proceeding with rigor againſt them, that he indulged them in the uſe of images without the city. In the ſecond year of his reign, and 823d of

He is an enemy to images.

[f] Inat. in Taraſ. Theodor. ſtuditæ. ep. lxi. Leo. Grammat. in Leon. [g] Cedren. in Mich.

the

the chriſtian æra, a civil war broke out in the eaſt, which involved the empire in endleſs calamities. It was raiſed by one *Thomas*, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their accounts. According to ſome, he was meanly born, and at firſt a menial ſervant to a ſenator at *Conſtantinople*, whoſe wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the puniſhment due to his crime, fled to the *Saracens*, among whom, after he had continued for the ſpace of twenty-five years, profeſſing their religion, he obtained of their kaliff a conſiderable body of troops, boaſting, that he could eaſily ſubdue the whole *Roman* empire. The better to intice the *Romans* over to his intereſt, he gave out, that he was *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Irene*. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the eaſt, and inviolably attached to *Leo*, whoſe death he reſolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a grave aſpect, of extraordinary ſtrength and courage, and acceptable to the ſoldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eaſtern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated *Michael*, he ſoon raiſed a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all *Aſia*, ſeizing every-where on the public revenues, and plundering ſuch cities as refuſed to ſubmit to him. And now being maſter of all *Aſia* and *Syria*, he aſſumed the purple and diadem, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of *Antioch*. *Michael*, in the mean time, diſpatched all the troops he could aſſemble againſt him; but *Thomas*, meeting them in *Aſia*, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a ſtrong fleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then croſſing over into *Thrace* appeared unexpectedly before *Conſtantinople*, not doubting, but the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his firſt approach. But to his great ſurpriſe, they received him with moſt opprobrious language, repulſed him in two ſucceſſive attacks, and in ſeveral ſallies killed great numbers of his men. *Thomas* made the neceſſary preparations for a third aſſault, being reſolved to make an utmoſt effort, and attack the city at the ſame time by ſea and land. But a moſt violent ſtorm ariſing, when he was upon the point of giving the ſignal, his fleet was diſperſed, and his battering engines overturned and rendered quite uſeleſs. This diſappointment, and ſome ſucceſsful ſallies of the beſieged, obliged him, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but with a reſolution to return before the city early in the ſpring; which he did accordingly: but *Michael* having in the mean time equipped a fleet and raiſed a land-army, he met with far greater oppoſition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great ſlaughter in a ſally,

Thomas revolts in the eaſt.

Makes himſelf maſter of Aſia *and* Syria.

Beſieges Conſtantinople.

a ſally, and his fleet driven aſhore by that of the emperor. The uſurper had in his army a commander of great valour, and experience, named *Gregory*, who, having been baniſhed by *Michael* to the iſland of *Scirus*, becauſe he was a near relation of *Leo*, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the uſurper, and been entruſted by him with the command of twelve thouſand men; but now obſerving, that fortune, which had hitherto attended *Thomas* in all his undertakings, began to forſake him, he reſolved to make his peace with *Michael*, the rather becauſe his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on ſo privately, but *Thomas* had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a ſufficient number of troops before *Conſtantinople* to carry on the ſiege, led the reſt againſt *Gregory*; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then returned in triumph to purſue the ſiege. But in the mean time, *Mortagon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, hearing the emperor was beſieged in his metropolis, and either pitying his condition, or deſirous of gaining his friendſhip, marched at the head of a numerous army to his aſſiſtance. *Thomas*, when informed of his approach, was ſome time in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould continue the ſiege, or march with all his forces againſt the barbarians, but at length reſolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the ſiege, he met and engaged the *Bulgarians* at a place called *Cedoctus*, but was by them put to flight with great ſlaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, his fleet before *Conſtantinople* revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aſide all thoughts of purſuing the ſiege, and to retire to *Diabeſis*, a place diſtant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waſte all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out againſt him, under the command of *Cataceläs* and *Olbianus*, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, moſt of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. *Thomas*, with much ado, eſcaped to *Adrianople*, where he was immediately beſieged by the emperor's forces, and at length delivered up to *Michael* by his own people, no longer able to endure the famine and the unſpeakable hardſhips, to which they were reduced. The emperor, having cauſed his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed, to be carried upon an aſs round the camp. He died ſoon after in the utmoſt agony. *Anaſtaſius*, his adopted ſon, who for that honour had forſaken the monaſtic life, which he profeſſed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of *Byria*, met with the ſame treatment

He defeats and puts to death Gregory, *who deſigned to betray him.*

He is defeated by the Bulgarians,

Thomas delivered up to the emperor, and put to death.

treatment as his father had done. *Pavium* and *Heraclea*, two maritime cities of *Thrace* which *Thomas* had ſeized, refuſed to ſubmit, not ſo much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor, on account of his oppoſing the worſhip of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by ſtorm. Some other cities and caſtles continued to hold out for ſome time, but they were all in the end reduced, and the civil war intirely extinguiſhed [h].

IN the mean time, the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Spain* and were grown too numerous for that country, taking advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, having equipped ſeveral ſhips, diſpatched them in queſt of ſome fruitful iſland, in which they might plant a colony. *Apochapſus*, who commanded this ſquadron, having ravaged moſt of the iſlands in the *Mediterranean* without oppoſition, all the ſhips and gariſons being gone to the aſſiſtance of *Thomas*, touched in the end at *Crete*; and being greatly taken with the fertility and pleaſantneſs of that iſland, deſcribed it to his countrymen upon his return as *a place*, to uſe his expreſſion, *flowing with milk and honey.* Hereupon the *Saracens*, having equipped, during the winter, a fleet conſiſting of forty ſhips well armed and manned, put to ſea early in the ſpring; and landing in the iſland, encamped on the promontory *Charax*, whence *Apochapſus* ſent ſpies to diſcover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the iſland was quite deſtitute of ſoldiers, and that he would no-where meet with the leaſt oppoſition. Hereupon he ordered the fleet to be ſet on fire, that his men, laying aſide all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that iſland as their native country. The emperor, upon the firſt notice of this deſcent, diſpatched *Damianus* with a conſiderable body of troops to drive the *Saracens* out of the iſland. *Damianus*, being joined by *Photinus*, advanced, as ſoon as he had landed his forces; againſt the enemy, who killed him at the firſt onſet, and put his whole army to flight, *Photinus* having with much ado made his eſcape in a light veſſel, and carried the news of the overthrow to the emperor. The *Saracens*, having now no enemy to oppoſe them, built and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called *Chandax*, pointed out to them by a monk. From thence they made frequent excurſions, and in a ſhort time reduced the whole iſland, which by its new maſters was thence-forth called *Chandax*, and by others *Candia*, from the above-mentioned city [i]. This happened in the ſecond year of the reign of *Michael Balbus* and the 822d of the chriſtian æra. *Michael*, thinking it would reflect eternal ignominy, if he ſuffered the *Saracens* to ſettle in *Crete*, as

The Saracens *land in* Crete.

And ſettle there.

The city of Candia *built.*

[h] Idem ibid. [i] CEDREN. ibid.

ſoon

ſoon as he had put an end to the civil war diſpatched *Craterus*, with a powerful fleet and a numerous army, to recover the iſland. *Craterus*, having landed his men without oppoſition, fell upon the enemy with great reſolution, who received him with equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining to neither ſide; but ſoon after the *Saracens*, great numbers of them being ſlain and more taken priſoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great confuſion. Had the *Romans* purſued them, they might have eaſily, in that conſternation, cut them all off to a man, and made themſelves maſters of their city. But, inſtead of following the fugitives, and aſſaulting, without loſs of time, the place whither they had all retired, they ſpent the night in riot and drunkenneſs, as if the war had been already concluded, without ſo much as placing a guard or centry to prevent their being ſurpriſed. The enemy, appriſed of their ſecurity, reſolved, however fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly ſallying out in the dead of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine and partly aſleep, and cut them off almoſt to a man. *Craterus*, their general, with great difficulty, eſcaped on board a ſmall veſſel to the iſland of *Cos*. But the prince of the *Saracens*, not finding his body among the ſlain, diſpatched ſome veſſels with troops after him, who landing on the iſland, ſurpriſed him, and nailed him to a croſs. After this defeat, the emperor, deſpairing of being able to recover the iſland of *Crete*, contented himſelf with defending the other iſlands, and reſtraining the piracies of the *Cretan Saracens* [k].

The emperor's forces defeated, and cut in pieces.

Several public calamities.

Beſides the loſs of the pleaſant and fruitful iſland of *Crete*, ſeveral other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, *viz.* great conflagrations, deſtructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inundations, ſtrange phænomena in the heavens, general dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions, violent ſtorms, *&c.* which are all aſcribed by *Cedrenus* to the contempt of images. But theſe calamities did not reclaim him from the looſe and diſſolute life which he led, without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the ſixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced *Euphroſyne*, the daughter of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, out of a monaſtery, where ſhe had led from her infancy a recluſe life, and married her. Soon after, *Euphemius*, an officer of great intereſt and authority in the army, falling in love with another ſacred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of

[k] Idem ibid.

the

the monaſtery and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of *Sicily*, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alledged againſt *Euphemius* to be true, to cut off his noſe. To avoid this puniſhment, *Euphemius* drew ſeveral other officers of the army into a conſpiracy; repulſed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; and then flying to the *Saracens* in *Africa*, promiſed to betray *Sicily* into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the *Romans*. To this the *Saracen* governor of *Africa* readily conſented; and, having acknowledged him emperor, ſent him back with a ſufficient number of troops to make good his title. He landed in *Sicily* without oppoſition; and advancing to *Syracuſe*, endeavoured, by a flattering ſpeech, to perſuade the inhabitants, who ſtood on the walls, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the reſt he obſerved two brothers, who were men of great intereſt in the city, to pay him greater reſpect, and hear him with more attention than the reſt; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the reſt of his company to meet and ſalute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The *Saracens*, however, did not quit the advantage which he had put into their hands; but, being thus introduced by him, made themſelves by degrees maſters of the whole iſland; and, paſſing over into *Italy*, landed at *Taranto*; whence they drove the *Romans*, and got poſſeſſion of *Calabria* and the adjoining provinces [1]. The emperor died ſoon after of a flux, having reigned eight years, nine months, and ſeven days; and was buried in the church of the apoſtles. His death happened on the firſt of *October* 829.

Euphemius *acknowledged emperor by the* Saracens.

He is killed.

The Saracens *reduce* Sicily.

Michael *dies.*

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theophylus*, who, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people and prevent conſpiracies, pretended to be a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, and a ſevere aſſertor of the laws of the empire. Though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of *Leo*, yet he reſolved to puniſh all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he ſummoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace *Magnaura*, or, as it was called from the five towers, *Pentapyrgium*. When they were aſſembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time reſolved to reward the eminent ſervices of thoſe, who had been inſtrumental in his promotion; but

Theophylus.

[1] CEDREN. in Mich. ann. 8. ZONAR. p. 173.

ſince

ſince death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himſelf, as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore deſired them to withdraw from the reſt into a particular room, where he would examine the merit of each perſon, and reward him accordingly. Hereupon thoſe, who had been acceſſory to the murder of *Leo*, readily diſcovered themſelves, in expectation of ſome great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confeſſion, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws againſt murder in execution, and to puniſh, according to their deſerts, thoſe who had not only ſhed innocent blood, but had inhumanly maſſacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and the officer, purſuant to his orders, puniſhed all thoſe who had conſpired againſt *Leo* as murderers[m]. After this he ſent *Euphroſyne* back to the monaſtery, from whence his father had taken her, and applied himſelf with great diligence to public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought againſt his miniſters, adminiſtering juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, and frequently viſiting in perſon the markets, in order to ſettle the prices of the neceſſary proviſions.

He puniſhes the murderers of Leo.

In the third year of his reign, he married his favourite daughter, by name *Mary*, to *Alexius Moſeles*, an *Armenian* by birth, a perſon of comely and majeſtic aſpect, then in the flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. As he repoſed in him an intire confidence, he conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raiſed him to the proconſulſhip, and at laſt, as he had yet no iſſue-male of his own, created him *Cæſar*, and ſent him at the head of a numerous army to reſtrain the *Saracens*, who committed dreadful devaſtations in *Italy*. Being attended there with uncommon ſucceſs, his rivals at court, jealous of the eſteem he was in with the emperor, and the reputation he had acquired, repreſented him as one who aſpired at the empire, ſtrengthening their malicious ſuggeſtions with an old prediction, that A *ſhould one day drive out* Th. This *Alexius* no ſooner underſtood, than he deſired leave of *Theophylus* to retire, and embrace a monaſtic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to theſe inſinuations, denied his requeſt, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, *Theophylus* having a ſon ſoon after, and his daughter, who was married to *Alexius*, dying about the ſame time, he was at length prevailed upon, by the repeated importunities of his ſon-in-law, to comply with his requeſt and ſuffer him to retire[n]. Beſides *Alexius*, the emperor had two other eminent commanders, *viz.* *Manuel* and *Theophobus*. The former had been raiſed, by *Leo* and the late

He marries his daughter to Alexius Moſeles.

He embraces a monaſtic life.

[m] Joan. Cedrenus in Theophyl. [n] Idem ibid.

emperor

emperor *Michael*, to the firſt poſts in the army. The latter was the natural ſon of a *Perſian* embaſſador, deſcended from the blood royal of that nation, who, dying ſoon after the birth of his ſon, left him at *Conſtantinople*, where he was educated after the *Roman* manner. All thoſe of the royal family of *Perſia* being either deſtroyed or driven out by the *Saracens*, who had made themſelves maſters of their country, the few *Perſians*, who had outlived the general ſlaughter of their nation, hearing of *Theophobus*, ſent to the emperor, deſiring him for their king. But *Theophylus* choſe rather to raiſe him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his ſiſters in marriage, giving at the ſame time, by a law enacted for that purpoſe, all his ſubjects leave to intermarry with the *Perſians*; which brought great numbers of that nation over to the *Romans*, who formed them into one body, called the *Perſian* legion, from which the emperor promiſed himſelf no ſmall ſervice in the expedition, which he was about to undertake againſt the *Saracens*, who had invaded the *Roman* territories. Againſt them the emperor, attended by *Manuel* and *Theophobus*, marched in perſon; but in the battle which enſued, the *Romans*, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate conteſt, gave ground, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The emperor, with his guard, two thouſand *Perſians*, and *Theophobus*, gained a neighbouring hill, where he was immediately ſurrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmoſt efforts to take him priſoner, his own men ſtriving with equal reſolution and intrepidity to defend him. The day being thus ſpent, when night came on, the *Romans*, by the advice of *Theophobus*, filled all on a ſudden the air with loud acclamations, ſounding at the ſame time their trumpets and other warlike inſtruments. The *Saracens*, deceived by this ſtratagem, and concluding they had received ſome reinforcement, retired in great haſte, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his eſcape to the reſt of the army. The *Perſians* were ſo taken with the conduct of *Theophobus* on this occaſion, that they addreſſed the emperor, begging he would ſuffer them to ſerve under him in a ſeparate body, which was readily granted. The following year, he was attended with better ſucceſs; for having engaged the *Saracens*, he gained a complete victory, killed great numbers of them, and took above twenty thouſand priſoners, whom he carried in triumph to *Conſtantinople*. This encouraged him to make another attempt the next ſpring; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf in great danger of being taken priſoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy's ranks. *Manuel*, appriſed of the danger he was in, broke through to him with a body of choſen men, in order to bring

The Romans *defeated by the* Saracens.

The emperor in great danger.

He defeats the Saracens.

him off. But he refuſing to retire, leſt by his retreat he ſhould diſcourage his army, *Manuel* preſenting his ſword to his breaſt, and telling him, that the ſtate would ſuffer more by his captivity than by his death, threatened to kill him, unleſs he retreated with him to the reſt of the army. The emperor then complied, *Manuel* and his choſen band opening him a way through the midſt of the enemy. *Theophylus* had, at firſt, a juſt ſenſe of this eminent piece of ſervice, ſtyling *Manuel* his deliverer; but afterwards, envying him the reputation he had thereby acquired, and aſhamed of being indebted to one of his ſubjects for his ſafety, he readily gave ear to the malicious inſinuations of ſome courtiers, accuſing him of ambitious views, and privately reſolved to deprive him of his ſight; of which *Manuel* being ſeaſonably informed by the emperor's cup-bearer, he fled to the *Saracens*, and upon condition he ſhould not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their ſervice, and was ſoon raiſed to the higheſt honours, and truſted with the command of their armies againſt the *Cermatæ*, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in ſeveral battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching *Conſtantinople*, the emperor, grieved for the loſs of ſo brave and faithful a commander, reſolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promiſing to reinſtate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to *Manuel* by a monk, he received it with unſpeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting againſt the *Romans*; but now, pretending a deſire of being revenged on thoſe by whom he had been unjuſtly accuſed to the emperor, he deſired leave of *Iſhmael*, prince of the *Saracens*, to make war upon the *Romans* in *Cappadocia*. *Iſhmael*, highly pleaſed with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but, as he had already given ſignal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his ſon to ſerve under him. Being arrived in *Cappadocia*, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his deſign, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting; and being met, as had been agreed on before-hand between him and the governor of the province, by ſome *Roman* troops, he acquainted the prince with his deſign, deſiring him to return to the army, and acquaint them with it. From *Cappadocia* he immediately repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with great ſolemnity by the emperor in the church of *Belchernæ*, raiſed to the higheſt poſt in the army, and choſen to ſtand as godfather to

His ingratitude to Manuel.

He flies to the Saracens.

But returns to the Romans.

to his ſon *Michael*, whom he ſoon after took for his partner in the empire. The following year, the *Saracens* invaded *Cappadocia* under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched againſt them in perſon; but both armies, ſeized, while they were already within ſight of each other, with a panic fear, betook themſelves to flight, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. The following year 837, *Theophylus* invaded *Syria*, ravaged the country far and wide, and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*, leaving *Theophobus* to command the army. In his abſence the *Perſians*, now increaſed to thirty thouſand, depending upon their ſtrength and numbers, ſeized on *Theophobus* at *Sinople*; and, notwithſtanding all his intreaties, proteſtations, and arguments, declared him emperor. *Theophobus* gave the emperor private notice of what had paſſed; aſſured him of his loyalty; though he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity, and laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to make his eſcape to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs, and continued in his former honours and employments. The rebellious *Perſians* were, at his requeſt, pardoned and received into favour; but diſperſed into ſeveral provinces[n].

The Perſians *mutiny.*

The fidelity of Theophobus.

Theophylus, in ravaging *Syria*, had, notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of the prince of the *Saracens*, deſtroyed *Sozopetra*, the place of his nativity; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, breathing nothing but revenge, he raiſed a mighty army, ordering every ſoldier to engrave upon his ſhield the word *Amorium*, the birth-place of *Theophylus* and capital of *Cilicia*, which he was reſolved, at all events, to deſtroy. The emperor, informed of theſe mighty preparations, raiſed what forces he could, and marched with them to *Dorylæum*, diſtant about three days journey from *Amorium*. There, in a council of war, ſeveral officers adviſed him to decline an engagement with the *Saracens*, whoſe army was far more numerous than that of the *Romans*, and to remove the inhabitants of *Amorium* to ſome other place; but the emperor, imagining ſuch a proceeding would reflect no ſmall diſgrace upon him, reſolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly ſent thither a ſtrong detachment, under the command of *Aetius*, general of the eaſt, *Theodorus*, *Ctaterus*, *Theophilus Bubutzicus*, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the prince of the *Saracens* diſpatched his ſon, with ten thouſand *Turks* and a ſtrong party of *Armenians*, to try the ſtrength of the emperor's forces.

The Saracens *invade the empire.*

[n] JOANN. CUROPAL. in Theoph. ZONAR. CEDREN ibid.

Defeat the Romans. The two armies met at a place called *Dazymenum*; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the *Saracens* were at firſt put to the rout; but the *Romans*, in purſuing the fugitives, were ſo galled by the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the purſuit, but betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The *Perſians*, however, though abandoned by the reſt of the army, ſtood their ground, and ſurrounding the emperor, made head againſt the enemy, till night coming on gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the *Saracens*, informed of his ſon's ſucceſs, marched directly to *Amorium*, and being there joined by the young prince, laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, named *Badiates*, who, upon ſome diſcontent, had abjured the chriſtian religion. The *Saracens*, enraged at the reſolute oppoſition they had met with, put moſt of the men to the ſword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was ſo affected with the deſtruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abſtained from all nouriſhment, drinking nothing but ſnow-water, which threw him into a dyſentery. Being appriſed that his end approached, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to *Magnaura*; and having ſummoned the ſenate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic ſpeech to continue faithful to his wife and ſon, and protect them from all treachery. After this, ſinking under the affliction of his mind and diſtemper of his body, he fainted away and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months, and twenty days. *Joannes Curopalates*, whom we have followed in the hiſtory of this prince's reign, as the neareſt to thoſe times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of *Theophobus*, who had been arreſted upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicions, to be cut off and brought to him; and that touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering theſe words, *Neither ſhall I be henceforth* Theophylus, *nor thou* Theophobus [o]. But *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor's officers, without his knowledge [p]. He profeſſed a greater enmity to images, and perſecuted with greater ſeverity, than any of his predeceſſors had done, thoſe who worſhipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of thoſe times in the blackeſt colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his ſworn enemies, ſpeak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact obſerver of juſtice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy

Amorium taken and deſtroyed.

Theophylus *dies.*

His character.

[o] Joan. Curopal. ibid. [p] Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

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Theophylus was ſucceeded by his ſon *Michael*; but, as he was then only ſix years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the adminiſtration; which ſhe began by exerting her zeal for the worſhip of images, recalling all thoſe who had been baniſhed on that account in the late reign, and baniſhing ſuch as differed in opinion from her. She drove from his ſee *John* the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and placed *Methodius*, a monk and zealous patron of images, in his room, ordering the ſecond council of *Nice*, in which the worſhip of images was approved of and eſtabliſhed, to be obſerved throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly ſuppreſſed the iconoclaſts, whoſe doctrine had prevailed in *Conſtantinople* and moſt cities of the eaſt, for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, ſhe fell in the next place upon the *Manichees*, of whom no fewer than an hundred thouſand are ſaid to have been deſtroyed; which drove the reſt to deſpair and rebellion, having one *Carbeas* of that ſect for their leader; who, hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his perſuaſion, fled with four thouſand of the ſame ſect to the *Saracens*, and opened them a paſſage into the *Roman* territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time, the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himſelf, being inſtigated thereunto by *Bardas*, brother to *Theodora*, who promiſed himſelf mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but deſpairing of being able to ſucceed in his deſigns, ſo long as *Manuel* and *Theoctiſtus*, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his ſon, continued near his perſon, he reſolved,

Michael III. Theodora *regent.*

She perſecutes the iconoclaſts and Manichees.

[q] CEDREN. in Theoph. [r] CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid.

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[q] CEDREN. in Theoph. [r] CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid.

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in the firſt place, to remove them by ſome means or other. He had ſcarce taken this reſolution, when a miſunderſtanding aroſe between thoſe two faithful miniſters; which *Bardas* improved with ſuch art, that *Manuel*, quitting the court, retired to a private life. He being removed, *Bardas* eaſily perſuaded the emperor, that *Theoctiſtus*, having nothing leſs in view than the empire, deſigned to marry either the empreſs, or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing, by depriving him of his ſight. Upon theſe malicious, and altogether groundleſs, inſinuations, *Theoctiſtus* was, by the young prince's orders, apprehended, dragged to priſon, and there moſt inhumanly murdered. *Michael* and *Bardas* reſolved to finiſh what they had begun, by removing the empreſs, who, well appriſed of their deſign, to ſpare them the crime of ſhedding more blood, determined to retire of her own accord. Accordingly, having ſummoned the ſenate, ſhe laid before them the preſent condition of the treaſury, to obviate; by that means, the extravagant expences of her ſon, and at the ſame time to ſhew them how careful and frugal ſhe had been during her adminiſtration; for ſhe had, by a commendable œconomy, not only ſpared the immenſe treaſure left by her huſband, but greatly improved it. After this, ſhe reſigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great ſatisfaction of her brother and ſon, now at liberty to act without reſtraint or controul. However, leſt ſhe ſhould attempt to reſume the power ſhe had ſo readily quitted, *Michael* ordered her and her three daughters to be ſhut up in a monaſtery, where ſhe died ſoon after of grief[s]. This happened in 855, after *Theodora* had governed the ſtate for the ſpace of fourteen years. *Michael*, thus free from all reſtraint, abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating *Nero*, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his pattern, and even ſeemed to exceed in all manner of wickedneſs. He, in a ſhort time, ſquandered away the immenſe treaſure left him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of moſt extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, whom, to expoſe to ridicule the moſt ſacred things, he often cauſed to appear in copes and other veſtments, in which prieſts uſed to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the moſt holy functions and ceremonies. One *Gryllus*, the moſt profligate of the crew, he ſtyled patriarch; others he called metropolitans; and took to himſelf the title of one of the chief biſhops. Thus attended, he uſed to walk in broad day-light, as in proceſſion, through the ſtreets, imitating and deriding the patriarch and his clergy. Having once cauſed the infamous *Gryllus* to be apparelled like the patriarch, he ſent for his

Manuel *retires from court.*

Theoctiſtus *murdered.*

The empreſs Theodora *reſigns.*

Michael *a wicked and impious prince.*

[s] Joann. Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

mother

mother in the name of *Ignatius*, who then held that ſee. The empreſs came immediately; but as ſhe fell down upon her knees to crave his bleſſing, *Gryllus*, diſcovering himſelf, derided the piety of the good empreſs with indecent geſtures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole aſſembly [t]. The diſſolute prince, having in a ſhort time waſted all his treaſures, was reduced to the neceſſity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a biſhop named *Leo*, the greateſt man of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for among the boughs were diſperſed ſeveral golden birds, which, by the help of an engine, ſung melodiouſly, while the ſpectators were at the ſame time no leſs agreeably ſurpriſed and frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the ſame artifice. The prodigal emperor had likewiſe diſpoſed of the imperial robes, and other curioſities, for which the palace was famous, had he not been prevented by death. In the year 854, he undertook an expedition againſt the *Saracens*, and laid ſiege to a city of theirs on the *Euphrates*; but the beſieged ſallying out upon the *Romans*, while they were at their devotions on a *Sunday*, put the whole army to flight, and made themſelves maſters of their camp and all their baggage, the emperor himſelf having with much-ado made his eſcape. Two years after, the *Saracens*, entering with an army of thirty thouſand men the *Roman* dominions, put the emperor to flight, though at the head of forty thouſand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. The loſs of this battle, however, was ſoon repaired by the good fortune of *Petronas*, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the *Saracens* in the neighbourhood of *Epheſus*, cut off the kaliff himſelf and his whole army, took his ſon priſoner, and returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*. In 860, he raiſed his uncle *Bardas*, who had hitherto governed with an abſolute ſway, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, in which high ſtation he acted in a moſt arbitrary manner, without the leaſt regard to the laws and cuſtoms of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay any thing to her charge, and married his own niece. Hereupon the holy patriarch *Ignatius* refuſed to communicate with him on the feaſt of the epiphany; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that having aſſembled a ſynod at *Conſtantinople*, he ſuborned ſeveral falſe witneſſes, who accuſed *Ignatius* of having murdered his predeceſſor *Methodius*; upon which he was depoſed and thrown in priſon, *Photius* being raiſed to the patriarchal ſee in his room; which occaſioned great diſturbances at *Conſtantinople*. In 867, the emperor, at the perſuaſion of *Bardas*, who ruled with an abſolute ſway,

His prodigality.

Is routed by the Saracens.

Bardas created Cæſar.

[t] Idem ibid.

undertook

undertook an expedition againſt the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Crete*, whence they were continually infeſting the coaſts of the empire, and made this year a deſcent upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. Againſt them the emperor marched in perſon, attended by *Bardas*; and arriving at a place called *Chorus*, ordered his army to encamp there. The ſervants of *Bardas*, whether on purpoſe or unadviſedly is uncertain, pitched their maſter's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor ſeemed to reſent; and the enemies of *Bardas* at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reaſon he had to be jealous of ſo inſolent and ambitious a favourite, incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he gave them private orders to diſpatch him; which they did accordingly on the firſt of *April* of the preſent year. The ſoldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himſelf, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to *Conſtantinople* [a]. The ruin of *Bardas* made room for *Baſilius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter averſion to all manner of buſineſs and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-ſixth of *May* of the ſame year, declared him his partner in the empire. *Baſilius* was born in *Macedon*, but an *Armenian* by deſcent, and, according to *Cedrenus*, deſcended from the royal family of the *Arſacidæ*; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obſcure parents. At the ſacking of *Adrianople* by *Crumus* king of the *Bulgarians*, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of the peace. As he was tall in ſtature, of a comely aſpect, and well-ſhaped, *Theophilizes*, a nobleman of great diſtinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his *protoſtrator*, that is, his gentleman of the horſe. Having ſoon after tamed an unruly horſe belonging to the emperor, he was, by the intereſt of *Bardas*, taken into the emperor's ſervice, and raiſed to the poſt of maſter of the horſe; which giving him an opportunity of converſing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great aſcendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon *Bardas*, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, reſolved on his deſtruction. But *Baſilius*, appriſed of his deſign, was before-hand with him, as we have related above. *Baſi-*

He is murdered.

Michael *takes* Baſilius *for his partner in the empire.*

[a] Idem ibid. Cedren. Zonar. in Mich.

lius,

lius, being upon the death of *Bardas* advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redreſs the many abuſes that had crept into the ſtate, and to reclaim *Michael* from his vicious courſes; but the diſſolute prince was ſo far from following his wholſome counſels, that he reſolved to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a cenſor; which haſtened on his own ruin: for *Baſilius*, finding he could by no other means ſave himſelf, but by deſtroying his collegue, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and aſleep; and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome others privy to his deſign, firſt cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone [w]. *Michael murdered.*

Baſilius, now ſole maſter of the empire, governed with great juſtice and moderation, preferring ſuch only as were perſons of known probity, and allowing all his ſubjects free acceſs to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *George* and *Symbatius*, two patricians; but, it being ſeaſonably diſcovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices baniſhed. To obviate any future attempts of the ſame nature, in the ſecond year of his reign he raiſed his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine* to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created *Leo* and *Alexander*, his ſecond and third ſons, *Cæſars*. As for his fourth ſon, by name *Stephen*, he cauſed him to take orders, with a deſign to raiſe him to the patriarchal ſee. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he reſolved to make war upon the *Manichees*. We have obſerved above, that in the late reign one *Carbeas*, a *Manichee*, fled with five thouſand of the ſame ſect to the *Saracens*, with a deſign to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his perſuaſion. Great numbers of the perſecuted *Manichees* flocking to him for ſhelter, he made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories from three ſtrongholds in *Armenia*, viz. *Arganum*, *Armera*, and *Tephrica*, which had been yielded to them by the *Saracens*. Againſt theſe *Manichees* *Baſilius* marched in perſon, laid waſte their country, took or killed their beſt commanders, and returned with an immenſe booty to *Conſtantinople*; which city he entered in triumph. The following year, the *Manichees*, reſolved to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of *Chryſocair*; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almoſt to a man cut off, with their leader, whoſe head *Baſilius.* *He breaks the power of the Manichees.*

[w] CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN ibid.

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[w] CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

was ſent to *Conſtantinople.* By this defeat the ſtrength of the *Saracens* was ſo broken, that they were never afterwards in a condition of moleſting the empire, as they had done for ſeveral years together. Encouraged with his ſucceſs againſt the *Manichees*, he entered *Syria* the following year 880, attended by his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine*, recovered ſeveral ſtrong-holds out of the hands of the *Saracens*, and took an incredible number of priſoners. On his return he made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia*, and of ſeveral other ſtrong-holds, which he levelled with the ground. The priſoners he took in this expedition were ſo numerous, that not being able to ſpare ſufficient forces to guard them, he commanded multitudes of them to be put to the ſword; which ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Saracens*, that ſome of their governors not only ſubmitted, but joined the emperor againſt their own nation. The *African Saracens* and thoſe of *Crete*, attempting to invade the empire, were likewiſe defeated with great ſlaughter, and the fleet of the former utterly deſtroyed by *Nazar* the *Roman* admiral. Theſe extraordinary advantages were, in ſome degree, counterballanced by the loſs of *Syracuſe*, which the *Saracens* of *Carthage* took and deſtroyed. *Adrian*, a patrician, who had been ſent to relieve it, arriving too late, the emperor, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, cauſed him to be dragged from the great church, where he had taken ſanctuary, and ſent him into exile [x]. *Baſilius*, at ſuch times as he was not engaged in wars, buſied himſelf in building and repairing churches, of which *Cedrenus* mentions a great number. *Zonaras* blames him for erecting and dedicating ſo many churches to the honour of St. *Michael*, as if he had deſigned thereby to expiate the murder of the emperor *Michael.* His eldeſt ſon, *Conſtantine* being dead, he raiſed his ſecond ſon *Leo* to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great ſway which *Theodorus Santabarenus*, by profeſſion a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's preſence. Of this the jealous monk was ſoon appriſed, and therefore reſolved to deſtroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence of a conſpiracy againſt *Baſilius*, which was to be put in execution while he was hunting, he firſt perſuaded the young prince privately to arm himſelf and ſome of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppoſe any attempt upon the life of his father; and then haſtening to the emperor, told him in great conſternation, that his ſon deſigned to murder him; that his deſign was to be put in execution the firſt time he went out to hunt; and that, if he cauſed him to be ſearched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, giving ear to the wicked

His ſucceſs againſt the Saracens.

Syracuſe *taken by the* Saracens, *and deſtroyed.*

The treachery of a monk.

[x] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar, ibid.

and

and malicious inſinuations of the monk, ordered his ſon to be ſearched; and a dagger being found under his garments, committed him to cloſe priſon in an apartment of the palace, where his eyes had been put out at the inſtigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the ſenate interpoſed in his behalf. However he was long kept under cloſe confinement; but at length releaſed, at the earneſt and repeated intreaties of the ſenate, and reſtored to his former dignity. *Curopalates* tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the ſenate to mention to him the young prince's name, or make any further application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining ſeveral of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of ſome, who uſed to lament there the unfortunate prince's condition, cried out all on a ſudden, *Alas, unhappy* Leo! His friends laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their neglect, notwithſtanding the emperor's prohibition, renewed their former applications; to which *Baſilius* at length yielded [y]. *Baſilius* not long after died, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and ſeven days. *Cedrenus* writes, that he was carried off by a diarrhœa; but *Zonaras* tells us, that while he was hunting, a ſtag thruſting his horns under his girdle, and lifting him up from the ground, ſhook him with ſuch violence, that he died ſoon after. The ſame writer adds, that one of the emperor's attendants having diſengaged him from the ſtag, by cutting his girdle, he, inſtead of rewarding him, cauſed his head to be cut off, for drawing his ſword in the preſence of his ſovereign. But of this no mention is made either by *Cedrenus* or *Curopalates*. Some pretend, that before he died, he embraced a monaſtic life, but without diveſting himſelf either of his power, or the enſigns of majeſty. It is certain, that, towards the lattter end of his reign, he addicted himſelf intirely to the converſation of monks, and to works of piety. To his ſon *Leo*, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor, he left, with the empire, ſome excellent rules or maxims of government, compriſed in ſixty-ſix chapters, the initial letters of which form the following ſentence; Baſilius, *emperor of the* Romans *in Chriſt, to* Leo, *his dear ſon and collegue in the empire*. The maxims contained therein are truly worthy of a great prince and a chriſtian philoſopher. *Baſilius* made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of *baſilicæ*, that is, royal or imperial laws; for they did not take their name, as ſome have imagined, from the emperor *Baſilius*, by whoſe orders they were compiled. They were written in the *Greek* tongue, the *Latin*, in which the laws of *Juſtinian* were compiled, being at this time ſcarce underſtood in the eaſtern empire.

Leo *impriſoned.*

And releaſed.

Baſilius *dies.*

His inſtructions to his ſon Leo.

[y] CUROPALAT. in Anaſt.

Baſilius is, by all the antient writers, deſervedly ranked among the beſt emperors.

Leo. *Baſilius* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leo*, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire, upon the death of his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine*. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and ſo well verſed in all the branches of literature, that he deſervedly acquired, as *Antoninus* had done, the ſurname of *Philoſophus*. His firſt care was to puniſh *Theodorus Santabarenus* the monk, whom he ordered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then baniſhed him to *Athens*, where his eyes were put out. *Photius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, had favoured *Theodorus*, and conſpired with him to raiſe a kinſman of his own to the throne; he had beſides raiſed great diſturbances in the church: for which crimes he was, by *Leo*'s orders, depoſed, and baniſhed into *Armenia*, *Stephen*, the emperor's brother, being raiſed to the patriarchal ſee in his room. To ſhew his gratitude to the emperor *Michael*, who had firſt preferred his father, and had been murdered by him, he cauſed his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monaſtery of *Chryſopolis*, where it had been interred, to the church of the *Apoſtles* in *Conſtantinople*, and there to be depoſited in a ſtately monument of marble. In the year 893, the eighth of *Leo*'s reign, a war broke out between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians* on the following occaſion: A great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Conſtantinople*, whence it was, at the requeſt of ſome merchants, removed to *Theſſalonica*. There the collectors of the cuſtoms oppreſſing with new and unlawful impoſitions the *Bulgarian* merchants, *Simeon* their king having firſt applied in vain to the emperor for redreſs, reſolved to do himſelf juſtice; and accordingly, entering the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, ravaged and laid waſte the country as far as *Macedon*, where he was met by the *Roman* army, under the command of *Procopius Crenites* and *Curticius*, who were both cut off, with moſt of their men, in the engagement that enſued. *Simeon*, having taken in the purſuit a great number of priſoners, cauſed their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them back thus deformed to *Conſtantinople*. The emperor, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri* or *Hungarians*, whom our author ſtyles *Turks*, to invade the country of the *Bulgarians* on one ſide, while he entered it on the other. Againſt the *Hungarians Simeon* marched in perſon; but was by them utterly defeated, the flower of his army being cut off, and he himſelf with much ado eſcaping to a city named *Doroſtolum*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Leo* ſuing for a peace; which was readily granted him upon very honourable terms. But the emperor's forces were no ſooner withdrawn

He honours the memory of Michael.

His army defeated by the Bulgarians.

drawn than *Simeon* fell unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*; and having put them to flight, ravaged their country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Leo*, provoked at this breach of the treaty, and more at his new and unreaſonable demands, reſolved to fall upon him with the whole ſtrength of the empire, and utterly deſtroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raiſed, and ſent into *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of *Catacalon* and *Theodoſius* a patrician. But *Simeon*, who carefully watched their motions, falling unexpectedly upon them, cut moſt of them in pieces, with *Theodoſius* and a great number of officers of diſtinction; which obliged the emperor to ſubmit to the beſt terms he could obtain [z]. While *Leo* was engaged in theſe wars abroad, ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt him at home; which, however, were ſeaſonably diſcovered, and the conſpirators ſent into exile, the emperor being averſe to the ſhedding of blood. In 901, the empreſs *Theophano*, or, as others call her, *Theophania*, being dead, the emperor married one *Zoe*, the moſt beautiful woman of her age, whom he had kept as his concubine in his wife's life-time, and cauſed her to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, conferring at the ſame time on her father, by name *Zantzas*, the title of *Father of the emperor*. *Zoe* did not long enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death, *Leo* married to his third wife a lady of extraordinary beauty, named *Eudocia*; but ſhe dying in child-bed, together with the infant, *Leo*, who had yet no iſſue-male to ſucceed him, married to his fourth wife another *Zoe*, who brought him a ſon, called *Conſtantine*. This fourth marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave riſe to great diſturbances and diviſions in the church of *Conſtantinople*; for *Nicolaus Myſticus*, at that time patriarch, not only declared againſt the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earneſtly begged, but in vain, to be reſtored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch to a monaſtery, and placed one *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to *Nicolaus*, and others to *Euthymius*, which occaſioned a ſchiſm in the church. Though *Euthymius* reſtored the emperor to the communion of the faithful, yet he reſolutely oppoſed him, when, by the advice of the ſenate, he was about to publiſh an edict declaring it lawful to marry the fourth time. *Leo* had formerly publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting thoſe who married thrice to the penalties which had been decreed againſt them by ſome antient councils, and the clergy would not ſuffer him to revoke that edict [a]. Some time before his fourth marriage, as he was going on *Whitſunday* in a ſolemn pro-

The treachery of the Bulgarians.

The emperor marries a ſecond and third wife.

Is excommunicated for marrying a fourth.

[z] Idem in Leon. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

[a] Vide CONST. PORPHYROGEN. in præamb. ad edict. unionis.

ceſſion

ceſſion to the church of St. *Mocius*, as was cuſtomary on that day, a perſon of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, juſt as he entered the church, gave him ſuch a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and thoſe about him believed him dead; and truly he had been killed upon the ſpot, had not the violence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. *Alexander*, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but no proof could be alledged againſt him, the traitor, though tortured in a moſt cruel manner, obſtinately refuſing to diſcover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off[b].

An attempt upon the emperor's life.

The following year 902, the ſixteenth of *Leo*'s reign, the *Saracens*, having equipped a mighty fleet, took *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, reduced the iſland of *Lemnos*, and, ravaging without controul the coaſts of *Aſia*, threw the imperial city itſelf into great conſternation. In the end of the ſummer, they laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, which they took, and would have deſtroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large ſum by *Simeon*, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, who was on that account raiſed to the rank of a patrician. *Leo*, not able to make head againſt the *Saracens* at ſea, raiſed a powerful army, which he ſent into the eaſt, under the conduct of *Euſtathius Argyrus* and *Andronichus Ducas*, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great ſucceſs, having gained ſeveral victories over them. However, the year following, they invaded with a mighty army the *Roman* territories; which obliged the emperor to diſpatch *Himerius* and *Andronichus Ducas* againſt them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct; but a fatal miſunderſtanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one *Samonas*, put a ſtop to the progreſs of their arms. *Samonas*, a *Saracen* by birth, and, formerly chamberlain to the emperor, having diſcovered a conſpiracy, had been, on that account, advanced to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Having by that means acquired immenſe wealth, he attempted to eſcape into his own country, carrying with him his treaſures; but was ſtopped upon the road, and brought back to *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantine Ducas*, the ſon of *Andronichus*. The emperor, provoked at his thus abandoning him, notwithſtanding the many favours he had heaped upon him, kept him for ſome time under cloſe confinement; but in the end reſtored him to his former rank and honours. As *Samonas* bore an irreconcilcable hatred to *Andronichus*, on account of his ſon *Conſtantine*, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large

Tauromi-nium and Theſſalo-nica taken by the Sa-racens.

Who are defeated by the empe-ror's gene-rals.

[b] Leo Grammat. l. iii. and iv.

ſum,

ſum, to warn him by letter not to join *Himerius*, who, he ſaid, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes, as ſoon as he had him in his power. *Andronicbus*, giving credit to this letter, refuſed to join *Himerius*, who nevertheleſs engaged the *Saracens*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Andronicus*, dreading the emperor's indignation, ſeized a caſtle near *Iconium*, called *Cabala*, with a deſign to revolt; which *Samonas* no ſooner underſtood, than making uſe of all his authority at court to his deſtruction, he prevailed upon the emperor, with his artful inſinuations, to declare *Andronicus* a traitor, and to diſpatch a ſtrong army againſt him, under the command of *Iberitzas Gregoras*. Hereupon *Andronicus* deſpairing of pardon, fled to the *Saracens*, by whom he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. *Leo*, greatly concerned for the loſs of ſo brave a commander, who had hitherto ſerved him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, reſolved to perſuade him, if poſſible, to return home. With this view he releaſed a *Saracen* captive, on condition he delivered to *Andronicus* a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promiſed to reſtore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated aſſurances of his friendſhip and eſteem; but the captive, bribed by *Samonas*, inſtead of conveying the letter to *Andronicus*, delivered it to the kaliff, who immediately cauſed the unfortunate *Andronicus*, with his ſon *Conſtantine*, and the reſt who had attended him in his flight, to be thrown into priſon, where they were treated with the utmoſt cruelty. *Andronichus* ſoon periſhed under the hardſhips he endured; ſeveral others purchaſed their liberty by renouncing their religion; but *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Andronicus*, made his eſcape with a ſmall number of attendants, and though purſued, ſometimes by fighting, and ſometimes by caſting gold in the way, and by that means diverting the greedy ſoldiery, got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and feaſted upon his arrival in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far miſled by the omen of his name as to aſpire at the empire; adding, that he had been aſſured, by thoſe who could foretel things of that nature, that his own ſon *Conſtantine* was deſtined by heaven to the empire; and that, if *Ducas* ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would be inevitably cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place, where he was now treated with ſo much honour and magnificence. The event confirmed the truth of this prediction, as we ſhall relate anon. About this time, *Samonas*, the emperor's chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an abſolute ſway, was at length diſgraced on the following occaſion: He had

Andronicus Ducas, diſgraced, flies to the Saracens.

He dies; but his ſon Conſtantine returns to Conſtantinople.

Samonas diſgraced.

recommended

recommended a youth, named *Conſtantine*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, to wait on the empreſs, who, being greatly taken with his addreſs and other good qualities, uſed all her intereſt to prefer him. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to *Samonas*, who, apprehending he might in time be ſupplanted by this new favourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accuſed the empreſs of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldneſs to publiſh a libel againſt the emperor himſelf, who, finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monaſtery, and appointed his rival *Conſtantine* great chamberlain in his room [c]. In 911, the twenty-ſixth and laſt year of his reign, the *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Damianus* a *Tyrian* and *Leo* of *Tripolis*, committing dreadful ravages on the coaſts and in the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, *Himerius* was ſent with a powerful fleet againſt them; but in a ſea-fight near the iſland of *Samos*, the *Roman* navy was utterly defeated, *Himerius* himſelf having with much difficulty eſcaped to *Mitylene*. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the cholic on the eleventh of *May* of the preſent year, after having reigned twenty-five years and three months. He left behind him only one ſon, by name *Conſtantine*; but, as he was ſcarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother *Alexander*, after having earneſtly intreated him to leave it at his death to his ſon *Conſtantine*, whom he recommended to his care [d]. *Leo* is allowed on all hands to have been a prince of great prudence, and uncommon penetration in the management of public affairs. He is highly extolled by the eccleſiaſtic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith, and by them compared to the moſt zealous and vigilant among their biſhops. As he was a man of great learning, he left ſeveral works behind him, *viz.* a letter to *Omarus* king of the *Saracens*, concerning the myſteries and truth of the chriſtian religion, and the hereſies and blaſphemies of the *Saracens*; a book of military diſcipline, which has been tranſlated into *Latin*; another on hunting; ſeveral theological and hiſtorical tracts, ſtill to be ſeen, though ſtrangely maimed and corrupted, in the *Vatican* library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the biſhops, he wrote to all his ſubjects, encouraging them to the practice of every chriſtian virtue; but as he applied himſelf above all to the ſtudy of the law, he new-modelled the *Roman* juriſprudence. His father *Baſilius* had, in the year 870, with the aſſiſtance of his two ſons *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, publiſhed an epitome of *Juſtinian*'s code, which he called *procheiron*.

The Roman *fleet defeated by the* Saracens.

Leo *dies.*

His character and works.

[c] Curopalat. in Leon. Zonar. Cedren. Leo. Grammat. ibid. [d] Curopalat. Zonar. Const. Manass. Glycas. ibid.

This

This work, which conſiſted of forty tities, is ſtill to be found among the manuſcripts in the *Vatican* library. It is by ſome aſcribed to *Baſilius*, *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, by others only to *Leo* and *Conſtantine*, and by ſome to *Leo* alone; whence *Cujacius* and other civilians conclude it to have been reviſed by *Leo*, and brought into a better form. *Leo*, not ſatisfied with that, publiſhed about the year 886, his *baſilicæ*, divided into ſixty books and ſix volumes. In this great work the emperor followed the order which *Juſtinian* had obſerved in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, *novellæ*, and from the conſtitutions of the ſucceeding emperors down to *Baſilius*; whatever was ſuperfluous, or had been abrogated by the cuſtom of after-times, being retrenched. The *baſilicæ* were no ſooner publiſhed, than the books of *Juſtinian* were quite laid aſide, both in the ſchools and courts of juſtice. *Leo* dying, his ſon *Conſtantine* reviſed and corrected the *baſilicæ*, which had been publiſhed by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected, to be made uſe of both at the bar and in the ſchools. The *baſilicæ* of *Leo* were called *priores*, and thoſe of *Conſtantine poſteriores*; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the *Greek* juriſprudence to the end of the empire [c].

Leo being dead, his brother *Alexander* was by the ſenate and people acknowledged emperor; but he, in the very beginning of his reign, gave ſuch inſtances of his cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his ſubjects. Thoſe who ſeemed to diſcountenance him in his lewd and diſſolute courſes, he baniſhed under various pretences, placing perſons of moſt infamous characters in their room, and ſuffering himſelf to be intirely governed by debauchees and proſtitutes. He was ſo taken with one *Baſilitzas*, a perſon of a mean deſcent, but of a moſt diſſolute life and his inſeparable companion in the moſt abominable extravagancies, that he reſolved to ſettle the empire on him, and, by caſtrating his nephew *Conſtantine*, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of ſucceſſion. But he was diverted from ſuch an unpopular attempt, by ſome of the late emperor's friends, repreſenting to him, that the child, who was of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, would, in all likelihood, be ſoon removed out of the way by a natural death. In the mean time, he baniſhed the empreſs *Zoe* from the court, ſuffering none to continue there, but ſuch as were ſlaves to his ſenſual pleaſures, and ſubſervient to his brutiſh appetites. *Simeon*, prince of the *Bulgarians*, no ſooner heard of his acceſſion to the empire, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to him to renew the treaties of

Alexander *a debauched prince.*

[c] STRUV hiſt. jur. Græc. c. 4. CUJAC. l. vi. obſer. c. 10. DOVIAT. hiſt. jur. civil. p. 47.

He provokes the Bulgarians.

peace and friendſhip concluded by former emperors between the two nations; but *Alexander*, inſtead of cultivating the friendſhip of that warlike and powerful nation, diſmiſſed their embaſſadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon*, juſtly provoked, invaded with a mighty army the *Roman* territories, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Alexander*, inſtead of offering to oppoſe him, purſued without interruption his diſſolute courſes, till death, haſtened on by his intemperance, delivered the world from ſo pernicious a monſter. As he was one day uſing violent exerciſe, after having eaten and drunk to a great exceſs, ſome of the veſſels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till he died. Before his death, which happened in 912, after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared *Conſtantine* his ſucceſſor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, ſuch perſons as had been moſt ſubſervient to him in his infamous pleaſures, and were, on that account, deſpiſed and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. This encouraged *Conſtantine Ducas*, the ſon of *Andronicus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to attempt the ſovereignty, notwithſtanding the warning giving him by the late emperor; but as he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was ſeized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, moſt of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being diſcovered, and puniſhed either with death or baniſhment. During theſe domeſtic broils, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, having laid waſte *Thrace*, was advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a ſhort time; but the unexpected and vigorous oppoſition he met with from the inhabitants obliged him, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, to abandon the enterprize and retire to *Hebdomon*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to the young prince's governors with overtures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, whence he returned home loaded with rich preſents. *Cedrenus* writes, that a peace was concluded; but *Zonaras* aſſures us, that the treaty was broken off, before it could be brought to a happy concluſion, the prince of the *Bulgarians* refuſing to ſubmit to the conditions inſiſted upon by the regents. If an agreement was made, it was broken ſoon after, as we ſhall relate anon. In the mean time, the regents, diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, at the earneſt requeſt of the people of *Conſtantinople* and of the young prince himſelf, recalled to court the empreſs *Zoe*; who, having ſoon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's

He dies.

Conſtantine VIII

The Bulgarians *break into the empire.*

emperor's preſence the favourites of *Alexander*, and put others in their room, who were better qualified for that high truſt [f]. *Zoe* had ſcarce taken upon her the adminiſtration, when the *Bulgarians* broke into the empire on one ſide, and the *Saracens* on the other. The former, after having laid waſte *Thrace*, ſat down before *Adrianople*, which was betrayed to them by one *Pancratucus* an *Armenian*, whom *Simeon* had bribed with rich preſents. The *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Damianus*, kaliff of *Tyre*, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devaſtations on the coaſts. *Zoe*, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, reſolved, purſuant to the advice of the ſenate, to make peace upon any terms with the *Saracens*, and employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the *Bulgarians*. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and a mighty army ſent againſt the latter, under the conduct of *Leo Phocas*, who, having muſtered his numerous forces in the ſpacious plain of *Diabaſis*, led them ſtrait againſt the enemy, encamped at a ſmall diſtance. Before the engagement, *Conſtantine*, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was ſtyled *protopapa*, expoſing the wood of the holy croſs to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and ſwear, that they would fight to the laſt. After this, both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but the *Romans* prevailing, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, the *Bulgarians* fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The victory, however, was unluckily ſnatched out of their hands by the following accident: *Leo*, the *Roman* general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the purſuit, his horſe broke looſe, while he ſtooped down to drink. The ſoldiers, who knew him, ſeeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was ſlain, and thereupon, giving over the purſuit, began to retire in a diſorderly manner; which *Simeon* quickly perceiving, rallied his men, and, facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, not only great numbers of the common ſoldiers being ſlain in that confuſion, but many officers of great diſtinction [g]. To this unhappy miſtake ſome aſcribe the dreadful overthrow which the *Romans* received on this occaſion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. They tell us, that while *Leo* was buſy in the purſuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that *Romanus Lacapenus*, the admiral, a man of great power and authority, who had been ordered to hover on the coaſt with his fleet and aſſiſt *Leo*, if required, was returned to *Conſtantinople*, with a deſign to ſeize on

The emperor's preſs Zoe gets all the power into her own hands.

The Bulgarians *invade the empire.*

The Romans *defeated.*

[f] CEDREN. ZONAR. LEO. GRAMMAT. & CUROPALAT. in Conſtant.
[g] CUROPALAT. ibid.

the empire in the abſence of the army and the chief officers. Upon this intelligence, *Leo*, ſay they, who had the ſame ambitious view, returned immediately to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth. But the ſoldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, were ſo diſcouraged, that they turned their purſuit into a ſudden and diſorderly flight [b]. *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, reſolved to return before *Conſtantinople*; but, two ſtrong detachments from his army being met on their march by the imperial troops, and utterly defeated, he thought it adviſeable to drop that enterpriſe and return home. In the mean time, the two rivals, *Leo* and *Romanus*, returning to court, began to plot, not only againſt the emperor, but againſt each other; for they had both nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty. But the faction of *Romanus* prevailing at length over that of *Leo*, the latter was declared a traitor; and being ſeized in a caſtle named *Arcas*, whither he had fled for ſhelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, deprived of his ſight, and by that means rendered incapable of any further attempts. *Romanus*, having thus got rid of *Leo*, and driven all his partizans from the emperor's preſence, perſuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his ſon *Chriſtopher* commander in chief of the allies, which poſt was at that time one of the greateſt dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engroſſed to himſelf the whole power, he drove the empreſs *Zoe* from the palace, and confined her to the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*. Soon after her departure, he cauſed himſelf to be firſt declared *Cæſar*, and afterwards to be ſolemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, the young prince rather ſilently permitting, than approving of theſe extraordinary proceedings. The following year 921, *Romanus* cauſed his two ſons, *Stephen* and *Chriſtopher*, to be crowned in the great church, reſerving the other, by name *Theophylactus*, for the patriarchal dignity; nay, with the utmoſt arrogance he ordered himſelf to be named before *Conſtantine* in all public edicts and monuments. Several projects were ſet on foot by the friends of young *Conſtantine* to deliver him from the controul, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all diſcovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors of them puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine broils, broke anew into the *Roman* territories; and having defeated, with great ſlaughter, the imperial troops diſpatched againſt him, he advanced, without oppoſition, to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*; but deſpairing of being ever able to reduce that metropolis he deſired an interview with the emperor *Romanus*; which being readily granted, a peace there-

Two parties of the Bulgarians *routed.*

Leo *diſgraced and deprived of his ſight.*

Zoe confined to a monaſtery. Romanus *crowned emperor.*

[b] Zonar. Cedren. Glycas in Conſtant.

upon

upon enſued between the two nations, *Romanus* having in a pathetic ſpeech put the *Bulgarian* in mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal Judge of the chriſtian blood he had already ſhed. At the ſame time, the *Saracens*, who had long infeſted the coaſts and the iſlands, being ſurpriſed by *John Radenus* the *Roman* admiral, in the harbour of *Lemnos*, were cut off almoſt to a man, and their whole fleet deſtroyed. Not long after, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Peter*, who breaking into the *Roman* dominions, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword, without any regard to the treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father. When he heard *Romanus* was marching againſt him at the head of a powerful army, he diſpatched a monk to him, with propoſals for a peace, which he deſired might be ſtrengthened and confirmed with a marriage. This overture being well received by *Romanus*, the *Bulgarian* prince, after ſeveral negotiations, repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he was ſplendidly entertained by *Romanus* in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and with great ſolemnity married by *Stephen*, the patriarch, to *Mary*, the daughter of *Chriſtopher*, the emperor's ſon. At one of many public entertainments that were made on this occaſion, the *Bulgarians* loudly complaining, at the inſtigation of *Romanus*, as was ſuppoſed, that the emperor *Conſtantine* ſhould take place of *Chriſtopher*, the father-in-law of their prince, *Romanus*, pretending to gratify them, cauſed his ſon, with a ſeeming reluctancy, to take the moſt honourable place. The nuptial ſolemnities were ſcarce over, when the *Saracens* in *Syria* invaded the *Roman* territories; but *John Curcuas*, the imperial general in thoſe parts, not only drove them back with great loſs, but having beſieged and taken the city of *Melitena*, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. The following winter proved very ſevere; and the long froſt, ſaid to have laſted an hundred and twenty days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which ſwept off incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in ſeveral provinces, and whole cities overturned. At *Conſtantinople* a fire broke out, which conſumed many ſtately buildings. But *Romanus* was not ſo much affected with theſe public calamities, as with the death of his ſon *Chriſtopher*, who died on the fourteenth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 933[i]. The following year, one *Baſilius*, a native of *Maccdon*, giving out, that he was *Conſtantine Ducas*, who had been ſlain in the beginning of the preſent reign, drew vaſt crowds after him; but being ſeized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who, after

A peace concluded with the the Bulgarians.

The king of the Bulgarians *marries the granddaughter of* Romanus.

Melitena *taken from the* Saracens.

[i] CYROPALAT. in Roman. LEO GRAMMAT. in Rom.

having

having cauſed one of his hands to be cut off, ſet him at liberty. But he continuing ſtill to paſs himſelf upon the credulous multitude for the ſon of *Andronicus*, got together great numbers of malecontents, who having ſeized on a ſtrong-hold, made from thence frequent incurſions into the neighbouring country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. But *Romanus*, having with much difficulty got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive [k]. In 944, the *Roſſi*, who inhabited the *European Sarmatia*, and were known to the antients by the names of *Roxolani* and *Baſtarnæ*, having equipped a numerous fleet, conſiſting, according to ſome of ten, according to others of fifteen, thouſand veſſels, committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of the empire. But *Theophanes*, the *Roman* admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, deſtroyed their whole fleet; and the two generals *Bardas* and *Curcuas*, purſuing thoſe who had ſaved themſelves aſhore, made ſuch a havock of them, that very few returned home with the news of their misfortune [l]. All this while *Conſtantine*, the lawful prince, lived without the leaſt authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully watched an opportunity of recovering his former power, and with this view gained over ſome perſons in great credit and eſteem with *Romanus* and his ſons, who being well appriſed, that to remove *Romanus* was the firſt ſtep towards the re-eſtabliſhment of *Conſtantine*, applied to *Stephen*, the uſurper's youngeſt ſon, and by degrees brought him to rebel againſt his father, whom he ſeized on the ſixteenth of *December* of the preſent year 944, and confined to a monaſtery in the iſland *Prota*. He being thus removed, *Stephen* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother *Conſtantine*, who had been raiſed by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the ſovereignty. This gave riſe to a miſunderſtanding between the two brothers, which proved fatal to both. For *Conſtantine* having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been deſirous of bringing about an accommodation, cauſed them both to be ſeized in the midſt of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, *viz.* *Stephen* to the iſland of *Panormus*, and *Conſtantine* to *Terebinthus*, where they were both ordained prieſts. *Stephen* was afterwards removed to *Proconneſus*, and from thence to *Rhodes*, then to *Mitylene*, and laſtly to *Leſbos*, where he died, after having borne his misfortunes for many years with great conſtancy and reſolution. *Conſtantine* having two years after killed one of his keepers, with a deſign to make his eſcape out of the iſland of *Samothrace*, whither he had

The Roſſi *utterly defeated by the* Romans.

Romanus *depoſed by his own ſon.*

His ſons depoſed and baniſhed.

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem Zonar. Cedren. in Rom. Luitprand. l. v. p. 334.

been

been removed, the reſt, tranſported with rage, fell upon him and ſlew him. As for *Romanus*, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth year of his exile [m]. *Conſtantine*, thus reſtored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his reſtoration, preferring them to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Soon after, in order to prevent any future deſigns that might be formed againſt him, he cauſed his ſon *Romanus* to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, and *Romanus* the ſon of *Stephen*, with *Baſilius* the natural ſon of *Romanus* the elder, and *Michael* the ſon of *Chriſtopher*, to be made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. In 948, the *Saracens* breaking into the empire with a mighty army, *Bardas Phocas* and his two ſons *Nicephorus* and *Leo* were diſpatched with the flower of the *Roman* forces againſt them. *Bardas* was one of the beſt officers of his age; but being hated by the ſoldiery on account of his extreme covetouſneſs, he performed nothing anſwerable to the high character he bore; nay, his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerouſly wounded in the forehead, and with much-ado brought off alive by ſome of his friends. His two ſons gained ſeveral ſignal victories over the enemy, by whom, however, they were not more feared, than beloved by thoſe who ſerved under them: *Leo*, having overthrown the *Saracens* in a pitched battle, took, among the other priſoners, *Apolaſemus*, a perſon of great diſtinction, and nearly related to *Chabdanus* the kaliff; which the emperor no ſooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod in an inſulting manner upon his neck. The kaliff, highly provoked at this indignity, uſed in a moſt barbarous manner *Conſtantine*, the third ſon of *Bardas Phocas*, whom he had taken priſoner, in order to make him abjure the chriſtian religion; but not being able to prevail with him, he cauſed him to be poiſoned. *Phocas*, to revenge his death, put to the ſword all the relations of the kaliff, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kaliff, having raiſed a numerous and formidable army, marched againſt *Phocas* and his ſons, carrying with him *Nicetas*, a patrician, and ſeveral other priſoners of diſtinction, with an intent to cauſe them to be maſſacred in the ſight of the *Roman* army. But *Nicetas*, who was a man of great addreſs, having in the mean time inſinuated himſelf into his favour, was by him made privy to all his deſigns, which he found means to impart to *Phocas*, who lying in ambuſh for him in a narrow paſs, cut off his nu-

Conſtantine *reſtored to his former power.*

Leo *and* Nicephorus *gain great advantages over the* Saracens.

[m] CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid. LUITPRAND. l. v. c. 9, 10, 11.

merous

merous army almoſt to a man, the kaliff himſelf eſcaping with much difficulty, after having put to the ſword all the *Roman* priſoners, except *Nicetas*, who, by bribing his keepers, had made his eſcape in the beginning of the engagement. After this victory, *Phocas*, invading the territories of the *Saracens*, took ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and laid waſte whole provinces. But, in the mean time, the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Crete*, committing dreadful ravages on the coaſts, the emperor having with incredible expedition fitted out a powerful fleet, diſpatched it with a ſtrong army on board againſt the iſland of *Crete*, where they landed, without the leaſt oppoſition from the *Saracens*, altogether unprovided againſt ſo ſudden a deſcent; and would have eaſily made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland, had they been commanded by an officer of any ſkill or experience. But the emperor having appointed commander in chief in this expedition one of his chamberlains, named *Conſtantine Gongylas*, who had been brought up in the court, and was conſequently an utter ſtranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miſcarried. For the *Saracens*, finding he neither took care to fortify himſelf by any works, nor to ſend out ſcouts to get intelligence, concluded from thence, that he was no warrior; and recovering from their conſternation, fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight with great ſlaughter, and made themſelves maſters of his camp and baggage. He had himſelf fallen into the enemy's hands, had not ſome of his guards, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, conveyed him on board one of his veſſels [n]. Not long after this defeat, *Romanus*, the emperor's ſon, prompted by his ambition, and egged on by his wife *Theophano* or *Theophania*, conſpired with her againſt his father; and having gained over *Nicetas*, one of the attendants at the emperor's table, prevailed upon him to adminiſter poiſon to the prince, inſtead of a potion, which had been preſcribed to him by his phyſicians. But the emperor happening to ſtumble after he had taken in his hand the poiſonous cup, the greater part of the draught was ſpilt by that lucky accident; ſo that what remained had not the deſired effect, though his life was for ſome time in great danger. In the month of *September* of the ſame year, he undertook a journey to mount *Olympus*, to beg the prayers of the monks, as given out, for the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the *Saracens*, whom he deſigned, if poſſible, to drive out of *Syria*: but the true motive of his journey was to adviſe with *Theodorus*, biſhop of *Cyzicus*, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal ſee *Polyeuctus*, who had ſucceeded *Theophylactus*, the ſon of *Roma-*

The Romans *utterly defeated by the* Saracens *in* Crete.

Romanus, *the emperor's ſon, attempts upon his life.*

[n] Curopalat. in Conſtantin.

nus.

nus. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his ſon, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to *Conſtantinople*, where he died on the ninth of *November* 960, after having lived forty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother, twenty-five with *Romanus*, and fifteen alone [o]. Constantine *dies.*

Curopalates, from whom other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife *Helena* and his favourite *Baſilius*, who, abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, ſet every thing to ſale, beſtowing the firſt employments in the ſtate on the higheſt bidder: By this means all the offices, both civil and military, were filled with perſons no-ways qualified for them, which equally redounded to his diſhonour and the detriment of the ſtate. He is likewiſe condemned for puniſhing the ſmalleſt faults with the utmoſt ſeverity. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning, which he is ſaid to have revived, after letters had been long neglected. He was himſelf well ſkilled in moſt branches of literature, eſpecially in hiſtory, arithmetic, aſtronomy, philoſophy, and geometry. *Zonaras* commends him on account of his piety, which, ſays he, appeared in all his writings and epiſtles [p]. *His character.*

Conſtantine was ſucceeded by his ſon *Romanus*, ſurnamed *the boy*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other *Romanus*, his grandfather; for he was the ſon of *Conſtantine* by *Helena*, the daughter of *Romanus* the uſurper. He is deſervedly reckoned amongſt the moſt lewd and debauched princes mentioned in hiſtory. Tho' he was himſelf capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts, yet he committed the whole management of affairs to one *Joſeph*, his chief chamberlain, that he might, with more liberty and without interruption, purſue his pleaſures; which he did, wallowing in all manner of debaucheries, without beſtowing one thought on the public. Soon after his acceſſion, he cauſed his young ſon *Baſilius* to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*; and, imagining he had by that means ſecured the empire to his poſterity, he took no further care either of his family or the public. In the ſecond year of his reign, *Nicephorus Phocas*, a perſon of extraordinary merit, who had been raiſed by *Conſtantine* to the chief command of all the forces of the empire, undertook, with the conſent of *Romanus* and the ſenate, an expedition againſt the *Saracens* in *Crete*; and landing in that iſland defeated the enemy in ſeveral engagements, made himſelf maſter of all their ſtrong-holds, *Chandax* itſelf not excepted, took *Curupes*, the kaliff, and *Ar-* Romanus. *A debauched prince.* *The iſland of Crete recovered.*

[o] Idem ibid. [p] CUROPALAT. ZONAR. ibid.

cemas, his lieutenant, priſoners, and in the ſpace of ſeven months reduced the whole iſland. But before he could ſettle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor at the inſtigation of *Joſeph*, who, growing jealous of the ſucceſs of *Nicephorus*, alarmed the young prince with a pretended prediction, that *he who conquered* Crete *ſhould become maſter of the whole* Roman *empire*. While *Nicephorus* was thus ſignalizing himſelf in *Crete*, his brother *Leo* was attended with equal ſucceſs in the eaſt, where he gave the *Saracens* the greateſt overthrow they had ever received. *Chabdanus*, their kaliff, with much difficulty made his eſcape; but the reſt were either killed upon the ſpot, or taken priſoners. Such numbers of captives were ſent by *Leo* to *Conſtantinople*, that all the houſes, both in the city and the neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the writers of thoſe times, filled with *Saracen* ſlaves. *Leo*, on his return to *Conſtantinople*, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother *Nicephorus*, of whom the emperor entertained no ſmall jealouſy, on account of the above-mentioned prediction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered to march againſt *Chabdanus*, the kaliff of *Syria*, who, having recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire with a new invaſion. But *Nicephorus*, meeting him on the borders of *Syria*, overthrew him in a pitched battle; and then laying ſiege to *Beræa*, made himſelf maſter of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of chriſtian captives, who on that occaſion recovered their liberty. The news of this victory had not yet reached *Conſtantinople*, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years, four months, and five days, *viz.* ten with his father, and the reſt alone. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of *March* of the year 963, is by ſome aſcribed to poiſon, adminiſtered to him by his wife *Theophano*; by others to his great lewdneſs and intemperance [q]. He left two ſons behind him, *viz.* *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*; but as they were yet very young, the empreſs *Theophano* took upon her the adminiſtration; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than ſhe commanded *Nicephorus* to repair to *Conſtantinople*, much againſt the will of *Joſeph*, the prime miniſter, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he diſplayed the rich ſpoils he had taken in the iſland of *Crete* and the city of *Beræa*. During his ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, he found that *Joſeph* ſuſpected him of ambitious deſigns, as if he aſpired at the empire, which he was well appriſed would end in his ruin, *Joſeph* ſtill bearing great ſway at court. In order therefore to remove the ſuſpicions of the prime miniſter, having deſired and

The Saracens *overcome in the eaſt.*

Romanus *dies.*

Nicephorus *comes to* Conſtantinople, *and triumphs.*

[q] Curopal. in Roman.

obtained

obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that contempt it deſerved, he had long panted after a retired and monaſtic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindneſs of his maſters, who had forced employments upon him of the greateſt truſt. At the ſame time, he ſhewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore conſtantly next his ſkin. The credulous miniſter, ſurpriſed at his ſpeech and the ſight of the hair-cloth, fell down at his feet, and with tears in his eyes, begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alledged againſt him. *Nicephorus*, having thus gained the good opinion of *Joſeph*, was ſuffered to return to the army in the eaſt; where he had not been long, ere *Joſeph*, jealous of the eſteem he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him eſcape out of his hands, and ſeriouſly to conſider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raiſing diſturbances in the ſtate. As his apprehenſions daily increaſed, he wrote in the end to *Tzimiſches* and *Curcuas*, two principal commanders in the eaſt, promiſing to prefer them to the firſt poſts in the army, provided they ſeized on *Nicephorus*, and ſecured him in a monaſtery, or by any other means removed him out of the way. But the two officers not only delivered the letters to *Nicephorus*, but adviſed him to provide for his own ſafety by the only means that was now left him, *viz.* that of taking upon him the ſovereignty. This propoſal he rejected at firſt, or ſeemed to reject, with the utmoſt horror. But *Tzimiſches* and *Curcuas* threatening him with their drawn ſwords, he accepted of the empire, as was given out, to ſave his life, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the ſecond of *July* of the year 963 [r]. Some writers tell us, that he was not ſo much prompted by his ambition to uſurp the ſovereignty, as by his love for the empreſs *Theophano*, of whom he had been long enamoured. They add, that he maintained a private, and perhaps not altogether innocent, correſpondence with her, which greatly heightened the ſuſpicions of the prime miniſter, who had ſecret intelligence of all that paſſed. As *Nicephorus* was no leſs beloved by the people of *Conſtantinople*, on account of his affability and mighty exploits, than *Joſeph* was hated for his pride and haughty carriage, the news of what had happened in the eaſt was received by all ranks of people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, nothing being heard in the ſtreets, but *ſucceſs and proſperity to* Nicephorus Callinicus,

He is proclaimed emperor.

[r] Idem, CEDREN. ZONAR. & alii in Niceph.

or *the brave conqueror.* The houſe of *Joſeph* and thoſe of his friends and adherents were in an inſtant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at *Chryſopolis*, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to *Hebdomon*, where he was crowned with great ſolemnity by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*. Being thus acknowledged both by the people and ſenate, he began his reign by baniſhing *Joſeph* into *Paphlagonia*, and confining him to a monaſtery in that province, where he died two years after. In the ſecond year of his reign, he married the empreſs *Theophano*, though he was therein oppoſed with great warmth by the patriarch, becauſe he had been married before, and was ſaid to have ſtood godfather to one of the empreſs's children; nay, *Polyeuctus* proceeded ſo far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the two above-mentioned impediments. But the matter being examined in a ſynod held for that purpoſe at *Conſtantinople*, *Nicephorus* was by the aſſembled biſhops reſtored to the communion of the church[a]. In the third year of his reign, he raiſed a powerful army, with a deſign to drive out of *Sicily* the *Saracens*, who had ſettled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Italy*. With the command of this army he intruſted *Manuel*, the natural ſon of his uncle *Leo*, who, being an intire ſtranger to the art of war, ſuffered himſelf to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the iſland, where he was cut off with all his men. *John Zimiſces*, who commanded in *Cilicia*, was attended with better ſucceſs; for the *Saracens*, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with ſuch ſlaughter, that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called *the bloody hill.* The ſame year, the *Saracens* in *Cyprus* were overthrown in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the iſland, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. The following year, the emperor marched in perſon againſt the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, took three of their ſtrongeſt cities; and having wintered in *Cappadocia*, inveſted early in the ſpring the cities of *Mopſueſtia* and *Tarſus* at the ſame time, which, after an obſtinate defence, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. A fleet, with a great number of troops on board, was ſent from *Egypt* to the relief of *Tarſus*; but the city having ſubmitted three days before their arrival, they ſailed back, when they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed moſt of their ſhips, and drove the reſt on the coaſts of the empire, where they were ſeized, with the ſoldiers on board, by the *Romans*. *Nicephorus*, encouraged with the

Nicephorus Phocas *crowned emperor.*

The Roman *army cut off by the* Saracens *in* Sicily.

Nicephorus *gains great advantages over the* Saracens.

[a] Curopalat. in Niceph.

ſucceſs

ſucceſs that attended his arms, broke into *Syria* the following year; and having eaſily reduced ſuch cities and forts as refuſed voluntarily to ſubmit, he marched forward, the *Saracens* flying every-where before him, and laid ſiege to *Antioch* itſelf. But as that metropolis was defended by a numerous gariſon, and well ſtored with proviſions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged, by the approach of winter, to drop the enterpriſe and return to *Conſtantinople* [b]. *Cedrenus* writes, that he might have reduced the place, but was deterred from it by an an old prediction, that the prince who took *Antioch* would not long enjoy that conqueſt [c]. Upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, *Burtzas*, a patrician, whom he had left in *Syria* with a large body of troops, to ſecure the places he had conquered in thoſe parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, ſtruck the garriſon with ſuch terror, that they immediately ſubmitted. Thus was the metropolis of *Syria* once more reunited to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, mindful, ſays *Cedrenus*, of the above-mentioned prophecy, inſtead of rewarding *Burtzas* for ſuch an eminent piece of ſervice, diſcharged him, and forbad him the court. *John Zimiſces*, who had ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity and uncommon ſucceſs, was likewiſe diſmiſſed ſoon after upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion, and baniſhed the court, which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. For *Zimiſces*, highly provoked at the undeſerved treatment he met with, conſpired with *Burtzas*, and ſeveral others, and found means to draw the empreſs herſelf into the conſpiracy, incenſed againſt her huſband, according to the moſt probable opinion, on account of his deſigning, as ſhe apprehended, to make her two ſons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother *Leo*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the empreſs was not only privy to the conſpiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by her means *Zimiſces* and the other conſpirators were privately let into the palace in the night-time, and conducted to the emperor's room, where they diſpatched him with many wounds, before the guards could come to his relief. When they received the alarm, *Leo Abalantius*, cutting off the emperor's head, ſhewed it out of the window; which unexpected ſight ſtruck the guards with ſuch terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince's death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther deſigns the conſpirators had in view [d]. Such was the end of *Nicephorus Phocas*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and ſe-

Antioch *beſieged.*

The ſiege raiſed.

Antioch *ſurpriſed by* Burtzas.

A conſpiracy againſt Nicephorus.

Who is murdered.

[b] Idem ibid. [c] CEDREN. in Niceph. [d] COROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. ibid.

venth

venth of his reign. He was without all doubt a prince of great valour and experience in war, gained ſeveral ſignal victories over the *Saracens*, drove them out of the iſland of *Cyprus*, recovered *Cilicia* and the greater part of *Syria* and *Aſia Minor*, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived longer, have reſtored the empire to its antient ſplendor. But his abominable covetouſneſs and the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded his ſubjects, eſtranged from him the minds of the people; ſo that he was, notwithſtanding the glory he had acquired in arms, univerſally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were ſo far from revenging his death, that they received the news of it with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable.

John Zimiſces proclaimed emperor.

Nicephorus being thus murdered, *John Zimiſces* was proclaimed by the conſpirators, and by all acknowledged, emperor. His firſt care was to remove from their employments, both in the ſtate and army, all the friends of the deceaſed emperor, and among the reſt *Leo*, the brother of *Nicephorus*, whom he confined to the iſland of *Leſbos*. All thoſe who had been baniſhed by his predeceſſor he recalled, and reſtored them to their former honours. When he thought himſelf by this means thoroughly ſettled on the throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch. But *Polyeuctus*, meeting him at the door, oppoſed his entrance, telling him, that he could not ſuffer the church to be profaned by one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, till he had atoned by a public penance for ſo enormous a crime. *Zimiſces* heard the patriarch with great ſubmiſſion; and, being unwilling to quarrel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered himſelf ready to give what ſatisfaction ſhould be thought proper, alledging at the ſame time in his own defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by *Abalantius*, at the inſtigation of the empreſs. Hereupon the patriarch commanded him to baniſh them both, and to revoke all the edicts publiſhed by his predeceſſor to the prejudice of the church and the eccleſiaſtics; which he readily complying with, and at the ſame time promiſing to ſettle his paternal eſtate on the poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he was crowned with great ſolemnity on *Chriſtmas-day*. As for the empreſs *Theophano*, ſhe was baniſhed i to *Armenia*, and there ſhut up in a monaſtery. Some writers are of opinion, that the oppoſition made by the patriarch was not real, but feigned, and concerted beforehand between him and *Zimiſces*, who only wanted a plauſible pretence to remove her. However that be, the new emperor took her two ſons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* for his collegues, and

He is crowned by the patriarch.

cauſed

cauſed them to be acknowledged as ſuch by the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*. In the mean time, the *Saracens*, hearing of the death of *Nicephorus*, raiſed without loſs of time one of the moſt numerous armies that had been ſeen for ſome ages in thoſe parts; and giving the command of it to one *Zochares*, a perſon well ſkilled in the art of war, ſat down before *Antioch*, not doubting, but they ſhould be able to reduce the place, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, the beſieged held out, till *Nicolas*, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raiſed what forces he could in *Meſopotamia* and the neighbouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and return with ſhame and diſgrace to their own territories. The following year 970, the *Roſſi*, having driven out the *Bulgarians* and ſeized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thouſand men into the dominions of the empire, and, having waſted all *Thrace*, ſat down before *Adrianople*. *Zimiſces*, having firſt endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement with them, ordered *Bardas Sclerus*, or *the bold*, his wife's brother, to make head againſt them with what troops he could draw together. *Bardas*, purſuant to his orders, marched ſtrait to *Adrianople*; but not daring to venture an engagement, as he had with him but thirteen thouſand men, he had recourſe to ſtratagems; and having drawn a ſtrong party of the enemy into an ambuſcade, he firſt cut them all off to a man; and then falling, when leaſt expected, upon the main body of their army, he gave them a total overthrow, put moſt of them to the ſword, took an incredible number of priſoners, and would not have ſuffered one to eſcape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the purſuit. The *Romans* are ſaid to have loſt but twenty-five men in both engagements [c]. The ſucceſs which attended the emperor's arms abroad did not deter ſeveral of the nobility from conſpiring againſt him at home, with a deſign to raiſe to the empire *Bardas Phocas*, the late prince's nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends at *Conſtantinople*, withdrew on a ſudden out of *Amaſia*, the place of his baniſhment; and, being joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and there took upon him the imperial title and enſigns. At the ſame time, *Leo* the father of *Phocas*, who had been confined to the iſland of *Leſbos*, attempted to make his eſcape from thence with his other ſon *Nicephorus*, in order to join *Bardas*; but being apprehended by the emperor's officers, both he and *Nicephorus* were ſentenced to

The Saracens *defeated before* Antioch.

The Roſſi *defeated by* Bardas Sclerus.

Bardas Phocas *revolts.*

[c] Idem in Zimiſc.

death,

death, but ſoon after pardoned by the good-natured emperor. In the mean time, *Bardas Sclerus*, who had been diſpatched by the emperor at the head of a conſiderable army againſt *Phocas*, arriving at *Dorylaus* the capital of *Phrygia*, endeavoured firſt by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been ſtrictly injoined by the emperor to abſtain, as much as poſſible, from ſhedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and promiſes, he left *Dorylaus*, and advanced to *Cæſarea*, in order to lay ſiege to the place. Upon his approach, thoſe who had appeared the moſt ſanguine in the revolt agreed among themſelves to abandon *Phocas*, and conſult their own ſafety. Accordingly they withdrew with their attendants, before *Bardas* inveſted the place; ſo that *Phocas*, who had with him but a ſmall number of troops, thought it adviſeable to retire from *Cæſarea*, and ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong caſtle called *Cyropæum*, which at firſt he reſolved to defend to the utmoſt extremity. But when *Bardas* inveſted the place, and by repeated meſſages aſſured him of all imaginable kindneſs on his part, and at the ſame time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he ſubmitted; and, depending upon the promiſes of *Bardas*, delivered himſelf up into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but, to prevent his raiſing new diſturbances, confined him to the iſland of *Chios*. The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, the emperor married with great ſolemnity *Theodora*, according to ſome the ſiſter, according to others the daughter, of the late emperor *Romanus*. The following year 971, the emperor, being informed that the *Roſſi*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, were preparing to invade the empire anew, reſolved to be beforehand with them. Accordingly having raiſed a powerful army, and committed the adminiſtration of affairs at home to ſuch as he thought he had the greateſt reaſon to confide in, he ſet out from *Conſtantinople* early in the ſpring; and marching with great expedition over mount *Hæmus*, inveſted *Perſthalba*, the principal city of *Bulgaria*, before the enemy received the leaſt intelligence of his approach. A party of the *Roſſi*, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, attempted to throw themſelves into the city, but were all to a man either cut off, or taken priſoners, by the *Romans*: among the latter was *Sphagellus*, a perſon of great authority among the *Bulgarians*. The *Romans*, animated with this ſucceſs, attacked the city with great reſolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, by the approach of night, to retire to their camp, before they could maſter it. Early next morning, *Zimiſces*, having drawn out his men, offered the beſieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the ſignal for a general attack. The *Roſſi* made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance;

Is abandoned by his followers.

The rebellion ſuppreſſed.

The emperor invades the country of the Roſſi.

siſtance; but, the *Romans* prevailing in the end, the city was taken, and great numbers of the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put to the ſword by the incenſed ſoldiery. Eight thouſand *Scythians*, part of the gariſon, finding the *Romans* maſters of the city, retired to the citadel, with a deſign to defend themſelves there to the laſt extremity. As the caſtle ſtood on a ſteep rock, and the *Romans* were already greatly fatigued, they ſeemed inclined to put off the aſſault to the next day. But *Zimiſces* advancing in perſon againſt the enemy, at the head of a ſmall band of choſen men, the whole army followed him, every one ſtriving who ſhould firſt thruſt himſelf between his prince and the danger that threatened him. The *Scythians* fought like men in deſpair; but the *Romans*, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, made themſelves in the end maſters of the place. All the *Scythians* were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the ſword. In the city, when the firſt fury of the ſoldiery was over, the women and children were ſpared, and, together with ſuch men as were found without arms, made priſoners. Among the captives was *Boriſes*, king of the *Bulgarians*, who, being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received by him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and releaſed with his wife, and children, and all the *Bulgarians*, *Zimiſces* declaring he was at war with none but the *Roſſi*. The city of *Perſthalba* was utterly deſtroyed; but the emperor, having cauſed it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name *Joannopolis*. From thence he marched to *Doroſterum*, a city of great ſtrength on the *Danube*, where he was met by the army of the *Roſſi*, three hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong. However, he reſolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the moſt bloody battles enſued we find mentioned in hiſtory. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometimes to another. As night approached, the left wing of the *Roſſi* began to give ground, which the emperor obſerving, he charged them at the head of a choſen body with ſuch reſolution, that they betook themſelves in the end to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. Upon their retreat, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their prince, fell with freſh vigour upon the main body of the enemy, and, bearing all down before them, carried the day. The *Roſſi* fled in the utmoſt confuſion to *Doroſterum*, whither the emperor purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which brought on a ſecond battle, wherein the *Roſſi* were defeated anew with great ſlaughter. However, they ſtill held out, and in their daily ſallies made a dreadful havock of the *Romans*, till their proviſions failing them, they unanimouſly agreed to quit the city, and open themſelves a way,

Takes their metropolis by aſſault.

The citadel taken.

The Roſſi *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

Doroſterum *beſieged.*

The Roſſi *overcome in a ſecond battle.*

way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the *Roman* army. This they attempted with great boldneſs and reſolution, and ſucceeded in the attempt, though great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. Their general, by name *Sphendoſthalbus*, finding himſelf no longer in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans*, ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to relinquiſh *Bulgaria*, and conclude a peace upon the following terms; *viz.* That he ſhould be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen ſhould be ſuffered to return home unmoleſted; and that a free commerce ſhould be ſettled between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, readily agreeing to theſe articles, the treaty was concluded and ſigned by both parties. After this *Sphendoſthalbus* went to wait on the emperor, who received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him with great magnificence, and diſmiſſed him loaded with rich preſents. The *Roſſi* being obliged, on their way home, to paſs through the territories of the *Patcinacæ*, that fierce and ſavage people fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut off the general and moſt of his men. The war with the *Roſſi* being thus ended, to the great reputation of *Zimiſces*, and the ſafety of the empire, the emperor cauſed all the towns on the *Danube* to be fortified, and then returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. He was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the ſenate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horſes richly capariſoned; but he, placing the image of the virgin *Mary* in the chariot, followed it in a ſolemn proceſſion, mounted on a white horſe, and thus entered the city amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people [g]. During the war with the *Roſſi*, ſeveral cities in the eaſt, which had been reduced by his predeceſſor, revolted, which obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore *Conſtantinople*, he marched into the eaſtern provinces; and having reduced ſeveral cities, partly by force, partly by fair promiſes, he advanced as far as *Damaſcus*, and there reſided ſome time, applying himſelf with great care to the affairs of ſtate. During his ſtay in the eaſt, he was informed, that *Baſilius* the eunuch had engroſſed almoſt the whole wealth of thoſe provinces to himſelf; that moſt of the fine palaces and fruitful territories, which he obſerved on the road, belonged to him; that in the late reign he had oppreſſed the people in a moſt cruel manner, *&c.* Upon which he broke out with a ſigh into this expreſſion; *How unhappy is the preſent condition of*

A peace between the two nations.

Zimiſces recovers ſeveral cities in the eaſt.

[g] Curopalat. ibid. Cedren. & Leo. Gramm. in Zimiſc.

the

the Roman *empire, which is thus pillaged by an avaricious and aſpiring eunuch! Baſilius* had ſerved with great reputation under ſeveral emperors in their wars with the *Saracens*; and, as he was a man of great authority, had not a little contributed to the promotion of *Nicephorus*, who out of gratitude raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, in which he was continued by *Zimiſces*, on account of his great knowledge and experience in affairs of ſtate. As he had many friends at court, he was ſoon informed of the emperor's reflection; and apprehending he might be called to an account, he reſolved to prevent, by ſome means or other, the evil conſequences, which he had reaſon to fear would attend it. Accordingly, by large preſents and greater promiſes, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to adminiſter him poiſon; which brought him to his end, before he reached *Conſtantinople*. Though he miſtruſted his prime miniſter, yet he would not ſuffer any inquiries to be made about the treaſon, but ſpent the ſhort time he lived in exerciſes of chriſtian piety. He died in 976, after having reigned ſix years and as many months, and was univerſally lamented, eſpecially by the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, whom he had eaſed of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predeceſſors. He is deſervedly reckoned amongſt the beſt and greateſt emperors, on account of his equity, moderation, courage, and piety, in which he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors. He was the firſt who cauſed the image of our Saviour to be engraved on the coins, with this legend, *Jeſus Chriſt, the king of kings*. The writers of thoſe times tell us, that in the laſt battle with the *Roſſi*, a champion on a white horſe was obſerved by the whole army fighting before the firſt ranks; that to his ſingle valour was owing the victory gained on that occaſion; and that, as he had never been ſeen before, and diſappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be St. *Theodore* the martyr, on whoſe anniverſary the victory was obtained. The emperor himſelf ſeemed to be of this opinion; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the name of *Euchaneia*, the city in which it ſtood, to that of *Theodoropolis* [h].

He is poiſoned by Baſilius *the eunuch.*

His character.

Zimiſces, dying without children, appointed *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, the ſons of the late emperor *Romanus* by *Theophano*, for his ſucceſſors. But as both princes were under age, the eldeſt being but nineteen, and the other ſeventeen, *Baſilius* the eunuch took upon him the adminiſtration; and, the better to eſtabliſh his authority, recalled *Theophano*, the young princes mother, who had been baniſhed by *Zimiſces*. His next care was to remove *Bardas Sclerus*, of whom we have ſpoken above.

Baſilius *and* Conſtantine.

[h] CUROPALAT. ibid.

above. He had been rewarded for his eminent ſervices by *Zimiſces* with the chief command of all the forces in the eaſt, and was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the prime miniſter, who thereupon deprived him of his command, and ſent him into *Meſopotamia*, to reſtrain the incurſions of the *Saracens* into that province. *Sclerus* broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Baſilius*; but the prime miniſter threatening to deprive him of all his employments, and confine him to his houſe, he thought it adviſeable to obey the orders he had received, and to depart into the province which had been aſſigned him. He carried with him a firm reſolution of being revenged on his rival; and accordingly, ſoon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers of the army with his deſign, who all to a man promiſing to ſtand by him, and encouraging him to ſet up for himſelf, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted as ſuch with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the *Saracens*, who ſent him large ſupplies of money and horſes, he ſet forward in the beginning of the ſpring towards *Conſtantinople*. *Baſilius*, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending ſtorm. He diſpatched orders to *Peter*, who had been appointed, in the room of *Sclerus*, commander of the forces in the eaſt, to draw together all his troops, and encamp with his whole army in the neighbourhood of *Cæſarea*. At the ſame time, *Syncellus*, biſhop of *Nicomedia*, a man famed for his eloquence, and the holineſs of his life, was ſent to try whether he could prevail upon *Sclerus* to quit his unjuſt pretenſions, and diſband his army. The uſurper received the prelate with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection; and, having heard him, in appearance with great ſubmiſſion, returned him this ſhort anſwer; That having once appeared in the purple, he was firmly reſolved never to quit it but with his life. Upon the return of the biſhop to court, *Peter* was ordered to ſecure all the paſſes, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in caſe he was attacked, but by no means to begin hoſtilities. *Peter*, purſuant to his orders, poſted ſtrong parties in all the paſſes; but *Sclerus* having, in ſpite of all oppoſition, opened himſelf a way into *Cappadocia*, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the imperial army. Hereupon ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. But at length *Sclerus*, falling unexpectedly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and, having forced the reſt to ſave themſelves

Bardas Sclerus *uſurps the ſovereignty.*

Defeats the emperor's army.

ſelves by flight, made himſelf maſter of their camp, in which he found great ſums of money, and an immenſe quantity of arms and proviſions. The fame of this victory induced moſt of the eaſtern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for *Sclerus*, who, elated with this ſucceſs, would not ſo much as admit to his preſence the embaſſadors, who were ſent to him with very honourable and advantageous propoſals. In the mean time, *Leo*, who had been appointed to ſucceed *Peter* in the command of the army, arriving in *Phrygia*, marched from thence at the head of a ſtrong detachment into the eaſtern provinces, which had ſubmitted to the uſurper, but had been left quite deſtitute of troops. This obliged *Sclerus* to divide his army, and ſend a body of men to cover thoſe countries. But *Leo* falling in with them on their march, a battle enſued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of *Sclerus*'s men being ſlain, and many taken priſoners. The uſurper, alarmed at the news of this defeat, left *Cappadocia*, and haſtening after *Leo*, came up with him in a few days march, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Moſt of the chief officers in the emperor's army were ſlain, and *Leo* himſelf taken priſoner, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. Such of them as had abandoned *Sclerus* to ſide with *Leo*, had their eyes pulled out by the uſurper's orders at the head of the army. As for *Leo* himſelf, he was treated with great civility, but kept under cloſe confinement. *Bardas*, animated with this ſucceſs, marched ſtrait to *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, not doubting, but he ſhould carry the place at the firſt aſſault. But *Manuel Eroticus*, whom *Baſilius* had ſent with a conſiderable body of troops to defend it, repulſed the uſurper, in ſeveral ſucceſſive attempts, with ſuch vigour, that, deſpairing of being able to take a place ſo well gariſoned by force, he reſolved to reduce it by famine. *Manuel*, appriſed of his deſign, and ſenſible of the great ſtraights to which the numerous gariſon would be ſoon reduced, filled the empty granaries with ſand, which he ſtrewed over with corn, and ſhewed them to ſome priſoners he had taken; who, being diſmiſſed, repreſented to *Sclerus*, that he attempted in vain to reduce a place by famine, that was ſo plentifully ſupplied with corn. Soon after, *Manuel* ſent deputies to acquaint *Sclerus*, that, conſidering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to ſurrender upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the gariſon ſhould be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to paſs unmoleſted to *Conſtantinople*. To theſe conditions the uſurper readily conſented; but was highly provoked, when, entering the city, he diſcovered the deceit, and found the place quite deſtitute of proviſions.

He gains another victory.

He lays ſiege to Nice.

The place ſurrenders.

visions [1]. *Sclerus*, after the reduction of *Nice*, was preparing to march to *Constantinople*, where he had many friends, who were ready to declare for him as soon as he appeared. But, in the mean time, *Bardas Phocas*, whom *Basilius* had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief against *Sclerus*, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could draw together, at *Amorium*, the usurper thought it adviseable to march in the first place against him. Accordingly he hastened with all his forces to *Amorium*; and coming there to an engagement, put *Phocas*'s army to the rout. Though *Phocas* himself discharged all the offices of a valiant soldier and experienced officer, yet his soldiers were so dispirited by former defeats, that he could neither with words nor his example inspire them with courage. *Phocas*, no longer able to keep the field, retired to *Phrygia*, and having there received large supplies out of *Iberia* and the other provinces, which continued stedfast in their allegiance, he resolved to venture a second engagement. Accordingly, leaving *Phrygia*, he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where he found *Sclerus* encamped on a large plain named *Pancalea*, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; but *Phocas*'s men beginning, after an obstinate dispute, to give ground, the brave general, determined to conquer or perish, opened himself a way, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and there engaging *Sclerus* himself, dangerously wounded him. Some of the enemy's officers, apprised of the danger their general was in, hastened to his rescue; and finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring fountain, there to wash his wound and refresh him, as he was fainting with drought. In the mean time, his horse running in with his bloody main among the ranks, his soldiers concluded from thence that their general was slain; which occasioned such consternation in the army, that, instead of pursuing the emperor's troops, who had, in spite of *Phocas*'s utmost endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themselves in the utmost confusion, some throwing themselves headlong down vast precipices, others taking to the river *Halys*, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the day turned, and the victory, by a lucky mistake, snatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were pursued with great slaughter by *Phocas*. *Sclerus* escaped with a small body of horse to *Martyropolis*, and from thence to *Babylon*, to implore the protection and assistance of *Cosrhoes*, sultan of the place; which the emperor *Basilius* no sooner understood, than he dispatched

Bardas Phocas *defeated by* Sclerus.

Bardas *gains a complete victory over* Sclerus.

Flies to Babylon.

[1] Curopalat. Cedren. Leo. Gramm. ibid.

ambassadors

embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, repreſenting to him the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting ſuch as had, by an open revolt, taken arms againſt another. The embaſſadors were at the ſame time injoined to aſſure *Sclerus* in the emperor's name, that he ſhould not only be pardoned, but received into favour and reſtored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretenſions and returned home. *Coſrhoes*, finding the embaſſadors were privately treating with *Sclerus*, ordered both him and them to be thrown into priſon, whence we ſhall ſee him in a ſhort time releaſed, to raiſe new diſturbances in the empire.

THE rebellion of *Sclerus* being thus ſuppreſſed, the emperor *Baſilius*, who had taken the adminiſtration into his own hands, reſolved to be revenged on the *Bulgarians*, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the eaſt. With this view he put himſelf at the head of his army, and, without imparting his deſign either to *Phocas* or any other of his generals in the eaſt, he entered *Bulgaria*, and, leaving *Leo Meliſſenus* to ſecure the narrow paſſes behind him, marched ſtrait to *Sardica*. But while he was preparing to lay ſiege to that important place, *Stephen*, commander in chief of the weſtern forces, and an avowed and irreconcileable enemy to *Leo Meliſſenus*, coming in the dead of the night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aſide all other deſigns whatſoever, and to return with all poſſible expedition to *Conſtantinople*, whither *Leo* had already marched, with a deſign to ſeize on the ſovereignty in his abſence. The emperor, alarmed at this unexpected news, and apprehending the enemy might, by ſeizing on the poſts which *Leo* was ſaid to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in a great fright his army to march the ſame night, which being obſerved by *Samuel*, prince of the *Bulgarians*, he fell upon them in their retreat, and put great numbers of them to the ſword. The emperor with great difficulty reached *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty on the ſtation which had been aſſigned him. Hereupon, highly provoked againſt *Stephen*, who had thus impoſed upon him, he immediately diſcharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. *Stephen*, however, maintained to the laſt, that *Leo* really intended to uſurp the empire; which incenſed the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear ſtriking him, and dragging him in a violent paſſion on the ground by his hair and long beard [k]. The emperor had undertaken the *Bulgarian* expedition, as we have obſerved above, without imparting his deſign to *Bardas Phocas*, commander in chief of all the eaſtern forces. This that general highly reſented;

Baſilius enters Bulgaria.

But returns with diſgrace.

[k] Idem ibid.

and

and apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counſels, he began to entertain thoughts of uſurping the ſupreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted the motive of his diſcontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promiſed to ſupport him to the laſt; ſo that, after ſeveral private conferences, they all met at the houſe of one *Euſtathius Melenius*, and there, inveſting *Phocas* with the imperial ornaments, unanimouſly proclaimed him emperor. At the ſame time, *Bardas Sclerus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, being ſet at liberty by *Coſrhoes* ſultan of *Babylon*, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thouſand *Roman* captives, the ſultan having granted them their liberty, in regard of their eminent ſervices againſt the rebellious *Perſians*. With theſe *Sclerus* thought himſelf once more in a condition to renew his former pretenſions; and accordingly entering *Meſopotamia*, cauſed himſelf to be there acknowledged emperor. But being, in the mean time, informed of the revolt of *Phocas*, after having been ſome time in ſuſpence whether he ſhould join him or *Baſilius*, he offered in the end to aſſiſt *Phocas*, and ſhare the empire with him; but at the ſame time he adviſed his ſon *Romanus* privately to abandon him, and fly to *Baſilius* at *Conſtantinople*. By this means, if *Phocas* prevailed, he thought he ſhould be able to obtain of him his ſon's pardon; and if *Baſilius* got the better, he did not doubt, but his ſon would have intereſt enough to obtain his of the emperor. *Romanus*, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, was received by *Baſilius* with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and raiſed to the firſt employments in the ſtate. But *Sclerus* met with a far different treatment from *Phocas*: they agreed at firſt to divide the empire between them; *Sclerus* was to have for his ſhare *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœle-ſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Egypt*; *Conſtantinople*, with the reſt of the provinces, was allotted to *Phocas*. This agreement being ratified and ſworn to by both parties, *Sclerus* and *Bardas* joined their forces; which was no ſooner done, than *Phocas* cauſed *Sclerus* to be privately ſeized; and, having ſtripped him of his imperial ornaments, committed him to cloſe priſon. His men at firſt mutinied; but, being overpowered with numbers, they were forced to ſubmit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promiſes to ſerve under *Phocas*; who, being thus reinforced, ſent *Calocyrus Delphinus* with part of his army to *Chryſopolis*, while he removed with the reſt to *Abydus*, in order to beſiege that important place, and, after reducing it, to block up *Conſtantinople* itſelf. But, in the mean time, the emperor *Baſilius*, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having paſſed the ſtreights in the night, fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*; and having put his army to flight at the firſt onſet, took him and ſome

Bardas Phocas *proclaimed emperor.*

Sclerus, *ſet at liberty, joins* **Phocas.**

They agree to divide the empire between them.

Phocas *betrays and ſeizes* **Sclerus.**

ſome other officers of great note priſoners, who were all immediately nailed to ſeveral trees on the high-way, to ſtrike terror into the reſt. *Phocas* met with a vigorous reſiſtance at *Abydus*, the inhabitants and gariſon being encouraged by the arrival of the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor *Baſilius*, and he ſoon after by his brother *Conſtantine*. Upon the arrival of the two princes, *Phocas* reſolved to give them battle; and accordingly, leaving part of his forces before *Abydus* to purſue the ſiege, he drew up the reſt in a neighbouring plain. Some of the young princes generals adviſed them to throw themſelves into *Abydus*, and there wait the arrival of freſh ſupplies; but the greater part thinking it adviſeable to engage the enemy without loſs of time, they marched at the head of their forces in battle-array into the plain where the uſurper had drawn up his. But while both armies were ready to engage, or, as ſome write, when the battle was begun, *Phocas* was taken off. The manner of his death is differently related: ſome write, that his horſe threw him, and that he died of the fall; others, that he was killed in the firſt onſet. The emperor *Conſtantine* bragged, that he had killed him with his own hand; but the moſt received opinion is, that one of his domeſtics, by name *Symeon*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, at the inſtigation of *Baſilius*, adminiſtered him poiſon before the battle, of which he died ſoon after. Be that as it will, the report of his death was no ſooner ſpread abroad in the army, than his men betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. The emperor's forces purſued them cloſe, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and having taken moſt of the leading men of the party priſoners, conveyed them to *Conſtantinople*, where they were puniſhed according to their deſerts, ſome being publicly executed, and others ſtripped of their eſtates and ſent into baniſhment. However, the death of *Phocas* and the defeat of his army did not put an end to the civil wars; for ſuch of the party as had the good luck to make their eſcape, having ſet *Sclerus* at liberty, encouraged him to purſue his former pretenſions; and he, though now in a very advanced age, hearkening to their ſuggeſtions, put himſelf at their head, and marching into *Cappadocia* reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering him his favour and protection, and his ſon *Romanus* earneſtly intreating him at the ſame time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the ſmall remainder of his life in peace and tranquillity among his friends and relations, he was prevailed upon to quit his pretenſions, and return to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by *Baſilius* with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great ſteward of the houſ-

He lays ſiege to Abydus.

Phocas *dies.*

Sclerus *ſet at liberty.*

He ſubmits.

hold.

hold. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the ſame employments, or preferred to others equally advantageous and honourable. We are told, that when he firſt appeared before *Baſilius*, ſupported, on account of his age and corpulency, by two of his domeſtics, the emperor, in reflecting how much he had dreaded him, could hardly forbear laughing.

Baſilius *viſits the eaſtern provinces.*

The civil war being thus happily ended, *Baſilius* took a progreſs into *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and having left a ſufficient number of troops at *Theſſalonica* to awe the *Bulgarians*, he paſſed over into *Aſia* with the reſt, to ſettle the affairs of the eaſtern provinces. On his march through *Cappadocia*, he was entertained with his whole army by *Euſtathius Melenius*, commander of the troops in that province. The wealth which *Melenius* diſplayed on that occaſion gave the emperor ſuch umbrage, that, pretending a particular eſteem for him, he took him with him to *Conſtantinople*, whence he never after ſuffered him to depart, leſt he ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the empire; and, after his death, ſeized on his vaſt eſtate. The emperor, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, was informed, that *Samuel*, king of the *Bulgarians*, had ſurpriſed the city of *Theſſalonica*, and, having croſſed the *Peneus*, was laying waſte *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*; nay, that ſome of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponneſus*. Hereupon *Nicephorus Uranus*, commander in chief of the weſtern forces, was diſpatched againſt him, at the head of a powerful army. *Uranus*, leaving his baggage at *Lariſſa*, reached by long marches the *Sperchius*, and encamped with his whole army over-againſt the enemy, who lay on the oppoſite bank. As the river was greatly ſwelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, *Samuel*, not imagining the *Romans* would attempt to paſs it, ſuffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in queſt of booty. But *Uranus*, having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, paſſed it in the dead of the night; and falling unexpectedly on the *Bulgarians*, who were left in the camp and lay for the moſt part aſleep, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took their baggage, with many priſoners, and made themſelves maſters of their camp. *Samuel* and his ſon were dangerouſly wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed themſelves among the dead. The next night they ſtole away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and from thence made their eſcape into *Bulgaria* [1]. The following year 1001, the emperor *Baſilius* entered *Bulgaria* at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined

His war with the Bulgarians.

Samuel, *king of the* Bulgarians, *defeated.*

[1] Idem ibid.

army;

army; and having defeated *Samuel* in a pitched battle on the banks of the *Arius*, took *Vidina*, *Scopi*, and ſeveral other ſtrong cities. However, the emperor narrowly eſcaped being cut off with his whole army in the ſtreights of *Cimba*, where he was unexpectedly attacked by *Samuel*; but reſcued from the danger he was in by the ſeaſonable arrival of *Nicephorus Xiphias*, governor of *Philippopolis*, who, falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. *Baſilius* purſued them cloſe, and having taken an incredible number of priſoners, cauſed their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to *Samuel*; who, not able to ſtand the ſhock of ſo terrible and affecting a ſpectacle, fell into a deep ſwoon and died two days after. *Samuel* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Gabriel*, who was ſoon after murdered by *John Bladiſthlabus*, a perſon nearly related to him. *Bladiſthlabus*, having cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged prince of the *Bulgarians*, ſent embaſſadors to *Baſilius*, offering to ſubmit to any terms, and to own himſelf, and behave on all occaſions, as a ſubject and vaſſal of the empire. The emperor received the embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, but the new prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, *Baſilius* returned the following year into *Bulgaria*, firmly reſolved not to ſheath his ſword, till he had intirely reduced it. Accordingly, having in the ſpace of two years made himſelf maſter of moſt of the enemy's ſtrong-holds, and gained ſeveral victories over *Bladiſthlabus*, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length ſlain in a battle fought near *Achridus*, the *Bulgarians* ſent deputies to the *Roman* camp, with offers of a total and unfeigned ſubmiſſion. *Baſilius* received them with his uſual civility; and having raiſed to the rank of patricians ſuch of the *Bulgarian* nobility as ſeemed moſt forward in ſurrendering their caſtles and ſtrong-holds, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of *Achridus*, where he found the vaſt treaſures of the *Bulgarian* princes, which he diſtributed, by way of donative, amongſt his ſoldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her ſix daughters and three of her ſons, delivered herſelf up to the emperor, who received her with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect, and entertained her ſuitable to her rank. This obliging behaviour in the emperor encouraged her three other ſons, with moſt of the princes of the blood, who had taken ſhelter among the mountains, to ſubmit and throw themſelves upon the emperor's mercy. However, *Ibatzes*, a perſon nearly allied to the royal family, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner during the whole courſe of the war, refuſing to ſubmit, fled to a ſteep and craggy mountain, with a deſign to defend himſelf

Samuel *dies.*

The Bulgarians *ſubmit to the emperor.*

Ibatzes *alone holds out.*

himſelf there to the laſt extremity. *Baſilius* endeavoured by fair means to induce him to ſubmit to neceſſity, and comply with the preſent poſture of affairs; but he equally deſpiſing the emperor's threats and promiſes, *Euſtathius Daphnomelus*, whom *Baſilius* had lately appointed governor of *Açhridus*, without imparting to any one his deſign, repaired, with two perſons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where *Ibatzes* had fortified himſelf. He hoped to paſs undiſcovered among the many ſtrangers, who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feaſt of the aſſumption of the virgin *Mary*, for whom *Ibatzes* had a particular veneration; but being known to the guards, he was ſeized and carried before *Ibatzes*, to whom he pretended to have matters of the greateſt importance to communicate. *Ibatzes* received him in a very obliging manner; and having, at his requeſt, followed him into a remote place, *Daphnomelus* threw himſelf all on a ſudden upon him; and his two men, who attended at ſome diſtance, and with whom the whole ſcheme had been concerted before-hand, coming up, and thruſting their cloaths violently into his mouth, pulled out both his eyes, and got ſafe to an abandoned caſtle on the top of the hill; which *Ibatzes*'s men inveſted on all ſides, as ſoon as they heard of the misfortune which had befallen their leader. But *Daphnomelus* exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were deſtitute of a leader, to ſubmit to the emperor, by whom, he aſſured them, they ſhould be well received and amply rewarded, inſtead of attacking the caſtle, they congratulated *Daphnomelus* on his ſucceſs, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the *Romans*. Hereupon *Daphnomelus*, quitting the caſtle, carried *Ibatzes*, without the leaſt oppoſition, to *Baſilius*, who, no leſs ſurpriſed at the boldneſs than the ſucceſs of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of *Dyrrhachium* and all the rich moveables of his priſoner. *Baſilius*, having thus at length accompliſhed the intire reduction of *Bulgaria*, returned with an incredible number of priſoners and hoſtages to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people. After the concluſion of this war, which began in 995, and ended in 1019, the emperor undertook an expedition into *Iberia*; but with what ſucceſs we are no-where told. During his abſence, *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus*, the ſon of *Bardas Phocas*, revolted; but *Xiphias*, being gained over by *Baſilius*, put a ſtop to the rebellion, by diſpatching his fellow-conſpirator. *Baſilius* proceeded with great ſeverity againſt all who had been, or were only ſuſpected of having been, privy to the conſpiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occaſion either put to death, or ſent into exile; which occaſioned ſome commotions at *Conſtantinople*;

A deſperate attempt of Daphnomelus.

Bulgaria *entirely ſubdued.*

ſtantinople: but the ringleaders being ſeized and publicly executed, the city was reſtored to its former tranquillity. In 1025, the emperor, though then in the ſeventieth year of his age, reſolved to engage in a new war againſt the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Sicily* and committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Naples* and *Calabria*; which countries were ſtill ſubject to the empire. Accordingly, having aſſembled a powerful army and equipped a mighty fleet, he ſent before a ſtrong body of forces, under the conduct of *Oreſtes* his favourite eunuch, with a deſign to follow in perſon ſoon after with the reſt of the army; but was prevented by death, which overtook him in the month of *December* of the year 1025, after he had lived ſeventy years, and reigned fifty. He was highly eſteemed by his ſubjects, on account of his application to public affairs, and his ſucceſs in the long and bloody war which he undertook againſt the *Bulgarians*. But as his jealouſy increaſed with his years, towards the cloſe of his reign he grew inexorably ſevere; on which account he was rather feared than beloved by his ſubjects. The abſolute conqueſt of *Bulgaria*, which had been in vain attempted by ſo many of his predeceſſors, but was happily accompliſhed by him, has rendered the name of *Baſilius* II. famous among the *Roman*, or rather the *Conſtantinopolitan*, prince.

Baſilius *reſolves to make war upon the* Saracens.

But is prevented by death.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Baſilius II. *to the taking of* Conſtantinople *by the* Latins.

Conſtantine.

His wicked reign.

BY the death of *Baſilius*, *Conſtantine*, who had borne the name of emperor in conjunction with his brother, remained ſole maſter of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, he intirely neglected all public affairs, to follow his private diverſions, ſuffering his miniſters, moſt of them perſons no leſs infamous than himſelf, to oppreſs the provinces without controul, and lay on the people what burdens they thought fit. By this means the empire, which had begun to revive under *Nicephorus*, *Zimiſces*, and *Baſilius*, was in the ſhort reign of *Conſtantine* brought to as low an ebb as it had ever been at. Such perſons as had, either by their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments, to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries. *Nicephorus Comnenus*, a perſon no leſs eſteemed for his virtue than his experience in war, was at the ſame time deprived of his command and his ſight, under pretence of conſpiring againſt the emperor, though in reality, his eminent virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. *Bardas*, the ſon of the celebrated *Phocas*, who had ſerved *Baſilius* with the utmoſt fidelity, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in a moſt eminent manner, was treated with the like ſeverity, for no other reaſon, but becauſe his extraordinary merit gave umbrage to the emperor's favourites. Many other perſons of great diſtinction, who ſeemed to diſlike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or ſent into exile. Such proceedings raiſed a general diſcontent at home, and at the ſame time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were reſtrained by the care and vigilance of thoſe who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the ſtate, that *Conſtantine*'s reign was ſhort; for he had ſcarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerouſly ill, and was given over by his phyſicians; which divided the court into two factions concerning his ſucceſſor, ſome propoſing *Conſtan-*

Several perſons of diſtinction put to death, or ſent into exile.

tine

tine Delaſſenus, commander of the forces in *Armenia*, and others uſing all their intereſt in favour of *Romanus Argyrus*, a perſon of an antient family, and nearly related to the emperor. As *Conſtantine* had three daughters, it was agreed, that whoever ſucceeded him ſhould marry one of them. *Romanus* was already married, and therefore ſeemed by this agreement to be excluded from the empire; but his friends, who were the moſt powerful at court and the emperor's chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and ſending for him, to put it to his choice, either to be deprived of his ſight, or to divorce his wife, and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, to be raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*. *Romanus* ſeemed at firſt rather inclined to loſe his eyes and the imperial dignity, than part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but ſhe, informed of what paſſed, retired immediately to a monaſtery, and, by embracing there a monaſtic life, made room for *Zoe*, the emperor's ſecond daughter, to whom *Romanus* was married, and at the ſame time created *Cæſar*. Three days after the nuptials, *Conſtantine* died, in the year 1028, the ſeventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a collegue. Conſtantine *dies.*

Romanus, thus raiſed to the empire, began his reign by eaſing the people of the many taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predeceſſor; which gained him the hearts of his ſubjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no leſs remarkable; for they were all ranſomed at his private expence, ſupplied with money to defray the charges of their journey, and ſent back to their reſpective countries [m]. In his ſecond year, the *Saracens*, who had continued quiet in the reign of *Baſilius*, but had begun to prepare for war in that of *Conſtantine*, broke into that part of *Syria* which belonged to the *Romans*, and, with their daily incurſions, greatly haraſſed the territory of *Antioch*. *Spondyles*, who commanded the troops quartered in *Antioch* and that neighbourhood, endeavoured to reſtrain them; but being in ſeveral encounters worſted and put to flight, the emperor reſolved to march in perſon into *Syria*, and retrieve, if poſſible, the reputation of the *Roman* arms there. Purſuant to this reſolution he ſet out from *Conſtantinople*, at the head of a very numerous and formidable army. But before he had advanced far on his way, he was met by embaſſadors from the *Saracens* of *Beræa*, who, alarmed at his vaſt preparations, were come to ſue for peace, promiſing at the ſame time to pay their uſual tribute for the future, and never more to infeſt the territories of the empire. Moſt of the officers in the army adviſed *Romanus* Romanus II. *He marches in perſon againſt the* Saracens.

[m] CUROPALAT. in Roman.

to

to accept of their ſubmiſſion, and not to engage raſhly in a war, which, in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expenſive. But he, promiſing himſelf great glory and advantages from that expedition, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with diſdain, and entering *Syria* detached a ſtrong party to obſerve the enemy's motions. The party, falling unhappily into an ambuſcade, were all cut off to a man; and the *Saracens*, elated with this ſucceſs, attacked unexpectedly *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, who had been ſent out with a ſtrong body of troops to cover the *Roman* foragers, put him to flight at the firſt onſet, and purſued him to the very gates of the camp, which they inveſted on all ſides. The emperor's army being ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, and above all of water, it was agreed in a council of war, that they ſhould decamp in the night, and march to *Antioch*. But the *Saracens*, who carefully watched their motions, falling upon them with great violence in their retreat, put moſt of them to the ſword, the emperor himſelf eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty to *Antioch*. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage; which, however, was recovered by *George Maniaces*, at that time governor of a ſmall town in thoſe parts, in the following manner: Eight hundred *Saracens*, loaded with the rich plunder of the emperor's camp, appeared before the place, and, affirming that the emperor himſelf was taken, and his army totally defeated, ſummoned *Maniaces* to ſurrender. *Maniaces*, already informed of the emperor's eſcape, but pretending to give credit to what they ſaid, ſent them out a great quantity of proviſions to refreſh themſelves that night, and promiſed to deliver up the town to them as ſoon as it was light. Hereupon the enemy, without the leaſt diſtruſt, paſſed the greater part of the night in mirth and jollity; but when, after having eaten and drank to a great exceſs, they were all aſleep, *Maniaces*, ſallying out, cut them all off to a man, without the leaſt oppoſition; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded with the ſpoils of the *Roman* army, he ſent them to the emperor, who rewarded him for this ſeaſonable piece of ſervice with the government of *Media*[n]. In the mean time, *Romanus*, having with much-ado reached *Cappadocia*, returned from thence, with the remains of his ſhattered army, to *Conſtantinople*; and there, laying aſide all thoughts of any warlike attempts for the future, made it his whole ſtudy to fill the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predeceſſor. In order to this, he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have been utterly forgotten, and proceeded with ſuch rigour in the recovery of them, that

His army is cut off.

The baggage of the army recovered by Maniaces.

Romanus *oppreſſes the people.*

[n] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar.

many

many perſons of diſtinction were driven from their eſtates, and reduced with their families to beggary. Theſe ſevere exactions raiſed a general diſcontent in the people, which gave riſe to ſeveral plots and conſpiracies, for the moſt part carried on by *Theodora*, the late emperor's youngeſt daughter, who was on that account confined to a monaſtery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we ſhall ſee her hereafter exchange for the imperial purple. In 1033, the fourth of *Romanus*'s reign, a dreadful plague broke out in *Cappadocia*, and raged with ſuch violence in that province, as well as in *Paphlagonia* and *Armenia*, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which deſtroyed ſeveral cities, and overturned many ſtately edifices at *Conſtantinople*, where it was felt for the ſpace of forty days. At the ſame time a comet appeared, which paſſed with a terrible noiſe from the north to the ſouth, the whole horizon ſeeming to be in a flame. *Romanus*, alarmed at theſe and ſeveral other public calamities and prodigies, with which the hiſtories of thoſe times are filled, applied himſelf wholly to works of piety, hoping by that means to avert the wrath of heaven, which ſeemed to threaten the empire. He erected ſeveral hoſpitals for the relief of the poor, repaired thoſe which had been deſtroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, ſupplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monaſteries, beſtowing on the monks whole cities, and the moſt fruitful lands in the provinces, purchaſed by him at the public expence. In the mean time, the empreſs *Zoe*, a moſt lewd and incontinent woman, deſpiſing her huſband, now in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, caſt her eyes on *Michael* the brother of *John* an eunuch, in great authority with the emperor. As *Michael*, tho' meanly born, was a man of a moſt comely aſpect, of a graceful perſon and great addreſs, the empreſs began to entertain a violent paſſion for him; which, as ſhe abandoned herſelf to it, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, that ſhe reſolved to diſpatch her huſband and marry him. Accordingly, having imparted her deſign to ſuch of her creatures as ſhe could confide in, poiſon was adminiſtered by them to the unhappy prince, which, in a ſhort time, reduced him to a moſt deplorable condition. However, the empreſs thinking it too ſlow in its operation, hired an aſſaſſin to diſpatch him, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreſhing himſelf, held his head under water till he expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or as others write on the fifteenth, of *April* of the year 1034, after he had reigned five years and ſix months.

Several public calamities.

The emperor applies himſelf wholly to works of piety.

The empreſs falls in love with Michael.

Romanus *murdered.*

Romanus being dead, the empreſs *Zoe* ſent for the patriarch *Alexius* in great haſte, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for *Good-friday*; for on that day the emperor was murdered. As *Alexius* had been ſent for in *Romanus's* name, he was greatly ſurpriſed, when he heard he was dead; and much more when the empreſs, upon his being introduced to her, ordered him to marry her to *Michael*. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for ſome time; but was in the end, with a preſent of an hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to comply. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor acquainted the people with the death of *Romanus*, and his own marriage with *Zoe*, who, he ſaid, had taken him for her partner in the empire, to which ſhe had an undoubted right. Letters to the ſame purpoſe were diſpatched into the provinces, where none of the great men ſeemed diſpleaſed at the promotion of *Michael*, except *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, who had been named by ſome to ſucceed *Baſilius* II. and being, on account of his rank and family, the firſt man in the empire, was highly offended, that a perſon of *Michael*'s obſcure birth ſhould be preferred to him. But *John* the eunuch, *Michael*'s brother, having, with repeated oaths, promiſes, and aſſeverations, prevailed upon him to come to court, baniſhed him, as ſoon as he had him in his power, to the iſland *Prota*, whence he was removed to a ſtrong tower, and there kept under cloſe confinement, till he was ſent for to court by the empreſs *Zoe*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. At the ſame time, *John* took care to remove, and, under various pretences, to ſend into exile, ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, or ſeemed to be ill-affected to his family: *Conſtantine Monomachus*, afterwards emperor, was confined to a caſtle; *Maniaces*, who was highly eſteemed and beloved by the people, was ſent into *Upper Media*, under pretence of reſtraining the incurſions of the *Saracens*; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their eſtates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. *John*, having thus eſtabliſhed his brother's intereſt in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate of *Romanus*; and, diſtruſting the fickle temper of *Zoe*, removed from her all the women, in whom ſhe repoſed any confidence; and diſcharging her eunuchs, appointed others, in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch, her; ſo that ſhe could not ſtir out of the palace without his knowledge and conſent. The empreſs, highly provoked at the reſtraint put upon her, and looking upon *John* as no other than her goaler, endeavoured to get rid of him by poiſon; but the deſign being diſcovered, before it could be put in execution, the miniſter ſtood thenceforth on his guard,

Michael *the* Paphlagonian *marries* Zoe, *and is raiſed to the empire.*

Several perſons of diſtinction baniſhed by* John *the eunuch.

guard, and watched her more narrowly. As for *Michael* the emperor, he ſuffered *John* to govern with an abſolute ſway, applying himſelf wholly to his devotions. Being conſcious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his ſovereign, he hoped to atone for it by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hoſpitals, oratories, &c. As he began to grow diſtempered in his body and diſordered in his mind, *John*, concluding that if he died the empreſs would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if ſhe ſucceeded therein, to gratify her revenge with the utter ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer *Michael*, ſurnamed *Calaphates*, his ſiſter's ſon, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and to baniſh all the friends and relations of the empreſs *Zoe*[o]. In the third year of *Michael*'s reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the *Saracens* of *Egypt*, whoſe kaliff being dead, his widow is ſaid to have embraced the chriſtian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her ſubjects and the *Romans*. The following year, 1036, was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which overturned ſeveral cities in different parts of the empire, and for an attempt of the *Saracens* on the city of *Edeſſa*, which narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, preſenting themſelves before the gates, with five hundred horſes and as many camels, loaded with large cheſts, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying preſents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve embaſſadors, as they ſtyled themſelves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horſes and camels: which diffidence preſerved the place; for the cheſts were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of the night, were to be let out, and, killing the centinels, to ſeize on the city. The deſign was diſcovered by an *Armenian* to the governor, who, ſuddenly withdrawing from the banquet, and taking a ſufficient force with him, ſurpriſed and put to the ſword all the *Saracens* without the town; then, returning to his gueſts, treated them in the like manner, ſparing but one, whoſe hands, ears, and noſe he cut off, and ſent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened[p]. The following year, the *Bulgarians* revolted, and, ſhaking off the yoke, choſe one *Deleanus*, or, as ſome call him, *Dolianus*, for their king. He was ſervant to a citizen of *Conſtantinople*; but eſcaping from his maſter, fled into *Bulgaria*, his native country; and there gave out, that he was the ſon of *Gabriel* and grandſon of *Samuel*. The *Bulgarians*,

Who governs without controul.

Michael Calaphates *created* Cæſar.

An attempt of the Saracens *upon* Edeſſa *defeated.*

The Bulgarians *revolt.*

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid.

weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately ſubmitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the *Romans*, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. At the ſame time, the inhabitants of *Dyrrhachium*, no longer able to bear the cruel exactions of their governor *Michael Dermocaitas*, roſe up againſt him, drove him out of the town, and, deſpairing of pardon, openly revolted, and choſe one *Teichomerus*, a ſoldier of great reputation amongſt them, for their king. *Deleanus*, the new king of *Bulgaria*, no ſooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to *Teichomerus*, offering to take him for his partner in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, provided he joined him with all his followers. *Teichomerus*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily received him into *Dyrrhachium*; but *Deleanus*, inſtead of performing his promiſe, cauſed the credulous and unhappy *Teichomerus* to be put to death; and then marching without loſs of time to *Theſſalonica*, where the emperor lay encamped, ſtruck with his unexpected approach ſuch terror into the *Roman* army, that they fled with *Michael* in the utmoſt confuſion to *Conſtantinople*, leaving all their baggage behind them to the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, who, betraying his truſt, delivered it up to the enemy. In the mean time, *Aluſianus*, the brother of *John* the laſt king of *Bulgaria*, who, when that country ſubmitted to *Baſilius*, had been raiſed to the dignity of a patrician, having made his eſcape from *Conſtantinople* and got undiſcovered into *Bulgaria*, was there received by his countrymen with great demonſtrations of joy. As he was a real deſcendant of the royal family, his arrival gave no ſmall umbrage to *Deleanus*, who nevertheleſs, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, took him for his collegue in the empire, and ſent him, at the head of forty thouſand men, to lay ſiege to *Theſſalonica*. *Aluſianus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous oppoſition he met with from *Conſtantine* the patrician, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege and retire, after he had loſt fifteen thouſand men in the undertaking. *Deleanus* laid hold of this opportunity to leſſen the credit of his collegue, giving out, that he maintained a private correſpondence with the *Romans*. But *Aluſianus*, appriſed of his evil deſigns, reſolved to be beforehand with him; and accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he cauſed his eyes to be plucked out; and then, diſtruſting the fickle humour of the *Bulgarians*, returned to *Conſtantinople*, after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. Upon his return, *Michael*, though grievouſly afflicted with a dropſy, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and falling upon the *Bulgarians*, now deſtitute of a head to adviſe and command them, put them to

And the inhabitants of Dyrrhachium.

The emperor is put to flight.

Theſſalonica *beſieged.*

to flight, and obliged them to ſubmit anew to the yoke. After this, the emperor returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*; but finding his diſtemper daily increaſed, he ſoon after diveſted himſelf of the imperial purple, and entering into a monaſtery, which he himſelf had built, ſpent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of *December* 1041, after he had reigned ſeven years and eight months. Upon his death, *Michael Calaphates*, his ſiſter's ſon, who had been created *Cæſar*, and at the ſame time adopted by *Zoe*, as ſome authors write, was proclaimed emperor. He, upon his acceſſion to the empire, probably out of complaiſance to *Zoe*, who appeared very zealous in his intereſt, baniſhed his uncle *John* the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural ſeverity againſt his other relations, cauſing moſt of them, without any regard to their age or circumſtances, to be made eunuchs. Over-jealous of his authority, he cauſed in the end the empreſs *Zoe* to be confined to a monaſtery, under pretence, that ſhe had, by witchcraft and ſorcery, attempted to take away his life. His monſtrous ingratitude to one, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in his promotion, and was ſtill held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that, breaking out into a general ſedition, with an unanimous conſent they ſent for *Theodora*, the emperor *Conſtantine*'s youngeſt daughter, who had been ſhut up in a monaſtery, as we have obſerved above, and ſaluted her empreſs, with her ſiſter *Zoe*. *Michael*, finding the people univerſally bent againſt him, retired of his own accord, with his uncle *Conſtantine*, to a monaſtery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping by that means to appeaſe the inraged multitude. But *Theodora*, who was more incenſed againſt them than *Zoe* herſelf, moving that their eyes ſhould be plucked out, the populace, breaking into the church of St. *John the baptiſt*, where they had taken refuge, dragged them from the altar to the forum, and there, in a moſt cruel manner, deprived them of their ſight. After this, they were baniſhed, with all their relations and adherents, *Michael* having enjoyed the ſovereignty ſcarce four months [q].

The emperor enters Bulgaria, *and reduces it; but reſigns the empire.*

Michael Calaphates.

Zoe and Theodora *raiſed to the ſovereignty.*

Michael *depoſed and baniſhed.*

Zoe, ſeeing herſelf once more inveſted with the ſovereignty, baniſhed all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile ſuch as had ſerved her father and uncle, preferring them to the firſt employments in the ſtate and army. Among the reſt *Maniaces*, of whom we have ſpoken above, was ſent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the weſtern forces. *Zoe* had ſcarce reigned three months, when the people

[q] CUROPALAT. ZONAR. CEDREN. ibid.

preſſing

pressing her to marry, and by that means prevent the disturbances that might arise among competitors for the empire, she recalled from banishment *Constantine*, surnamed *Monomachus*, a person of a noble extraction and comely aspect; and having married him, caused him to be crowned by the patriarch with the usual solemnity. He had been banished, during the reign of *Michael*, to the island of *Lesbos*, and from thence removed, at the instigation of *John* the eunuch, to *Mitylene*, where he was when sent for to court, and raised to the empire. He no sooner saw himself invested with the imperial dignity, then he banished the eunuch to the island of *Lesbos*; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's orders, he died soon after. In the very beginning of *Constantine*'s reign, *Maniaces*, not able to brook the ill treatment he met with from *Sclerus*, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and, assuming the imperial ornaments, passed with his army into *Bulgaria*, where he was joined by the malecontents of that country. *Constantine* dispatched *Stephen Sebastophorus* against him, at the head of a very numerous army; which, however, was defeated and put to flight by *Maniaces* at the first onset. *Maniaces* did not live to reap the fruit of his victory, being slain a few days after it by a person unknown, who had the good luck to make his escape. Upon his death, those who had been most forward in the rebellion, were the first who threw down their arms, and submitted to *Stephen*, the emperor's general, who, notwithstanding his defeat, was, on his return to *Constantinople*, honoured with a triumph. The same year 1043, the *Rossi*, who had continued long quiet, appeared unexpectedly before *Constantinople* with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's navy in the streights, they were glad to renue their antient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in person into the east, and there recovered several cities, which the *Saracens* had seized in the two late reigns. But while he was pursuing the war with great success, *Leo Tornicius*, escaping out of a monastery, to which he had been confined, assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. *Leo* was a person of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealousy, removed from his government of *Iberia*, and shut up in a monastery; but having found means to make his escape from thence he fled to *Adrianople*, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who had been lately disobliged by *Monomachus*. Being joined there by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to *Constantinople*, and laid siege to that metropolis; but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants, and several of his accomplices

Zoe *marries* Constantine Monomachus, *who is declared emperor.*

Maniaces *revolts; but is murdered.*

The Rossi *defeated.*

Leo Tornicius *revolts; and besieges* Constantinople.

plices falling off from him, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to *Arcadiopolis*, where he defended himſelf for ſome time againſt the forces the emperor had ſent to reduce him; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and ſent in chains to *Monomachus*, who firſt cauſed his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote iſland. The rebellion being thus happily ſuppreſſed almoſt in its birth, and the *Saracens* in the eaſt awed by the emperor's preſence, a profound tranquillity reigned the two following years throughout the provinces. But in 1048, the *Roman* dominions were invaded by a new enemy, ſcarce mentioned before in hiſtory; but reſerved by providence for the utter deſtruction of the empire, which we ſhall ſee them accompliſh four hundred years hence, and put a period to the very name of a *Roman* empire. Theſe were the *Turks*, who, quitting their antient habitations in the neighbourhood of mount *Caucaſus*, and paſſing the *Caſpian* ſtreights, had ſettled in *Armenia Major*, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and deſpicable people, till the wars of the *Saracens* among themſelves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation. The *Saracens* having, with amazing ſucceſs and rapidity, ſubdued *Perſia*, *Aſſyria*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, and a conſiderable part of *Europe* itſelf, divided their vaſt ſpreading dominions into ſeveral governments or principalities, which were ruled by their reſpective ſultans or commanders, who, in proceſs of time quarrelling with one another, haſtened the ruin of the empire, which they had ſo ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed. About the year 1030, *Mohammed*, the ſon of *Sambrael*, ſultan of *Perſia*, not finding himſelf a match for *Piſaris*, ſultan of *Babylon*, with whom he was at war, had recourſe to the *Turks*, who ſent him from *Armenia Major*, where they ſettled, as we have obſerved above, three thouſand of their nation, under the conduct of one *Tangrolipix*, a leading man amongſt them. *Mohammed*, ſtrengthened with this ſupply, gained a complete victory over the ſultan of *Babylon*; but when the *Turks*, to whom it was chiefly owing, deſired leave to return home, he refuſed to comply with their juſt demand, being unwilling to part with them, till he had ended the war, in which he was engaged with the *Indians*. Hereupon the *Turks*, withdrawing without his conſent, to the deſert of *Carbonitis*, and being there joined by ſeveral diſcontented *Perſians*, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the *Saracens*. *Mohammed* immediately diſpatched an army of twenty thouſand men againſt them, who were ſurpriſed in the night by *Tangrolipix*, and utterly defeated. The fame of this victory, and the immenſe booty which the *Turks* acquired by it, drew multitudes to them, from all parts, of criminals, fugitive ſlaves,

He raiſes the ſiege, is taken, and deprived of his ſight.

The Turks *conquer* Perſia *under the conduct of* Tangrolipix.

ſlaves, robbers, &c. inſomuch, that *Tangrolipix* ſaw himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of fifty thouſand men. *Mohammed*, enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals, who had commanded them, to be deprived of their ſight, and at the ſame time a new army to be raiſed, which he headed in perſon; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement, to animate his men, he fell from his horſe, and ſoon after died of the fall. His death was no ſooner known, than his men threw down their arms, and ſubmitting to *Tangrolipix*, proclaimed him king of *Perſia*. This battle, which gave riſe to the *Turkiſh* power, was fought about the year 1034, in the neighbourhood of *Aſpacan*, now *Iſpahan*, the metropolis of *Perſia*[r]. *Tangrolipix*, now maſter of *Perſia*, having firſt opened a paſſage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the *Araxes*, parting it from *Armenia*, made war upon *Piſaris* or *Piſaſiris*, kaliff of *Babylon*, whom he at length ſlew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then ſent his nephew, *Cutlu-Moſes* or *Cuthimuſes*, againſt the *Arabians*; but he was overthrown by them in a pitched battle, and obliged to take ſhelter in *Media*, through which *Stephen*, the *Roman* governor, denying him a paſſage, he put his troops to flight, took the governor himſelf priſoner, and, without any further oppoſition, reached *Briſcium*, on the confines of *Perſia*, where he ſold *Stephen* for a ſlave. Returning from thence to *Tangrolipix*, he excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the bad ſucceſs of his expedition, acquainting him at the ſame time with his victory over the *Romans* in *Media*, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which, he ſaid, might be eaſily ſubdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the *Romans*. *Tangrolipix* did not then hearken to his advice, being wholly bent on revenging the late defeat on the *Arabians*, againſt whom he marched in perſon, at the head of a numerous army; but being himſelf defeated and put to flight by that warlike nation, he gave over all thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what *Cultu-Moſes* had told him, he ſent *Aſan*, his brother's ſon, ſurnamed the *Deaf*, with an army of twenty thouſand men, to reduce *Media*; which *Aſan* entered, committing every-where dreadful ravages. But being in the end drawn into an ambuſh by the *Roman* generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. *Tangropilix*, no-ways diſcouraged at this misfortune, ſent a new army into *Media*, near an hundred thouſand ſtrong; who, after having laid waſte the country without oppoſition, the *Romans* ſhutting themſelves up in their ſtrong-holds, laid ſiege to *Artza*, a place of great trade, and on that account eſteemed the moſt wealthy in thoſe parts; but not being able by any other means to maſter

Tangrolipix proclaimed ſultan of Perſia.

Reduces Babylon.

Is defeated by the Arabians.

Invades Media.

[r] Niceph. Bryenn. l. i. c. 3.

it,

it, they ſet fire to it, which in a ſhort time reduced it to aſhes. Of the inhabitants an hundred fifty thouſand, and upwards, are ſaid to have periſhed, either by the ſword, or in the flames. After this, *Abraham Halim*, half-brother to *Tangrolipix*, who commanded the *Turks*, hearing that the *Romans*, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of *Liparites*, governor of *Iberia*, had taken the field, marched againſt them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The victory continued long doubtful; but at length inclined to the *Romans*, who nevertheleſs did not think it adviſeable, as their general *Liparites* was taken priſoner, to purſue the fugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of *Liparites*, diſpatched embaſſadors, with rich preſents and a large ſum, to redeem him, and at the ſame time to conclude an alliance with *Tangrolipix*. The ſultan received the preſents; but generouſly returned them, with the money, to *Liparites*, whom he ſet at liberty without ranſom, only requiring him, at his departure, never more to bear arms againſt the *Turks*. Not long after, *Tangrolipix* ſent a perſon of great authority among the *Turks*, with the character of embaſſador, to *Conſtantinople*, who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to ſubmit to his maſter, and acknowledge himſelf his tributary, was by *Monomachus* diſmiſſed with ſcorn, and driven out of the city. On his return, he acquainted *Tangrolipix* with the reception he had met with; who thereupon reſolved to renew the war. *Monomachus*, on the other hand, did not neglect the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy; but was diverted from it by a war, which ſuddenly broke out between him and the *Patzinacæ*, a *Scythian* nation, whoſe king, by name *Tyrach*, highly provoked at the kind reception *Kegenes*, after revolting from him, had met with from the *Romans*, paſſed the *Danube* on the ice, and entering, if the authors of thoſe times are to be credited, with eight hundred thouſand men the *Roman* provinces, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. *Conſtantine Arianites* was ſent againſt them with all the troops quartered in *Macedon* and *Bulgaria*; but he, not thinking it adviſeable to venture an engagement, ſuffered them to ravage the country without controul, till great multitudes of them being ſwept off by the diſtempers which raged in their army, he was adviſed by *Kegenes*, who joined him with twenty thouſand men, to fall upon them ſuddenly; which he did with ſo much reſolution, that the barbarians, weakened with ſickneſs, and terrified at ſo ſudden an onſet, threw down their arms and ſubmitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to ſettle at *Sardica*, *Naiſſus*, *Eutzapolis*, and in other cities of *Bulgaria*; ſome returned to their own country; but *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty of the moſt no-

Is defeated by the Romans.

The Patzinacæ break into the empire.

But are utterly routed.

ble among them were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and upon their embracing the chriſtian religion, as *Kegenes* had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner ſuitable to their rank, and even raiſed to conſiderable employments. However, the emperor having ſent fifteen thouſand of thoſe who had ſettled in *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of *Catalunes*, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in *Iberia*, they revolted on their march; and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the *Danube*, making from thence frequent incurſions into the *Roman* territories. The emperor ſent ſome of his beſt generals againſt them; but was not able to ſuppreſs them, his forces being, in three ſucceſſive engagements, put to the rout. Having at length reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt them, they were ſo terrified at the noiſe of the preparations the emperor was making, that they ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which was readily granted them for thirty years [a]. During this war, *Tangrolipix*, affronted at the reception of his embaſſador, as we have related above, entered *Iberia*, and having laid the country waſte far and near, returned from thence into *Media*, and laid ſiege to *Mantzichierta*, a place defended by a numerous gariſon, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. However, as it was ſituated in a plain and open country, he hoped to be maſter of it in a ſhort time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days together, that the beſieged were reſolved to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, when *Alcan*, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit to him the conduct and management of the attacks. This being granted, *Alcan* the next day diſpoſed his men with ſuch ſkill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not *Alcan* been ſlain, while, in ſpite of the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* he was mounting the wall. The beſieged, knowing him by the richneſs of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongſt the enemy, who, diſheartened at that ſight, gave over the aſſault, and retired, *Tangrolipix* pretending ſome urgent affairs had called him home. However, he returned the ſpring following, and ravaging *Iberia*, ſpared neither ſex nor age. But upon the approach of *Michael Acoluthus*, who was ſent againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army, he retired to *Tauris*, leaving thirty thouſand men behind him to infeſt the

Iberia laid waſte by the Turks;

Who beſiege Mantzichierta;

But are forced to raiſe the ſiege.

[a] Niceph. Bryenn. Curopal. Cedren. Zonar. in Monomach.

frontiers

frontiers of the empire; which they did with great ſucceſs, the borders being, through the avarice of *Monomachus*, left unguarded; for, till his time, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians, had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on that account exempted from paying tribute. But *Monomachus* exacting of them the ſame ſums that were paid by the other provinces, they were no longer in a condition to reſtrain the incurſions of the enemy [t]. About this time died the empreſs *Zoe*, and ſoon after the emperor himſelf. Though he had always expreſſed a great eſteem and regard for *Theodora*, the ſiſter of *Zoe*, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name for his ſucceſſor *Nicephorus*, who commanded the forces in *Bulgaria*, and was privately ſent for, when the emperor's recovery was deſpaired of. But *Theodora*, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately withdrew from the monaſtery of St. *George*, whither ſhe had attended him; and returning to *Conſtantinople*, attended by her moſt faithful friends, cauſed herſelf to be proclaimed, and ſaluted empreſs; which gave *Monomachus* ſo much concern, that he fell into a ſwoon, and died ſoon after, having reigned twelve years and eight months. Some authors write, that both he and *Zoe* died of the plague, which indeed raged at that time with great fury in *Conſtantinople*; but moſt authors aſcribe his death to the gout, which he increaſed by his intemperance, lewdneſs, and debaucheries.

The empreſs Zoe dies.

And Monomachus.

Theodora no ſooner received the news of his death, than ſhe cauſed all thoſe to be ſecured, who had propoſed the promotion of *Nicephorus*; and depriving them of their employments, named others in their room, in whom ſhe thought ſhe could confide. *Theodorus*, the eunuch, was ſent at the head of a conſiderable army into the eaſt to awe the *Turks*, who, hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented with his care and vigilance the enemy from making inroads into the *Roman* territories; ſo that the eaſtern provinces enjoyed, during *Theodora*'s ſhort reign, a profound tranquillity, to which they had been long ſtrangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and miniſters of ſtate, her impartial adminiſtration of juſtice (for ſhe heard all cauſes herſelf), and her great moderation in the uſe of the authority with which ſhe was inveſted, gained her the affections of her people, and the reſpect and eſteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did not long enjoy the many valuable bleſſings that attended her adminiſtration; for in the ſecond year of her reign ſhe was ſeized with a violent pain in her bowels, which in a few days put an end to her

Theodora.

Her excellent government.

[t] NICEPH. BRYENN. c. 4. CUROP. ibid.

life. Before she died, she was persuaded by *Leo Strabospondylus*, her prime minister, and her favourite eunuch, to bequeath the empire to *Michael Stratioticus*, a person stricken in years, and altogether ignorant of state-affairs, which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with an absolute sway. *Theodora* died, soon after she had named him, in the month of *August* 1056, having reigned one year and nine months. The death of *Theodora*, and promotion of *Michael*, which had been managed with the utmost secrecy, being known at the same time, *Theodorus*, cousin-german to the deceased emperor, laying claim to the empire, as of right belonging to him, protested against what had been done in favour of *Michael*; and summoning all his friends, servants, and dependants, moved in the evening with a great train through the most frequented streets to the palace; but finding the gates shut and well guarded, he went from thence to the great church, not doubting but he should be well received there by the patriarch and the clergy. But they refusing, contrary to his expectation, to admit him, he had recourse to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promises, continued firm in the resolution they had taken a few hours before to support *Michael*. *Theodorus*, now well apprised he could not succeed in his attempt, and dreading the resentment of the new emperor, renounced all claim to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his son in the church; but he was soon dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, and banished to *Pergamus*, where he died some years after. The rebellion being thus suppressed, *Michael* enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but soon shewed himself altogether unequal to so eminent a post. As he was an intire stranger to state-affairs, having been brought up from his youth in the camp, he suffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without controul. At their instigation he disobliged most of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded as his chief support, and among the rest, *Isaac Comnenus*, and *Ambustus Catacale*, men renowned for their eminent services and experience in war. The former he deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of *Antioch*, recalling *Bryennius*, a man of a turbulent and restless spirit, who had been banished by *Theodora*, and appointing him commander in chief of the eastern forces. *Bryennius*, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his estate, which had been confiscated in the late reign, but met with a surly denial; which provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command against the person who had entrusted him with them.

Her death.

Michael Stratioticus.

A rebellion suppressed.

Michael *disobliges the officers of the army.*

Having

Having imparted his design to *Ambustus*, *Comnenus*, and several others, who had been disobliged by *Michael*, they all met, in order to proceed to the election of a new emperor, when, by the unanimous consent of the whole party, *Ambustus* was chosen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, *Isaac Comnenus* was proposed next, as a person in every respect well qualified for so great a trust. As the proposal was received by all with great applause, *Comnenus* did not oppose it, but suffered the conspirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promising at the same time to govern with justice and moderation. After this, they all departed from *Constantinople*, where they had met, according to custom, at *Easter*, and repaired to their several posts, where each of them was, in his respective station, to promote the general design. *Bryennius* hastened to the army in the east; but falling out there with *John Opsaras*, a patrician, whom the emperor had appointed to distribute a largess among the soldiers, the quarrel was carried to such a height, that *Bryennius*, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed *Opsaras* to custody, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods. Hereupon *Lycanthes*, who commanded in that neighbourhood a strong body of *Lycaonians* and *Pisidians*, concluding that *Bryennius* designed to revolt, fell upon him unexpectedly in his camp; and having taken him prisoner, delivered him to *Opsaras*, by whose orders his eyes were pulled out. The officers of the east, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their designs (for he was sent in chains to the emperor), resolved openly to declare themselves; and accordingly having drawn together, in a spacious plain, all the forces under their command, they sent for *Comnenus*, who was then at his house in *Paphlagonia*, and presented him in the imperial robes to the soldiery, by whom he was, with universal consent, saluted emperor on the eighth of *June* 1057.

Several of them conspire against him.

Isaac Comnenus *saluted emperor.*

Comnenus, thus raised to the imperial dignity, took upon him the command of the army, which he immediately marched over the river *Sangarius* in *Phrygia Major*, bending his rout towards *Nice*, which he surprised, most of the soldiers, who garisoned it, being retired to their own homes. In the mean time, *Stratioticus*, receiving news of the revolt, assembled all the forces quartered in the west; and having mustered his army, chose for his generals *Theodorus* the eunuch, and *Aaron Ducas*, an officer of great experience in war, and brother to the wife of *Comnenus*. The two generals marched at the head of their army to *Nicomedia*, and from thence to *Nice*, in the neighbourhood of which city they found *Comnenus* encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army,

An army sent against him.

Ambuſtus having the command of the left wing, *Romanus Sclerus* of the right, and *Comnenus* himſelf of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great reſolution and intrepidity. At firſt *Aaron*, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the oppoſite wing of the enemy, took *Romanus* himſelf priſoner, and purſued the fugitives to their camp. But *Ambuſtus*, on the other hand, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with freſh vigor the emperor's left wing, obliged them to give over the purſuit, and retire in ſome confuſion. In their retreat they were attacked by *Comnenus*, and eaſily put to flight; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the emperor's troops, that, throwing away their arms, they fled in great diſorder. *Comnenus*, having thus gained a complete victory, began his march to *Conſtantinople*, not doubting, but the citizens would open their gates to him, as ſoon as he appeared before them. In the mean time, *Stratioticus*, informed of the overthrow of his forces, ſent ſome of the chief men in the ſenate to *Comnenus*, with propoſals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms: That *Comnenus* ſhould be declared *Cæſar*; that a full pardon ſhould be granted to all his followers; and that ſuch of them as enjoyed employments, ſhould be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himſelf ſoon after he had ratified it: for, at the inſtigation of ſome about him, he obliged, partly by promiſes, partly by menaces, the ſenaté and people to bind themſelves by a moſt ſolemn oath never to give *Comnenus* the title of emperor, nor own him for their ſovereign. This oath was exacted, when *Comnenus* was ſtill in *Aſia*; but news was no ſooner brought, that he was within a day's march of *Conſtantinople*, than he was, by a decree of the ſenate, and the unanimous conſent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all thoſe, who ſhould oppoſe him, adjudged enemies to their country. The decree being paſſed in the ſenate without oppoſition, the patriarch diſpatched meſſengers to *Comnenus*, inviting him to the city, and at the ſame time ſome biſhops to *Stratioticus*, commanding him in the name of the ſenate and people to reſign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace. We are told, that when the biſhops delivered their meſſage, *Stratioticus* aſked them, What they intended to give him in exchange for the empire? and that they anſwering, The kingdom of heaven, he immediately diveſted himſelf of the purple, and, quitting the palace, retired to his own houſe, and from thence to a monaſtery, after he had reigned one year. *Comnenus* arrived the ſame evening, and was the next day, the firſt of *September* 1057, crowned in the great

Which is defeated by Comnenus.

Stratioticus *forced to reſign.*

great church by the patriarch *Michael Cerularius* [a]. The new emperor's firſt care was to reward thoſe, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whoſe nephews and relations he preferred to the firſt employments in the ſtate. As he was well ſkilled in military affairs, and had given ſignal proofs of his courage and reſolution, the neighbouring barbarians continued quiet, during his ſhort reign. At home he was more feared on account of his ſeverity, than beloved. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monaſteries, depriving them of the immenſe wealth, with which they had been enriched by his predeceſſors. This the patriarch highly reſented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had raiſed him, unleſs he reſtored to the monaſteries the eſtates which he had unjuſtly ſeized. But the emperor, inſtead of yielding to his threats, immediately baniſhed him, and raiſed *Conſtantine Lichudes* to the patriarchal ſee in his room. *Iſaac* had not reigned above two years, when he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned, as ſome authors write, by a flaſh of lightning. Being ſenſible that his end approached, and at the ſame time touched with remorſe in reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily reſigned it, and retiring to a monaſtery, there ſpent the remainder of his days in exerciſes of piety, having reigned but two years and three months. Being adviſed, before he reſigned, to chuſe a ſucceſſor, though he had ſeveral children and near relations of his own, yet, preferring the public good to his private intereſt, he named *Conſtantine Ducas*, a perſon generally eſteemed the beſt qualified in the whole empire for ſo eminent a ſtation. *Ducas*, thus choſen by *Commenus*, and received by the ſenate and people, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by the patriarch. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the affairs of ſtate, adminiſtered juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, reformed ſeveral abuſes, which had prevailed under his predeceſſors, and behaved on all occaſions with ſuch moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongſt the beſt princes, had not his inſatiable avarice drowned, in a manner, all his good qualities. He choſe rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the neceſſary gariſons; which encouraged the *Turks* to extend their conqueſts on all ſides, and the *Uzians*, a *Scythian* nation, to paſs the *Danube* to the number of five hundred thouſand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. *Nicephorus Botoniates*, afterwards emperor, and *Baſilius Apocapes*, were ſent againſt them. But the

Iſaac Comnenus *crowned emperor.*

He baniſhes the patriarch.

He reſigns the empire to Conſtantine Ducas.

The Uzians *invade the empire.*

[a] CUROPALAT. CEDREN. ZONAR. in Stratiot. & Iſaac Comn.

barbarians

barbarians having put the emperor's forces to flight at the first onset, and taken both the generals in the pursuit, laid waste all *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and penetrating without opposition into *Greece*, destroyed all with fire and sword. The emperor, affected with the calamities of his subjects, but yet unwilling to be at the charge of raising the necessary forces to deliver them from the oppression under which they groaned, endeavoured at first to purchase a peace with rich presents, and even with promising to pay them an annual tribute. To such meanness was the emperor brought by his sordid temper. But the barbarians refusing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general fast to be observed throughout his dominions, and then marched out against them with a handful of men. But, in the mean time, the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that began to reign among them, the *Hungari* or *Hungarians*, whose country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon them, and cut them off almost to a man. Nothing else happened, during this unactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned several stately edifices at *Constantinople*, and the appearing of a comet, which was seen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. And indeed *Constantine* was soon after seized with a violent distemper, which in a few days put an end to his life. He left the empire to his three sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Constantine*; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empress *Eudocia*, their mother, regent during the minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which was lodged with great solemnity in the hands of the patriarch. He likewise obliged the senators solemnly to swear that they would acknowledge none for their sovereign but his three sons. Having thus secured, as he thought, the imperial crown to his family, he died in 1067, after having reigned five years and six months [u].

But are cut off by the Hungarians.

The Turks *invade the empire.*

He was no sooner dead, than the *Turks*, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke with great violence into *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was no-ways in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of the army having been disbanded in her husband's life-time, and the troops, that were still on foot, being undisciplined and altogether unfit for service. This gave the empress great concern, which was aggravated by the seditious speeches of a discontented party at home, repeating in all assemblies, that the present state of the empire required a man of courage and address at the helm, instead of a weak and

[u] Idem ibid. & Nicephi. Bryenn.

helpless

helpleſs woman. As they imagined the empreſs would never think of marrying, in regard of the oath ſhe had taken, they hoped by theſe ſpeeches to induce the people to revolt, and chuſe a new emperor. This *Eudocia* was aware of; and therefore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, ſhe reſolved to marry ſome perſon of merit, capable of defeating the deſigns of her enemies both at home and abroad. At this time, *Romanus Diogenes*, a perſon of a moſt beautiful aſpect, extraordinary parts, and an illuſtrious birth, for he was deſcended from the emperor *Romanus Argyrus*, being accuſed of aſpiring at the empire, tried and convicted, was brought forth to receive the ſentence of death, which his ambition had deſerved. But the empreſs, touched with compaſſion at the appearance of the unhappy priſoner, who, ſhe thought, deſerved a better fate, put a ſtop to the ſentence; and, having gently upbraided him with his ill-timed ambition, ſet him at liberty, and ſoon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the empreſs reſolved to marry him, if ſhe could but recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patriarch. In order to this, ſhe applied herſelf to a favourite eunuch, who, going to the patriarch, told *John Xiphiline*, that the empreſs was ſo taken with his nephew, by name *Bardas*, that ſhe was determined to marry him, and raiſe him to the empire, provided he abſolved her from the oath ſhe had lately taken, and convinced the ſenate of the lawfulneſs of ſuch a marriage. The patriarch, though a man of great probity and learning, yet dazzled with the proſpect of his nephew's promotion, readily undertook to perform both; and accordingly, having firſt obtained the conſent of the ſenate, by repreſenting to them the dangerous condition of the empire, and exclaiming againſt the raſh oath, which the jealouſy of the late emperor had extorted from the empreſs, he publicly diſcharged her from the obſervance of it, reſtored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry ſome deſerving perſon, who, being entruſted with an abſolute authority, might protect her and her children, and defend the empire againſt the many enemies who threatened it, and were not to be repreſſed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children. The empreſs, thus diſcharged from her oath, married a few days after, to the great diſappointment of the patriarch, *Romanus Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than, taking upon him the command of the army, he paſſed over into *Aſia* with the few forces he could aſſemble, recruiting and inuring them on his march to the military diſcipline, which

Romanus Diogenes.

The empreſs marries him.

He paſſes over into Aſia.

which had been utterly neglected in the preceding reigns. Upon his arrival in *Asia*, he was informed, that the *Turks*, having surprised and plundered the city of *Neocæsarea*, were retiring with a rich booty. Hereupon, hastening after them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, he came up with them the third day; and falling upon them, while they were marching in disorder, without the least apprehension of an enemy, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then pursued his march to *Aleppo*, which he retook, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a strong castle. As he was returning to join the forces he had left behind him, he was met by a numerous body of *Turks*, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline an engagement, attacked them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigour, that he put them to flight at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it advisеable to pursue them. After this, several towns submitted to him, the *Turks* abandoning them upon the first news of his approach. But the autumn being already far spent, he retired to *Cilicia*, and from thence to *Constantinople*. The following year, he passed over into *Asia* early in the spring; and being informed, that the *Turks*, having defeated *Philaretus*, who had been left to guard the banks of the *Euphrates*, were advanced into *Cilicia*, and had there surprised and sacked *Iconium*, the most rich and populous city of that province, he marched in person against them. But the *Turks*, not thinking it advisеable to wait his arrival, retired in great haste. However, the *Armenians*, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of *Tarsus*, put them to flight, and stripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken. The enemy being retired, the emperor spent the remaining part of the summer in settling the affairs of the provinces; and, upon the approach of winter, returned once more to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The spring following, the emperor marched anew into *Asia*, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised, and with incredible pains disciplined, during the winter. As the *Turks* had already taken the field, several skirmishes happened between the parties detached from the two armies, in one of which *Nicephorus Basilacius*, one of the emperor's chief officers, was taken prisoner, and carried to *Axan*, the *Turkish* sultan, and son of the celebrated *Tangrelipix*, who received and entertained him with great civility. When the two armies drew near, the sultan, observing the disposition and number

His success against the Turks.

of

of the emperor's forces, and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and ſagacity, the uncertain iſſues of war, ſent embaſſadors to *Romanus*, with propoſals for a laſting and honourable peace, which being rejected by the emperor with diſdain, both armies prepared for an engagement. Though the emperor's troops were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of the enemy, *Ruſelius*, one of his beſt commanders, having been detached a little before with a conſiderable body; yet *Romanus*, preſuming upon the courage of his men and the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms, cauſed the ſignal to be given; and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into ſome diſorder. However, they ſoon rallied, and charged with freſh vigour; ſo that the diſpute continued with various ſucceſs, till the emperor, fearing the ſultan ſhould ſend part of his army to attack his camp, which he had left weakly guarded, cauſed, as the day was already far ſpent, a retreat to be ſounded, and retired in good order with that part of the army, which he commanded in perſon. But *Andronicus*, the ſon of *John Ducas* brother to the late emperor *Conſtantine*, and in his heart an enemy to *Romanus*, whoſe good fortune he envied, cried out, that the emperor was put to flight; and at the ſame time, turning his horſe about, fled with great precipitation to the camp. The reſt of the army followed his example, and were purſued by the *Turks*, who in that confuſion put great numbers of them to the ſword. The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally and face the enemy; but, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, they continued their flight, every one ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner he could. The emperor, though thus forſaken by his army, yet ſtood his ground, till he himſelf being wounded and his horſe killed under him, he was at length overpowered with numbers and taken priſoner. When news was firſt brought to the ſultan of his captivity, he could hardly give credit to it. But being aſſured of the truth, both by the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to him before the battle, and by *Baſilacius* his captive, he ordered the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly embracing him, *Grieve not, noble emperor*, ſaid he, *at your misfortune; for ſuch is the chance of war, ſometimes overwhelming one, and ſometimes another; you ſhall have no occaſion to complain of your captivity; for I will not uſe you as my priſoner, but as an emperor*: which he did accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion, aſſigning him attendants, with an equipage ſuitable to his quality, and diſcharging ſuch priſoners as he deſired. After he had entertained for ſome time his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor diſmiſſed with the greateſt marks of honour imaginable. Being thus ſet at liberty, he

He rejects the propoſals of the ſultan.

He is defeated, and taken priſoner.

But kindly entertained, and ſet at liberty, by the ſultan.

he proceeded, attended by the ſultan's embaſſadors, for *Conſtantinople*, where the peace was to be ratified. He ſtopped at *Theodoſiopolis*, and continued ſome days there to have his wounds dreſſed, with a deſign to purſue his journey to the imperial city, as ſoon as he was able to travel. But, in the mean time, he was informed, that *John*, the brother of *Conſtantine Ducas*, with *Pſellus*, a leading man in the ſenate, and ſeveral others, having, upon the news of his captivity, driven *Eudocia* from the throne, and ſhut her up in a monaſtery, had proclaimed her eldeſt ſon *Michael Ducas* emperor. Upon this intelligence he left *Theodoſiopolis*, and repairing to a ſtrong caſtle called *Docia*, he fortified himſelf there, not doubting, but he ſhould be ſoon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and ſoldiers, who had ſerved under him. But, in the mean time, *John*, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an abſolute ſway, diſpatched his eldeſt ſon *Andronicus* againſt him with a ſtrong body of troops, who having defeated the ſmall army the unfortunate prince had with him, purſued him to *Adana*, a city in *Cilicia*, where he was cloſely beſieged, and in the end forced to ſurrender. *Andronicus* carried him priſoner into *Phrygia*, where he fell dangerouſly ill, being, as was ſuſpected, ſecretly poiſoned. But the poiſon being too ſlow in its operation, *John* ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with ſuch cruelty, that he died ſoon after in the iſland *Prota*, to which he had been confined, having reigned three years and eight months [w].

Michael Ducas proclaimed emperor.

Romanus dies.

Romanus Diogenes being thus removed, *Michael Ducas* was univerſally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and unactive prince, the whole power was lodged in *John* his uncle, who preferred ſuch only as had been inſtrumental in the late revolution, and, under various pretences, baniſhed thoſe who gave him the leaſt umbrage.

In the mean time, *Axan*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, reſolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally; and accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he broke into the territories of the empire, not with a deſign only to ſpoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer, and hold what he had once conquered. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the *Turks*, diſpatched *Iſaac Comnenus*, ſon to the late emperor of that name, againſt them, who gained at firſt ſome advantages over them; but having ſoon after ventured a general engagement, his army was, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, utterly defeated, and he himſelf taken priſoner. Another army was ſoon diſpatched againſt them, under the com-

The Turks invade the empire.

Defeat the emperor's army.

[w] Niceph. Bryenn. c. 2—10. Curopalat. in Rom. Diog.

mand

mand of *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, who gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have put a ſtop to their farther conqueſts, had he not been diverted by *Ruſelius*, or *Urſelius*, a native of *Gaul*, who, revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced ſeveral cities in *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, cauſing himſelf to be every-where proclaimed emperor. Againſt him *John* marched with all his forces, ſuffering the *Turks* in the mean time to purſue their conqueſts; but coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the *Sangarius*, he received a total overthrow and was taken priſoner. Notwithſtanding this victory, *Ruſelius*, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Turks*, who threatened the empire with utter deſtruction, not only releaſed his priſoner, but joined him againſt the common enemy, by whom they were both overcome and taken priſoners. However, *Axan* was for ſome time diverted from purſuing his conqueſts, and reaping the fruit of his victory, by *Cutlu-Moſes*, couſin to the late ſultan *Tangrolipix*, from whom he had revolted; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, he had taken refuge in *Arabia*, whence he now returned, at the head of a conſiderable army; and laying claim to the ſovereignty, was preparing to decide the controverſy by dint of ſword. But while the two armies were ready to engage, the kaliff of *Babylon*, who had been deprived of his temporal juriſdiction by *Tangrolipix*, as we have related above, but ſtill continued to exerciſe his authority in matters of religion, being looked upon as the ſucceſſor of their great prophet, interpoſed; and, by repreſenting to them the dangers, to which their inteſtine diſſentions expoſed them, brought them to this agreement; that *Axan* ſhould enjoy undiſturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father *Tangrolipix*, and that *Cutlu-Moſes* and his family ſhould quietly poſſeſs ſuch provinces of the empire as he or his ſons ſhould, in proceſs of time, conquer. This agreement being made, *Cutlu-Moſes* turned all his forces againſt the empire; and being aſſiſted by *Axan*, made himſelf, in this and the following reign, maſter of all *Media*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, fixing the ſeat of his new empire at *Nice* in the latter province. While the *Turks* were buſied in reducing the above-mentioned provinces, *Ruſelius*, who had been ranſomed by his wife, and, notwithſtanding his late revolt, reſtored to favour and entruſted with a conſiderable command in *Aſia Minor*, revolted anew, and, depending upon the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, with whom he had privately entered into an alliance, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. *Michael* ſent the beſt commanders in the empire againſt him; but they were all ſucceſſively overcome in the ſeveral battles that were fought, *Ruſelius* being powerfully ſupported by the *Turks*, whoſe

Gain a ſecond victory.

The progreſs of the Turks.

Ruſelius revolts.

whoſe intereſt it was to ſow and maintain diviſions in the empire. At length the emperor was adviſed to ſend *Alexius Comnenus* againſt him, he being eſteemed, tho' then very young, a man of uncommon addreſs, and well ſkilled in the art of war. *Alexius*, by intercepting the enemy's proviſions, and conſtantly haraſſing them on their marches, without ever coming to an engagement, reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtraights, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the ſultan, where they were kindly entertained, and ſupplied with neceſſaries at the public expence. But *Alexius* applying to *Tutach*, the *Turkiſh* commander in thoſe parts, he prevailed upon him with a large ſum to ſeize on *Ruſelius*, and ſend him in chains to *Amaſia*, whence he was conveyed to *Conſtantinople*. The rebels, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted, and ſurrendered the cities and ſtrong-holds which they had reduced. The civil war being thus ended, *Alexius* returned to the imperial city, which he found highly diſſatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievouſly afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, inſtead of relieving the diſtreſſed inhabitants, had leſſened the meaſure of the corn, which deſervedly procured him the nick-name of *Parapanaces*. The averſion which people of all ranks had for the emperor, on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who commanded the forces in *Aſia*, to revolt, and enter into an alliance with the *Turks*, upon whom he had been ſent to make war. *Cutlu-Moſes* promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power; upon which he aſſumed the purple, and was ſaluted emperor by the army under his command. At the ſame time, *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who commanded in *Dyrrhachium*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there; and depending upon the affection of his ſoldiers, whom he had obliged with his liberality, was preparing to march ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*. *Michael*, well appriſed that he was not in a condition to oppoſe either of the two competitors, reſolved to reſign the empire, and leave the throne empty for which of them ſhould prevail. Accordingly, diveſting himſelf of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monaſtery, where he took holy orders, and was ſoon after raiſed to the ſee of *Epheſus* [x]. He had reigned ſix years and as many months, and reſigned in the year 1078. Upon his reſignation, *Botoniates* entered *Conſtantinople* without oppoſition; and being crowned by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of *March* 1078, he immediately diſpatched *Alexius Comnenus* with the flower of his army againſt *Bryennius*, who was advancing with long marches to the im-

The rebellion ſuppreſſed by Alexius Comnenus.

Nicephorus Botoniates *and* Bryennius *revolt.*

Michael *reſigns.*

Nicephorus Botoniates *crowned emperor.*

[x] Nicephr. Bryen. hiſt. Michael. c. 3——S. Ann. Comnen. l. 1. c. 2.

perial

perial city at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he passed, he being universally beloved by the people, and looked upon as a person in every respect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at *Calaura* in *Thrace*; and an engagement ensuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the *Scythians*, who served under *Bryennius*, pursuing the advantage they had gained over the forces of *Alexius*, fell upon his baggage and began to plunder; which occasioned great confusion in the army of *Bryennius*, the rest of his troops following the example of those barbarians. Of this *Alexius* took advantage, and charging them with fresh vigour, put them to flight. However, they rallied, and encouraged by *Bryennius*, returned to the charge; but *Alexius* having, in the mean time, taken the horse of *Bryennius*, adorned as he was, according to the custom of those times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, giving out that the general was slain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and those of the enemy equally dispirited, the victory continued no longer doubtful. *Bryennius*, by shewing himself at the head of his army, convinced them of their mistake; but, as they were already put into disorder, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to stop their flight, he was himself obliged to fly with the rest. As he was pursued close by the emperor's forces, he had the misfortune to fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of his personal valour. *Alexius* received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him at his own table, and soon after, having put his troops into winter-quarters, set out with his unfortunate prisoner for *Constantinople*; but was met on the road by *Borilus*, with orders from court to deliver up *Bryennius* to him, and march back against *Basilacius*, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Dyrrhachium*; and being supported by all the men of interest in the west, had surprised *Thessalonica*, and was preparing to march to the imperial city at the head of a considerable army. *Alexius*, having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched against the enemy; and, encamping at a small distance from *Basilacius*, began to ravage and lay waste the neighbouring country. Hereupon *Basilacius*, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, resolved to fall upon his camp in the night, which he did accordingly; but *Alexius*, informed beforehand of his design, received him, while he expected to meet with no opposition, so briskly, that his forces were soon put to flight, and he himself obliged to throw himself, with part of his army, into *Thessalonica*, which was immediately invested by the conqueror. *Basilacius*, who

Bryennius defeated, and taken prisoner.

Basilacius revolts.

But is defeated by Alexius.

who was a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantageous conditions offered by *Alexius*, prepared to hold out to the laſt extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's reſentment, opened their gates, allowing *Baſilacius* juſt time enough to retire into the caſtle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to *Alexius*, who ſent him to *Conſtantinople*, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and he confined to a monaſtery [y]. As the emperor was ſtricken in years and had no iſſue male, *Borilus* and *Germanus*, two brothers, natives, of *Scythia*, and the chief favourites of *Botoniates*, perſuaded him to name in his will one *Synademus* for his ſucceſſor, a youth of uncommon parts, and nearly related to the emperor. Though this was managed with great ſecrecy, yet *Mary* the empreſs had ſome intimation of it. She was firſt married to the emperor *Michael Ducas*, and afterwards to his ſucceſſor *Nicephorus Botoniates*. By her former huſband ſhe had *Conſtantine Ducas*, who, by marrying the daughter of *Botoniates*, had acquired an indiſputed right to ſucceed him. The empreſs therefore, highly provoked both againſt the emperor and his favourites, for thus excluding, with the utmoſt injuſtice, her ſon from the empire, diſcloſed the whole to the two brothers *Alexius* and *Iſaac Comneni*, who promiſed her all imaginable aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the two favourites, taking umbrage at the intimacy that appeared between the empreſs and the *Comneni*, reſolved to remove, by ſome means or other, the brothers out of the way. Of this *Alexius* being ſeaſonably informed, he applied to *Pacurianus*, an officer of great experience in war and equally verſed in ſtate-affairs, acquainted him the deſign they had formed of depoſing the emperor, and begged him to aſſiſt them with his advice. *Pacurianus*, having heard him with great attention, anſwered without the leaſt heſitation, That if they withdrew to the army early next morning, he would attend them in their flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would diſcover to the emperor their treaſonable deſigns. *Alexius*, charmed with this reſolute and generous anſwer, fled early in the morning, with his brother *Iſaac*, *Pacurianus*, and the reſt of their friends, towards the army, which then lay encamped on the borders of *Thrace*. Upon their arrival, they acquainted the chief officers of the army with their deſign of creating a new emperor; which being univerſally approved of, a council was ſummoned; and after ſome deliberation, whether *Iſaac* or *Alexius* ſhould be raiſed to the

Iſaac *and* Alexius Comneni *reſolve to depoſe the emperor.*

[y] Niceph. Bryenn. in Boton. l. i. c. 1, 2. Ann. Comnen. l. i. c. 4, 5.

empire,

empire, the latter was unanimouſly choſen, and ſaluted emperor by the whole army, which, without loſs of time, he led to *Conſtantinople*, being received with joyful acclamations in all the cities through which he paſſed. The inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, awed by the troops of *Botoniates*, ſhut their gates againſt him; but an officer, to whoſe charge one of the quarters of the city was committed, having privately admitted part of *Alexius*'s forces, the gates were by them opened in the night to the reſt, who, ruſhing in, made themſelves maſters of the city, before *Botoniates* knew it was aſſaulted. As *Alexius*'s army was compoſed of barbarians as well as chriſtians, the unhappy city was plundered in a moſt cruel manner, without any regard to the churches themſelves, which, together with the monaſteries, were ſtripped of all their wealth and ornaments. *George Palæologus*, a perſon of great authority in the empire and a zealous champion for the *Comneni*, eaſily prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of *Conſtantinople* to declare for the new emperor. *Botoniates*, thus forſaken by all, ſent ſome ſenators to *Alexius*, offering the whole power to him, provided he were ſuffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. *Alexius* was inclined to comply with his requeſt; but *John Ducas*, brother to the late emperor *Conſtantine Ducas*, and an irreconcileable enemy to *Botoniates*, would not ſuffer him to hearken to an accommodation upon any terms whatſoever. Hereupon *Barilus*, the reigning favourite, obſerving with how much ſecurity the troops of *Alexius* ranged through the city in queſt of plunder, drew together a conſiderable body of reſolute men; and having encouraged them with large ſums and greater promiſes, was preparing to fall upon the unwary enemy. But *Coſmas* the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, adviſing *Botoniates* rather to ſubmit to providence and reſign the empire, than ſuffer the city to be polluted with the effuſion of chriſtian blood, he readily embraced his counſel; and leaving the imperial palace, withdrew to the great church, and from thence to a monaſtery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months [z].

Botoniates having thus reſigned the ſovereign power, *Alexius* was, by the unanimous conſent of the ſenate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patriarch in the month of *April* 1081. His firſt care was to reward thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the ſtate, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. *Conſtantine Ducas*, the ſon of

Alexies ſaluted emperor by the army.

He takes Conſtantinople.

Botoniates reſigns.

Alexius Comnenus crowned emperor.

[z] ANN. COMNEN. l. ii. c. ult. & l. iii. c. 1.

the late emperor *Michael*, was ſuffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other enſigns of ſovereignty, purſuant to a promiſe, which he is ſaid to have made to the empreſs *Mary*, before he took arms againſt *Botoniates*. As the barbarous behaviour of his ſoldiers, upon their firſt entering the city, had given great offence both to the clergy and people, *Alexius*, either being really, or pretending to be, touched with remorſe for the diſorders they had committed, reſolved to make an open confeſſion, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch and ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics, in the attire of a penitent; and, acknowledging himſelf guilty of the many diſorders that had been committed by his ſoldiers, begged the patriarch to impoſe upon him a penance anſwerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch injoined him, and all his relations and adherents, to faſt, to lie upon the ground, and to practiſe ſeveral other auſterities, for the ſpace of forty days, which no one performed with more chearfulneſs than the emperor himſelf. Having thus atoned for his crimes, or at leaſt gained the affections and eſteem of the clergy, he began to make the neceſſary preparations for putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the *Turks*, who had ſeized on ſeveral provinces during the late diſtractions, and threatened the empire with utter deſtruction. But *Solyman*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Cutlu-Moſes*, alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Alexius* with overtures for a laſting peace, which he at firſt rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, tho' he had gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that *Robert Guiſchard*, duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, was making great preparations againſt him in the weſt. *Robert* was by birth a *Norman*, the ſon of *Tancred* lord of *Hauteville*, who, having a numerous family and but a ſmall eſtate, ſent his two eldeſt ſons to try their fortune in the wars againſt the *Saracens* in *Italy*, where they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner; and having driven out the *Saracens*, ſeized on the places they had held, eſtabliſhing by that means a new principality in *Italy*. *Robert*, the third ſon, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himſelf with the principality of *Puglia*, which they had held, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of *Naples*, taking upon him the title of duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*. Towards the end of the reign of *Botoniates*, *Michael*, who had been forced to reſign the empire, having made his eſcape into the weſt, prevailed upon *Robert*, whoſe daughter had been ſome years before betrothed to *Conſtantine*, *Michael*'s ſon, to eſpouſe his cauſe and attempt his reſtoration. With this view *Robert* made great preparations

He puts a ſtop to the conqueſts of the Turks.

Robert Guiſchard's *expedition againſt* Alexius.

preparations both by ſea and land, which were continued even after the reſignation of *Botoniates*, *Robert* being determined to drive *Alexius* from the throne, if poſſible, and reſtore *Michael*, or, as ſome authors inſinuate, to ſeize on the empire for himſelf. Be that as it will, *Robert*, having left his ſon *Roger* as his lieutenant in *Italy*, ſailed with all his forces from *Brunduſium*; and landing at *Buthrotum* in *Epirus*, made himſelf maſter of that place, while his ſon *Bohemond*, with part of the army, reduced *Aulon*, a celebrated port and city in the country now called *Albania*. From thence they advanced to *Dyrrhachium*, which they inveſted both by ſea and land, but met with a moſt vigorous oppoſition from *George Palæologus*, whom the emperor had entruſted with the defence of that important place, and who, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, held out, till the *Venetians*, with whom the emperor entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed navy, fell upon the enemy's fleet commanded by *Bohemond*, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himſelf, whoſe ſhip was ſunk with ſeveral others, having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. After this victory, the *Venetians*, landing without loſs of time, and being joined by *Palæologus* from the town, fell with great fury upon *Robert*'s men, who were employed in the ſiege, deſtroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them back to their camp, returned to their ſhips loaded with booty. As the *Venetians* were maſters at ſea, the beſieged were ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, while a great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as uſual, by a peſtilential diſtemper, which is ſaid to have deſtroyed ten thouſand men in the ſpace of three months, among whom were ſome of the chief officers, and many other perſons of great diſtinction. However, *Robert*, who was a prince of great intrepidity, addreſs, and reſolution, purſued the ſiege; and, having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his fleet, found means to ſupply his famiſhed troops with proviſions, brought in great plenty from *Italy*. *Palæologus*, finding the courage of the gariſon and citizens began to fail them, ſent repeated advices to the emperor of the ſtraights to which they would, in all likelihood, be reduced. Hereupon *Alexius* reſolved to march in perſon to the relief of the place; and accordingly, leaving his brother *Iſaac* at *Conſtantinople*, to prevent any diſturbances there during his abſence, he ſet out for *Theſſalonica*; and being joined there by *Pacurianus* and the troops under his command, he purſued his march with incredible expedition to *Dyrrhachium*; and encamping at ſome diſtance from the town, on a riſing ground, with the ſea on the left, and an inacceſſible mountain on the right, he ſummoned a council of war, in which, after a warm debate, it was reſolved by a great

Robert paſſes over into Epirus.

Takes Buthrotum *and* Aulon.

Beſieges Dyrrhachium.

His fleet defeated by the Venetians.

The emperor marches to the relief of the place.

great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the moſt experienced officers in the army, that the whole ſhould be put to the iſſue of an engagement; which *Robert* was ſo far from declining, that, obſerving the emperor's preparations, he ordered all his ſhips to be ſunk, which was giving his men to underſtand, that they had no hopes of ſafety, but in victory. However, the emperor's forces had at firſt the advantage, and drove a body of *Robert*'s troops quite to the ſea, which occaſioned no ſmall diſorder in the army; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by *Gaita*, *Robert*'s wife, a woman of a maſculine courage and behaviour, the fight was renewed with freſh vigour, and the victory long diſputed. At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly preſſed by the enemy, the whole right wing betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight, moſt of them eſcaping to a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. *Michael*, as to a place of ſafety. But the victorious enemy, purſuing them cloſe, ſet fire to the church, which was ſoon conſumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, *Robert* having put to flight the main body of the emperor's army, *Alexius* himſelf was forced to retire, though he was the laſt, if we may give credit to his daughter *Ann Comnena*, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off, either in the flight or in the purſuit, with an incredible number of officers and perſons of diſtinction, among whom were *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine Ducas*, *Nicephorus Synademus*, *Nicephorus* Palæologus, the father of *George*, *Zacharias*, *Aſpetes*, &c. The emperor with much-ado made his eſcape, and reached *Achris*, leaving the enemy maſter of his camp and the whole baggage of the army. *Robert*, elated with this victory, returned before *Dyrrhachium*, which immediately ſubmitted, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far ſpent, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a deſign to purſue his conqueſts early in the ſpring. In the mean time, *Alexius*, who had loſt the flower of his troops in the battle, ordered new forces to be raiſed in all the provinces of the empire, ſeizing for that purpoſe, as the exchequer was quite exhauſted, on the wealth of the churches and monaſteries, which gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occaſioned dreadful diſturbances in the imperial city. At the ſame time, *Alexius*, entering into an alliance with *Henry*, emperor of *Germany*, perſuaded him to invade the territories of *Robert* in *Italy*, which he did accordingly early in the ſpring, entering *Calabria* at the head of a numerous army. *Robert* was no ſooner informed of the emperor's motions, than, ſummoning a council of war, he appointed his ſon *Bohemond* his lieutenant in the eaſt; and having recommended him to the officers

But is defeated.

Dyrrhachium *ſurrenders.*

cers of the army, he ſet out without delay for *Italy*, where he relieved the pope, beſieged by the emperor's forces in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, retook *Rome*, and drove the emperor out of *Italy*, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. In the mean time, *Bohemond* reduced ſeveral places in *Illyricum*; and, having defeated *Alexius* in two pitched battles, entered *Theſſaly*, and ſat down before *Lariſſa*, which, being defended by an officer of great experience in war, held out till the emperor, having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Soon after his arrival, he found means to draw a ſtrong party of *Bohemond*'s men into an ambuſcade, who were almoſt all cut off. However, in the battle, which was fought a few days after, *Bohemond* had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refuſing to continue the war, till they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father in *Italy*. *Alexius*, taking advantage of his abſence, recovered ſeveral cities; and being informed, that *Robert* was making great preparations againſt him, he had recourſe once more to the *Venetians*, who, having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged *Robert*, and overthrew him in two ſucceſſive battles, but were ſoon after ſurpriſed by him, and defeated with the loſs of almoſt their whole navy. We are told, that *Robert* uſed his victory with the greateſt barbarity, putting ſeveral of his priſoners to unheard-of torments. The *Venetians* equipped a ſecond fleet; and, joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon *Robert*'s navy, while they were riding without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy, near *Buthrotum*, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, and took a great number of priſoners, his wife and younger ſons having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. But *Robert*, not in the leaſt diſheartened with this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ſhips to be built, and levies to be made throughout his *Italian* dominions, with a deſign to purſue the war with more vigour than ever. But being in the mean time ſeized with a violent fever, he died in the iſland of *Cephalenia*, being then in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death, *Roger*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, not thinking it adviſeable to purſue ſo dangerous and expenſive a war, recalled his troops; ſo that *Dyrrhachium*, and the other places, which they had ſeized in *Illyricum*, ſubmitted anew to the emperor [a].

Robert obliges the emperor Henry to quit Italy.

Several places in Illyricum *reduced by* Bohemond.

Robert defeated by the Venetians *at ſea.*

He dies.

THIS war was ſcarce ended, when another broke out with the *Scythians*, who, paſſing the *Danube*, laid waſte great part of *Thrace*, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched *Pacurianus* and *Branas*, who, engaging the enemy, tho' far ſuperior to them in numbers, were

The Scythian *war.*

[a] ANN. COMNEN. l. v. c. 1—6. & l. vi. c. 1—5.

both

both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the unſpeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular eſteem for *Pacurianus*, on account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This overthrow was owing to the raſhneſs of *Branas*, who in a manner forced his collegue to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. *Talicius*, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Philippopolis*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. However, they returned the ſpring following in ſuch numbers, that the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he ſet out for *Adrianople*, and from thence to a place called *Lardea*, where, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; but, after a warm diſpute, which laſted almoſt from morning till night, was put to flight and utterly defeated. Incredible numbers of his men were put to the ſword or taken priſoners, he himſelf eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty to *Beroe*. About the ſame time, the *Turks*, finding the main ſtrength of the empire was employed againſt the *Scythians*, broke with great violence into the *Roman* territories, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places of great importance in *Aſia*, and among the reſt *Clazomene*, *Phocæa*, *Mitylene*, *Methymna*, and ſoon after of the iſland of *Chios*. This ſudden irruption obliged the emperor to ſend part of his forces into the eaſt, under the conduct of *John Ducas*, brother to the empreſs, while he himſelf led the reſt, reinforced with new levies, againſt the *Scythians*, by whom he was again overthrown with great loſs, being betrayed by one *Neantzes*, a *Scythian*, who had deſerted to him in the beginning of the war; but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, ſo diſheartened the *Romans* with his ſudden flight, that they began to give ground; and being preſſed by the enemy and overpowered with numbers, they retired in great diſorder, leaving the *Scythians* maſters of their camp and baggage. However, not long after, *Alexius* gained a conſiderable advantage over them; and the year following, 1084, having defeated them in a pitched battle and put them to flight, made ſuch a dreadful havock of the fugitives, that few of them are ſaid to have eſcaped the general ſlaughter[b]. An end being put to the *Scythian* war by this victory, the emperor reſolved to march in perſon againſt the *Turks*, with whom *John Ducas*, his brother-in-law, had often fought with various ſucceſs. *Tzachas*, a leading man among the *Turks*, having

The emperor's army defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius *gains a complete victory over them.*

[b] Ann. Comn. l. vi. c. 13. & l. vii. c. 1—3.

made

made himſelf maſter of *Smyrna*, erected there a new principality, independent of the ſultan, haraſſing with frequent incurſions the neighbouring countries. He had, beſides ſeveral other places, reduced *Mitylene*, which *John Ducas*, purſuant to his inſtructions, cloſely beſieged by land, while *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, who commanded the fleet, inveſted it by ſea. But *Tzachas*, having committed the defence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a choſen body of troops, watching the motions of the *Romans*, intercepting their proviſions, and haraſſing them with frequent and ſudden onſets, which diverted them from purſuing the ſiege with due vigour. But *John Ducas*, having at length drawn *Tzachas* to an engagement, gave him a total overthrow; after which he ſent deputies to *Ducas*, with propoſals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: That *Tzachas* ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted to *Smyrna*; that *Mitylene* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*; and that none of the inhabitants ſhould be injured in their perſons or eſtates, or be forced to attend *Tzachas* at his departure. Theſe articles were mutually agreed to, and hoſtages delivered on both ſides; but *Tzachas* having, with a manifeſt breach of the treaty, obliged ſeveral of the inhabitants to quit their habitations and follow him, *Delaſſenus* ſailed after him; and, ſoon coming up with him, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, put great numbers of his men to the ſword, and releaſed the captives, *Tzachas* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into his hands by embarquing on a light veſſel, which carried him ſafe to *Smyrna*, where he ordered a new fleet to be equipped, and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raiſe to *Abydos*, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But the ſultan looking upon him as an enemy no leſs dangerous to himſelf than to the empire, marched againſt him in perſon at the head of a powerful army, while *Delaſſenus*, the *Roman* admiral, cut off his retreat by ſea. *Tzachas*, finding himſelf thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, choſe to ſubmit to the ſultan, whoſe daughter he had married. The ſultan received him in a very obliging manner, and invited him to an entertainment; but, in the height of his mirth, cauſed him to be murdered, and ſoon after concluded a peace with the emperor [c].

Alexius's wars with the Turks.

Mitylene retaken by the Romans.

Tzachas put to death by the ſultan.

IN the year 1093, the *Scythian* war broke out anew, the barbarians being encouraged to invade the empire by an impoſtor, who, pretending to be *Leo*, the eldeſt ſon of the late emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, ſlain ſome years before in an engage-

The Scythians *renew the war.*

[c] ANN. COMNEN. l. vii. c. 6, 7.

ment

ment with the *Turks*, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the *Scythians*, who wanted only a pretence to renew the war. *Alexius*, having received timely advice of the design they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, visited the borders in person; and having supplied the frontier towns with whatever was necessary for their defence, repaired to the city of *Anchialus* on the *Euxine* sea. There he was informed, that the barbarians, having passed the *Danube*, and caused the impostor to be proclaimed emperor in several towns, which had submitted to them, were advancing with long marches to *Anchialus*, in order to besiege the place, and, by taking the emperor, put an end to the war at once. Upon this intelligence, *Alexius*, having left a sufficient garison in the place, encamped with the rest of his forces on a rising ground at a small distance from the city, and there fortified himself in such manner, that the barbarians, after having viewed his camp and works for three days together, thought it adviseable to draw off; and leaving *Anchialus*, which they could not invest without driving the emperor from his post, marched to

And besiege Adrianople;

Adrianople, the impostor persuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up to them by *Nicephorus Byrennius*, who commanded in it, and had, he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father *Romanus Diogenes*, when emperor. The credulous barbarians, believing all he said, marched chearfully to *Adrianople*, but, contrary to their expectation, met there with so vigorous a resistance, that, after they had continued seven weeks before it, they had some thoughts of abandoning the enterprise. But being encouraged by the pretended *Leo* to pursue the siege, the place was in the end reduced to the utmost extremity, and must have submitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army, by name *Alacasæus*, preserved it by the following stratagem: In imitation of the celebrated *Zopyrus*, he disfigured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that condition to the impostor, told him, that he was the son of one, who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by *Alexius*, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The usurper, giving credit to what he said, and reposing an intire confidence in him, followed him, attended by a chosen body of *Scythians*, to a strong-hold in that neighbourhood, which, *Alacasæus* pretended, the governor designed to betray to him. He was accordingly received, as had been agreed before-hand, into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince and his *Scythians*, who, without the least

Which is preserved by a stratagem.

leaſt apprehenſion of treachery, had drunk to exceſs, were ſeized and loaded with chains. Hereupon *Alexius*, informed of what had happened, marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the *Scythians*, now deſtitute of a leader; and falling upon them, before they had the leaſt intelligence of his approach, flew ſeven thouſand of them upon the ſpot, took three thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. However, they returned the following year with a very numerous army; but, being overthrown in two ſucceſſive engagements, they ſent at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded upon the emperor's own terms [d]. After this *Alexius* returned to *Conſtantinople*, loaded with booty; which he generouſly divided among thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the war.

The Scythians defeated.

A peace concluded.

DURING his ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, he was informed, that the weſtern chriſtians were making great preparations for the recovery of the holy land, at that time poſſeſſed by the infidel *Saracens*. As the fortunes of thoſe adventurers are inſeparably interwoven with the remaining part of this hiſtory, it might be juſtly deemed an unpardonable omiſſion, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that prompted them to engage in that mighty undertaking, commonly known by the name of *the holy war*, or *the cruſade*. About the year 1093, an hermit, by name *Peter*, a native of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, undertook a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, to viſit the holy places there; and obſerving the miſerable condition of the chriſtians in *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, at that time moſtly poſſeſſed by the *Turks*, and the cruel uſage they met with from thoſe infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate, firſt with himſelf, and afterwards with *Simon*, then patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, about the means of reſcuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the eaſtern empire was in too weak a condition to give any hopes of redreſs, he reſolved to apply to the weſtern princes, and endeavour, by all poſſible means, to unite them in a league againſt the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy chriſtians, and the recovery of the holy land. Accordingly, having received preſſing letters from the patriarch and the grand maſter of the hoſpitalers, to that purpoſe, to the pope and all the chriſtian princes in the weſt, he took upon him to be meſſenger; and embarquing on the firſt ſhip he met, he arrived at *Bari* in *Puglia*, and proceeding from thence to *Rome*, he delivered the letters to pope *Urban* II. giving him at the ſame time a pathetic account of the unexpreſſible miſeries the chriſtians ſuffered under the *Turkiſh* yoke, of which he himſelf had been

Peter *the hermit his pilgrimage, and the effects of it.*

[d] ANN. COMNEN. l. x. c. 2-4.

an eye-witneſs. Having received all the encouragement he could wiſh for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and, travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inſpired both princes and people with the pious and commendable deſire of relieving the oppreſſed chriſtians, and reſcuing the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. The pope, informed of this general diſpoſition, ſummoned a council at *Clermont* in *France*, where three hundred and ten biſhops met, and likewiſe the embaſſadors of moſt chriſtian princes; to whom *Peter* the hermit made an eloquent ſpeech, repreſenting the ſufferings of the oppreſſed chriſtians, the deſolation of the holy places, the cruelty of the *Turks*, &c. in ſo lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimouſly reſolved on, all declaring, as if filled with one ſpirit, their conſent, by often repeating aloud, *Deus vult*, *Deus vult*, *God will have it ſo*, *God will have it ſo*. Upon the diſſolution of the council, the cruſade was publiſhed by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the weſt, multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red croſſes on their breaſts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the chriſtians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are ſuppoſed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thouſand men, of whom the chief commanders were, *Hugh* brother to *Philip* I. king of *France*, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, *Raymond* of *Toulouſe*, *Godfrey* of *Bouillion*, with his brothers *Baldwin* and *Euſtace*, *Stephen de Valois* earl of *Chartres*, *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*, and *Peter* the hermit. To the latter was given the command of forty thouſand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himſelf, and committing the other to the conduct of *Gautier*, a native of *France*, ſurnamed, from his being a ſoldier of fortune, *the Moneyleſs*. *Gautier* began his march on the eighteenth of *March* 1096, and, paſſing through *Germany*, entered *Hungary*, where the inhabitants refuſing to ſupply him and his army with the neceſſary proviſions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the *Hungarians*, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves among the woods and marſhes, where they lay concealed, and ſuffered inexpreſſible miſeries, till the prince of *Bulgaria*, touched with compaſſion, furniſhed them with guides, who conducted them to *Conſtantinople*, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of *Peter*, who did not join them till the firſt of *Auguſt*, being ſtrangely haraſſed on his march by the *Hungarians*, who ſlew above two thouſand of his men, took all their baggage and two thouſand waggons, with the money deſigned to pay the army. To theſe hoſtilities *Peter* himſelf gave occaſion, by ſuffering

The council of Clermont.

The cruſade publiſhed.

The principal commanders.

Peter *the hermit begins the expedition.*

ſuffering his men to commit all ſorts of diſorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under *Gautier* had met with from the natives. *Peter*, having with much-ado reached *Conſtantinople* with the remains of his ſhattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendſhip and kindneſs by the emperor *Alexius*, who nevertheleſs was in his heart greatly alarmed at the expedition; for though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not perſuade himſelf, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in ſo hazardous an undertaking upon the ſame motives. However, he ſupplied *Peter*'s army with all manner of proviſions; who thereupon paſſed the ſtraights, and marching into *Bithynia*, encamped not far from the city of *Nice*. Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of *Godfrey*'s arrival at *Philippopolis*, with ten thouſand horſe and ſeventy thouſand foot; which gave him no ſmall jealouſy, the more, as *Godfrey* immediately diſpatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty of *Hugh*, brother to the king of *France*, who, in his paſſage from *Bari* to *Dyrrhachium*, being ſeparated by a ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, had been ſeized by the governor of the above-mentioned city and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where he was detained priſoner. As the emperor refuſed, under various pretences, to ſet his priſoner at liberty, *Godfrey*, who was already advanced as far as *Adrianople*, began to act againſt him as an open enemy, laying waſte the country, and marching directly to *Conſtantinople*. Hereupon *Alexius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promiſing at the ſame time to ſupply his army with proviſions; which, however, he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked *Godfrey* to ſuch a degree, that he laid waſte the whole neighbouring country to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*. *Alexius*, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itſelf, ſent embaſſadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own ſon as an hoſtage, and promiſing the provoked prince all poſſible ſatisfaction. *Godfrey* having received the embaſſadors in a moſt obliging manner, and put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, the emperor invited him and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were received with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner. After ſeveral conferences and warm diſputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and *Alexius*; that, during the expedition, the emperor ſhould aſſiſt them with all his forces, ſupply them with arms, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and treat them on all occaſions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to reſtore to the empire ſuch pro-

His unhappy conduct.

Godfrey marches in a hoſtile manner to Conſtantinople.

An agreement between the emperor and the princes of the cru-ſade.

vinces and cities as they ſhould recover out of the hands of the *Turks* and *Saracens*. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greateſt marks of eſteem and affection. After a ſhort ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, the forces paſſed the *Boſporus*, and encamped near *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to advance from thence to *Nice*, and lay ſiege to that important city.

The army commanded by Peter cut off.

WHILE *Godfrey* and the other princes were yet on their march, the army commanded by *Peter* the hermit, which had entered *Bithynia*, as we have obſerved above, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, began to mutiny; and, depoſing *Gautier*, advanced *Raymond*, a *German* commander of great prowеſs, in his room. After this, the *Germans* and *Italians*, ſeparating from the *French*, encamped apart. A ſtrong party of the *Italians*, having made themſelves maſters of a town called *Xerigordus*, were there ſurpriſed by the *Turks* and put to the ſword. The *French*, who lay encamped near *Helenopolis* and *Cibotus*, two villages on the gulph of *Nicomedia*, were, by the *Turkiſh* commander in thoſe parts, drawn into an ambuſcade, and moſtly either cut off, or taken priſoners; ſo that of the forty thouſand men commanded by *Peter*, ſcarce three thouſand were left, who with him took refuge in *Cinite*; which place they defended till the arrival of *Godfrey* and the other princes of the

Nice *beſieged by the chriſtians.*

cruſade, with whom they marched to *Nice*; which city was inveſted by the chriſtian princes in the month of *May* 1097. As the place had been ſtrongly fortified by *Solyman*, then ſultan of the *Turks*, who had choſen it for the ſeat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous gariſon, the ſiege laſted ſeveral weeks; during which time both the chriſtians and *Turks* gave many ſignal inſtances of their intrepidity and reſolution. *Solyman*, who had poſted himſelf with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raiſe the ſiege; but was as often repulſed with much ſlaughter. However, the beſieged continued to defend the place with great courage and reſolution, till the emperor *Alexius*, who aſſiſted in perſon at the enterpriſe, having cauſed a great number of ſmall veſſels to be fitted out, cut off the communication, which by means of the lake *Aſcanius*, the city maintained with the neighbouring country. The gariſon being thus deprived of the conſtant ſupplies they received both of men and proviſions, and at the ſame time privately ſolicited by the emperor with mighty promiſes to ſur-

And taken.

render the place, not to the weſtern princes, but to him, they ſubmitted at length, and, on the fifth of *July*, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name *Butumites*. Among the many captives taken on this occaſion, were, *Soliman*'s wife and two of his children, who were immediately ſent to *Conſtanti-*

nople.

nople. After the reduction of *Nice*, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great diſtruſt, bent their march towards *Syria*, having firſt divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and ſubſiſtence. *Bohemond*, who marched the firſt, was ſuddenly attacked by *Solyman*, at the head of ſixty thouſand *Turks*, and would in all likelihood have been put to flight, had not *Hugh* come ſeaſonably to his relief with thirty thouſand men; who falling upon the enemy, cut forty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter among the neighbouring mountains. This victory was attended with the ſurrender of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, of *Iconium* in *Cilicia*, *Heraclea*, and ſeveral other places. The chriſtian princes, animated with this ſucceſs, bound themſelves by an oath not to return, till they had reſcued the holy city of *Jeruſalem* out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having paſſed mount *Taurus*, they made themſelves maſters of the cities of *Mareſia* and *Artaſia*; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles diſtant from *Antioch*, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-firſt of *October* 1097. As the place was ſtrongly fortified, and gariſoned with ſeven thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot, the ſiege laſted to the third of *June*, when one *Pyrrhus*, who had in appearance embraced the *Mohammedan* ſuperſtition to ſave his eſtate, and was entruſted with the defence of a tower called the *Two ſiſters*, betrayed the city to *Bohemond*, whoſe men, entering it in the night, opened the gates to the reſt of the army; who falling upon the *Turks*, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, cut them off almoſt to a man. *Caſſianus* the governor, with ſome others, found means to make his eſcape out of the place; bnt fell ſoon after into the hands of the *Armenian* chriſtians, by whom he was ſlain. While the chriſtians were engaged in the ſiege of *Antioch*, *Corbenus*, one of the ſultan of *Perſia*'s generals, attacked *Edeſſa* with a mighty army; but *Baldwin*, to whom the place had ſubmitted ſome months before, gave him ſuch a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterpriſe, and marched to the relief of *Antioch*. Being informed on his march that the city was taken, he reſolved nevertheleſs to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, having loſt, as we are told, an hundred thouſand, partly killed, and partly taken priſoners; whereas of the chriſtians only ſeven thouſand two hundred were ſlain. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-ſeventh of *June* 1098, and the next day the *Turks*, who ſtill kept the caſtle of *Antioch*, deſpairing of relief, ſubmitted and were made priſoners. The chriſtians, thus become maſters of *Antioch*, choſe with one conſent *Bohemond* prince of that metropolis, not thinking themſelves bound to

The Turks *defeated.*

Antioch *beſieged and taken.*

The Turks *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

the late treaty, ſince *Alexius* had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the leaſt aſſiſtance. However, they ſent *Hugh*, brother to *Philip* king of *France*, and *Baldwin* earl of *Heynault*, to give the emperor an account of their ſucceſs, and preſs him to join them with all his forces, purſuant to the treaty; but the earl of *Heynault* was never afterwards ſeen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been taken priſoner and murdered by the emperor's orders. As for the other, he got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*; but, inſtead of returning to the princes with an account of his embaſſy, he departed from thence into *France*; whence ſome writers ſpeak of him much to his diſadvantage, as if he had been bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterpriſe. The emperor had indeed at this time a juſt excuſe for not joining the weſtern princes; for *Targripermes*, a *Turkiſh* pirate, having ſeized on the cities of *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*, and reduced the iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Chios*, infeſted the coaſts of the empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Againſt him the emperor ſent a conſiderable fleet and army; which arriving ſafe at *Smyrna*, beſieged that city by ſea and land, and having in the end reduced it, marched to *Epheſus*; which was likewiſe forced to ſubmit, *Tangripermes* having been defeated with great ſlaughter in that neighbourhood. The victory gained by the emperor's forces was followed by the ſurrender of *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and other maritime cities of great importance. *Alexius*, elated with this ſucceſs, laid claim to *Antioch*, and ſent embaſſadors to *Bohemond*, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. *Bohemond* was ſo offended at this demand, that, inſtead of complying with it, he, in his turn, claimed, as prince of *Antioch*, the city of *Laodicea*, and diſpatched a conſiderable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew *Tancred*, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the ſame time ſeveral other ſtrong-holds in *Cilicia*, belonging to the emperor. Hereupon *Alexius*, having cauſed a mighty fleet to be equipped with all poſſible expedition, reſolved to ſtop the paſſage of the ſupplies, which the weſtern princes, eſpecially the biſhop of *Piſa*, were preparing for the ſupport of the chriſtians in the eaſt, till ſuch time as they had reſtored to the empire the cities they had taken from the *Turks*. Of this fleet *Taticius* was appointed admiral, who, meeting that of the weſtern princes near *Rhodes*, attacked them, and gave them a total overthrow; but was himſelf overtaken, in his return to *Conſtantinople*, by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed the greater part of his fleet. After this, the emperor ordered *Cataeuzenus*, one of his generals, to lay ſiege to *Laodicea*; which, notwithſtanding the ſupplies *Bohemond* with much difficulty threw into it,

A war between Alexius and Bohemond, prince of Antioch.

Laodicea taken by Alexius.

it, was in the end obliged to ſubmit. Hereupon the prince of *Antioch*, finding he had not ſufficient ſtrength at preſent to contend with the emperor, either by ſea or land, left a ſtrong gariſon in *Antioch*, and paſſed undiſcovered into *Italy*, with a deſign to levy new forces there, and return early in the ſpring into the eaſt. *Alexius*, acquainted with his deſign, ordered his admiral, by name *Contoſtephanus*, to cruize on the coaſts of *Italy*, and prevent, by all means, *Bohemond*'s fleet from paſſing into the eaſt; but *Contoſtephanus*, departing from his inſtructions, made a deſcent, and laid ſiege to *Brunduſium*; which, however, he was obliged to raiſe, his men being with great ſlaughter put to flight by the inhabitants. Among the priſoners taken on this occaſion were ſix *Scythians*, whom *Bohemond* carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch infidels and barbarians, *Alexius* endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of the chriſtian princes in the eaſt; which inflamed both the pope and the people againſt him to ſuch a degree, that multitudes crouded daily to *Bohemond*, deſiring to be employed againſt a prince, whom they looked upon as an avowed enemy to the chriſtian name. *Bohemond*, having by this means ſoon raiſed a powerful army, paſſed over into *Illyricum*; and landing without oppoſition in the neighbourhood of *Dyrrhachium*, ſat down before that important place, after having cauſed his fleet to be burnt in the ſight of the whole army, that, ſeeing there was no means of making their eſcape, they might fight the more courageouſly, and place their ſafety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous gariſon and ſupplied with great plenty of proviſions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out, till *Bohemond*'s army, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of neceſſaries, that haughty prince began to give ear to the propoſals that were made him for putting an end to the war. After ſeveral conferences between him and the emperor's miniſters, a peace was in the end concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The war being thus ended, *Bohemond* returned to *Italy*, according to *Anna Comnena*; but, according to others, to *Antioch*, where, we are told, he died ſix months after [e]. *Alexius*, being diſengaged from this war, marched in perſon againſt the *Turks*, who, renewing their incurſions, had laid the country waſte to the very walls of *Nice*; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, gave them a total overthrow. However, the *Turks* returned the following year; but were, in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, overcome and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, *Alexius* himſelf being prevented, by the gout and other diſtempers, that uſually attend

Bohemond lays ſiege to Dyrrhachium.

A peace concluded.

[e] ANN. COMNEN. l. ii. c. 6, & l. xi. c. 1, 2, 3. GLYC. annal. l. iii. ZONAR. in Alex.

old

old age, from heading his army in perſon. The *Turks*, diſheartened with the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, ſent to ſue for peace; which was readily granted them by the emperor, who thenceforth never appeared more in the field, but ſpent the remaining part of his life in ſtriving to heal the diviſions, which at that time rent the *Greek* church. Being ſeized with a violent cold, he died in the year 1118, the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, and twenty-ſecond after the expedition of the weſtern princes for the recovery of the holy land[f]. There is a great diſagreement among authors touching the character of this prince, the *Greek* hiſtorians, eſpecially his daughter *Anna Comnena*, painting him as the beſt of princes, and thoſe who have written the hiſtory of the holy war, repreſenting him as the worſt. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great addreſs and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the beſt ſtateſman of his time. He was grateful, generous, and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother and the reſt of his friends, who had been inſtrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped ſuch wealth, as quite drained the exchequer; whence, to carry on the war with the *Turks*, he was forced to ſeize on the riches of the churches and monaſteries; which has prompted ſome eccleſiaſtic writers to paint him in the blackeſt colours. He ſeems to have been a ſtranger to all manner of cruelty; for though many conſpiracies were formed againſt him during the long courſe of his reign, yet we read of no other puniſhment inflicted even on the chief authors of them, beſides baniſhment, or the confiſcation of their eſtates. His behaviour to the weſtern princes, though altogether unbecoming one who profeſſed the ſame religion, may in ſome degree be excuſed, in regard of the jealouſy he entertained of them, eſpecially of *Bohemond*, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppoſe and weaken, than aſſiſt them in an undertaking, which, he apprehended, might at laſt end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enemy. During his ſickneſs, he was earneſtly ſolicited, by the empreſs and his daughter *Ann*, to exclude his own ſon *John* from the ſucceſſion, and bequeath the empire to *Bryennius*, the huſband of *Ann*; but the emperor, deaf to their ſolicitations, declared *John* his ſucceſſor, who was thereupon ſaluted emperor by the people, as ſoon as the death of *Alexius* was known, and, a few days after, crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the imperial throne, when ſome of his neareſt relations, at the inſtigation of *Ann*, conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to depoſe him, and place *Bryennius* in his room; but,

Alexius *concludes a peace with the* Turks.

His death and character.

Johannes Comnenus.

[f] Ann. Comn. l. xv. c. 10, 11, 12.

the

the conſpiracy being ſeaſonably diſcovered, the conſpirators were immediately ſeized, tried, and convicted. However, the good-natured emperor did not ſuffer them to be otherwiſe puniſhed, than by confiſcating their eſtates, which he ſoon after reſtored to them, receiving anew into favour all thoſe, who, with his ſiſter *Ann*, had given life to the conſpiracy. After this, he removed from court ſuch as he had reaſon to ſuſpect, appointing none to ſucceed them but perſons of known probity and diſtinguiſhed characters [g]. In the ſecond year of his reign, the *Turks*, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with his father, broke into *Phrygia*; but the emperor, marching againſt them in perſon, overthrew them in ſeveral engagements; and having recovered ſuch cities as they had taken in *Cilicia*, and among the reſt *Laodicea*, he laid ſiege to *Sozopolis*, a ſtrong town in *Pamphylia*, which he took by a ſtratagem, having enticed the *Turks* out by a pretended flight, and cut off their retreat into the city. The *Turks*, alarmed at the ſucceſs that attended his arms, renewed the peace, which they had concluded with his father *Alexius*. Hereupon the emperor returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the *Scythians*, having paſſed the *Danube* and broken into *Thrace*, were deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. Againſt them the emperor led the flower of his army, and falling upon the barbarians before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, took many priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves beyond the *Danube*. He then turned his victorious arms, firſt againſt the *Servii*, whom he eaſily overcame, and afterwards againſt the *Hunns*, who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the *Danube* with great ſlaughter. The emperor, croſſing that river after them, carried the war into their country; and having taken ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds, and forced them to conclude a peace upon his own terms, he returned the ſecond time in triumph to *Conſtantinople* [h]. While the emperor was thus employed againſt the barbarians, the *Turks*, without any regard to the late treaty, entered unexpectedly *Galatia* and *Cilicia*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities in thoſe two provinces. The emperor therefore, having allowed his men a few days to refreſh themſelves at *Conſtantinople*, led them afterwards into the eaſt, where he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all *Armenia*, driving every-where the *Turks* before him. The caſtle of *Baca*, and the cities of *Caſtamona*, *Anazarba*, *Serep*, *Capharda*, *Iſtria*, and *Sezer*, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but were in the end obliged to ſubmit. However, having laid

An inſtance of his good-nature.

His wars with the Turks.

With the Scythians, *the* Servii, *and the* Hunns.

He recovers Armenia.

[g] NICET. l. i. c 1. [h] Idem, c. 2—5.

ſiege to *Beræa* in *Syria*, he was forced by the numerous gariſon to raiſe it, and drop that enterprize. On his return homewards, he was reconciled to his brother *Iſaac*, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken ſome diſguſt, had fled to the *Turks*, and aſſiſted them with his advice in all their undertakings againſt the chriſtians. Soon after, *John*, *Iſaac*'s ſon, deſerted to the enemy, and, renouncing the chriſtian religion, embraced the ſuperſtition of *Mohammed*. The emperor, having ſpent three years in the eaſt, and recovered from the *Turks* the ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds which they had lately taken, returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. Having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he reſolved to return once more into the eaſt; and accordingly began his march early in the ſpring of the year 1140, attended by his three ſons, *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Manuel*, giving out, that he had nothing elſe in view but to ſecure his conqueſts in *Armenia*, and confirm the cities, that had lately ſubmitted to him, in their obedience; but his real deſign was to recover, if poſſible, the city of *Antioch*, held by the *Latins*, and reunite that ſtately metropolis to the empire. Heaven ſeemed to be offended at this undertaking; for ſoon after he had left *Conſtantinople*, his two eldeſt ſons, *Alexius* and *Andronicus*, died in the prime of their years, to the inexpreſſible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to ſink under the weight of ſo unexpected a calamity. However, he purſued his march, and entering *Syria*, acquainted the inhabitants of *Antioch* with his arrival; who thereupon ſent ſome of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he drew near, they refuſed to admit him within the gates, till he had ſolemnly ſworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a ſhort ſtay in the city. He had entertained hopes of gaining over the citizens, and by that means making himſelf maſter of the city; but finding them inviolably attached to the *Latins*, he retired in a great rage, ordering his ſoldiers, at their departure, to plunder the ſuburbs. From *Antioch* he bent his march to *Cilicia*, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poiſoned arrow, which he carried in his quiver. Tho' the wound was ſlight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in due time, it cauſed ſuch a ſwelling in his arm, that the phyſicians were for cutting it off; but he peremptorily refuſing to ſubmit to the operation, the ſtrength of the poiſon prevailed to ſuch a degree, that he was in a ſhort time brought to the point of death; when, ſummoning the chief of the nobility to his chamber, he named in their preſence his youngeſt ſon *Manuel* to ſucceed him, as better qualified in every reſpect for that eminent ſtation, than his other ſon *Iſaac*. Hereupon *Manuel* was immediately

He forms a deſign of recovering Antioch *from the* Latins.

The emperor wounded with a poiſoned arrow.

immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility and the chief officers of the army, who bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died ſoon after, on the eighth of *April* 1143, having reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is obſervable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign; whence he was no leſs beloved by his ſubjects for his humanity and good-nature, than feared by the enemies of the empire, on account of his courage, experience in war, and the ſucceſs that attended him in all his expeditions [1].

He dies.

THE emperor no ſooner expired, than *Manuel* diſpatched *Axuchus*, who had been prime miniſter to his father, to *Conſtantinople*, with orders to ſecure *Iſaac*; who was accordingly ſeized before he had time to aſſert his right to the empire, and confined to a monaſtery. Soon after, the new emperor arrived; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated *Iſaac*, he was crowned with great ſolemnity by the patriarch. Having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and ſet his brother *Iſaac* at liberty, upon his promiſing to attempt no innovations during his abſence, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, at the head of a mighty army; and having recovered ſeveral cities in *Phrygia*, lately taken by the *Turks*, he ſat down before *Iconium*; but not being able to maſter that important place, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, leaving ſufficient gariſons in the frontier-towns to reſtrain the incurſions of the *Turks*. During his ſtay in the imperial city, he married *Gertrude*, ſiſter-in-law to *Conrade*, the *German* emperor; but ſlighting her, tho' endowed with every perfection becoming a perſon of her ſex and quality, he maintained a criminal converſation with his own niece *Theodora*; which greatly eſtranged from him the minds of his people. But nothing has rendered his name more odious to poſterity, than his treacherous behaviour to the weſtern princes; for having promiſed to ſupply the army of *Conrade*, who in the year 1146 undertook an expedition into the holy land, with forage and proviſions, inſtead of that, he cauſed the countries, through which they were to paſs, to be laid waſte, and the gates of the towns to be ſhut; nay, we are told, that the *Greeks*, inſpired by the emperor with an irreconcileable hatred to thoſe adventurers, mixed the flour they ſold them with quick-lime; which occaſioned a dreadful mortality in the chriſtian army. Beſides, the emperor privately acquainted *Mamut*, ſultan of *Iconium* in *Aſia Minor*, with the deſigns of *Conrade* and the other princes. Whereupon the ſultan alarming all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raiſed in defence of their common intereſt, and ſent to protect their territories,

Manuel Comnenus.

His war with the Turks.

His treacherous behaviour to the weſtern princes.

[1] NICET. c. 7——12.

before the chriſtian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this means the deſigns of the weſtern princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwiſe might have eaſily triumphed over all the eaſt, in a great meaſure deſtroyed [k]. *Roger*, king of *Sicily*, highly provoked at *Manuel*'s treachery, took advantage of ſome diſturbances raiſed by the inhabitants of *Corcyra*, who thought themſelves oppreſſed by too heavy exactions, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland. From thence he ſailed to *Corinth*, which he likewiſe took and plundered, with *Thebes*, and moſt of the principal cities of *Bœotia*. Hereupon *Manuel*, having aſſembled all the forces of the empire and equipped a mighty fleet, proclaimed war againſt *Roger* and the *Sicilians*; which he began with the ſiege of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*. The beſieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being in the end quite tired out with repeated attacks, they ſurrendered upon honourable terms. In this ſiege the emperor, who commanded his troops in perſon, loſt an incredible number of men, and among the reſt *Stephen*, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his ſucceſs, he reſolved to carry the war into *Sicily* itſelf; but was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, in which ſeveral of his ſhips were loſt, and he himſelf driven, with moſt of the tranſports, to *Aulon*. Being informed, during his ſtay there, that the *Servians* had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched againſt them in perſon, committing the management of the *Sicilian* war to *Michael Palæologus*. *Manuel* gained great advantages over the *Servians*, though aſſiſted by the *Hungarians*, whom he likewiſe overcame in ſeveral battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed ſome of their chief towns, and then returned to *Conſtantinople*, loaded with booty. As for *Palæologus*, he marched into *Calabria*, where he frequently defeated *Roger*'s forces, and continued laying waſte the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the two princes. The emperor, now diſengaged from this war, took a progreſs into the eaſt, being every-where received in a friendly manner, and entertained with ſhows and feſtivals, by the weſtern princes, notwithſtanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked unexpectedly by the *Turks*, who killed ſeveral of his men, and took part of his baggage. To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a ſhort ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, paſſed over into *Aſia*, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which ſtruck the ſultan with ſuch terror, that he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, offering to conclude it upon ſuch terms, as the emperor himſelf

His wars with Roger *king of* Sicily.

A peace concluded between the two princes.

[k] Idem in Manuel. l. i. c. 1—4.

ſhould

ſhould judge proper. But *Manuel* adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, puſhed on with a falſe courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the ſultan were rejected, and his embaſſadors diſmiſſed with this haughty anſwer, *That the emperor would come and let him know his pleaſure at* Iconium, which was the metropolis of the *Turkiſh* empire in *Aſia Minor*. Hereupon the ſultan, finding a war unavoidable, ſeized on the narrow paſſes of *Zibrica*, through which the emperor's army was to paſs, and falling upon them, as ſoon as they entered the ſtreights, made a dreadful havock of them with ſhowers of arrows from the mountains and broken cliffs. The *Romans* attempted to retire; but their retreat being cut off by a ſtrong detachment of *Turks*, poſted at the entrance of the ſtreights, they were forced to purſue their march, being galled the whole time by the enemy's arrows ſhowering down upon them from the eminences. In the mean time, night coming on, the *Turks*, who were well acquainted with the country, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the outlets; ſo that the *Romans* found themſelves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every ſide, without being able either to retire or advance. In this condition, while they looked upon themſelves as loſt, the ſultan, to the great ſurpriſe of the emperor and the whole army, ſent to *Manuel* one of his chief officers, by name *Gabras*, with propoſals for a peace; which he immediately ſigned, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole army, who purſued their march unmoleſted to *Chonas*, where the emperor diſtributed what money he had with him among the ſoldiers, and then proceeded to *Philadelphia*, in which city he continued, till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of *Dorylæum* and *Subleum* in *Aſia Minor* ſhould be razed. This the emperor, now out of danger, refuſed to perform, alledging, that what had been extorted from him by force was not binding. The ſultan, highly provoked at this anſwer, ſent a body of twenty-four thouſand choſen men, under the conduct of *Atapacus*, to lay waſte all *Phrygia*; which they did with the utmoſt barbarity, ſparing neither ſex nor age. But the emperor's forces, falling upon them as they were croſſing the *Mæander* on their way home, cut them all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty †. The *Turks* were ſo diſheartened with this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of *Manuel's* reign, who having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters, and, by endeavouring to introduce and eſtabliſh heterodox opinions, raiſed great diſturbances and diviſions in the church, ſome of the prelates

Manuel reduced to great ſtreights by the Turks.

A peace concluded with the ſultan.

The Turks *invade the empire anew; but* 24,000 *of them are cut off.*

† NICEPH. l. vi c. 1—9.

being

being prompted by their intereſt to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was *Euſtathius* archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, famous for his learned comments on *Homer*. But the death of the emperor put an end to theſe diſputes. He was taken ill in *March* 1180, and died in the following *September*, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monaſtic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries, to which he abandoned himſelf in times of peace [1].

Manuel *dies.*

Alexius Comnenus.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Alexius Comnenus*; but, he being only twelve years old, his mother took upon her the adminiſtration, and governing with an abſolute ſway, ſuffered the young prince to indulge himſelf in his pleaſures and diverſions, in order to indiſpoſe him for applying to the affairs of ſtate. The miniſters, whom the empreſs employed, made it their chief ſtudy to enrich themſelves at the expence of the public, the empreſs herſelf having nothing elſe in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus intirely neglected, while every one ſtudied his private intereſt, the *Turks*, who let ſlip no opportunity of inlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, made themſelves maſters of *Sozopolis*, and ſeveral other important places in *Phrygia*. This raiſed in the people a general diſlike to the preſent adminiſtration; which being obſerved by *Andronicus*, who was couſin-german to the late emperor, and had long aſpired at the empire, he thought this the moſt proper time to attempt the obtaining of what he ſo ardently wiſhed for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his inſinuating and popular behaviour, he left *Oeneum*, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and, moving with his friends and dependents towards *Conſtantinople*, gave out, that he had nothing elſe in view but to reform the abuſes of the ſtate, to aſſert the imperial dignity, to redreſs the grievances of the people, and reſcue the young prince out of the hands of thoſe, who, in a moſt ſhameful manner, abuſed his authority, to the oppreſſion of thoſe whom they were bound to protect. He was every-where received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and ſuch multitudes flocked to him from all parts, that none dared to oppoſe him, till he came into *Bithynia*, where the governors of *Nice* and *Nicomedia* ſhut their gates againſt him as a public enemy. However, he purſued his march to a caſtle called *Charax*, where he was met by a body of the imperial troops commanded by *Andronicus Angelus*, whom he put to flight; and, advancing with long marches towards *Con-*

Andronicus *revolts.*

***And marches towards* Conſtantinople.**

[1] Idem, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

ſtantinople,

ſtantinople, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Chalcedon*, in ſight of the imperial city. The empreſs had committed the whole management of affairs to *Alexius*, then preſident of the council, with whom ſhe was thought to be more familiar than was conſiſtent with her honour. As *Alexius* hoped by her means to be advanced one day to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the deſigns of *Andronicus*; but being univerſally deteſted by the people, on account of his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raiſed fled over to *Andronicus*, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of *Contoſtephanus*, followed their example. Hereupon the people, aſſembling in a tumultuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared *Andronicus* guardian of the young prince, ſet at liberty his two ſons, *John* and *Manuel*, whom *Alexius* had thrown into priſon, and ſeizing on *Alexius* himſelf, carried him in a mock triumph to the ſea-ſide, attended with the ſcoffs and curſes of the enraged multitude, and thence conveyed him in a ſmall boat to *Andronicus*, who after having expoſed him to the inſults of the whole army, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out. Soon after, *Andronicus*, paſſing the ſtraights, went to wait on the emperor, who was then with the empreſs his mother, at a royal ſeat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his preſence, fell on the ground, out of a pretended reſpect to his prince, repeating ſeveral texts of ſcripture, adapted to the preſent purpoſe. As for the empreſs, he ſaluted her with a coldneſs, which ſufficiently betrayed the averſion he bore her. Having ſtaid ſome days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, attended with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, and was by all, with one voice, declared and acknowledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young *Alexius*. But, notwithſtanding the tyrannical conduct of *Alexius* the preſident, the citizens of *Conſtantinople* had ſoon occaſion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty, which the protector did not practiſe upon the unhappy people, without diſtinction of ſex or condition. Some were deprived of their ſight, others baniſhed, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of ſome private grudge, or becauſe they ſeemed attached to the young prince. Among the reſt *Mary*, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very inſtrumental in the late revolution, and her huſband *Manuel*, *Andronicus*'s own ſon, were poiſoned by the tyrant's orders. As for the empreſs, he cauſed her to be accuſed of treaſon, as if ſhe had by letters invited *Bela*, king of the *Hungarians*, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this charge, altogether groundleſs, ſhe was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppoſe the tyrant's pleaſure, and ſhortly after ſtrangled by

The army and fleet revolt to him.

He is received at Conſtantinople, and declared protector of the empire.

by *Pterigionites* the eunuch. Soon after her death, the tyrant, pretending a great tenderneſs and unſhaken fidelity for the young prince, cauſed him to be ſolemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the ſame time to enlarge in an eloquent ſpeech on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he ſaid, a perſon of wiſdom and experience to avert them. He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on before-hand, *Long live* Alexius *and* Andronicus Roman *emperors*, the whole multitude ſaluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the conſent and approbation of *Alexius*, on the imperial throne, the tyrant affecting the whole time an utter averſion to what he had ſo long coveted; nay, upon receiving, as was cuſtomary, the holy euchariſt at his coronation, liſting his eyes up to heaven, he ſolemnly ſwore by that venerable myſtery, that he took upon him the ſovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor and ſupport his authority; but notwithſtanding this oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he reſolved a few days after to diſpatch his collegue, and take the whole authority into his own hands. Purſuant to this wicked reſolution, one *Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites*, with ſome others, entering, by the tyrant's orders, the unhappy prince's chamber in the night, ſtrangled him with a bow-ſtring. Such was the miſerable end of *Alexius* II. in the third year of his reign, and fifteenth of his life[m].

Made collegue to Alexius.

Whom he cauſes to be murdered.

Andronicus.

Andronicus, now ſole maſter of the empire, made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh the power he had uſurped, raging without diſtinction againſt perſons of all ranks, whom he imagined in the leaſt affected to *Manuel*'s family, or capable of revenging his death. No day paſſed without ſome cruel execution; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time the flower of the nobility was utterly cut off, the mercileſs tyrant complaining all the while of the ſeverity of the law, which did not allow him to ſhew pity to ſo many deſerving men. Some, however, found means to make their eſcape, and among the reſt *Iſaac Comnenus*, *Manuel*'s near kinſman; who, taking refuge in *Cyprus*, made himſelf maſter of that iſland, and is ſaid to have exceeded even *Andronicus* himſelf in all manner of barbarities. *Alexius Comnenus*, brother to the late emperor *Manuel*, fled to *Sicily*; and having perſuaded *William*, king of that iſland, to make war upon *Andronicus*, he attended him to *Dyrrhachium*, which city the king ſoon reduced; and marching from thence into *Macedon*, laid waſte that province without oppoſition, and ſat down before *Theſſalonica*, where his fleet had been ordered to

His cruel and tyrannical conduct.

William, *king of* Sicily, *invades his dominions.*

[m] Nicet. in Alex Comnen. c. 3—16.

attend

attend him. The city was taken by ſtorm, after a few days ſiege, through the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the utmoſt cruelty plundered by the *Sicilians*, who, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all they met to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken refuge in the churches. *Andronicus*, having aſſembled his troops, ordered them to march, under the conduct of the beſt generals in whom he could confide, againſt the enemy. But they were defeated and put to flight at the firſt onſet; which inſpired the *Sicilians* with ſuch courage, that they began to look upon themſelves as already maſters of the imperial city itſelf. In the mean time, the tyrant, finding the number of the malecontents increaſed at home, in proportion to the ſucceſs of the enemy abroad, began to rage with more cruelty than ever, not ſparing even his own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of his tyranny againſt others. Among the many who were deſtined to ſlaughter was *Iſaac Angelus*, a perſon of great diſtinction, being deſcended from one of the moſt antient families in *Conſtantinople*. *Hagiochriſtophorites*, *Andronicus*'s prime miniſter, was ordered to ſeize him; but *Iſaac*, having killed the aſſaſſin with his own hand, made his eſcape to a neighbouring church, whither he was followed by his uncle *John Ducas*, by his ſon *Iſaac*, and by ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality. As *Iſaac* was generally beloved, on account of his popular and engaging behaviour, multitudes of people flocked from all parts of the city to ſee him in his aſylum. As *Andronicus* was then abſent from the city, *Iſaac* laid hold of that opportunity to ſtir up the populace againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that, on a day appointed, they flocked in crouds to the church of St. *Sophia*, and there, with one voice, ſaluted *Iſaac* emperor, declaring at the ſame time *Andronicus* a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of what had happened in the city, and deſpairing of being able to appeaſe the enraged multitude or make head againſt them, fled to *Mſeludium*, a royal palace on the caſt ſide of the *Propontis*, and from thence attempted to eſcape into *Scythia*; but being ſeveral times driven back by contrary winds, and purſued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was apprehended and preſented in chains to *Iſaac*; who, having cauſed his right hand to be cut off and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him up to the enraged populace, from whom he ſuffered indignities anſwerable to the injuries with which he had provoked them; for having led him, as it were, in triumph, through the moſt frequented ſtreets of the city on a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidſt the reproaches and inſults of the incenſed multitude, they hung him up by the feet between two pillars, ſtripped off his cloaths, cut off his private parts, and tormented

Iſaac Angelus *takes refuge in the church.*

Is proclaimed emperor.

Andronicus taken, and cruelly tormented by the populace.

him for three days together, he bearing the whole time with an invincible courage all the torments, the incenſed and relentleſs mob could inflict upon him, ſometimes repeating, *Lord have mercy upon me*, and ſometimes addreſſing the multitude with theſe words, *Why do you break a bruiſed reed?*. At length one, touched with compaſſion at the ſight of an object, which might have drawn tears from cruelty itſelf, by a mortal wound in his throat, put an end at the ſame time to his life and torments, after he had lived ſeventy three years and reigned two [n]. He was the laſt emperor of the *Comnenian* family.

Is murdered.

Iſaac Angelus.

Iſaac, thus raiſed to the imperial dignity, gained, in the beginning of his reign, the affections of his ſubjects, by his lenity and moderation, not only recalling and reſtoring to their eſtates ſuch as had been baniſhed by *Andronicus*, but relieving ſeveral decayed families out of his private eſtate. When he thought himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the throne, he diſpatched the flower of the army, under the conduct of *Branas*, an officer of great experience, againſt the *Sicilians*; who, being ſurpriſed by him as they were roving about the country in queſt of plunder, were put to flight, and cut off almoſt to a man, either by the emperor's troops, or the natives, whom they had provoked with their barbarities. Their fleet, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, on their return home, being overtaken and diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, moſt of their ſhips were taken by the emperor's admiral, and great numbers of priſoners ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where moſt of them periſhed with famine, the emperor, who was naturally addicted to cruelty, not ſuffering them to be relieved even with bread and water. Having thus put an end to the *Sicilian* war, he reſolved to drive, if poſſible, *Iſaac Comnenus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, out of *Cyprus*, where he oppreſſed the inhabitants in a moſt tyrannical manner. In order to this, he equipped a mighty fleet, which he ſent under the command of *John Contoſtephanus*, and *Alexius Comnenus*, to make a deſcent upon that iſland; which they did accordingly, landing without the leaſt oppoſition. But while the forces were aſhore, *Margarites*, a famous pirate, who had joined *Iſaac Comnenus*, falling upon the fleet, ſeized or burnt all the ſhips, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were landed and could not retreat, cut them off all to a man. This misfortune encouraged the *Maſſians*, whom the emperor oppreſſed with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the protection of the *Scythians*; who, having raiſed a numerous army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched his uncle *John Ducas*, who gained ſeveral advantages over the

He defeats the Sicilians.

Attempts in vain to recover Cyprus.

[n] Nicet. in Andronic. l. i. c. 5—11.

enemy.

enemy, and would in all likelihood have put an end to the war, had he not been recalled by the jealous emperor. *John*, surnamed *Cantacuzenus*, being appointed to succeed him, was, through his rashness and indiscretion, often worsted by the enemy. Whereupon *Branas Alexius*, the greatest commander of his age, was entrusted with the whole management of the war. *Branas*, seeing himself at the head of a powerful army, after having gained some advantages over the enemy, returned on a sudden to *Adrianople*, the place of his nativity; and, having caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there, led his troops without loss of time to the imperial city, hoping to surprise the emperor, who had scarce received intelligence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themselves, upon his approach, in a posture of defence, and harassing his troops with frequent sallies, he resolved to encamp at some distance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by famine. The emperor, in the mean time, reposing all his confidence in the virgin *Mary*, (whose image he caused to be placed on the walls) and the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was roused by *Conrade*, son to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who, happening to be then at *Constantinople*, encouraged him to draw together his troops, and march out against the enemy; which he did accordingly, being attended by *Conrade*, who commanded the main body of the imperial army. *Branas* received him with his men in battle-array; whereupon an engagement ensuing, the dispute was maintained for a considerable time on both sides with great obstinacy; but in the end the emperor's forces, though a handful in comparison of the enemy's, prevailing, *Branas* himself was killed on the spot, and most of his chief officers either slain in the pursuit or taken prisoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Conrade*, by whose hand *Branas* fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge [o]. The rebellion being thus happily quelled, the jealous emperor resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the celebrated emperor of *Germany*, *Frederic Barbarossa*, who was marching, at the head of a mighty army, to the assistance of the princes of the crusade. He had promised to grant *Frederic* a free passage through his dominions, and supply his army with all manner of provisions; but being in the mean time gained over by *Saladin*, the *Turkish* sultan, who promised to restore *Palestine* to him, instead of assisting the *German* army, pursuant to his engagement, he no sooner heard of their arrival on the borders, than he

Branas *revolts, and lays siege to* Constantinople.

He is defeated and killed.

The emperor's treacherous conduct towards Frederic *the* German *emperor.*

[o] Idem in Isaac. Ang. l. i. c. 7—9: & l ii c. 1, 2.

diſpatched his couſin *Manuel*, with a powerful army, to obſtruct their paſſage and intercept their proviſions, having firſt, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into priſon the biſhop of *Munſter*, the earl of *Naſſau*, and count *Walram*, *Frederic*'s embaſſadors. The *Germans*, juſtly provoked at the emperor's treachery and perfidiouſneſs, paſſed, in ſpite of the oppoſition they met with from the cowardly *Greeks*, into *Thrace*, and there ſeized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the fortified towns, purſuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached *Philoppopolis*, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and *Frederic*, taking poſſeſſion of it, halted there a few days to refreſh his troops. In the m an time, the emperor, highly incenſed againſt *Manuel*, whom he accuſed of cowardice, ſent him peremptory orders to engage the *Germans*; purſuant to which, the *Greek* general advanced within ſix miles of *Philippopolis*. But his whole army being ſhamefully put to flight by a party of *Germans*, whom *Frederic* had ſent out to ſcour the country and watch the enemy's motions, the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Adrianople*, with all the places between the *Ægean* and *Euxine* ſeas, opened their gates to the victorious army, without attemping to make the leaſt oppoſition. Hereupon the emperor, having ſet *Frederic*'s embaſſadors at liberty, began to ſue for peace, offering to ſupply the *Germans* with proviſions and the neceſſary ſhips to tranſport them into *Aſia*, provided they delivered hoſtages to him for his ſecurity, and croſſed the ſtreights without delay. *Frederic*, now maſter of the whole country to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, thought it became him to chaſtiſe the pride of the preſumptuous, but cowardly, *Greeks*, and therefore returned the following anſwer to the emperor's deputies; That he had conquered *Thrace*, and therefore would diſpoſe of it at his pleaſure; that he was determined to winter there, ſince the emperor had by his perfidiouſneſs retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to paſs the ſtreights; that he was reſolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a ſufficient number of ſhips ready againſt *Eaſter* to tranſport his troops; and ſince he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to ſend without delay twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred perſons of inferior quality, as hoſtages for the performance of what he required. To theſe ſhameful conditions the emperor readily ſubmitted, ſending immediately the hoſtages with rich preſents to *Frederic*, who, having wintered at *Adrianople*, removed early in the ſpring to *Callipolis*, where he found a great number of veſſels ready to tranſport his army into *Aſia*[p]. In the year 1192,

Frederic defeats the emperor's forces. Takes ſeveral places

Offers reaſonable terms to the emperor

[p] Nicet. ibid. l. ii. c. 5.

the

the eighth of *Iſaac*'s reign, an impoſtor, pretending to be the ſon of the emperor *Manuel*, laid claim to the empire; and, being encouraged by the ſultan of *Iconium*, raiſed in a ſhort time an army of eight thouſand men, made himſelf maſter of all the cities in the *Meander*, in ſpite of the oppoſition he met with from *Alexius*, the emperor's brother, who was ſent againſt him, and would in all likelihood have in the end driven the emperor from the throne, multitudes flocking to him from all parts, had not a prieſt put an end to his conqueſts, by ſtabbing him with his own ſword, while he lay aſleep, after having drunk to exceſs [q]. The *Scythians*, encouraged by theſe domeſtic commotions, renewed their incurſions, and, over-running the neighbouring provinces, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Againſt them the emperor marched in perſon; but having paſſed the ſummer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut the greateſt part of his army in pieces, the emperor himſelf having with much-ado made his eſcape. After this, the barbarians roved about the country without controul, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity. The emperor diſpatched againſt them firſt *Alexius Guido*, and afterwards *Batatzes Baſilius*; but both theſe generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the ſpot with the flower of his army, the emperor, having raiſed new forces, reſolved to march againſt them once more in perſon. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Conſtantinople* early in the ſpring, and arriving at *Cypſella* on the frontiers of the empire, he halted there, till the troops that were marching from all parts joined him. In the mean time, his brother *Alexius Angelus*, who had long aſpired at the empire, obſerving the general diſcontent that reigned among the ſoldiery, reſolved to lay hold of the preſent opportunity of attaining what he had ſo long wiſhed for. Accordingly, having imparted his deſign to ſome of the chief officers of the army, and found them ready to eſpouſe his intereſt and combine againſt *Iſaac*, while the emperor was one day diverting himſelf with the chaſe, the conſpirators, ſeizing *Alexius*, as had been agreed on before-hand, carried him to the imperial pavilion, and, with repeated acclamations, ſaluted him emperor, being therein followed by the whole army. *Iſaac*, judging it impoſſible to reclaim the revolted army to their duty, fled with great precipitation to *Macra*, where he was overtaken by thoſe whom his brother had ſent after him, and by his orders deprived of his ſight and thrown into priſon, after he had reigned nine years and eight months [r].

The emperor defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius Angelus *revolts.*

[q] Idem, l. iii. c. 1. [r] Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 9.

Alexius

Alexius Angelus.

Alexius Angelus, thus raiſed to the throne, abandoned himſelf to the ſame vices, for which he pretended to have removed his brother, ſpending his time in riot and luxury, while the *Scythians* on one hand, and the *Turks* on the other, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral important places, and laid waſte whole provinces. As he was an utter enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of affairs to his wife *Euphroſyne* and his favourites, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, ſelling the firſt employments of the ſtate to the higheſt bidder, without any regard to their birth or abilities, and uſing all other means, how unjuſt ſoever and diſhonourable, to fill their private coffers. In the year 1202, *Alexius*, reflecting on the great kindneſs his brother had ſhewn him during his reign, and thinking himſelf now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, ordered the unhappy *Iſaac* to be ſet at liberty, and called his ſon *Alexius*, at that time about twelve years old, to the court, treating him as his own child. But *Iſaac*, ſtill mindful of the indignity that had been offered him, and the injuſtice done both to himſelf and his ſon, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former dignity, and aſſerting his undoubted right to the imperial crown. With this view he maintained a private correſpondence with the *Latins*, and by their means with his daughter *Irene*, wife to *Philip* emperor of *Germany*, earneſtly preſſing her to perſuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. *Irene* giving them hopes of a ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, young *Alexius* made his eſcape from *Conſtantinople*; and, embarquing in a ſhip belonging to a merchant of *Piſa*, riding then at the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, landed ſafe in *Sicily*, where he ſpent ſome days in private conferences with his ſiſter, who was then in that iſland, and from thence purſued his journey to *Rome*, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received and warmly recommended to *Philip*. That prince received young *Alexius* with the greateſt demonſtrations imaginable of kindneſs and eſteem, and was ſenſibly touched, as he had an intire affection for *Irene*, with the misfortunes of her family; but being then engaged in a troubleſome war with *Otho*, who diſputed the empire with him, he could not eſpouſe the young prince's cauſe. However, by means of his embaſſadors, he engaged the *French* and *Venetians*, who had then a powerful army in *Dalmatia*, ready to march againſt the *Turks*, to attempt the reſtoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole ſtrength againſt the uſurper. The treaty, after ſome warm diſputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the *French* and *Venetians* were to eſtabliſh *Alexius* on the imperial throne, and *Alexius*, upon his reſtoration, to pay two hundred thouſand marks in ſilver

His bad government.

Iſaac, the late emperor, ſet at liberty.

His ſon Alexius recurs to the weſtern princes.

A treaty concluded between them and Alexius.

ſilver towards the expences of the holy war, maintain ten thouſand men one year to be employed in the conqueſt of *Egypt*, and, during his life, five hundred knights well armed, for the defence of ſuch places as they ſhould conquer in the holy land. The treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarqued and ſailed for *Corfu*, the place of the general rendezvous. As they appeared before *Dyrrhachium*, the inhabitants were no ſooner informed, that the young prince was on board the fleet, than they preſented him with the keys of the place, and ſwore allegiance to him. Encouraged with this happy preſage, they purſued their courſe to the iſland of *Corfu*, and from thence, after a ſhort ſtay, to the port of *St. Stephen*, on the *Propontis*, where they refreſhed themſelves, and then ſailed to *Chalcedon*, oppoſite to the imperial city, where they landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having drawn together all his forces, encamped on the *Boſporus*, over-againſt the confederates, who nevertheleſs paſſed the ſtreights, the emperor having but twenty galleys to oppoſe them, and landed in ſight of the emperor's army, who, at their approach, retired in great diſorder. The next day, the *French* made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of *Galata*, and the *Venetians*, being favoured by an eaſterly wind, ſailed up to the chain that locked up the mouth of the harbour; and having cut it with ſheers of ſteel, that opened and ſhut by means of an engine, they took or ſunk all the *Greek* veſſels in the haven. After this, the *Venetians* having battered the walls for ten days together by ſea and the *French* by land, a general aſſault was given on the ſeventeenth of *July*. The *Greeks* made a more vigorous oppoſition than was expected; and, being aſſiſted both by the advantage of the place and their numbers, often repulſed the aggreſſors. But at length the celebrated *Henry Dandalo*, duke of *Venice*, though then above eighty years old, putting himſelf at the head of his countrymen, whom he encouraged more with his example than his words, broke in, maugre all oppoſition; and having ſeized on one of the towers, planted on the top of it the great ſtandard of St. *Mark*. The emperor, finding part of the enemy's troops was got into the town, ſallied out with a deſign to charge them in the rear, and by that means oblige them to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the brave *Dandalo* having by this time made himſelf maſter of twenty-five towers on the ſide of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people, went privately on board a ſmall veſſel, kept ready for that purpoſe, and eſcaped, with his treaſures and the imperial ornaments, to *Zagora*, a city of *Thrace*, at the foot of mount *Haemus*. It was no ſooner known, that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crouding to the priſon, where *Iſaac* had been detained ever ſince

Dyrrhachium *ſubmits to* Alexius.

Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

The uſurper eſcapes to his hope.

ſince the flight of his ſon *Alexius*, ſaluted him anew with the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years before; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the uſurper, and the re-eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac*, invited the young prince to ſhare the empire with his father. The confederates were tranſported with joy at the news of ſo ſudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the *Greeks*, they refuſed to acknowledge *Iſaac*, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his ſon; which he had no ſooner done, tho' not without ſome reluctance, the articles appearing to him very hard, than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was aſſociated with his father in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity on the firſt of *Auguſt* 1203[s].

Iſaac reſtored.

As the uſurper continued ſtill in *Thrace*, ſupported there by a ſtrong party, and *Theodorus Laſcaris*, his ſon-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other ſide of the *Boſporus*, the two emperors earneſtly intreated the confederates to put off their expedition to the holy land, till they had completed the work, which they had ſo happily begun. To this they readily agreed; and marching againſt the tyrant, who had ſeized on *Adrianople*, drove him from thence, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring barbarians. *Theodorus Laſcaris* no ſooner heard, that the confederates were preparing to croſs the ſtreights, in order to attack him, than he diſbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the *Turks*. The confederates, having thus eſtabliſhed the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to *Conſtantinople*, where they were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable; and from thence paſſed early in the ſpring over into *Aſia*.

A dreadful fire at Conſtantinople.

The ſame year, 1203, happened a dreadful conflagration at *Conſtantinople*, occaſioned by ſome *Latin* ſoldiers, who having plundered a moſque, which the late emperor had ſuffered the *Mohammedans* to build in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the *Turks*, who were much ſuperior to them in number, ſet fire to ſome wooden houſes, the better to favour their eſcape. The flame, ſpreading in an inſtant from ſtreet to ſtreet, reduced in a ſhort time great part of the city to aſhes, with the capacious ſtore-houſes, that had been built at a vaſt expence on the quay[t]. The emperor *Iſaac* died ſoon after the departure of the *Latins*, leaving his ſon *Alexius* ſole maſter of the empire. The young prince, to diſcharge the large ſums he had promiſed to the *French* and *Vene-*

[s] Nicet. l. iii. c. 2—12. [t] Idem, l. iii. c. 12.

tians,

tians, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his ſubjects, which, with the great eſteem and friendſhip he ſhewed to his deliverers, raiſed a general diſcontent among the people, who were ſworn enemies to the *Latins*. This encouraged *John Ducas*, ſurnamed *Murtzuphlus*, from his joined and thick eye-brows, to attempt the ſovereignty. As he was a perſon of great addreſs and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himſelf with the multitude, by exclaiming againſt the *Latins*, as the only authors of the preſent miſeries; but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to diſoblige the *Latins*, and even to treat them as enemies. As the hoſtilities were returned by the weſtern princes, *Murtzuphlus* diſpatched in the emperor's name one of his friends to the marquis of *Montferrat*, with propoſals for an accommodation, offering to deliver up to him the fortreſs and palace of *Blachernæ*, within the walls of *Conſtantinople*, provided he would come and deliver him from the enraged populace, who, he ſaid, had revolted, and proclaimed another emperor. The marquis, giving credit to the embaſſador, prepared to march to *Conſtantinople*: but, in the mean time, the treacherous *Murtzuphlus*, having ſtirred up the people by giving out, that *Alexius* had ſold the city to the *Latins*, who were in full march to take poſſeſſion of it, entered, in the height of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and ſtrangled him with his own hands. After this, he preſented himſelf to the people, acquainted them with what he had done to ſecure their liberties, and earneſtly intreated them to chuſe an emperor, who had courage enough to defend them againſt the *Latins*, who were ready to oppreſs and enſlave them. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than thoſe who were privy to his wicked deſign ſaluted him with the title of emperor, and were followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne, as one capable of defeating the pretended deſigns of the *Latins*. The princes of the cruſade no ſooner heard of the death of *Alexius* and the promotion of the treacherous aſſaſſin, than they unanimouſly agreed to turn their arms againſt the uſurper, to revenge the murder of a prince, whom they had placed upon the throne; and ſince they had been ſo often betrayed, and retarded in their ſeveral expeditions to the holy land by the *Greek* emperors, to make themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*, and ſeize on the empire for themſelves. Purſuant to this reſolution, having muſtered all their forces in *Aſia*, they croſſed the ſtreights, and cloſely beſieged the imperial city both by ſea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, the *Latins*, after having battered the walls for ſeveral days together with an incredible number of engines,

Murtzuphlus *betrays the young prince.*

And murders him.

The Latins reſolve to revenge his death.

They beſiege Conſtantinople.

gave a general aſſault on the eighth of *April*, which laſted from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having loſt ſome of their engines and a great number of men. It was nevertheleſs reſolved the ſame night in a council of war, that the attack ſhould be renewed, which was done accordingly on *Monday* the twelfth of *April*, when, after a warm diſpute of ſeveral hours, the *French* planted their ſtandard on one of the towers; which the *Venetians* obſerving, they quickly made themſelves maſters of four other towers, where they likewiſe diſplayed their enſigns. In the mean time, three of the gates being broke down with the battering rams, and thoſe who had ſcaled the walls having killed the guards and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle-array within the walls. But the *Greeks* flying up and down in the greateſt confuſion, ſeveral parties were detached to ſcour the ſtreets, who put all they met to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or condition. Night put a ſtop to the dreadful ſlaughter, when the princes, ſounding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to ſtand upon their guard, and fortify themſelves, not doubting but they ſhould be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of an armed enemy, they ſaw by break of day proceſſions of ſuppliants advancing to them from every quarter of the city, with croſſes, banners, images of ſaints, relics, *&c.* to implore mercy. The princes, touched with compaſſion, promiſed them their lives, but at the ſame time ordering them to retire to their houſes, they gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiery for that day, ſtrictly injoining them to abſtain from ſlaughter, to preſerve the honour of the women, and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a juſt diſtribution might be made according to the rank and merit of each particular. The *Greeks* had, without all doubt, removed and concealed their moſt valuable effects during the night; the moſt eminent perſons had made their eſcape, and carried with them infinite treaſures; moſt of the ſoldiers had, in all likelihood, reſerved ſeveral things of great value for themſelves, as it commonly happens, notwithſtanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the ſtatues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a ſum almoſt incredible. As for *Murtzuphlus*, he made his eſcape in the night, embarquing on a ſmall veſſel with *Euphroſyne*, the wife of the late uſurper *Alexius Angelus*, and her daughter *Eudoxia*, for whoſe ſake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204 of the chriſtian æra, eight hundred and ſeventy-four years after the removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*.

Which is taken and plundered.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Roman *history, from the expulsion of the* Greeks, *to the taking of* Conſtantinople *by the* Turks, *and the utter deſtruction of the* Roman *empire.*

THE *Latins*, now maſters of the imperial city, proceeded to the election of a new emperor; when *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, a prince in every reſpect equal to that high truſt, was, after ſome deliberation, choſen, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of St. *Sophia*. To him was allotted the city of *Conſtantinople* and the country of *Thrace*, with a limited ſovereignty over the other provinces, which already were, or ſhould hereafter be, taken from the *Greeks*. To *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*, they aſſigned *Theſſaly*, which was erected into a kingdom. The *Venetians* had for their ſhare the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, part of *Peloponneſus*, and ſeveral cities on the *Helleſpont*. But while the *Latins* were thus dividing their new acquiſitions, *Theodorus Laſcaris*, ſon-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having, at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, made his eſcape into *Bithynia*, was there joyfully received by the inhabitants; and poſſeſſing himſelf not only of that country, but of *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Ionia*, and *Lydia*, from the *Meander* to the *Euxine* ſea, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial ſeat in the famous city of *Nice*. At the ſame time, *David* and *Alexius Comneni*, grand-children to the late tyrant *Andronicus*, ſeizing on the more eaſtern countries of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, erected a new empire at *Trapezus* or *Trapezond*, where their poſterity reigned, till their empire, as well as that of *Conſtantinople*, fell into the hands of *Mohammed the Great*, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* empire was no longer one, but divided into ſeveral empires, *Baldwin* reigning at *Conſtantinople*, the marquis of *Montferrat* in *Theſſaly*, *Theodorus Laſcaris* at *Nice*, the *Comneni* at *Trapezond*, and the *Venetians* in the iſlands, not to mention ſeveral other toparchies or principalities erected on the ruins of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory; *Baldwin*, the new emperor of

Baldwin, *earl of* Flanders, *choſen emperor of* Conſtantinople.

Theodorus Laſcaris *erects a new empire at* Nice.

The Comneni *at* Trapezond.

Conſtantinople, having, with the aſſiſtance of the other princes, reduced all *Thrace*, except *Adrianople*, whither great numbers of *Greeks* had fled for ſhelter againſt the prevailing power of the *Latins*, reſolved to lay ſiege to that important place, and accordingly ſat down before it with all his forces. The *Greeks* defended themſelves with great reſolution, and at the ſame time, by means of ſome of their nation, who had withdrawn into *Bulgaria*, prevailed upon *John*, king of that country, to eſpouſe their cauſe, who marching at the head of a powerful army, conſiſting partly of *Bulgarians* partly of *Scythians*, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor, by a pretended flight, into an ambuſcade, cut off moſt of his men, and took *Baldwin* himſelf priſoner. After this victory the *Bulgarians* over-ran all *Thrace*, plundering the cities, laying waſte the country, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. As for the unhappy emperor *Baldwin*, he was ſent in chains to *Ernec*, or *Ternova*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, where, after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a deſert, and there left expoſed to the wild beaſts and birds of prey. In that miſerable condition he lived three days, and then expired. The *Greek* hiſtorians themſelves, who, we may well imagine, were no-ways prejudiced in his favour, allow him to have been a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a perſon in his high ſtation [a].

Baldwin's *army defeated by the* Bulgarians.

Baldwin *taken and put to a cruel death.*

In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, the late uſurper, hearing that *Theodorus Laſcaris*, his ſon-in-law, reigned in *Aſia*, left *Greece*, where he then lay concealed; and paſſing over into *Aſia*, went privately to the court of *Jathatines*, ſultan of *Iconium*, his antient friend and ally; and laying before him the miſerable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his aſſiſtance for the recovery of his empire, eſpecially of that part of *Aſia Minor*, which was, with the utmoſt injuſtice, with-held from him by *Theodorus Laſcaris*. *Jathatines*, at this time ſultan of *Iconium*, was the younger ſon of ſultan *Aladin*, who at his death, divided his kingdom between his two children *Aratines* and *Jathatines*. But, they quarrelling about the ſovereignty, the latter was driven out by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to his rank by *Alexius*, then emperor. *Jathatines* therefore eſpouſing, out of gratitude, the cauſe of his unfortunate friend, ſent embaſſadors to *Laſcaris*, requiring him, in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjuſtly poſſeſſed, to the lawful owner *Alexius*, his father-in-law. Before the return of

Alexius Angelus *ſtirs up the* Turks *againſt* Theodorus Laſcaris.

[a] Nicet. in Bald. c. 1—11.

the

the embaſſadors, the ſultan, attended by *Alexius*, advanced at the head of twenty thouſand men to *Antioch* on the *Meander*, and laid ſiege to that place; which *Laſcaris* no ſooner underſtood, than he marched with two thouſand men, the moſt he was able in that exigence to raiſe, to the relief of the beſieged city, being well appriſed, that if he ſuffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it ſtood on that river and was the boundary of his empire, it would open a way for them into the heart of his dominions. The ſultan at firſt could ſcarce give credit to thoſe who brought him intelligence of the approach of *Laſcaris* with ſo ſmall a force. However, he drew up his army in the beſt manner the narrowneſs of the place would allow of; which he had ſcarce done, when eight hundred *Italians*, of *Laſcaris*'s army, charging the *Turks* with incredible reſolution, broke through the ſultan's army, diſordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmoſt confuſion. As the *Greeks* had not courage enough to follow them, they were ſeparated from the reſt of the army, and on their return ſurrounded by the *Turkiſh* cavalry, and all to a man cut in pieces. The *Greeks*, diſheartened at ſo great a loſs, were upon the point of turning their backs, when the ſultan, now, as he imagined, ſure of the victory, ſingling out the *Greek* emperor, and truſting to his own ſtrength, engaged him in perſon, and at the firſt blow ſtruck him off his horſe. But *Laſcaris*, quickly recovering himſelf, unhorſed the ſultan, and, before he could put himſelf in a poſture of defence, cut off his head; and fixing it upon the point of a ſpear, in ſight of the enemy's army, ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight, leaving the *Greeks*, who before were ready to fly, maſters of their camp and baggage. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried to *Nice*, where he was confined to a monaſtery, in which he ended his days ſome years after [w]. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the *Turks* upon the *Greek* emperor's own terms, who being now at leiſure to ſecure his dominions againſt *Henry*, brother to the late emperor *Baldwin* and his ſucceſſor in the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, a bloody war was continued for ſeveral years between theſe two princes, with various ſucceſs; but the *Greeks* being divided among themſelves, and ſeveral princes of the imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, *Laſcaris* was in the end obliged to acknowledge the authority of *Henry*, and conclude a peace with him. After this, *Henry* turned his arms firſt againſt the

They are defeated, and the ſultan ſlain.

War between the Latin and Greek emperors.

[w] Idem ibid. c. ult.

Bulgarians,

Bulgarians, whom he drove out of *Thrace*, and afterwards againſt *Michael Angelus*, a *Greek* prince of the imperial family, who having ſeized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, during the confuſion that enſued upon the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged deſpot or lord of that country. The emperor waged war with him and his brother *Theodorus*, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held. *Henry*, after having reigned ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and ſucceſs, died at *Theſſalonica* in the fortieth year of his age. He was ſucceeded by *Peter*, count of *Auxerre*, who had married his ſiſter, and ſignalized himſelf upon ſeveral occaſions. This prince, arriving at *Rome* on his way from *France* to *Conſtantinople*, was ſolemnly crowned there by pope *Honorius* III. on the ninth of *April* 1217. From *Rome* he proceeded to *Venice*, where he entered into an alliance with that republic againſt *Theodorus*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Michael* in the principality of *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. Leaving *Venice*, he entered that prince's dominions, and laid ſiege to *Dyrrhachium*, which *Theodorus* had lately taken; but not being able to reduce it, he was forced to abandon the enterpriſe, and ſoon after to come to an agreement with *Theodorus*, who promiſed him a free paſſage through his dominions; but nevertheleſs fell upon him unexpectedly, cut moſt of his forces in pieces, and, having taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, put him to death ſoon after [x]. Upon his death, the *Latins* named his eldeſt ſon *Philip*, count of *Namur*, to ſucceed him; but he declining that burden, *Robert*, the deceaſed emperor's ſecond ſon, was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to ſubmit to it. In the third year of his reign died *Theodorus Laſcaris*, after having governed, for the ſpace of eighteen years, that part of the empire, which the *Greeks* ſtill retained in *Aſia*, and defended it with no leſs courage than ſucceſs againſt the *Turks* on one ſide, and the *Latins* on the other. He left behind him one ſon and three daughters; but the ſon being yet an infant, he bequeathed the empire to *John Ducas*, ſurnamed *Vataces*, who had married his eldeſt daughter *Irene*, and was by the dying emperor not undeſervedly judged more capable than his own brothers, *Alexius* and *Iſaac*, of defending, and even inlarging the empire, which he had founded. *John Ducas* was crowned in the year 1222, by *Manuel*, patriarch of the *Greeks*, at *Nice*. *Alexius* and *Angelus*, the late emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged of right to them, withdrew to *Conſtantinople*, to implore the protection of the *Latins* againſt one, whom they

Henry, *the* Latin *emperor, ſucceeded by* Peter.

Who is treacherouſly put to death by Theodorus, *prince of* Epirus. Robert, Latin *emperor of* Conſtantinople.

[x] Georg. Acrop. l. i. c. 6.

looked

looked upon as no other than an uſurper. *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor, readily eſpouſed their cauſe; and having raiſed a conſiderable army, committed it to their conduct. But *John*, having aſſembled in the mean time all his forces, met the two brothers at a place called *Poemaneum*; and having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the *Latin* army being cut off, and the two commanders taken priſoners. The *Greek* emperor, encouraged with this ſucceſs, built with incredible expedition a great number of galleys in the ſeveral ports of *Aſia*; and falling unexpectedly upon the iſlands in the *Archipelago*, reduced moſt of them, driving every-where the *Latins* before him. The fame of his exploits reaching *Aſſan* or *Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, that prince, courting his friendſhip, propoſed a match between his daughter *Helena* and *Theodore*, the emperor's ſon, which was readily embraced by *Ducas*, who well knew how advantageous to his affairs an alliance would prove with ſo powerful a prince. At the ſame time, the ſultan of *Iconium*, apprehending an irruption of the *Tartars*, who had already driven the *Turks* out of *Perſia*, ſent embaſſadors to *Nice*, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; which *Ducas* readily agreed to, and then, employing his whole ſtrength againſt the *Latins*, made himſelf maſter of all the places held by them on the *Boſporus* and the *Helleſpont*. While the *Latins* were thus diſtreſſed on the other ſide of the ſtreights by *John Ducas*, *Theodorus*, prince or deſpot of *Epirus*, invading *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*, made himſelf maſter of thoſe countries; and, aſſuming the title of emperor, cauſed himſelf to be crowned with great ſolemnity by *Demetrius*, patriarch of *Bulgaria*. He had lately concluded a peace with *John*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Azen*, in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*; but elated with his ſucceſs againſt the *Latins*, and deſirous of inlarging his dominions with new conqueſts, in defiance of the late treaty, he broke into *Bulgaria*. But *John*, whom he looked upon as noways a match for ſo renowned a conqueror, having raiſed a mighty army, engaged him; and having, after a long and bloody diſpute, put his forces to flight, took the deſpot himſelf priſoner, and cauſed his eyes to be pulled out [y]. Not long after, that is, about the year 1228, died *Robert*, emperor of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, in the ninth year of his reign. He died in *Achaia*, as he was returning from *Rome*, which city he had viſited, according to ſome writers, in order to be crowned there in a more ſolemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of *Baldwin* of *Neville*, though ſhe had ſome time before been betrothed to a *Burgundian* lord, who, highly provoked at her for-

His troops defeated by John Ducas, *the* Greek *emperor,*

Who recovers ſeveral places from the Latins.

Robert *dies.*

[y] Idem, c. 3—9.

faking

faking him to marry the emperor, ſeized on her and her mother, during the prince's abſence; and having cauſed the ambitious mother to be thrown into the ſea, ordered the noſe, ears and lips of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The ſenſe of this barbarous outrage ſunk ſo deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occaſioned his death. He was ſucceeded by *Baldwin* II. his brother, or, as ſome writers will have it, his ſon, who being but eight years old, *John* of *Brienne*, formerly king of *Jeruſalem*, and one of the greateſt captains of his time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his minority. Some writers reckon him among the *Latin* emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and tell us, that it was agreed among the *Latin* princes, that he ſhould be honoured with the title of emperor during his life, he being then near eighty years of age; and that upon his death the empire ſhould return to *Baldwin*, who was to marry *Martha*, or, as ſome ſtyle her, *Mary*, the daughter of *John*, by his ſecond wife *Bevengaria*, the daughter of *Alphonſo*, king of *Caſtile*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *John* governed with an abſolute and uncontrouled power, and was by all reſpected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his adminiſtration, *John Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, and *John Ducas*, the *Greek* emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the *Latins*, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Conſtantinople* itſelf. But the regent, behaving with a courage and reſolution equal to his former reputation, ſallied out with no more than two hundred horſe and a handful of foot, put the enemy's army, though an hundred thouſand ſtrong, to flight; and having obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty. However, the following year 1236, the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared anew before the imperial city; but were attended with no better ſucceſs, being a ſecond time defeated and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily new ſupplies, and the *Latin* army being in time greatly weakened and diminiſhed, partly by ſickneſs, and partly by frequent battles and ſkirmiſhes, the regent was at length obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were neceſſary to defend the walls. The enemy, well appriſed of the ſtate of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the ſiege; whereupon *John*, knowing he could not rely upon the *Greeks*, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were intirely devoted to the families at *Nice* and *Trapezond*, ſent the young emperor *Baldwin* to ſolicit ſuccours in perſon from the weſtern princes. During his abſence, the *Venetians*, arriving with a powerful fleet at *Conſtantinople*, obliged the confederate forces

Baldwin II.

John, *earl of* Brienne, *regent of the empire.*

He defeats the united forces of Azen *and* Ducas.

Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

forces of *Azen* and *Vatazes* to raiſe the ſiege. But *John* of *Brienne* dying ſoon after, that is, in 1237, the ninth year of his adminiſtration, the loſs of ſo great a man would have proved fatal to the *Latins*, but for a miſunderſtanding that aroſe between the *Greek* emperor and the king of *Bulgaria*, and was carried to ſuch a height, that the latter having by a ſtratagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor's ſon, joined the *Latins* againſt him, and with them laid ſiege to the city of *Chiorli*. But, in the mean time, news being brought him of the death of his wife *Ann*, daughter to the king of *Hungary*, he dropped that enterpriſe and returned home, where he ſoon after married the daughter of *Theodorus Angelus*, the late deſpot of *Epirus*, whom he had taken priſoner a few years before and deprived of his ſight, as we have related above. This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of *Theodorus*; for *Azen* not only ſet him at liberty, but aſſiſted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been uſurped by his brother *Manuel*. Being thus reſtored to his former power, he appointed his ſon to govern in his room, cauſing him to be acknowledged as emperor. This gave no ſmall umbrage to *John Vataces*, who pretended to be the ſole emperor of the *Greeks*; and therefore, upon the death of *Azen*, which happened ſoon after, he paſſed over into *Thrace*; and entering into an alliance with the *Scythians*, who had lately ſettled in *Macedon*, he entered the mock emperor's territories, ſtripped him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of emperor, and content himſelf with that of deſpot. In 1239, the emperor *Baldwin*, returning from the weſt, arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and was there crowned by the patriarch in the church of St. *Sophia*. He concluded an alliance with the *Comneni* reigning at *Trapezond*, and, with their aſſiſtance, beſieged and took the city of *Chiorli*, which, however, was ſoon after retaken by *Vataces*, together with the iſland of *Rhodes*, ſurpriſed a few years before by the *Genoeſe*. *Vataces*, having thus recovered ſuch places as had been by the *Latins* diſmembered from his empire, and not only made himſelf maſter of the greater part of *Aſia*, but extended his conqueſts in *Europe* almoſt to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, being then in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age [y].

Vataces was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodorus Laſcaris*, who, having renewed the antient alliance with the ſultan of *Iconium*, paſſed the *Helleſpont* at the head of a powerful army, and made war upon the king of *Bulgaria* and the deſpot of *Epirus*, who had invaded his dominions in *Macedon* and *Thrace*, with ſuch

The ſiege raiſed.

John *of* Brienne *dies.*

The deſpot of Epirus *reſtored.*

Vataces *reduces ſeveral places in* Thrace.

Vataces *dies.*

Theodorus Laſcaris.

[y] Acrop. in Vat. c. 12—21.

Michael Palæologus *withdraws to the* Turks.

success, that they were forced to sue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms. While he lay at *Thessalonica*, he received letters from *Nice*, informing him, that *Michael Palæologus*, whom he had left governor of *Asia* during his absence, had secretly withdrawn to the *Turks*, under pretence, that his enemies at court, by misrepresenting his conduct, had rendered him suspected to the emperor, whose displeasure he feared. As *Michael* was an officer of great courage and experience in war, the sultan of *Iconium* received him with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and gave him the command of a body of *Greeks* in the *Turkish* pay, at the head of which he distinguished himself soon after in a battle between the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the sudden revolt of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the sultan, turned the fortune of the day. The *Turkish* army being almost intirely cut off, the victorious *Tartars*, who had already driven the *Turks* out of *Persia*, and the more eastern provinces, ravaged without controul the countries belonging to them in *Asia*, and reduced the sultan to such straights, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor *Theodorus*, who received him in a very obliging manner, and sent him back with a body of chosen troops, under the command of *Isaac Ducas*, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor's chief favourite. The sultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Laodicea*.

He is recalled home.

In the mean time, *Theodorus*, unwilling to lose a subject of such extraordinary parts as *Palæologus*, wrote to him a most kind and obliging letter, inviting him home, and promising to receive him anew into favour, and restore him to his former honours and employments. With this invitation *Palæologus* readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinstated in the emperor's favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to *Theodorus* and his son.

The emperor dies.

The emperor died soon after, having scarce reigned three years complete, leaving his son *John*, then about nine years old, to succeed him.

John Lascaris.

Some time before his death, he took the monastic habit, distributed great sums among the poor, and applied himself with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed *Arsenius*, the patriarch, and *George Muzalo* guardians to the young prince. *Muzalo* was a person of a mean descent, but had, by his great fidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deserved to be raised to the highest employments in the state, which he had ever discharged with wonderful integrity, and a character altogether unblemished. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged of right to them, began to complain

complain of his conduct, and malign all his measures. Hereupon *Muzalo*, who sincerely desired to retire, and lead a private life, having assembled the nobility, offered to resign the administration to such as they thought the best qualified for the discharge of so great a trust. But they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themselves under a solemn oath to obey him, and, during his minority, those whom the deceased emperor judged proper to entrust with the care of his son, and the government of the state. But, notwithstanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility, conspiring against *Muzalo*, on the day appointed for the obsequies of the late emperor, repaired to the abby of *Sosandra*, where he was to be interred; and mixing with the croud, in the midst of the service, fell upon *Muzalo* with their drawn swords, and dispatched him at the very altar, whither he had fled for refuge, with his two brothers *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, men of distinguished characters. *Muzalo* being thus removed, the conspirators, without any regard to the patriarch, who was a man of learning, but an utter stranger to state-affairs, declared *Michael Palæologus* guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He signalized the beginning of his administration with a signal victory over *Michael Angelus*, despot of *Epirus*, who, taking advantage of the distractions of the state, after the death of *Vataces*, had broken into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, at the head of a numerous army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by *John Palæologus*, the protector's brother, after having lost, in a bloody engagement, the flower of his army. When news of this victory was brought to *Magnesia*, where *Palæologus* then resided, he was, by the most powerful among the nobility and the populace, saluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened at first to cut off from the church both *Palæologus* and his adherents; but the protector binding himself, by a solemn oath, to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he should be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place the crown upon his head. *Palæologus*, thus raised to the empire, dispatched his brother *Constantine* with a considerable army into *Peloponnesus*, which was then held partly by the despot of *Epirus*, and partly by the *Latins*, but soon recovered by *Constantine*. After this, *Michael* passed in person with a numerous army into *Thrace*, having nothing less in view than the reduction of *Constantinople* itself, the dominions of the *Latins* being now so dismembered, that scarce any thing was left to the inactive and slothful *Baldwin* besides the imperial city. However, *Palæologus* apprehending the difficulty and dangers of such an extraordinary undertaking, resolved to put it off to a more favourable

Muzalo, the young prince's governor, murdered.

Michael Palæologus guardian to the young prince.

He is crowned.

Attempts the reduction of Pera *in vain.*

favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himself maſter of the caſtle of *Pera*, in order to diſtreſs the *Latins* more effectually. But, being in ſeveral ſucceſſive aſſaults repulſed with great loſs, he was obliged to give over the enterpriſe and retire. However, as he was maſter of the neighbouring country, before his departure, he diſpoſed his troops in ſuch manner, that the city being in ſome degree blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, deſpot of *Epirus*, attempting, in defiance of a late treaty with *Palæologus*, to recover the places he had loſt in *Theſſaly* and *Greece*, *Alexius Strategopulus*, a perſon deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and for his eminent ſervices diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Cæſar*, was ſent againſt him, with orders to try whether he could on his march ſurpriſe *Conſtantinople*. *Alexius*, having paſſed the ſtraights, encamped at a place called *Rhegium*, where he was informed by the natives, that a ſtrong body of the *Latins* had been ſent to the ſiege of *Daphnuſa*; that the gariſon was in great want of proviſions; and that it would be no difficult matter to ſurpriſe the city. Hereupon the *Greek* general reſolved at all events to attempt it; and being encouraged by ſome of the inhabitants, who, coming privately to his camp, offered themſelves to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead of the night, which ſome of his men ſcaled without being obſerved; and killing the centries, whom they found aſleep, opened one of the gates to the reſt of the army, who ruſhing in, put all they met to the ſword; and at the ſame time, to create more terror, ſet fire to the city in four different places. The *Latins*, concluding from thence the enemy's forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not ſo much as attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguiſh the flames; but, ſtruck with terror and amazement, ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces in the ſtreets or their houſes, which were ſoon filled with blood and ſlaughter. In this general confuſion, the emperor *Baldwin*, quitting the enſigns of majeſty, fled with *Juſtinian*, the *Latin* patriarch, and ſome of his intimate friends, to the ſea-ſide; and there embarquing on a ſmall veſſel, ſailed firſt to *Eubœa*, and from thence to *Venice*, leaving the *Greeks* in poſſeſſion of the imperial city, after it had been held fifty-eight, or, as ſome will have it, ſixty, years, by the *Latins*. This happened in the year 1261 of the chriſtian æra, the ſecond of the reign of *Michael Palæologus* *. When news of the ſurpriſing, and altogether unexpected, ſucceſs of *Alexius* was firſt brought to *Palæologus*, reſiding then at *Nymphæum*, he gave no credit to it; but receiving ſoon after letters from *Alexius* himſelf,

Alexius Strategopulus *ſurpriſes* Conſtantinople, *and expels the* Latins.

* Pachym. l. i. c. 1——22. & l. ii. c. 27.

with

with a particular account of ſo memorable an event, tranſported with joy, he ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches with great ſolemnity, appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in their beſt apparel, and ordered couriers to be immediately diſpatched with the agreeable tidings into all the provinces of the empire. Soon after, the emperor, having ſettled his affairs at *Nice*, ſet out for *Conſtantinople* with the empreſs, his ſon *Andronicus*, the ſenate, and the nobility, to take poſſeſſion of the imperial city, and fix his reſidence in the place, which, at firſt, had been deſtined for the ſeat of the weſtern empire. Having paſſed the ſtraights, he advanced to the *Golden gate*, and continued ſome days without the walls, while the citizens were buſied in making the neceſſary preparations to receive him with a magnificence ſuitable to the occaſion. On the day appointed, the *Golden gate*, which had been long ſhut up, was opened, and the emperor entering it, amidſt the repeated acclamations of the multitude, marched on foot to the great palace, being preceded by the biſhop of *Cyzicus*, carrying the image of the virgin *Mary*, ſuppoſed to have been done by St. *Luke*, and followed by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citizens, in their moſt pompous apparel. Public thanks were again returned in the church of St. *Sophia*, at which the emperor aſſiſted in perſon, with the clergy, the ſenate, and the nobility. The exerciſes of piety were ſucceeded by all ſorts of diverſions, which laſted ſeveral days, the nobility, and chief citizens, ſtriving to excel each other in teſtifying their joy by banquets and public ſports, on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor carefully ſurveyed the imperial city, which allayed in great meaſure the ſenſe of his preſent good fortune; for he obſerved the ſtately palace of *Blachernæ*, with the other magnificent dwellings of the *Roman* emperors, lying in ruins; the many capacious buildings, that had been erected by his predeceſſors at an immenſe charge, deſtroyed by fire and other unavoidable accidents of war; ſeveral ſtreets quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbiſh of the ruined houſes, &c. Theſe objects gave the emperor no ſmall concern, and kindled in him a deſire of rebuilding the city, and reſtoring it to its former luſtre. In the mean time, looking upon *Alexius* as the reſtorer of his country, he cauſed him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city, as it were in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name ſhould in the public prayers be joined to his own, and, to perpetuate the memory of ſo great and glorious an action, he commanded his ſtatue to be erected on a ſtately pillar of marble before the church of the apoſtles.

The emperor removes his court from Nice *to* Conſtantinople.

His entry, and public rejoicings.

apoſtles. His next care was to repeople the city, many *Greek* families having withdrawn from it, while it was held by the *Latins*, to ſettle elſewhere, and the *Latins* now preparing to return to their reſpective countries. The former were recalled home; and the latter, in regard of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The *Genoeſe* were allowed to live in one of the moſt beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, and to trade without paying cuſtoms or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewiſe granted to the natives of *Venice* and *Piſa*, which encouraged them to lay aſide all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantageous to the ſtate. The emperor being ſoon after informed, that *Baldwin* had married his daughter to *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, and given him by way of dowry the city of *Conſtantinople*, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the *Genoeſe*, who were become very numerous, and might have done great miſchief, if the city had been attacked, to remove firſt to *Heraclea*, and afterwards to *Galata*, where they continued. As for the *Piſans* and *Venetians*, who were not ſo numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to continue in the city [z]. The emperor, having thus ſettled the ſtate, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, began to think of ſecuring to himſelf and his poſterity the ſovereignty, which he only held as it were in truſt, and was to reſign to the young prince as ſoon as he came of age. Having therefore cauſed himſelf to be crowned anew in the imperial city, he ſoon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his ſight, pretending, that no one but himſelf had any title to the city or empire of *Conſtantinople*, which he alone had recovered from the *Latins*. This treaſon and barbarity involved him in endleſs troubles and dangers. For *Arſenius*, the patriarch, immediately excommunicated him and all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſary to his crime, which occaſioned great diſturbances in the city. At the ſame time, *Michael*, deſpot of *Epirus*, and *Conſtantine*, king of *Bulgaria*, who had married the young emperor's ſiſters, breaking into *Thrace*, laid waſte that country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Palæologus* marched againſt them in perſon; but as he was returning home without performing any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked unexpectedly by the *Bulgarians*, and had unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not eſcaped by ſea on board a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed him ſafe to *Conſtantinople*. The troops he had with him were for the moſt part cut in pieces

The Latins *encouraged to continue in the city.*

Palæologus *puts out the eyes of the young emperor, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged ſole emperor.*

He is involved in great troubles.

[z] Pachym. l. ii. c. 27——35.

or

or taken priſoners; and the *Bulgarians*, being reinforced with twenty thouſand *Tartars*, roved about the country without controul, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. The *Venetians*, obſerving the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, laid hold of that opportunity to recover the iſlands in the *Archipelago*, which *Palæologus* had ſeized after the reduction of *Conſtantinople*. The *Venetians* were joined by the king of *Sicily* and moſt of the weſtern princes, who combining againſt *Palæologus*, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope *Urban* IV. to eſpouſe his cauſe, by promiſing to ſubmit himſelf and his dominions to the *Latin* church, and by that means diverted the ſtorm that threatened him. The pope perſuaded *Charles*, count of *Anjou* and king of *Sicily*, to conclude a peace with him; and *Palæologus*, on his ſide, did all that lay in his power to bring about an union between the two churches, acknowledging by his embaſſadors, or in perſon, as ſome will have it, the ſupremacy of the pope in the famous council of *Lyons* held in the year 1274. This occaſioned great diſturbances at *Conſtantinople* and throughout the empire, *Joſeph* the patriarch, and with him moſt of the clergy, openly inveighing againſt theſe innovations; which provoked *Palæologus* to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed ſuch as appeared moſt obſtinate to be impriſoned and cruelly racked, and baniſhed the reſt with the patriarch *Joſeph*, in whoſe room *Veccus* was choſen. However, not long after, *Simon* of *Bire*, a native of *France*, being, by the intereſt of *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, choſen pope, on which occaſion he took the name of *Martin* IV. he ſolemnly excommunicated *Michael* for having contributed to the famous maſſacre of the *French* in *Sicily*, which happened on *Eaſter-day*, the thirtieth of *March* 1282, and is commonly known by the name of the *Sicilian veſpers*. At length the unhappy prince, oppreſſed with cares, was taken ill as he was marching againſt the *Turks*, who had broken into the eaſtern provinces; and, his diſtemper increaſing daily, he was obliged to halt at a place called *Allogium*. There he received the embaſſadors of the *Tartars*, whom he had invited to his aſſiſtance, and ſoon after died, having lived fifty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, wanting one month [a]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Andronicus Palæologus*, who, thinking he could not begin his reign by a more popular act than by reſtoring the ceremonies of the *Greek* church, and refuſing to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope, annulled whatever his father had done with reſpect to the union of the two churches. But ſuch as had received the *Latin* ceremonies defending them

The union of the Greek and Latin churches.

The emperor dies. Andronicus Palæologus.

[a] Idem, l. vi. c. 30. & ultim.

with

with great obſtinacy, and thoſe of the contrary faction, now countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign, the ſchiſm was revived, and ſuch animoſities raiſed in the ſtate, as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to reſtore the antient ceremonies diſobliged ſuch only as were addicted to the *Latin* church; but his conduct towards his brother *Conſtantine* eſtranged from him the minds of both parties. *Conſtantine* was the darling of the people; and being ſent by the late emperor his father into *Aſia*, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had there in ſeveral battles overthrown the *Turks*. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him ſuſpected to the emperor, he was by his orders ſeized and thrown into priſon, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, amongſt whom was *Michael Strategopulus*, ſon to the celebrated *Alexius*, who had recovered *Conſtantinople* from the *Latins*. Upon the removal of theſe two brave officers, the *Turks*, under the conduct of the famous *Othoman*, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places in *Phrygia*, *Caria*, and *Bithynia*, and among the reſt of the city of *Nice*. To put a ſtop to their conqueſts, the emperor diſpatched into *Aſia*, *Philanthropenus* and *Libadarius*, two officers of great reputation and experience in war, appointing the latter governor of the cities of *Ionia*, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers on the *Meander*. *Philanthropenus* gained ſeveral advantages over the *Turks*; but, elated with his ſucceſs, he aſſumed the purple, and cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, marched againſt *Libadarius*, who had declared him a public enemy, and ſet a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the *Cretans*, who ſerved under *Philanthropenus*, and had been before-hand gained over by *Libadarius*, ſeizing their leader, delivered him up to his adverſary, who cauſed his eyes to be put out. In the mean time, the *Turks*, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine diſturbances, not only extended their dominions in *Aſia*, but conquered moſt of the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*; and, being maſters at ſea, infeſted the coaſts of the empire, to the utter ruin of trade and commerce. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, the emperor, diſtruſting his own ſubjects, took into his pay ten thouſand *Maſſagetes* or *Alans*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Tartars*, had paſſed the *Danube*. Theſe being ſent over into *Aſia*, under the conduct of *Michael*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, whom he had lately declared his collegue in the empire, the *Turks*, at their approach, retired to the mountains; whence ſoon after they came ſuddenly down, and falling upon the *Maſſagetes*, while they lay in their camp, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, put them to flight, in ſpite of

Jealous of his brother Conſtantine.

Alexius Philanthropenus *revolts;*

But is betrayed by his own men.

of all the efforts of the young emperor, who, on that occaſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner, but was in the end obliged to fly with the reſt, and take refuge in the ſtrong caſtle of *Magneſia*. The *Maſſagetes*, abandoning him, marched directly to the *Helleſpont*, ravaging the countries through which they paſſed, and thence croſſed over into *Europe*. The *Turks*, purſuing them, made themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong-holds to the ſea-ſide. As for *Michael*, having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands, he got in the end ſafe to *Conſtantinople*. The emperor, notwithſtanding the ſhameful conduct of the *Maſſagetes*, repoſing ſtill greater truſt in ſtrangers than in his own ſubjects, of whom he was grown jealous ſince the rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, took into his ſervice a body of *Catalans*, under the command of one *Ronzerius* or *Rouzerius*, who had formerly ſerved in the wars between the kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*; and, having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, ſent him with his troops to the relief of *Philadelphia*, then cloſely beſieged by the *Turks*, whom, upon his arrival, he obliged to abandon the enterpriſe and retire. Upon their retreat, he turned his arms againſt thoſe whom he was ſent to protect; and roving about the country, committed everywhere unheard-of cruelties, ſubjecting all to the rage and luſt of thoſe diſſolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in *Aſia*, he returned with his *Catalans* to *Europe*, and leaving the reſt at *Callipolis*, went with two hundred choſen men to demand of the young emperor *Michael*, lying then at *Oreſtias* in *Thrace*, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himſelf and his men. *Michael*, juſtly provoked at his late conduct in *Aſia*, and now incenſed againſt him on account of his inſolent carriage, ordered his guards to fall upon him, who accordingly cut him and moſt of his men in pieces. Thoſe, who eſcaped, flying to *Callipolis*, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who thereupon, tranſported with rage, firſt put all the citizens to the ſword, and then, fortifying themſelves in the beſt manner they could, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they diſtruſted their own ſtrength, they ſent for aſſiſtance to the *Turks* dwelling over-againſt them in *Aſia*, who immediately conveyed over the ſtraights five hundred choſen men to reinforce them. Theſe were ſoon followed by others, who joining the *Catalans*, laid waſte the neighbouring country; and having, with great expedition, equipped and manned eight galleys, plundered all the merchant-ſhips in the ſtraights, and would have greatly diſtreſſed the imperial city itſelf, had not their ſmall fleet been encountered and deſtroyed by the *Genoeſe*. On this occaſion the *Turks* came firſt into *Europe*; an event which we may deſervedly reckon

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks.

The Catalans *revolt.*

Their leader is killed by the emperor's orders.

They ſeize on Callipolis.

The Turks *firſt in* Europe.

one of the moſt fatal that ever happened to the empire. The young emperor *Michael* marched againſt the *Catalans* and *Turks*, with a conſiderable army, conſiſting of *Greeks*, *Maſſagetes*, and other auxiliaries; but the auxiliaries withdrawing, as ſoon as the ſignal for battle was given, and ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance as idle ſpectators, at whoſe inſtigation was never known, the *Greeks* were ſo diſcouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promiſes ſtop their flight. He performed in perſon all that could be expected from an experienced officer and valiant ſoldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either with his words or example, and his horſe being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his eſcape to *Didymothicum*, where his father lay encamped. After this victory the *Catalans* and *Turks* over-ran all *Thrace*, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword, till finding it impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt longer there, the *Catalans* reſolved to invade *Theſſaly*; but the *Turks*, deſirous of returning home with their booty, ſeparated from them, being then thirteen thouſand horſe, and eight hundred foot; and bending their march through *Macedon*, acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would allow them a ſafe paſſage through his dominions, and ſupply them with ſhips to tranſport them into *Aſia*. To this the emperor, willing to get rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, readily condeſcended, and accordingly ordered the neceſſary veſſels to be got ready with the utmoſt expedition. But the *Greek* officers, obſerving the immenſe booty with which they were loaded, began to contrive how they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it, and in the end reſolved to fall upon the *Turks* in the night; and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the ſubjects of the empire, and enrich themſelves with the booty. The matter was not managed with ſuch ſecrecy, but the *Turks* had timely intimation of it. Hereupon, having ſurpriſed a ſtrong caſtle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other ſide the ſtraights with the danger that threatened them, who, enticed with the hopes of booty, haſtened to their aſſiſtance; and croſſing the *Helleſpont*, ravaged the adjacent country, making excurſions to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*. The emperor, awaked at length by the daily complaints of his people, reſolved to root them out; and accordingly marched againſt them with all his forces, the country-people flocking to him from all parts with their ſpades, mattocks, and other inſtruments of huſbandry, in order to aſſiſt him in the reduction of the caſtle. The *Turks* were greatly alarmed at their approach, and began to look upon themſelves as inevitably loſt; but afterwards obſerving, that the *Greeks*, who had cloſely beſieged

Thrace ravaged by the Catalans *and* Turks.

beſieged the place, confiding in their ſtrength and numbers, utterly neglected all diſcipline, they took courage, and ſallying out with no more than eight hundred choſen horſe, penetrated almoſt without oppoſition to the emperor's tent; which ſtruck the undiſciplined peaſants with ſuch terror, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. Their example was followed by the reſt of the army, tho' the emperor, and ſome of the officers, made ſeveral bold ſtands, hoping thereby to ſtop the flight of the diſheartened multitude; but the cowardly *Greeks* could not by any means be prevailed upon to ſtand before the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, and taken ſome of the chief officers priſoners, made themſelves maſters of the emperor's camp, in which they found a large ſum, deſigned for the payment of the troops, ſeveral ſtandards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and all the baggage of the army. After this unexpected victory, the *Turks* roved up and down *Thrace* for two years together, without controul; which brought unſpeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to ſtir out to till their ground. At length *Philes Palæologus*, a perſon nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, deſired leave to march againſt the enemy, with ſuch officers and ſoldiers as the emperor ſhould think fit to appoint for that ſervice, not doubting, he ſaid, but with the aſſiſtance of Heaven, he ſhould revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As *Philes* was an utter ſtranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life, the emperor, looking upon him as one choſen by providence for the relief of his oppreſſed country, readily complied with his requeſt. *Philes*'s firſt care was to eſtabliſh good diſcipline among his ſoldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and ſobriety, encouraging them with frequent donatives, and promiſing to reward each of them at the end of the war according to his deſerts. Having thus modelled his ſmall army according to his deſire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wiſhes of the emperor and the whole people. Being informed, ſoon after his departure from *Conſtantinople*, that *Chaleb*, the *Turkiſh* commander, was ravaging the country about *Bizia*, with one thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, he marched immediately againſt him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called *Xerogipſum*, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy with their booty were at hand. Hereupon having drawn up his men in battle-array, and, with a pathetic ſpeech, encouraged them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at ſun-riſing.

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks;

The *Turks*, not in the leaſt terrified with the ſurpriſe, having formed a ſtrong barricade with their waggons, and ſecured their priſoners, advanced in good order againſt the imperial troops, who received them with great reſolution and intrepidity. *Philes*, having firſt invoked the divine aſſiſtance, charged at the head of the right-wing the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horſe being killed under him, he was obliged to withdraw, which ſomewhat damped the courage of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with freſh vigour upon the enemy with the moſt reſolute of his men, put their horſe to flight; and, then diſmounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry with ſuch reſolution, that the *Turks*, no longer able to withſtand them, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. *Philes* purſued them with great ſlaughter to the entrance into the *Cherſoneſus*, and there encamped, with a deſign to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, tranſported with joy at the news of this victory, diſpatched immediately five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more ſent by the *Genoeſe* of *Peræ*, to guard the ſtraights, and prevent their receiving any aſſiſtance out of *Aſia*. At the ſame time, *Philes*'s army was ſtrengthened with two hundred choſen horſe, ſent him by *Crales* king of *Servia*, who had married the emperor's daughter. The *Turks* being thus ſhut up both by ſea and land, *Philes* advancing with his forces to the caſtle they had ſeized, began to batter it with an incredible number of engines; which did great execution. The *Turks*, now deſpairing of relief, and weakened by daily ſkirmiſhes, reſolved to uſe an utmoſt effort, and attempt to break through the *Greeks* ſword in hand; but finding them, when they firſt ſalliied out, upon their guard, and ready to receive them, they returned to their caſtle; but not ſo diſcouraged as not to attempt a few days after to open themſelves a way thro' the *Servians*; which attempt proving equally unſucceſsful, they began utterly to deſpair. Having therefore caſt away their arms, and taken with them their gold and ſilver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of the night they made towards the ſea-ſide with a deſign to ſurrender themſelves to the *Genoeſe*, who, they hoped, would ſhew them more mercy than the *Greeks*, as they had never injured nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, miſtaking the *Greek* for the *Genoeſe* galleys, fell into the hands of their moſt implacable enemies, by whom they were cut in pieces without compaſſion. The reſt fared not much better; for the *Genoeſe* killed ſuch as brought the moſt money with them, leſt in time they ſhould diſcover it to the *Greeks*, who would have claimed it. The poorer

Who are overthrown by Philes Paleologus.

And are ſhut up in the Cherſoneſus.

They are all cut in pieces or taken.

poorer ſort they loaded with chains, ſending ſome of them to the emperor, and keeping the reſt for their own ſlaves [b]. Thus was *Europe* delivered for the preſent from the *Turks*; but the time is drawing near, when we ſhall ſee them, thro' the indolence of the emperors and cowardice of the *Greeks*, firmly eſtabliſhed on this ſide the ſtraights, to the utter ruin of the empire.

THE unhappy emperor was ſoon after involved in far greater troubles: *Michael*, his eldeſt ſon and collegue in the empire, had two ſons, *Andronicus* and *Manuel*, of whom the former was greatly beloved by his grandfather *Andronicus*, though a youth of a moſt untractable temper, debauched, diſſolute, and abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs. Being greatly addicted to women, and ſuſpecting he had ſome rival in the affections of his favourite miſtreſs, he charged certain ruffians to watch her one night, and diſpatch the perſon that ſhould come to viſit her. It unluckily happened, that *Manuel* came that very night, with little or no attendance, to the houſe, in queſt of his brother. The aſſaſſins, not knowing him in the dark, miſtook him for the prince's rival, and falling upon him, gave him ſeveral mortal wounds, of which he died a few days after. When news of his death was brought to the emperor *Michael* his father, the good prince was ſo affected with it, that he died ſoon after of grief. The grandfather *Andronicus*, notwithſtanding his deep concern for the death of *Manuel*, ſtill continued to cheriſh and favour *Andronicus*, who, anſwering his kindneſs with the utmoſt ingratitude, contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Syrgiannes*, *John Cantacuzenus*, *Theodorus Synadenus*, and *Alexius Apocaucus*, all perſons diſaffected to the emperor, and ready to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to raiſe diſturbances in the empire. As they were men of uncommon parts and great experience in affairs of ſtate, they ſoon gained an aſcendant over the young prince, and finding him a ſubject proper for their deſigns, they inſpired him with a thirſt after power, and an utter averſion to the aged emperor his grandfather. The court being thus rent into two oppoſite factions, that of the young prince grew daily more powerful. The emperor did all that lay in his power to reclaim him; but his endeavours proving, to his great grief, unſucceſsful, he reſolved in the end publicly to reprove him before the patriarch and the chief of the nobility. The prince, receiving timely intimation of his grandfather's deſign, went, when ſent for, to the palace, attended by a great number of his followers and partizans, with arms under their garments,

Andronicus, the younger, a diſſolute prince.

The emperor endeavours in vain to reclaim him.

[b] GREGOR. l. iii. c. 13—17. CANTACUZEN. l. iii. PACHYM. l. ix. c 10, 11.

ready

ready, if any violence was offered to the young prince, to rush upon the aged emperor with their drawn swords, and, dispatching him, proclaim *Andronicus* emperor in his room. But the emperor, who was passionately fond of him, reproved the youth in so tender and affectionate a manner, that, bursting into tears, he fell at his grandfather's feet, and promised an intire submission for the future. The grandfather, on his side, embracing him with paternal affection, promised to appoint him his heir, and name him for his successor in the empire. Thus they parted, thoroughly reconciled; but this reconciliation was short-lived: for the prince, returning to his favourite counsellors and companions, soon fell from the resolution he had taken, and began to entertain the same ambitious thoughts he had done before. Hereupon the emperor, perceiving he was become irreclaimable, resolved to secure him, and by that means prevent the disturbances, in which he foresaw the state would be otherwise unavoidably involved. This resolution was communicated by the emperor to *Gerasimus* the patriarch, and by him scandalously betrayed to the prince, who thereupon fled with his accomplices and partizans the very night he was to have been apprehended, and escaped to *Adrianople*. The emperor, upon the first notice of his flight, caused him to be declared a public enemy, proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, whose fidelity he suspected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arriving at *Adrianople*, was there acknowledged for emperor by *Syrgiannes*, *Cantacuzenus*, and the other officers, who commanded the troops quartered in *Thrace*; so that, finding himself in a few days at the head of a considerable army, he detached a strong body of horse and foot to attempt, under the conduct of *Syrgiannes*, *Constantinople* itself, before the citizens could put themselves in a posture of defence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, dispatched *Theoleptus*, bishop of *Philadelphia*, with other persons of distinction, to the young prince, then encamped at *Orestias*, with proposals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have *Thrace*, from *Christopolis* to *Rhegium*, and the suburbs of *Constantinople*, for his share; that his followers should enjoy, without molestation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the other hand, the emperor should retain *Constantinople*, with all the cities and islands in the east, and in the west, the whole country lying between *Christopolis* and *Dyrrhachium*[c]. In the mean time, the *Turks*, taking advantage of these intestine broils, inlarged their dominions in *Asia*, and reduced most places on the *Meander*, and among

The young prince makes his escape,

And openly revolts.

The emperor obliged to divide the empire with him.

[c] Greg. & Cantacuz. l. i. c. 1—23.

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the reſt the ſtrong and important city of *Pruſa* in *Bithynia*. *Othoman* had ſome years before attempted to take it by ſtorm; but being repulſed with great loſs, he had built two ſtrong caſtles at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and left in them numerous gariſons, under the command of two of his beſt generals, *Aktemur* and *Balabanzuch*, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced the inhabitants and the gariſon to ſuch ſtraights, that great numbers of them dying for want of neceſſaries, the reſt, deſpairing of relief, were in the end obliged to capitulate, and ſubmit to *Orchanes*, the ſon of *Othoman*, who was then indiſpoſed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and gariſon ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted whither they pleaſed, and to take with them all the effects they could carry on their backs. Theſe two articles were faithfully obſerved by *Orchanes*, who, entering *Pruſa*, took poſſeſſion of that important place in the year 1327, and, upon the death of his father *Othoman*, choſe it for the ſeat of the *Turkiſh* empire. To return to *Andronicus*: the agreement between him and his grandſon was but ſhort-lived; for *Syrgiannes*, who had firſt adviſed the young prince to revolt, not thinking his ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of ſubmiſſion to the emperor, and, upon promiſe of impunity, withdrew privately from the army in *Thrace*, and repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he incenſed the emperor againſt his grandſon to ſuch a degree, that the war was renewed on both ſides. *Conſtantine*, the emperor's ſon, was ſent with a conſiderable army to *Theſſalonica*, to take upon him there the government of *Macedon*, and to invade from thence the territories lately yielded to the prince, while *Syrgiannes*, at the head of a body of *Turks*, who had entered into the emperor's ſervice, reduced that part of *Thrace*, which lay next to *Conſtantinople*. Againſt *Syrgiannes* the prince diſpatched *Synadenus*, an officer of great reputation in war; but marched in perſon againſt his uncle *Conſtantine*, being highly provoked againſt him for having ſeized on his mother *Xene*, and ſent her priſoner to *Conſtantinople*. *Conſtantine* gained ſeveral advantages over him; which reduced him to great ſtraights: but the prince having cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that his grandfather was dead, *Conſtantine* was ſo alarmed at that unexpected news, to which he gave intire credit, that he retired in the utmoſt conſternation to *Theſſalonica*. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and ſoon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, ſuſpected of maintaining a private correſpondence with the prince, and ſend them in chains to *Conſtantinople*. The letters were delivered to *Conſtantine* with the utmoſt ſecrecy; but the citizens

Pruſa *taken by the Turks.*

The emperor and his grandſon fall out anew.

And come to an open rupture.

citizens nevertheleſs, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, ſtirred up the populace; who, ſeizing on *Conſtantine*, delivered him up to his nephew, by whom he was kept cloſely confined as long as he lived. At the ſame time the *Turks* under *Syrgiannes*, quitting the emperor's ſervice, retired home; which obliged that general to return in great haſte to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his retreat, *Synadenus* reduced ſeveral places in *Thrace*, and threatened with a ſiege the imperial city itſelf; which ſo alarmed the emperor, that he releaſed *Xene*, and ſent her to her ſon, then encamped at *Rhegium*, with propoſals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promiſing to take him for his collegue in the empire, and to cauſe him to be ſolemnly crowned, with his wife *Ann* of *Savoy*, whom he had lately married upon the death of *Irene* his firſt wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of St. *Sophia* with the utmoſt magnificence; but the prince, prompted by his ambition, and impatient of a collegue, reſolved ſoon after to remove his aged grandfather, that he might reign without controul. With this view he entered into an alliance with *Michael* prince of *Bulgaria*, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diverſion in *Servia*, if the prince of that country ſhould move, as it was ſuſpected he would do, to the aſſiſtance of the emperor. After this, the prince, withdrawing privately from *Conſtantinople*, ſeized on the public revenue in *Thrace*; of which the emperor receiving intelligence, refuſed to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the ſame time his lieutenants in *Macedon* and the neighbouring provinces to act againſt him, as a public enemy. The prince, in the mean time, by pretending a great readineſs to comply in any thing reaſonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that they could ſcarce be reſtrained in *Conſtantinople* itſelf, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, to eſtrange from him the minds of the multitude, having ſummoned the patriarch and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. To this moſt of them conſented, and agreed that his name ſhould be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch and ſome others, who privately favoured him, ſummoning the people together, pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the patriarch to be depoſed, and confined him to the monaſtery of *Mangana*. The prince, who was then at *Rhegium*, being informed of what had paſſed in the metropolis, approached it

The peace renewed.

They diſagree again.

it with thirteen hundred chosen men, and leaving his army at some distance, rode up with *Cantacuzenus* and a guard of thirty soldiers, to one of the gates, desiring to be admitted, and allowed to confer with his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by *Phocas Maroles*, who commanded the guards on the walls, sent him by the same officer orders to retire forthwith, without attempting to debauch his subjects, on pain of being treated as a public enemy; nay, some reviled him from the walls with most bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having solemnly declared, that he desired nothing so much as to be reconciled to his grandfather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to *Selybria*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where he took, almost without opposition, several castles and strong-holds; and then marched to *Thessalonica*, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his approach, opened the gates to him, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous resistance, but was in the end obliged to submit, the prince having surprised and cut off a body of three hundred chosen men, sent by the emperor to reinforce the garison. The emperor, alarmed at the progress of his grandson's arms, applied to the king of *Bulgaria* for assistance, who immediately dispatched a considerable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the mean time defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the *Melanes*, advanced with long marches to *Constantinople*. However, three thousand *Bulgarian* horse reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheless, distrusting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already suffered unspeakable calamities, admitted only their commander in chief and a small number of officers into the city, assigning to the rest quarters in the suburbs. As this gave the prince, who arrived soon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich presents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country. The *Bulgarians* being thus removed, the prince prepared for the siege of *Constantinople*; but in the mean time, two of the soldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, coming to the prince in the dead of the night, offered to betray the city into his hands; and accordingly, being encouraged by him with the promise of a reward answerable to that important service, they returned into the city undiscovered; and the following night, while the rest of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had supplied them in great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, breaking open that which was called the *Roman* gate, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were so far from making any opposition,

The prince seizes on several places in Macedon.

The city of Constantinople *betrayed to him.*

position, that, on the contrary, with loud acclamations they saluted young *Andronicus* emperor. *Gregoras*, tho' greatly biassed in favour of the old emperor, and not a little prejudiced against young *Andronicus*, tells us, that the prince, ascribing the success that had attended his arms ever since the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city, issued orders, forbidding on pain of death any of his officers or soldiers to offer the least affront or injury to the emperor his grandfather. The same writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in person, and was so affected with the speech, which the unfortunate prince made him, that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and, with words full of duty and respect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greatest distress. After this, he returned solemn thanks to Heaven, for having thus put an end to the war almost without bloodshed; and then, repairing to the monastery of *Mangana*, he reconducted the patriarch in a kind of triumph to his church, and restored him to his former dignity [d]. Young *Andronicus*, now master of the imperial city, and universally acknowledged and obeyed as emperor, suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty; but would not allow him the least share in the administration, which he took intirely into his own hands, governing with an absolute sway, without so much as consulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thousand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himself resided in that of the despot *Demetrius*. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state [e].

His conduct towards the old emperor.

Who is deprived of all power.

Andronicus III.

His wars with the Bulgarians.

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of *Bulgaria*, entering *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, consisting partly of *Bulgarians*, and partly of *Scythians*, plundered several cities, and laid waste the whole country. *Andronicus*, having with incredible expedition drawn together a considerable army, appeared unexpectedly at *Byzium*, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of *Bulgaria* lay encamped. His sudden arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled back into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. *Andronicus* pursued them, and carrying the war into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, tho' at the head of

[d] Gregor. l. iv. Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 50—59. Onuph. & Gyneb. in chron. [e] Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 1.

a very

a very powerful and numerous army, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for a peace; which, after ſeveral conferences, was concluded upon terms highly honourable to *Andronicus*. After this, the two princes had an interview on horſeback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their antient friendſhip, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly in ſuch places as ſhould be moſt convenient for both [f]. The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quarter, turned his arms againſt the *Turks*, who, taking advantage of the domeſtic quarrels among the *Greek* princes, had greatly inlarged their dominions in *Aſia*. *Othoman*, whom we may juſtly ſtyle the founder of the *Turkiſh* empire, being lately dead, the emperor laid hold of that opportunity to recover ſeveral places, which that warlike prince had reduced, and among the reſt the famous city of *Nice*, with a ſtrong caſtle on the *Sangarius*, which commanded the paſſes leading into *Bithynia*. This caſtle, however, was ſoon after retaken by *Urchan* or *Orchanes*, ſon and ſucceſſor of *Othoman*, who, having happily ſettled his affairs at home, raiſed a formidable army, and entering *Bithynia* as ſoon as the emperor had left that country, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places there, and at laſt ſat down before *Nice*. The emperor, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, leaving the imperial city, haſtened back into *Aſia*; and advancing as far as *Philocrene*, encamped there at a ſmall diſtance from the *Turks*; who, after having harraſſed his men with frequent ſkirmiſhes, and ſudden onſets, fell upon him at length with their whole army. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which both ſides behaved with great bravery and reſolution; but in the end the emperor being wounded in the foot with an arrow and obliged to withdraw, his troops, no longer animated with his example, retired in the utmoſt confuſion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to *Philocrene*, to have his wound dreſſed there, a report was ſpread in the camp, that he was killed; which ſo diſheartened his men, that they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having purſued them for ſome time with great ſlaughter, ſeized on the rich booty which they had left, and amongſt other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. *Andronicus*, quite diſpirited at this misfortune, returned to *Conſtantinople*, while the *Turks*, having now no enemy to controul them, made themſelves maſters of all the maritime towns in *Bithynia*, and in the end of *Nice* itſelf, by the following ſtratagem: *Andronicus*, in leaving *Aſia*, had promiſed to reinforce the gariſon of *Nice* with a thouſand horſe. *Orchanes*

He recovers Nice *and other places from the* Turks,

By whom he is in the end defeated.

The Turks *recover* Nice.

[f] Idem, l. ii. c. 2, 3.

being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men after the *Roman* manner, and marching with them in perſon through by-ways into the road leading from *Conſtantinople*, diſpatched three hundred more, armed like *Turks*, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a ſudden to have diſcovered the enemy; and leading his men againſt the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty. As this was done in the ſight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended *Romans* were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no ſooner opened, than they fell ſword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the gariſon in pieces, and made themſelves maſters of the city. After this, *Orchanes*, leading his men to the ſea-ſide, laid ſiege to *Abydus*; which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter, while his two ſons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, reduced ſeveral other important places in *Aſia*, and among the reſt the antient city of *Nicomedia*. As the emperor was at this time ſeized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was deſpaired of, the court was in too great a confuſion to think of the proper meaſures for putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the *Turks* in *Aſia*. Such as had been inſtrumental in the late revolution could not reflect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they muſt inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor ſhould die, and his grandfather be reſtored to his power and authority. This conſideration prompted *Cantacuzenus* and ſome others, if *Gregoras* is to be credited, to reſolve on the old emperor's death; but this reſolution being generally diſapproved, they all agreed at laſt to confine him to a monaſtery, and force him to take the monaſtic habit, and exchange the name of *Andronicus* for that of *Antony*; which was done accordingly. Thus *Gregoras* [g]. But *Cantacuzenus* tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more ſevere uſage from his enemies, if his grandſon ſhould die, retired to a monaſtery of his own accord, and, taking the monaſtic habit, continued there unmoleſted to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332, he being then in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age [h]. Young *Andronicus* intended, during his malady, to reſtore the crown to his grandfather; but, upon his recovery, he ſuffered him to continue in the monaſtery, retaining the whole power to himſelf. In the mean time, the *Turks* purſued their conqueſts in *Aſia*, and threatened *Europe* itſelf with an invaſion. As the emperor was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful and formidable an

And take Abydus *and* Nicomedia.

Andronicus *the elder confined to a monaſtery, where he dies.*

[g] Greg. l. x. c. 10. [h] Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 28.

enemy,

enemy, he was perſuaded by *Cantacuzenus* to conclude a diſhonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in *Aſia*, and ſuffer the *Romans* peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wreſted from them. Not long after the inhabitants of *Theſſaly* revolting, the emperor marched againſt them in perſon; but while he was employed in reducing them, the *Turks*, who obſerved the peace no longer than it ſuited their intereſt, paſſed over into *Europe*; and having ravaged the ſea-coaſt, repaſſed the ſtraights with an immenſe booty, and a great number of captives. *Andronicus* died ſoon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he depoſed his grandfather, and 1341, of the chriſtian æra. *Cantacuzenus*, in the hiſtory he has left us, endeavours to juſtify his conduct towards his grandfather. Tho' the old emperor deſigned, as that writer pretends, to have excluded him from the ſucceſſion, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deſerved. *Gregoras*, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young *Andronicus*, and will not allow that the old emperor gave his grandſon the leaſt provocation. All the diſorders in the ſtate were owing, according to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counſels of *Cantacuzenus* and his other favourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if the grandfather was to blame, the grandſon was altogether inexcuſeable. *Andronicus* the younger left two ſons, *John* and *Manuel*, of whom the eldeſt was, upon his father's death, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, *John Cantacuzenus* was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. *Cantacuzenus* governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the ſecurity of the provinces; and in ſhort omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous, and diſintereſted, miniſter. But as he had been declared guardian to the young prince againſt the will and approbation of *John* the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and claimed a ſhare in the adminiſtration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his power to render him ſuſpected to the empreſs *Anne*, repreſenting him as one who had nothing leſs in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit with the empreſs, *Cantacuzenus*, apprehending he might in the end gain the aſcendant over her to his utter ruin, was for reſigning his charge, and earneſtly preſſed the empreſs for leave to retire; but ſhe refuſing to comply with his requeſt, and aſſuring him, that ſhe was fully convinced of his integrity, and conſequently determined to ſhut her ears againſt the unjuſt calumnies and malicious

Andronicus *the younger dies.*

John Palæologus.

The patriarch an enemy to Cantacuzenus, *the young prince's guardian.*

informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the adminiſtration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the princeſs with the dangers ſhe was to apprehend from the protector, and miſconſtruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take ſuch meaſures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for, giving intire credit to the malicious inſinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own ſafety and that of her children, againſt the wicked deſigns of the protector, ſhe began to look upon him as an enemy to herſelf and her family; and having cauſed ſome of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was abſent at *Didymothicum*, ſhe ſent him orders to reſign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refuſing to do, till he had an opportunity of juſtifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocency, the empreſs, at the inſtigation of the patriarch, declared him a public enemy and traytor. *Cantacuzenus*, now appriſed, that his enemies aimed at nothing leſs than his utter deſtruction, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raiſed to oppoſe the *Servians*, who, upon the emperor's death, had broken into the empire, and having with him ſeveral perſons of the greateſt authority in the empire, who all adviſed him to aſſume the purple, as the only means of defeating the deſigns of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at *Didymothicum* in 1342, the ſecond year of his adminiſtration. When news of his revolt was brought to *Conſtantinople*, his mother and the reſt of his friends and relations in the city were immediately apprehended, and thrown into priſon, his eſtate was confiſcated, and troops levied to ſuppreſs the rebellion in its birth. Thus *Cantacuzenus* himſelf in his hiſtory [1]; and with him moſt other hiſtorians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the perſecuted miniſter to take arms in his own defence. Having thus aſſumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and ſoldiery in a long ſpeech with the motives that had prompted him to take that ſtep, which, he ſaid, the malice of his enemies had rendered neceſſary. He then gave leave to all thoſe, whoſe friends and relations were at *Conſtantinople*, to depart, leſt, by continuing with him, they ſhould occaſion the ruin of their innocent friends. The reſt of the army declaring themſelves ready to ſtand by him to the laſt, he advanced to *Adrianople*, the inhabitants of which city had ſeized on all thoſe whom they ſuſpected to favour him, and

Cantacuzenus declared a public enemy.

He aſſumes the purple.

[1] Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 1—27.

ſent

ſent them in chains to *Conſtantinople*. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of *Bulgarians* were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay aſide the deſign he had formed againſt *Adrianople*, and retire to the ſea-ſide, that he might with more eaſe receive ſupplies from the *Turks* in *Aſia*, with whom he had entered into an alliance, upon his firſt aſſuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large ſupplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all poſſible means of bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the meſſenger who brought the letters was ſeized, and thrown into priſon, *Cantacuzenus* was declared anew a public enemy, and ſuch of his relations, as had not the good luck to make their eſcape, were treated with the utmoſt cruelty. His mother was delivered up to *Apocaucus*, his moſt inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmoſt barbarity, telling her ſometimes, that her ſon was taken priſoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to *Conſtantinople*. Her concern and the cruel uſage ſhe met with, having thrown her into a violent fever, *Apocaucus* would ſuffer no phyſician to attend her, till the empreſs, hearing the danger ſhe was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own phyſicians, who nevertheleſs were not admitted by the patriarch and *Apocaucus* to viſit her, till they had ſolemnly ſworn not to adminiſter any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being thus deſtitute of all help, and daily inſulted by her enemies, ſhe died ſoon after, to the great grief of the empreſs, who, being informed of the unſpeakable miſeries ſhe had undergone, and on that account highly provoked againſt the patriarch and *Apocaucus*, obliged them to ſend deputies to *Cantacuzenus* with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empreſs, that *Cantacuzenus* would hearken to no terms; that he was obſtinately bent upon war; and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accompliſhed the ruin of her two ſons and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore reſolved on, *Andronicus* and *Thomas Palæologi* were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into *Thrace*, of which country moſt cities had declared for *Cantacuzenus*. At the ſame time a fleet, conſiſting of ſixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the *Turks* from ſupplying the enemy with men or proviſions. Of this fleet *Apocaucus* took upon himſelf the command; and having driven back the *Turks*, attempting to croſs the ſtraights and ſuccour their ally, reduced *Cantacuzenus*, who was at the ſame time warmly preſſed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two above-

His offers for a peace rejected.

His mother uſed with great cruelty.

above-mentioned *Palæologi*, to ſuch ſtraits, that he was forced to quit *Thrace*, and take refuge in the dominions of *Crales*, prince of *Mæſia*, who received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection, and ſent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the emperor's forces, and made himſelf maſter of the greater part of *Thrace*. Hereupon his enemies, finding they could not ſuppreſs him by force, had recourſe to treachery, and, with mighty promiſes, prevailed upon one *Monomachus* to try whether he could diſpatch him with poiſon. Accordingly *Monomachus*, repairing to his camp at *Selybria*, the better to compaſs his wicked purpoſe, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorſe, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poiſon, which he was to have adminiſtered. *Cantacuzenus* received him in a moſt obliging manner, loaded him with preſents, and taking him into his favour, repoſed ſo great a truſt in him, that the traytor would have ſoon found an opportunity of putting his deſign in execution, without incurring the leaſt ſuſpicion, had not *Cantacuzenus* been privately warned by his friends at *Conſtantinople* to be upon his guard. In the mean time, *Cantacuzenus*, having made himſelf maſter of all *Macedon* and *Thrace*, approached the imperial city, with a deſign to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when ſeveral citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long ſiege, reſolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having firſt acquainted him with their deſign, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themſelves maſters of one of the gates, admitted him and his whole army, ſaluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who, flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud ſhouts to the forum. As for the empreſs, ſhe continued in the palace, which ſhe ſeemed determined to defend to the laſt extremity, having a conſiderable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earneſtly intreating her not to expoſe both herſelf and him to the fury of the incenſed multitude, ſhe was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms, *viz.* that *Cantacuzenus* ſhould be declared collegue to the young prince, and have the ſole adminiſtration of affairs for the ſpace of ten years, *Palæologus* being then but fifteen; that afterwards they ſhould both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion ſhould paſs on both ſides. This agreement being ſigned and ſworn to by *Cantacuzenus*, *Palæologus*, and the empreſs *Anne*, on the eighth of *February* 1347, the new emperor was received

His enemies attempt to poiſon him.

He is received into Conſtantinople.

the

the ſame day into the palace, and ſoon after crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by *Iſidore*, the new patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, *John* his predeceſſor being depoſed, and ſent into baniſhment. That the union between the two princes might be better ſettled and more laſting, *Cantacuzenus* gave his daughter *Helena* in marriage to young *Palæologus*, and cauſed her to be likewiſe crowned, and acknowledged empreſs by the nobility and people [k]. As *Cantacuzenus* had been powerfully aſſiſted by *Orchanes* the *Turkiſh* ſultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correſpondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy and ſome zealous chriſtians, who, by exclaiming againſt ſo ſtrict an alliance and intimacy between a chriſtian and a *Mohammedan* prince, eſtranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from *Cantacuzenus*; which proved very prejudicial to his affairs. However, he governed the empire for the ſpace of ten years with ſuch equity and moderation, that even his moſt inveterate enemies could lay nothing to his charge. In the ſixth year of his adminiſtration, the *Genoeſe* of *Galata*, who were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's refuſing them leave to inlarge their city, ſet fire to ſeveral buildings in the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*, ſeized on all the emperor's ſhips then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they gained ſeveral advantages at ſea, and made themſelves maſters of ſome iſlands in the *Archipelago*, which the emperor was obliged to yield to them. When *Palæologus* came to govern jointly with him, *Crales* king of the *Servians*, highly provoked againſt *Cantacuzenus*, for having obliged him to reſtore ſome cities, which he had ſeized during the late troubles, gained over with rich preſents ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who, by inſinuating to the young emperor, that *Cantacuzenus* deſigned to confine him to a monaſtery, to uſurp the whole power, and tranſmit the ſovereignty to his poſterity, raiſed a diffidence between the two princes, which ſoon after broke out into an open war, *Palæologus* being on one hand aſſiſted by *Crales* king of *Servia* and *Alexander* prince of *Bulgaria*; and *Cantacuzenus* on the other by *Orchanes* the *Turkiſh* ſultan. In a battle which was fought in *Thrace*, the young emperor's army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf obliged to take refuge in *Conſtantinople*, all the other cities in *Thrace* having opened their gates to the conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded between the two princes; which was no ſooner ſigned, than *Cantacuzenus*, diveſting himſelf, by a voluntary reſignation, of all his power, retired to the monaſtery of *Mangana*, and there took

And crowned emperor.

He governs with great equity and moderation.

A war breaks out between the two princes.

Cantacuzenus *reſigns, and takes the monaſtic habit.*

[k] CANTACUZEN. l. iii. c. 90—100. & l. iv. c. 1, 2.

took the monaſtic habit. But his ſon *Matthew*, whom he had ſome time before declared emperor, purſued the war, and ſeized on ſeveral cities in *Thrace*, and among the reſt on *Adrianople*. Againſt him *Palæologus* marched in perſon; and having utterly defeated his army, tho' reinforced before the battle with five thouſand *Turks* ſent by *Orchanes*, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his ſtrong-holds; whence while he was making his eſcape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was ſeixed by one *Boienas*, and delivered up to *Palæologus*, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, reſtored him to his liberty [1].

The Turks *firſt ſettled in* Europe.

During theſe civil commotions, the *Turks*, under the conduct of *Solyman*, the ſon, or, as others will have it, the brother, of *Orchanes*, paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and having ſeized on a ſtrong caſtle called *Coiridocuſtron*, marched from thence againſt *Gallipolis*, which *Solyman* took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the gariſon to offer him battle. Thus the *Turks*, after having reduced all *Aſia*, firſt ſettled in *Europe*, where they have continued ever ſince. This happened in the year 1357. *Orchanes* dying ſoon after, *Amurath* his ſon and ſucceſſor purſued the conqueſts, which *Solyman* had begun; and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in *Thrace*, laid ſiege at length to *Adrianople*, which was forced to ſubmit, the emperor not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. *Amurath*, having in a ſhort time maſtered all *Thrace*, made *Adrianople* the ſeat of his empire in *Europe*, as the moſt proper place for the inlarging his dominions, and extending his conqueſts to *Greece* and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, *Andronicus*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, having conſpired againſt his father, was by his orders deprived of his ſight, and kept under cloſe confinement. *Ducas* the hiſtorian tells us, that *Andronicus* and *Cuntuzes*, *Amurath*'s youngeſt ſon, having contracted an intimate friendſhip, conſpired the death of their fathers, binding themſelves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendſhip, when the one ſhould be emperor, and the other ſultan. The ſame writer adds, that the conſpiracy being diſcovered to *Amurath*, he ordered his own ſon's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to inflict the ſame puniſhment on his ſon, threatening him with a war, if he refuſed to comply. The emperor, dreading the power of the ſultan, cauſed the eyes both of his ſon and grandſon, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the ſame time his ſecond ſon *Manuel* his collegue in the empire. *Andronicus*, however, after two years confinement, made

They take Adrianople.

[1] Idem, c. 32——49.

his

his eſcape, being favoured therein by the *Genoeſe* of *Galata*, with whoſe aſſiſtance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into *Conſtantinople*, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his father and two brothers, *Manuel* and *Theodorus*, into his power, he confined them to the ſame priſon in which he had been detained; but they having likewiſe, after two years, made their eſcape, *Andronicus*, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while the *Turks* were ready to fall upon the few countries that were ſtill left to the empire, reſtored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him *Selymbria*, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood [m]. In the mean time, *Amurath*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, being treacherouſly ſlain, his ſon *Bajazet* ſucceeded him in his dominions; and purſuing the conqueſts which had been ſo ſucceſsfully carried on by his predeceſſors in *Europe*, made himſelf maſter of *Theſſaly*, *Macedon*, *Phocis*, *Peloponneſus*, *Myſia*, and *Bulgaria*, driving out the deſpots, or petty princes, who held thoſe countries. Elated with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the *Greek* emperor, to whom nothing was now left but *Conſtantinople* and the neighbouring country, as his vaſſal, and accordingly ſent him an arrogant and haughty meſſage, requiring, or rather commanding, him to pay him a yearly tribute, and ſend him his ſon *Manuel* to attend him in his military expeditions. With this diſhonourable demand the emperor was obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful and formidable an enemy. The unhappy prince died ſoon after, that is, in 1392, the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, leaving no ſon behind him but *Manuel*, the other two, *Andronicus* and *Theodore*, being dead ſome time before. *Manuel*, who was then in *Bajazet*'s court, hearing of his father's death, haſtened to *Conſtantinople*, without taking his leave of the ſultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his ſudden departure; which *Bajazet* highly reſenting, puniſhed the officers, who had ſuffered him to eſcape, with the utmoſt ſeverity; and paſſing with great expedition out of *Bithynia*, where he then was, into *Thrace*, deſtroyed with fire and ſword the country adjoining to *Conſtantinople*, and, after having reduced the neighbouring towns, inveſted the imperial city itſelf both by ſea and land. In this extremity *Manuel* had recourſe to the weſtern princes, who having raiſed an army 130,000 ſtrong, ſent it to his relief, under the conduct of *Sigiſmund* king of *Hungary* and *John* count of *Nevers*. The weſtern troops were at firſt attended with good ſucceſs; for entering the countries lately ſubdued by the ſultan, they recovered *Widin*, and ſeveral other places of great importance in *Bulga-*

The emperor driven from the throne by his ſon, and reſtored.

Bajazet's conqueſts in Europe.

John Paleologus *dies.*

Manuel.

Bajazet *beſieges* Conſtantinople.

[m] DUCAS, c. 12.

ria, and inveſted *Nicopolis*. Hereupon *Bajazet*, raiſing the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, marched, with all the forces he could aſſemble, to relieve the place. Upon his approach, *Sigiſmund*, leaving part of the army to purſue the ſiege, marched with the reſt to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement enſued, in which great numbers fell on both ſides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the *French* cavalry having diſmounted to fight on foot, the reſt of the army obſerving the horſes without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces, began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigour to the enemy, who making an utmoſt effort, and charging the chriſtians in their retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great confuſion. The *Turks* purſued them to their camp, which they took with all their baggage, and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom was the count of *Nevers*, and three hundred officers of diſtinction, who were all, except the count himſelf and five more, put to death in *Bajazet*'s preſence, after having been inſulted by him in a moſt outrageous manner. As for *Sigiſmund*, he had the good luck to make his eſcape, and croſſing the *Danube* in a ſmall boat, to get ſafe to his own dominions. This memorable battle, in which 20,000 chriſtians were ſlain, and a far greater number taken priſoners, was fought in the ſecond year of *Manuel*'s reign, and 1393 of the chriſtian æra [n]. After this victory, *Bajazet* returned to the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*; but finding the citizens determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, he applied to *John* the ſon of *Andronicus*, to whom, as we have obſerved above, the emperor had yielded the town of *Selymbria*. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which *Bajazet* was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a juſt claim, as being the ſon of *Manuel*'s elder brother. On the other hand, *John* was to yield the city of *Conſtantinople* to *Bajazet*, and remove the imperial ſeat to *Peloponneſus*, which the ſultan promiſed to relinquiſh to him and his poſterity. This agreement being privately ſigned and ſworn to by both parties, *Bajazet* diſpatched deputies to the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, offering to withdraw his army, and abſtain from all hoſtilities, provided they would drive out *Manuel*, and place his nephew *John* on the throne, to which he had an unqueſtionable right. This politic propoſal rent the whole city into two factions, ſome favouring *Manuel*, and others declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being appriſed, and apprehenſive of the evils attending a civil diſcord at ſo critical a conjuncture, he acquainted

Defeats an army of 130,000 chriſtians.

[n] Idem, c. 14.

his

his nephew, then in the *Turkiſh* camp, that, to deliver his ſubjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to reſign the ſovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himſelf by ſea to whatever place he ſhould think fit. With this condition *John* readily complied, and *Manuel*, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, embarqued on board a galley, and ſet ſail for *Venice*, where he landed, and from thence went to the ſeveral courts of the chriſtian princes, to ſolicit aid againſt the overgrown power of the *Turks*, now become formidable to all *Europe*. He was every-where received with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem, and promiſed large ſupplies, all *Chriſtendom* being alarmed at the late conqueſt of the infidels. In the mean time, *John* being crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, *Bajazet* took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and preſs him to a ſpeedy execution of the main article, which was to yield *Conſtantinople* to him, and retire to *Peloponneſus* or *Morea*; but the citizens refuſing, notwithſtanding the unſpeakable hardſhips they ſuffered, to comply with ſuch a ſcandalous treaty, *Bajazet* renewed the ſiege, and aſſaulted the city with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmoſt extremity, news was brought him, that *Tamerlane*, the victorious *Tartar*, after having ſubdued *Perſia* and the more eaſterly provinces, had turned his arms againſt him, and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into *Syria*. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great haſte raiſed the ſiege, and paſſing the *Helleſpont*, marched with the utmoſt expedition to *Pruſa*, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both for his eaſtern and weſtern forces. From *Pruſa* he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army, to meet *Tamerlane*, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, on the twenty-eighth of *July* 1401, cut moſt of his men in pieces; and having taken the ſultan himſelf priſoner, to puniſh his exceſſive pride, cruelty, and arrogance, ſhut him up in an iron cage, againſt which he is ſaid to have daſhed out his brains the year following, tho' ſome aſcribe his death to poiſon[o], as we ſhall relate more at length elſewhere. *Manuel* was no ſooner informed of the overthrow and captivity of his inveterate enemy *Bajazet*, than he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked againſt *John* for his ſervile compliance with the *Turks*, drove him from the throne, and reſtored *Manuel*, by whom he

Manuel reſigns the empire to his nephew John.

Conſtantinople beſieged by Bajazet;

Who is overcome and taken priſoner by Tamerlane.

[o] DUCAS, c. 14.

was

Manuel *reſtored.*

was baniſhed to the iſland of *Leſbos.* This great overthrow of the *Turks* had like to have occaſioned the total diſſolution of their empire, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*; for the five ſons of *Bajazet*, taking arms againſt each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. *Iſa-Zelebis*, *Bajazet*'s third ſon, upon his father's death, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed ſultan; but was ſoon driven from the throne by his brother *Solyman*, as was *Solyman* by his brother *Muſa*. At length *Mohammed*, *Bajazet*'s youngeſt ſon, having overcome all his competitors, was univerſally acknowledged ſultan, and the ſole monarch of the *Turks*. The emperor *Manuel* in the mean time, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine diviſions, and ſiding ſometimes with one of the competitors, and ſometimes with another, recovered ſeveral provinces, which *Mohammed*, whom he had aſſiſted againſt his brother *Muſa*, ſuffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424, the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-ſeventh of his reign [p]. Some authors write, that he reſigned the empire to his ſon *John Palæologus* five years before his death, and retiring to a monaſtery, took the monaſtic habit, with the name of *Antony*. Be that as it will, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *John*, in whoſe reign *Amurath* II. the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Mohammed*, recovered all the provinces which had been ſeized after the death of *Bajazet* by the emperor and the other chriſtian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, being provoked againſt the emperor for eſpouſing the cauſe of an impoſtor, who, pretending to be *Muſtapha* the ſon of *Bajazet*, was acknowledged for ſultan in all the provinces of the *Turkiſh* empire in *Europe*. The citizens defended themſelves with great bravery; but, being harraſſed with continual aſſaults, muſt have in the end ſubmitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of *Caramania* to countenance another *Muſtapha*, *Amurath*'s younger brother, who, having revolted in *Aſia*, was, with the ſupplies ſent him by his new ally, enabled to lay ſiege to the city of *Nice*, which he ſoon reduced. This obliged *Amurath* to raiſe the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, and march with all his forces againſt the uſurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by one *Ilras*, in whom he repoſed great confidence. *Amurath*, having got him into his power, cauſed him to be immediately ſtrangled with a bow ſtring; and then turning his arms againſt the prince of *Caramania*, obliged him to ſue for peace; which the ſultan granted him upon what terms he thought proper to preſcribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged the country far and near, laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, which he took, and plundered

Manuel *dies.*

John Palæologus.

Conſtantinople *beſieged by* Amurath II. *who is forced to raiſe it.*

Theſſalonica, *and ſeveral other places taken by* Amurath.

[p] Idem, c. 23.

with

with the utmoſt cruelty, as he did moſt of the cities of *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, and *Bæotia*. From *Greece* he marched into *Servia*, which country he ſoon reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of *Hungary*, beſieged the ſtrong city of *Belgrade*, which made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thouſand *Turks* being ſlain by the chriſtians in one ſally; which obliged *Amurath* to drop the enterpriſe, and retire. In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated *John Hunniades*, who cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves under the walls of *Sinderovia*. Not long after he gained a ſtill more ſignal victory over the enemy in the plains of *Tranſylvania*, with the loſs of no more than three thouſand of his own men, whereas twenty thouſand *Turks* were killed on the ſpot, and almoſt an equal number in the purſuit. *Amurath*, who was then at *Adrianople*, ſent another army into *Tranſylvania*, far more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better ſucceſs, being cut off almoſt to a man by the brave *Hungarian*. He gained over the *Turks* ſeveral other no leſs remarkable victories, and recovered all *Bulgaria* and *Servia*; but was in the end overcome and put to flight by *Amurath*, in the memorable battle of *Varna*, fought in the year 1444, the chriſtians being diſheartened by the death of *Uladiſlaus* king of *Hungary*, who, while he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on all ſides, and cut in pieces. However *Hunniades* having had the good luck to make his eſcape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of *Ladiſlaus*, who was choſen king of *Hungary* in the room of *Uladiſlaus*, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and advancing to *Coſſova*, engaged *Amurath*, who lay encamped there. The battle laſted three days, both armies retiring to their reſpective camps when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two firſt days the chriſtians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, *Amurath* charging them with freſh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, put to flight and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448, thirty-four thouſand *Turks* were ſlain, and eight thouſand chriſtians, with the flower of the *Hungarian* nobility. As for *Hunniades*, he made his eſcape into *Servia*, and from thence returned into *Hungary*[q]. In the mean time, *John Palæologus*, the *Greek* emperor, fearing the victorious ſultan ſhould turn his arms againſt him, ſent embaſſadors to *Adrianople*, where *Amurath* then reſided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The ſultan received them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to *Conſtantinople*, unleſs

John Hunniades's *ſucceſs againſt the* Turks.

He is in the end routed by the Turks.

[q] DUCAS, c. 30—32.

leſs the emperor yielded to him ſome ſtrong-holds, which he ſtill poſſeſſed on the *Euxine* ſea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thouſand aſpers. To theſe ſhameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to ſubmit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the *Roman* empire, now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country. However, as he did not doubt but *Amurath*, as ſoon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with *George Caſtriot*, ſurnamed *Scanderbeg*, prince of *Epirus*, would, under ſome pretence or other, attempt *Conſtantinople* itſelf, he applied to the weſtern princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cauſe, he promiſed to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at *Ferrara*, he went thither in perſon, attended by *Joſeph* the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the *Greek* nobility, who were all received at *Venice*, where they landed, and afterwards at *Ferrara*, with great pomp and magnificence. From *Ferrara* the council was removed ſoon after, by reaſon of a plague which broke out there, to *Florence*, where the union was effected between the two churches, and ſubſcribed to by the patriarch and the other prelates. The patriarch died ſoon after at *Florence*; but the emperor and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to *Venice*, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his return, he found the people highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, and that of the biſhops, ſome of whom had refuſed to ſubſcribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to ſign them. The diſturbances which this union raiſed in the church, the death of the empreſs *Deſpina*, and the inſupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the ſultan, gave him ſuch concern, that, being already broken with age, he ſunk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448, the twenty-ſeventh of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of *Conſtantinople*, to his brother *Conſtantine* [r]. *Amurath*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan did not long ſurvive him; but dying in the beginning of *February* 1450, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mohammed*, who had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than he cauſed all his brothers to be ſtrangled, and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is ſaid to have been the ſon of a concubine) to marry a ſlave by name *Iſaac*. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with *Conſtantine*, the *Greek* emperor, who, upon the firſt news of his father's death, had ſent embaſſadors

The emperor ſubmits to pay a yearly tribute to the ſultan.

Union of the Greek *and* Latin *churches.*

John, *the emperor, dies.* Conſtantine Palæologus.

Mohammed II.

[r] Idem, c. 53.

to

to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the throne. The embaſſadors were received very graciouſly, the new ſultan declaring, that he had nothing ſo much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor and the other chriſtian princes. The embaſſadors of the *Walachians*, *Leſbians*, *Bulgarians*, *Rhodians*, *Servians*, &c. were likewiſe received in a moſt obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings, the acceſſion of *Mohammed* to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the chriſtians, the more becauſe his mother was of that religion, being, according to the moſt credible writers, the deſpot or prince of *Servia*'s daughter. But notwithſtanding the friendſhip and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no ſooner put an end to the war with *Ibrahim*, king of *Caramania*, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in *Aſia*, than he began to entertain thoughts of making himſelf maſter of *Conſtantinople*, and aboliſhing the very name of the *Roman* empire. With this view he built on the *Europe* ſide of the *Boſporus* a ſtrong caſtle, called by the *Turks Genichicar*, and by the *Greeks Neocaſtrum*, oppoſite to another in *Aſia* called *Aſpocaſtron*, which he cauſed to be repaired, placing in both ſtrong gariſons. Theſe two caſtles commanded the ſtraights, and the former, being but five miles from *Conſtantinople*, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. *Mohammed* had no ſooner begun the work, than the emperor and the citizens of *Conſtantinople*, alarmed at the undertaking, diſpatched embaſſadors to the ſultan, with orders to do all that lay in their power to divert him from it. But *Mohammed* was ſo far from granting them their requeſt, that tho' the emperor even offered to pay him an annual tribute, provided he put a ſtop to the work, he threatened, with the utmoſt arrogance, to cauſe ſuch as ſhould be ſent to him upon the like errand to be flayed alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to *Conſtantine*, and that he had an unqueſtionable right to build in his own dominions what caſtles and forts he pleaſed. When the fort in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople* was finiſhed, the gariſon left there by the ſultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excurſions to the very gates, returned to their ſtrong-hold loaded with booty. This occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the chriſtians and *Turks*; in one of which a conſiderable number of the latter being killed, the ſultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the chriſtians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the ſword, which was done accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut, ordered all the *Turks* within the

He builds a fort on the Boſporus.

Which occaſions a miſunderſtanding between him and the emperor.

walls to be arrested, but set them at liberty the next day, sending at the same time embassadors to *Mohammed*, with proposals for concluding a lasting peace between the two crowns. As the sultan seemed averse to an accommodation, and was assembling his forces from all parts, *Constantine*, well apprised of his design, in the first place took care to fill the public magazines, and supply the city with great plenty of all sorts of provisions; then by his embassadors to the western princes, acquainted them with the designs of the sultan, and the storm that was gathering against the imperial city, the taking of which might prove fatal to all *Christendom*. That they might the more readily assist him at so critical a conjuncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraordinary demonstrations of esteem and respect the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the ecclesiastics zealously attached to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and occasioned a misunderstanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the least assistance from the *Latins* in the west, who, by a strange infatuation, suffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of *Christendom*, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the christian name, who, they well knew, would not stop there, but extend his conquests to the neighbouring, and perhaps to the most distant, kingdoms.

Constantine has recourse in vain to the christian princes.

All the forts in the neighbourhood of Constantinople *taken by the Turks.*

While *Constantine* was soliciting aid from the western princes, *Caracia*, one of *Mohammed*'s chief commanders, reduced several places on the *Euxine* sea, which were still held by the emperor, *viz.* *Mesembria*, *Acheloum*, *Bison*, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by assault a strong castle called St. *Stephen*'s tower, and put the garison to the sword. Other forts in that neighbourhood submitted at the approach of the enemy; but *Selybria* held out for some time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and resolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated assaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, castles, and strong-holds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, *Caracia* was ordered to scour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies of men or provisions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the *Grecks* were still masters at sea, their galleys ravaged the coasts of *Asia*, and returned with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were sold for slaves in *Constantinople* [a].

In the mean time, *Mohammed*, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thousand men, left *Adriano-*

[a] Ducas, c. 37.

ple;

ple; and bending his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the ſixth of *April* 1483, covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His *Aſiatic* troops were poſted on the right towards the *Boſporus*; thoſe of *Europe* on the left towards the haven; and he himſelf, with fifteen thouſand janizaries, and other choſen troops, between both, over-againſt the gate named *Karſias*. On the other ſide the haven, *Zoganus*, one of his chief officers, encamped with a conſiderable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication between the city and country on that ſide. At the ſame time *Pantologes*, the *Turkiſh* admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred ſail; but the emperor had taken care to ſecure the haven, in which were three large ſhips, twenty ſmall ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn croſs the entrance from the city to *Pera*. *Mohammed* having thus aſſigned to each part of his army their ſeveral quarters, and ſurrounded the city both by ſea and land, he began the ſiege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raiſing mounts in ſeveral places as high as the walls themſelves; whence the beſieged were inceſſantly galled with ſhowers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious ſize, which carried, according to *Ducas*, a ball of an hundred pounds weight, made of hard black ſtone brought from the *Euxine* ſea, it had been caſt by an *Hungarian* engineer, who, not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to *Mohammed*, while he was buſied in building the above-mentioned forts[t]. With this vaſt piece, the enemy made ſeveral breaches in the walls, which, however, were with great expedition repaired by the beſieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and reſolution, being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by *John Juſtiniani*, a *Genoeſe* adventurer, who arriving, before the ſiege, with two large ſhips and a conſiderable number of voluntiers on board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and beſides, for his further encouragement, promiſed the ſovereignty of the iſland of *Leſbos*, provided he obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of ſo great a reward, performed exploits, ſays our hiſtorian, tho' no-ways biaſſed in favour of the *Latins*, worthy of the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Not ſatisfied with repulſing the enemy in their frequent aſſaults, he often ſallied out againſt them at the head of his voluntiers, overturned their machines,

Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

Diſpoſition of the Turkiſh *army.*

John Juſtiniani *commander in chief of the emperor's forces.*

[t] Idem, c. 35.

deſtroyed their works, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of their beſt troops, that his name ſoon became formidable. But *Mohammed*, to carry on the ſiege with more vigour, ordered new levies to be made throughout his extenſive dominions; which reinforcements arriving daily from all parts, his army was ſoon increaſed to the number of near four hundred thouſand men, while the gariſon conſiſted only of nine thouſand regular troops, *viz.* ſix thouſand *Greeks*, and three thouſand *Genoeſe* and *Venetians*. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day, without intermiſſion, great part of them, with the tower called *Baclatina*, near the *Roman* gate, was beaten down; but while the *Turks* were buſied in filling up the ditch, in order to give the aſſault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expreſſed, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the ſhore his whole fleet worſted by five ſhips, four of which belonged to the *Genoeſe* of *Galata*, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from *Peloponneſus*, and the others with all manner of proviſions from the iſland of *Chios*, where they had paſſed the winter. When they firſt appeared, *Mohammed* ordered his admiral to take them, if poſſible, or at leaſt to prevent their entering the harbour and joining the reſt of the fleet. Hereupon the whole *Turkiſh* navy, weighing anchor, ſailed out to meet them, covering the ſtraights, as they were in all three hundred ſail, from ſhore to ſhore. The above-mentioned ſhips purſued their courſe; and ſailing into the midſt of the enemy's fleet, ſunk ſome of their galleys, diſabled others, and made ſuch a dreadful havock among them, that *Mohammed*, who beheld the whole from the ſhore, could not forbear ruſhing with his horſe into the ſea, as if he intended to ſwim to his fleet, and encourage them with his preſence. But being ſoon appriſed of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curſes, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered ſuch menaces againſt the admiral, and his other officers, as ſtruck all with terror who heard them. But notwithſtanding his impotent rage, and the loud ſhouts of the whole *Turkiſh* army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ſhips opened themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpreſſible joy of the chriſtians, got ſafe into the harbour *. The *Turks* attempted ſeveral times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that ſide; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, *Mohammed* formed, and, to the great terror and amazement of the beſieged, put in execution, one of the boldeſt deſigns we find mentioned

Mohammed's *army reinforced.*

The Turkiſh *fleet worſted by five ſhips of the chriſtians.*

* Ducas. c. 38.

in

in hiſtory. For, not being able to remove the chain drawn croſs the entrance into the harbour, and the ſhips within it making a dreadful fire on the *Turkiſh* fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the *Boſporus* behind *Pera* to the haven of *Conſtantinople*, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed eighty galleys over land for the ſpace of eight miles into the haven, of which he was no ſooner maſter, the ſhips riding there being either taken or ſunk, than he cauſed a bridge, a work no leſs wonderful and ſurpriſing, to be built over it with incredible labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp of *Zoganus* at *Pera* to the walls of *Conſtantinople*, the city was laid open to an aſſault on that ſide too. And now the place being inveſted, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all ſides, the emperor, well appriſed he could not with his ſmall gariſon hold out much longer againſt ſuch a mighty fleet and ſo numerous an army, ſent deputies to *Mohammed*, offering to acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, by paying him yearly what tribute he ſhould think proper to impoſe upon him, provided he raiſed the ſiege and withdrew. The tyrant anſwered, that he was determined at all events to become maſter of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield to him *Peloponneſus*, and other provinces to his brothers, which they ſhould peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies; whereas, if he held out to the laſt extremity, and ſuffered it to be taken by aſſault, he would put him and the whole nobility to the ſword, abandon the city to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and carry all the inhabitants, ſtripped of their wealth and effects, into captivity. The city was already reduced to great ſtraits; but the emperor being determined to periſh with it, rather than give it up upon any terms whatſoever, the ſiege was carried on with great vigour till the twenty-fifth of *May*, when a report being ſpread in the *Turkiſh* camp, that a mighty army was advancing full march to the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated *John Huniades*, the common ſoldiers, ſeized with a panic, began to mutiny, and preſs *Mohammed* in a tumultuous manner to break up the ſiege; nay, they openly threatened him with death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterpriſe, and retire from before the city, which they deſpaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the ſuppoſed ſuccours. *Mohammed*, tho' hitherto an utter ſtranger to fear, alarmed at the menaces of the incenſed and ungovernable ſoldiery, was upon the point of yielding to the ſtorm, and raiſing the ſiege, agreeable to the advice of the grand viſier *Haly*, who favoured underhand the chriſtians.

Mohammed *conveys eighty galleys over land into the haven.*

The emperor rejects the conditions offered him.

A mutiny in the Turkiſh *camp.*

chriſtians. But *Zagan*, a *Turkiſh* officer of great intrepidity, and an irreconcileable enemy to the chriſtian name, having confirmed the ſultan in his former reſolution, adviſed him to give, without loſs of time, a general aſſault; to which, he ſaid, the ſoldiery, however mutinous, would not be averſe, provided he ſolemnly promiſed to abandon the city to be plundered by them. As this advice beſt ſuited the humour of *Mohammed*, he readily embraced it, and cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave up to his ſoldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required nothing for his ſhare but the empty houſes. The deſire of plunder, and the proſpect of an immenſe booty, ſoon got the better of the fear, which had ſeized the army: they all demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the aſſault. Hereupon the emperor was ſummoned for the laſt time to deliver up the city, with a promiſe of his life and liberty. To this ſummons the brave emperor anſwered, that he was unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this anſwer the meſſenger returned, and on the evening of the ſame day, which was *Trinity* ſunday, the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, the *Turkiſh* camp and fleet appeared illuminated with an incredible number of lights ſet up by the ſultan's orders on every tent and veſſel, to admoniſh the whole army, that a ſolemn faſt was to be obſerved the next, to implore the protection of heaven. *Conſtantine*, concluding from thence, as he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend *Haly*, that on the *Tueſday* following he ſhould be attacked by ſea and land, made the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the aſſault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever elſe was dear to him, lying at ſtake. He ordered in the firſt place a general proceſſion, after which, in a pathetic and eloquent ſpeech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert themſelves in the defence of the empire and the chriſtian religion. He then retired to the church of St. *Sophia*, attended by cardinal *Iſidore* and ſeveral other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the *Latins*; and there, after aſſiſting with exemplary piety at divine ſervice, he received the holy euchariſt. *Zygomola*, a modern writer, tells us, that *Conſtantine*, having firſt cauſed the empreſs and his children to receive the ſacrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be ſtruck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in moſt of the modern *Greek* writers, it being manifeſt from *Ducas* and other contemporary writers, that *Theodora*, *Conſtantine*'s firſt wife, and *Catharina Cataluſa*, his ſecond, died long before, without his having children by

Mohammed prepares for a general ſtorm.

Conſtantine makes the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the aſſault.

by them; and that the king of *Georgia*'s daughter, who not long before had been betrothed to him, died before ſhe came to *Conſtantinople*, or was married to him. From the church *Conſtantine* repaired to the great palace, and there, after taking leave of his miniſters, as if he were never to ſee them again, he ordered every man to his poſt, and, putting on his armour, marched in perſon at the head of a choſen body to the gate *Karſias*, where a conſiderable breach had been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the emperor and *Juſtiniani* his lieutenant-general, with 300 *Genoeſe* and a ſelect body of *Greeks*, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noiſe in the *Turkiſh* camp, and expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, the attack was begun by ſuch troops as the ſultan leaſt valued, and therefore, deſigning them for ſlaughter, had ordered them to march the firſt, with no other view but to tire the chriſtians, who, tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that diſorderly multitude. After the carnage had laſted ſome hours, the janizaries, and other freſh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigour and fury. The chriſtians, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, twice repulſed the enemy, but in the end being quite ſpent, and freſh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to ſtand their ground; ſo that the enemy in ſeveral places broke into the city. In the mean time, *Juſtiniani* having received two wounds, one in the thigh and the other in the hand, he was ſo diſheartened at the ſight of his blood, that, abandoning his poſt, he cauſed himſelf to be conveyed to *Galata*, where he died ſoon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The *Genoeſe* and *Greeks*, who ſerved under him, diſmayed at the ſudden retreat of their general, quitted their poſts, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. However, the emperor, attended by *Theophilus Palæologus*, *Francis Commenus*, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, *John* of *Dalmatia*, and a few more of the moſt reſolute among the nobility, ſtill kept his poſt, ſtriving, with an unparallelled courage and intrepidity, to oppoſe the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent ſtorm, now broke in on all ſides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and ſeeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, *What!* he cried aloud, *is there no chriſtian left alive to ſtrike off my head?* He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut croſs the face with his ſabre: at the ſame time, another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died,

The Turks *begin the attack.*

Juſtiniani *is wounded and retires.*

The emperor's gallant behaviour.

He is killed.

died, in the forty-ninth year of his age and tenth of his reign, *Conſtantine* XV. courageouſly defending that city which *Conſtantine* I. had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to ſtand his ground, he fled with the reſt, and was ſtifled and preſſed to death in the crowd. But we have followed *Ducas* and *Phranzes*, of whom the latter was chancellor to *Conſtantine*, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole time of the ſiege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the *Turks* and chriſtians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death. *Ducas* adds, that *Mohammed*, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor [u]. The emperor being thus ſlain, the few chriſtians, who were left alive, betook themſelves to flight, and the *Turks*, meeting with no further oppoſition, entered the city, and ſcouring the ſtreets, filled that once ſtately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no quarter, but put all they met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. But of the unſpeakable miſeries the inhabitants ſuffered, during the three days which *Mohammed* had allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find a minute and affecting account in *Ducas* and other contemporary writers. Many thouſands took refuge in the church of St. *Sophia*, but they were all maſſacred without pity in their aſylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the deſire of revenge, and the love of booty, ſpared no place nor perſon. Moſt of the nobility were by the ſultan's orders cut off, and the reſt reſerved for purpoſes more grievous than death itſelf. However, many of the inhabitants, amongſt whom were ſome men of great learning, found means to make their eſcape, while the *Turks* were buſied in plundering the city. Theſe embarquing on five ſhips then in the harbour, arrived ſafe in *Italy*, where with the ſtudy of the *Greek* tongue, they revived the liberal ſciences, which had been long neglected in the weſt. When the three days were expired, *Mohammed* commanded his ſoldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hoſtilities, and they put an end to the moſt cruel pillage and maſſacre mentioned in hiſtory. The next day, he made his public and triumphal entry into the city; and chuſing it for the ſeat of his empire, he ſolemnly promiſed to take under his protection ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould continue in it, or, being fled, ſhould return to their antient habitations,

And the city taken and plundered.

The total diſſolution of the Conſtantinopolitan Roman *empire.*

[u] Ducas. c 39.

and

and even to allow them the free exercise of the christian religion. The death of the last *Roman* emperor, the loss of *Constantinople*, and the final dissolution of the *Constantinopolitan Roman* empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of *May* in the year of the *Greeks* 6961, of the *Hegira* 857, and of the christian æra, according to the most probable opinion, 1453.

THE downfal of a state, once so mighty and powerful, was not sudden or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a visible decay of several ages. To what causes that was owing, we have, on proper occasions, pointed out in the course of the present history; and therefore, not to trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourselves to the immediate causes of so great a revolution, such as human policy may account for, not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor ascribe, as some have done, the calamities, that befal a nation, to the sins of those on whom they are inflicted.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The history of the Carthaginians, *to the destruction of* Carthage *by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

A description of Carthage, *and some account of the origin of that city*

WERE the materials afforded us by the antients for writing the history of *Carthage*, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, few nations would make a greater figure in this work; but such has been the infelicity of this state, that notwithstanding the immense riches, the extended commerce, the consummate policy, and military genius, of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with *Rome* for the empire of the world, yet we have but very short and scanty memorials left us of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us: the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have escaped oblivion, have either been transmitted to posterity by its enemies, or such as were favourably disposed towards them, and consequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juster idea of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, by collecting all the remarkable passages relating to it, scattered in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors; by comparing these together, and connecting them in a proper manner; and lastly, by making some observations of our own, in order to illustrate and explain them; we doubt not but to supply the defects of all former historians, and give the most complete, as well as the most entertaining, history of the *Carthaginians*, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage *when founded.*

Carthage, the metropolis of *Africa Propria* for several centuries, was, according to *Velleius* [a], built sixty-five years be-

[a] VELL. PATERC. hist. Rom. l. i.

fore

fore *Rome*, tho' *Trogus* [b] and *Juſtin* will have it to be ſeventy-two years older than that miſtreſs of the world. *Livy* [c] ſeems to place its foundation twenty years higher than theſe; and *Solinus* [d] exceeds him twenty-ſeven years. *Timæus* [e] of *Sicily* intimates, that *Carthage* and *Rome* were founded at the ſame time, *viz.* thirty-eight years before the firſt olympiad. Laſtly, from *Menander* [f] the *Epheſian*, as cited by *Joſephus* (A), and the *Tyrian* annals, it appears to have preceded the *Roman* æra an hundred and forty years. We ſhall not take upon us to determine which of theſe is in the right, nor whether any of them deſerves abſolute credit; but only obſerve, that as *Carthage* [g] conſiſted of different parts, which were ſuppoſed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the antients ſhould hand down ſuch a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns ſhould diſagree ſo much amongſt themſelves in this affair. It is not very material to our preſent purpoſe, whether we can hit upon the

[b] JUST. hiſt. l. xviii. [c] LIV. hiſt. l. li. epit. [d] SOLIN. c 29. [e] TIMÆUS Sicul. apud. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. l. i. [f] MENAND. Epheſ. apud. Joſeph. l. i. cont. Apion. [g] PETAV. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. & BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

(A) *Joſephus*, in his computation from *Menander Epheſius* (1), ſeems inconſiſtent with himſelf, or at leaſt very inaccurate; but *Petavius* (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* an hundred and forty years before the foundation of *Rome*. *Solinus* (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that *Carthage*, at its final deſtruction by *Scipio Africanus*, had ſtood ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven years. As therefore this deſtruction happened in the year of *Rome* ſix hundred and ſix, or ſix hundred and ſeven, it is evident, that, according to this author, *Carthage* was built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before *Rome*; and if, with Sir *Iſaac Newton* (4) and *Salmaſius*, we ſuppoſe *Solinus* intended the *encænia* or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the *Roman* æra; which agreeing ſo well with *Petavius*, from whom it differs but two years, a trifle in a point of ſo remote antiquity, we may juſtly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

(1) *Menand. Epheſ. apud. Joſeph. l.* i. *cont. Apion.* (2) *Dion. Petav. de doct. temp. l.* ix. *c.* 69. (3) *Solin. c.* 27. (4) *Salmaſ. in Solin. c.* 27. *Newt. chronol. p.* 65.

precise year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore we shall not be over solicitous about it. However, it may not be amiss to refer our curious readers to *Petavius* [h], who has been very particular on this subject. That learned man, after considering the jarring opinions of the antients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their mistakes, and at last, with an appearance of exactness, fixes the time of *Dido*'s beginning to build *Carthage* an hundred and thirty-seven years [i] before the foundation of *Rome*, if, with *Varro*, we place this in the third year of the sixth olympiad, or an hundred forty-two, if, with archbishop *Usher*, we prefer the account of *Fabius Pictor* [k] (B), who will have it to be near the beginning of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other chronologer whatsoever.

The Carthaginians *descended from the* Phœnicians.

BUT whatever disagreement may be found amongst historians and chronologers as to the exact year of the foundation of *Carthage*, yet it is agreed on all hands, that the *Phœnicians* were its founders. The *Greek* poet, *Nonnus* [l], from some authors, whose works are now lost, assures us, that *Cadmus* made a very successful expedition into these parts. *Eusebius* [m] and *Procopius* are positive, that the *Canaanites* who fled from *Joshua* retired hither; and St. *Austin* [n] would have it believed, that the *Carthaginians* were descended from these *Canaanites*. *Philistus* [o]

[h] PETAV. ubi supra. & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Antwerp. 1703. & l. xii. [i] PETAV. ration. tempor. l. ii. c. 13. [k] ONUPH. PANVIN. in ant urb. imag. Uss. an. p. 87. [l] NONN. in Dionys. l. xiii. [m] EUSEB. in chron. l. i. p. 11. PROCOP. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. [n] AUGUST. in expos. epist. ad Rom. sub. init. [o] PHILIST. Syracusan. apud. Euseb. in chron. ad ann. 804.

(B) This *Fabius Pictor* was the most antient of the *Roman* historians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is followed herein by *Onuphrius Panvinius* (6), as well as archbishop *Usher*. Several arguments might be offered in support of his authority, particularly with regard to the point under consideration; but we chuse to refer our readers to archbishop *Usher* (7), *Vossius*, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

(5) *Liv. l.* i. ii. *&c. Dio. Hal l. i. Usser. an. p.* 60. *ad ann. Jul. per.* 3960. *Voss. de hist. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 13. *&c.* (6) *Onuph. Panvin. antiq. urb. imag. apud. Græv. in thesaur. ant. Rom. tom.* 3. *p.* 215. *Petav. de doct. temp. l.* ix. *c.* 51. (7) *Usser. an. ubi supra. Voss. de hist. Græc. & Petav ubi supra.*

of

of *Syracuſe*, a writer of good authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Chriſt, relates, that the firſt traces of *Carthage* were owing to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, two *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*, thirty years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, according to *Euſebius*. *Appian* [p], who undoubtedly received his notion from *Philiſtus*, attributes this event to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, the two ſaid *Phœnicians*, fifty years before that period; and from him *Scaliger* [q] corrects *Euſebius*'s numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, *Virgil* [r] ſeeems to hint, that *Dido* was rather the finiſher than founder of this city, by giving us to underſtand, that the ground on which it ſtood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town ſtood upon it. What likewiſe renders the account of *Philiſtus* and *Appian* not a little probable is, that the *Greeks* always called this city *Charchedon*, for which no reaſon ſo proper can be aſſigned, as that the perſon who firſt ſettled with a colony on this ſpot of ground, was called by that name. Beſides, ſomething muſt have determined *Dido* to chuſe this particular place for her *Tyrians* before any other [s]. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for ſome time by the *Phœnicians*, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore ſhe had reaſon to expect the kindeſt and moſt friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coaſt of *Africa*, and the coaſt of *Spain* [t] oppoſite to it were known in very early ages to the *Tyrians*; ſince it is remarked by *Velleius* [u], that they built the cities of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, and *Utica* in *Africa*, a little above eighty years after the *Trojan* war; and *Strabo* declares, that the *Phœnicians* were poſſeſſed of the beſt parts of *Spain* and *Africa* a conſiderable time before the age of *Homer*; all which conſiderations ſtrongly ſupport the firſt *Phœnician* ſettlement mentioned by *Philiſtus* and *Appian*. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the tranſactions of thoſe very remote times, except what is deducible from the inſpired writings of the old teſtament, and as nothing is leſs to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many antient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they pleaſe.

[p] APPIAN. in Libyc. ſub init. [q] Jos. SCALIG. animadverſ. in Euſeb. chron. ad ann 804. [r] VIRG. Æn. i. & SERV. in loc. Vide etiam. CAR. RUÆI not. in Virg. Æn. iv. ſub. init. [s] PROCOP. ubi. ſupra. [t] STRABO. l. iii. p. 104. edit. Caſaub. 1587. [u] VELL. PATERC. l. i. c. 2.

HOWEVER,

Elisa *either founded or inlarged the city of* Carthage.

However, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening before the destruction of *Troy*, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that *Elisa* [w], called also *Dido*, sister of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, flying with her brother *Barca*, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from *Tyre*, fixed her residence at *Carthage*, and either founded, or much inlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great consideration till her arrival. The wealth of her husband [x] *Sichæus*, and the *Tyrians* she brought with her, who, at that time, were the [y] most polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to inlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, for which the *Tyrian* nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which seemed, in *Aristotle*'s [z] opinion, by his descanting so largely upon it, to have been one of the most perfect that ever was known in the world, at least, in his time. *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa*, as we have observed, was an hundred thirty-seven years before the building of *Rome*, according to the *Varronian* account; an hundred forty-two, according to *Fabius Pictor*; an hundred and fourteen before the first olympiad; eight hundred and ninety-two before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of *Troy*, unless with Sir *Isaac Newton* [a], we will suppose the antient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years. *Virgil* indeed seems to have allowed this supposition; for notwithstanding what has been advanced by several learned men [b] to excuse him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monstrous anachronism he makes, by bringing *Æneas* and *Dido* together as cotemporaries, would have been utterly inexcusable. We shall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occasion and manner of *Dido*'s flight from *Tyre*, of her putting into the island of *Cyprus*, and steering afterwards her course for the coasts of *Africa*, where she hap-

[w] Just. l. xviii. Virgil. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Cedren. in hist. compend. p. 140 edit. Paris. 1647. Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 342, 343, &c. [x] Virg. Just. &c. ubi supra. [y] Newt. chron. p. 13. Boch. phal. & de col. Phœn. passim. 1. Kings, c. v. &c. [z] Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. [a] Newt. chron. p. 32, 65, &c. [b] Ludovic. de la Cerda, Car. Ruæus. Macrob. aliique.

pily

pily arrived; ſo that it will be intirely unneceſſary, even ſo much as to touch upon theſe particulars in this place [c].

How this city came to be called *Carthage*, authors are not fully agreed. *Solinus* [d] tells us, that its true name was *Carthada*, which, in the *Carthaginian* language, ſignified the *New City*; and herein he is followed by *Salmaſius* [e], *Schindler* [f], *Bochart* [g], and others, who deduce it from the two *Oriental* words, *Charta Hadatta*, which are of the ſame import. But, beſides that it is too far fetched and unnatural, theſe very authors themſelves ſupply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for *Schindler* [h] derives *Carthago* from the *Oriental* word *Charta*, a city; and the other two [i] allow, that the city was founded long before *Dido* came into *Africa*, and that ſhe only built that part of it called *Byrſa*, or the *citadel*. D. *Hyde* [k] derives it either from *Chadre Hanacha*, i. e. *The chamber of reſt*, or *place of repoſe*, or from *Card Haneca*, the *New city*, as before, becauſe *Plautus* in his *Pœnulus* intimates, that it was called by the natives *Chaedreanech*; but theſe derivations likewiſe are too forced and unſatisfactory, and are beſides overthrown by *Bochart* [l]. *Servius* [m] therefore ſeems to come nearer the truth, when he ſays, that, according to the *Carthaginians* themſelves, who muſt be ſuppoſed to be the beſt acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from *Charta*, a town not far from *Tyre*, to which *Dido* bore a near relation; and this town is called by *Cedrenus* [n] *Chartica*, or *Chartaca*, i. e. *Charta Aca*, or *Charta Aco*, the city of *Aca* [o] or *Aco*, a celebrated ſea-port of *Phœnice* (C), near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, in the territory of the tribe of *Aſher* [p], tho' poſſeſſed by the [q] *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*. *Name whence derived.*

[c] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 342, 343. [d] SOLIN. c. 27. [e] SALMAS. in Solin. p. 322. [f] SCHIND. pentaglot. p. 1654. [g] BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. &c. [h] SCHIND. ubi ſupra. [i] SALMAS. & BOCHART. ubi ſupra. [k] HYDE in not. ad Peritſol. p. 44. [l] BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 1. [m] SERV. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37. & Æn. iv. ver. 75. [n] CEDREN. hiſt. compend p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. [o] SCHIND. pentaglot. p. 1313. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 521. DIODOR. SIC. l. xix. c. 93. CORN. VEP. Datam. c. 5. PLIN. l. v. c. 19. STEPH. Byz. de urb. HIERONYM. in Am. i. ii. & LXX. in Jud. i. [p] Jud. i. ver. 31. [q] Ibid.

(C) The place was, according to *Cedrenus*, a maritime city or ſea port, as will appear from a peruſal of the paſſage referred to; which is an additional argument in favour of our notion. We find likewiſe a city called *Kartah*, given to the *Levites* in this country, taken out of the territory of the tribe of *Zebulun*.

In ſupport of *Servius* and *Cedrenus*'s authority, it may be obſerved, that the *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, and *Canaanites* inhabiting that part of *Phœnice*, frequently prefixed the word *kiriath*, *cariath*, or *charta*, i. e. *City*, to the proper names of towns, as *Kiriath* [r], or, according to St. *Jerom*, *Cariath-Arba*, *Cariath-Baal*, *Cariath-Sanna*, *Cariath-Sepher*, &c. tho' ſometimes they ſtyled them ſimply *Cariath* [s], or *Charta*, *city*, and, for the moſt part in writing, uſed their proper [t] names alone; ſo that it is no wonder the town under conſideration ſhould be known by the names *Charta*, *Aca*, *Aco*, *Chartica*, *Chartaca*, *Cartaco*, &c. ſince this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho' *Dido*'s city was conſtantly called by the *Latin* writers *Carthago*, yet its true name amongſt the antient *Romans*, who undoubtedly received it from the *Carthaginians* themſelves, was *Cartaco* [u], as is evident from the *columna roſtrata* (D) of *Duilius*. This, together with what has been [w] obſerved in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory, ſeems to render the authority above-mentioned inconteſtable.

That it was uſual in thoſe early ages to denominate ſome cities from others, as well as from their founders, is a truth well known to all perſons moderately verſed in the knowledge of antiquity;

[r] Jud. i. ver. 10. Joſh. xviii. ver. 14. xv. ver. 15, 49. [s] Jerem xlviii. ver. 24, 41. Am. xi. ver. 2. [t] Joſh. xv. ver. 9, 60, &c. [u] Vide Pet. Ciacconium in column. roſtrat. Duil. apud Joan. Geor. Græv. in theſaur. antiquit. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1810. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 342, 343.

(D) We have before given an *Engliſh* tranſlation (8) of the old *Latin* inſcription upon the baſis of the *columna roſtrata* of *Duilius*; but as it is a moſt curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquiſitive readers would think us guilty of a great omiſſion, were not the original itſelf inſerted ſomewhere in this work; eſpecially as many fine concluſions relating to the *Latin* language may be drawn from it; and the ſurpriſing manner in which that language was poliſhed and refined in leſs than two centuries, may be from thence diſcovered. In order therefore to render our hiſtory as complete as poſſible, and evince the point at preſent in view, we ſhall here preſent our readers with the inſcription itſelf, and the chaſms of it, as ſupplied by *Lipſius* and *Ciacconius*, together with a verſion of it into the *Latin* of the *Auguſtan* age:

(8) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xii. *p.* 16. *in not.* F.

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD REM. CERENS. ECEST. ANOS. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISUMAD OBSEDEONED. XLMET. LECION. EIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS. MAXIMOSQUE. MACISTRATOS. LUCAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS. NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELAM. MOENITAM. URBEM. PUCNANDOD. CEPIT. EIQUE. IOIEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQUE CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVETQUE. DIEBOS. LX CUMQUE. EIS. NAVEBUS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQUE. SUMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSEIS. PRAESENTID. MAXUMOD. DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALIOD. MARID. PUCNANDOD. VICET. XXX QUE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CUM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQUE. DUCIS QUINRESMOSQUE. TRIRESMOSQUE. NAVEIS. ☉X. DE PRESET. AUROM. CAPIOM. NUMEI ☉☉☉ DCC

ARCENTOM. CAPTOM. PRAEDA. NUMEI. ccclɔɔɔ c

CRAVE. CAPTOM. AES ccclɔɔɔ ccclɔɔɔ ccclɔɔɔ ccclɔɔɔ ccclɔɔɔ ccclɔɔɔ

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TRIOMPOQUE NAVALED. PRÆDAD. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET DAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS INCRNVOS. DUXET. ANTE. CUROM PRIMOSQUE. CONSOL. DE SICELEIS. CLASEQUE. CARTACINIENSEOM TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EI. HANCE. COLUMNAM. P.

antiquity; and the city of *Thebes* in *Bæotia* (E), ſo called from *Thebes* in *Egypt*; *Piſa* in *Italy*, from *Piſa* in *Peloponneſus*; *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, from *Salamis* in *Attica*, to omit ſeveral others that might be mentioned, are ſufficient inſtances of it.

Salmaſius [x] will have the *Greek* name *Charchedon* to be derived from *Solinus*'s *Carthada*; becauſe the *Sicilians* now-and-

[x] SALMAS. ubi ſupra.

Caius Duilius Marci filius Conſul adverſus Carthaginienſes in Sicilia rem gerens, Egeſtanos (ſocios atque) cognatos populi Romani arctiſſima obſidione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginienſium (qui Egeſtam obſidebant, & Amilcar)
maximus (eorum) magiſtratus (feſtinandi ſtudio) elephantis relictis novem, caſtris effugerunt. Macellam (deinde) munitam (validamque) urbem
pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magiſtratu proſpere rem navibus mari conſul primus geſſit: remiges
claſſeſque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus ſexaginta; & cum his navibus claſſes Punicas omnes,
paratas (ornatas) que ſummas copias Carthaginienſium, (præſente Annibale) maximo dictatore illorum, in
alto mari pugnando ſuperavit;
triginta que naves cum ſociis (hoc eſt cum ipſis hominibus) cepit, & ſeptiremem prætoriam,
quinqueremes (præterea) ac tricremes naves XX depreſſit.
Aurum captum in præda nummi III. M. DCC.
Argentum Captum in præda nummi C. M.
Æs grave captum vicies ſemel centena millia pondo,
atque in triumpho navali prædam (omnem in ærarium) Popul. Rom. intulit.
captivos (etiam) Carthaginienſes ingenuos (hoc eſt, nobiles aliquot) ante currum duxit:
primuſque Conſul, de Siculis, & claſſe Carthaginienſium triumphavit.
Earum rerum ergo
S. P. Q. R. ei hancce columnam poſuit. vel
triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit (9).

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erected, the *Carthaginians* were called by the *Romans CARTACINIENSEIS*, and conſequently the name of their city, then in uſe amongſt the *Romans*, was *CARTACO*.

(E) It is plain from ſcripture *, that there was a town of this name likewiſe in *Phœnice*, or the land of *Canaan*, not far from *Shechem*; ſo that whether we look upon *Cadmus* as a *Phœnician* or an *Egyptian*, it can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Thebes* in *Bœotia* was ſo denominated from ſome more antient city.

(9) *Vide Petr. Ciaccon. Tolet. in column. roſt. Duil. apud Grævi. in theſaur. antiq. Rom. tom.* IV. *p.* 1810. * *Jud. c.* IX. *ver.* 50, 53.

then

then uſed the *Greek* letter *chi* for *theta*. But ſure nothing can be more weak than this; beſides, were it much more plauſible, it could not be admitted, becauſe it claſhes with the authority of *Philiſtus* (F), *Appian*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerom*. *Herodotus*, *Menander Epheſius*, *Polybius*, &c. the moſt antient *Greek* authors, mentioning the *Carthaginians*, likewiſe diſprove it, becauſe they were not *Sicilians*.

THE *Carthaginians* were called by the *Greeks*, ſometimes *Libyans*, on account of the country they poſſeſſed, and ſometimes *Phœnicians*, on account of the country from whence they were originally deſcended. The *Romans* alſo ſtyled them *Pœni*, or *Phœnicians*, for the ſame reaſon; and every thing belonging to them, or their city, *Punic* or *Pœnic*, i. e. *Phœnician*, or belonging to the *Phœnicians*.

Caccabe *the* Punic *name of* Carthage.

WE muſt not omit obſerving, that, according to *Stephanus* [y] and *Euſtathius*, this city was antiently named, in *Punic*, *Caccale*, from a horſe's head, which was found by the *Tyrians*, whilſt they were digging for the foundations of *Byrſa*. This was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and the future greatneſs of the city. Our readers will find the whole ſtory in *Virgil* [z] and *Juſtin*, and to theſe authors we refer them. In the mean time, we ſhall only remark, that the learned *Bochart* [a] has ſhewn the word *Caccabe* to have ſignified, in the *Phœnician* language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the *Carthaginians* [b] had frequently upon the reverſes of their coins, either a horſe's head, or the body of a horſe dimidiated, or a horſe entire, with *Victory* upon him. Moſt of theſe coins have likewiſe a *Punic* inſcription upon their ſaid reverſes, with ſeveral other ſymbols; as is evident from *Agoſtini*, *Paruta*, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

IN order to avoid all future digreſſions on this head, we ſhall here give a faithful and particular account of the ſituation, di-

[y] STEPH. Byz de urb. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. Afr. [z] Virg. Æn. i. JUST. l. xviii. SERV. & LUDOVIC: DE LA CERDA in Æn. i. COEL. RHODIGIN. l. xviii. c. 38. [a] BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. [b] ANT. AUGUST. dial. vi. ant.

(F) All theſe authors are clearly of opinion, that *Carthage* was built a conſiderable time before *Dido* came into *Africa*; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel *Byrſa* only, the addition ſhe made to the old city, the place was called *Carthada*, or the New city; and if this be allowed, it muſt likewiſe be admitted, that *Salmaſius* endeavours abſurdly to deduce *Charchedon* from *Carthada*.

menſions, different parts, and power, of the city of *Carthage*, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, extracted from *Polybius* [c], *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Appian*, and other antient authors of the beſt reputation and authority.

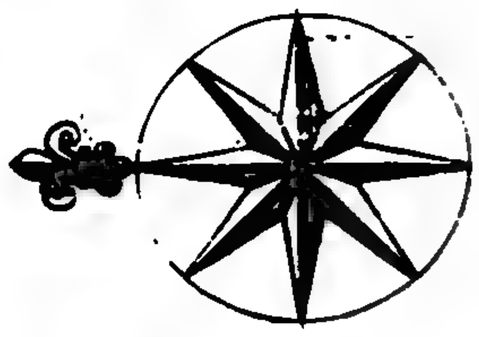
Deſcription of Carthage.

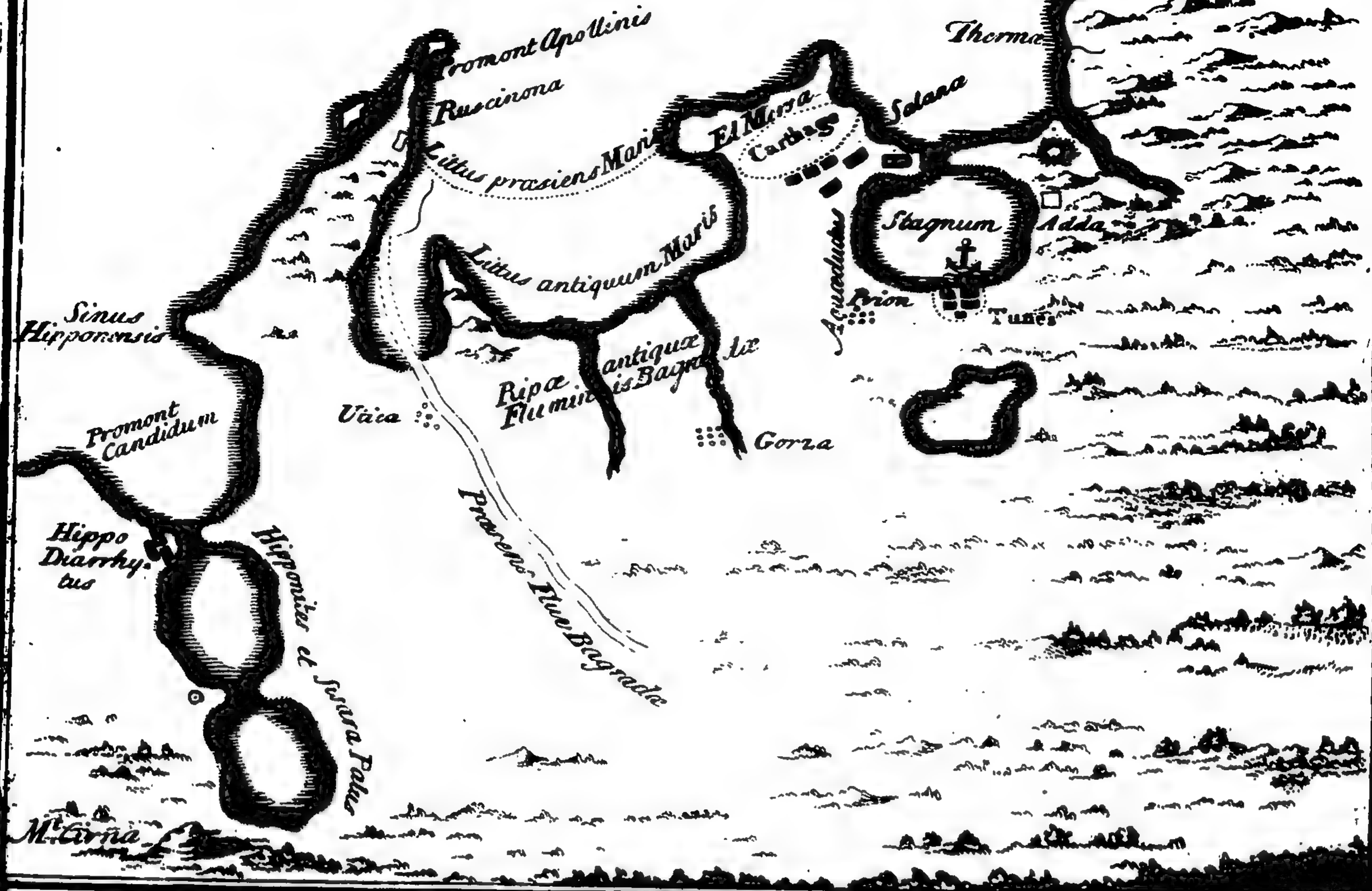
Carthage ſtood at the bottom of a gulph, upon a peninſula three hundred and ſixty ſtadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference, the iſthmus joining this peninſula to the continent of *Africa*, being twenty-five ſtadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth. On the weſt ſide there projected from it a long tract of land, in ſhape reſembling a tongue, half a ſtadium broad; which ſhooting out into the ſea, ſeparated it from a lake or moraſs, and was ſtrongly fortified on all ſides by rocks, and a ſingle wall. In the middle of the city ſtood the fortreſs or citadel, erected by *Dido*, called *Byrſa*, having on the top of it a temple ſacred to *Æſculapius*, ſeated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the aſcent was by ſixty ſteps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a conſiderable extent; ſo that when *Byrſa* was taken by *Scipio*, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſiege of *Carthage*, nine hundred *Roman* deſerters fortified themſelves there. At laſt *Aſdrubal*'s wife ſetting fire to it, entirely conſumed it, together with herſelf, her children, and the ſaid nine hundred deſerters, to avoid falling into the hands of *Scipio*. On the ſouth ſide, towards the continent, where *Byrſa* had its ſituation, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abſtracted from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diſtances, each interval being fourſcore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower had its foundations ſunk thirty foot deep, and was four ſtories high, tho' the walls were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, correſponding in depth with the foundations above-mentioned, were ſtalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants, with their fodder, *&c.* Over theſe were ſtables for four thouſand horſes, and lofts for their food. There likewiſe was room enough to lodge twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Such a number of forces and beaſts of war were contained within the walls, without in the leaſt incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the firſt building of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing into the ſea towards the weſtern continent, before taken notice of, and extending as far as the harbours, which were

[c] Polyb. l. i. c. 73. Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Appian. in Libyc. p. 129. Diodor. Sic. bibl. hiſt. l. iii. p. 178. Oros. l. iv. c. 22. p. 277.

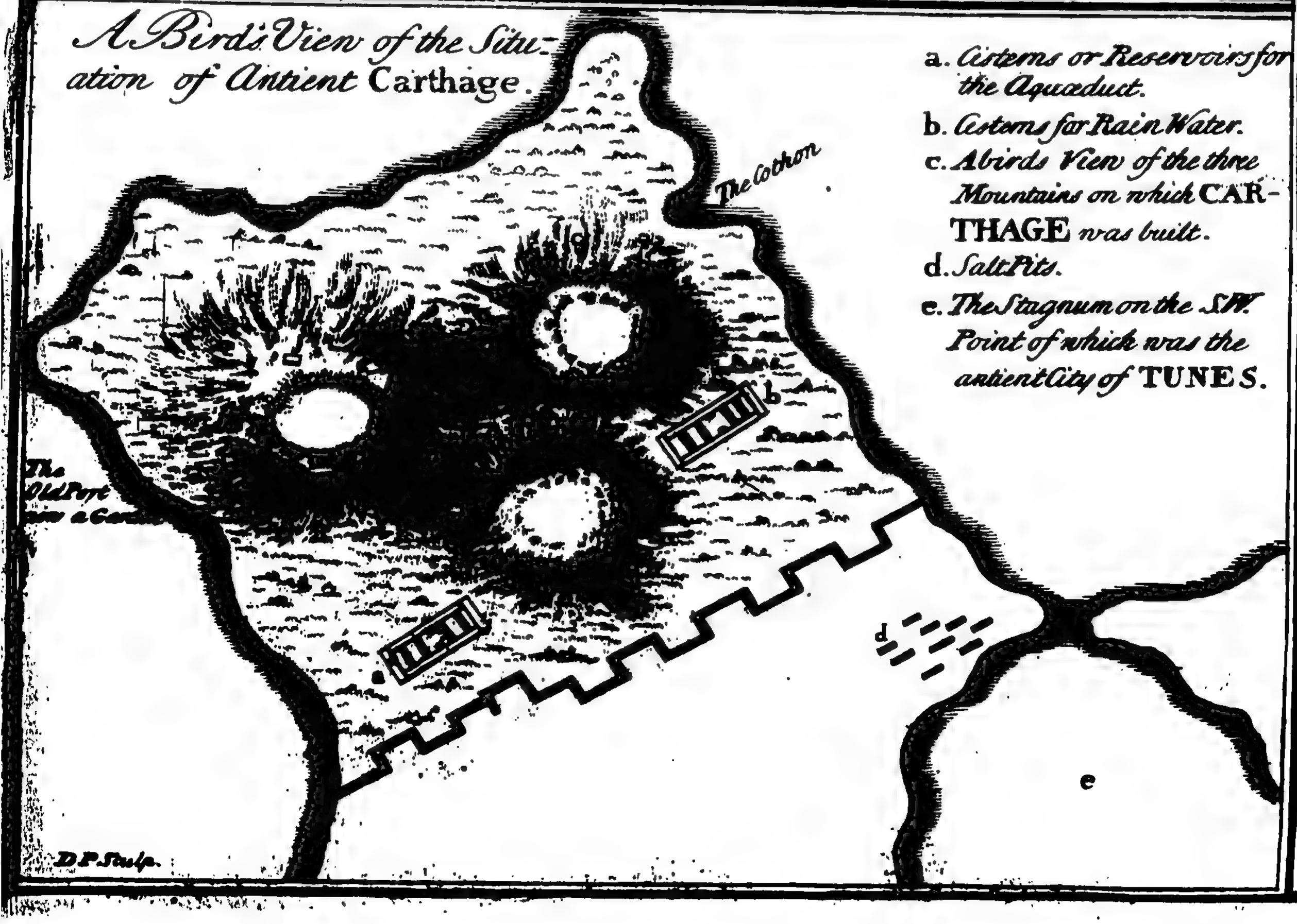
on

CHARTA *exhibens*
Situm antiquum CAR-
THAGINIS, UTICÆ
TUNETIS *et Sinus*
CARTHAGINIENSIS





A Bird's View of the Situation of Antient Carthage.



a. *Cisterns or Reservoirs for the Aquaeduct.*
b. *Cisterns for Rain Water.*
c. *A birds View of the three Mountains on which* CAR-THAGE *was built.*
d. *Salt Pits.*
e. *The Stagnum on the S.W. Point of which was the antient City of* TUNES.

on the ſame ſide. Of theſe there were two, which were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and had one common entrance, ſeventy foot broad, and ſhut up with chains. The firſt was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vaſt number of places of refreſhment, and all kinds of accommodations for the ſeamen. The ſecond, or inner port, was, as well as the iſland called *Cothon*, in the midſt of it, lined with large quays, in which were diſtinct receptacles for ſecuring and ſheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ſhips, it being deſigned chiefly for ſhips of war. Over theſe were magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein was lodged whatever is neceſſary for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of theſe receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the *Ionic* order; ſo that both the harbour and the iſland repreſented on each ſide two magnificent galleries. Upon the iſland was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations iſſued out; and as it ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſcover whatever was doing at ſea, tho' no one there could ſee what was tranſacting in the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themſelves, when they entered into their port, had no proſpect of the men of war, being ſeparated from them by a double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without paſſing through the other.

Of how many parts the city conſiſted.

HENCE it is apparent, that the city conſiſted of three parts, *Byrſa*, *Megara* (G) or *Magaria*, and *Cothon*. *Byrſa*, according to *Servius* [d], was twenty-two ſtadia, or near three *Engliſh* miles, in circumference; tho' *Eutropius* ſays, it did not much exceed two thouſand paces, which is not quite two *Engliſh* miles. It was not ſo preciſely in the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the ſouth, or iſthmus that joined *Carthage* to the continent, as is obſerved by *Appian* [e]. The word *Byrſa* is only a *Greek* corruption of the true *Punic* or *Phœnician* name *Buſra*, *Boſra*, or *Botſra* (for it may be pronounced all theſe ways), *i. e.* a *fortreſs* or *citadel*, as has beeen demonſtrated by *Scaliger* [f],

[d] SERV. in Æn. i. ver. 320. EUTROP. & BOCHART. ubi ſupra.
[e] APPIAN. & BOCHART. ubi ſupra. [f] SCALIG. in not. ad Feſt. BOCHART. ubi ſupra. SALMAS. in Solin. &c.

(G) The true name of the exterior part of *Carthage* (or that which was, properly ſpeaking, the town) was *Megara* or *Magaria*, not *Magalia*, as we formerly imagined. *Appian*, *Iſidore*, and *Servius*, put this point beyond diſpute (10).

(10) *Appian.* & *Serv. ubi ſupra. Iſidor. in orig. l.* xiii. *c.* 12. *Vide etiam Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24.

Bochart,

Bochart, and others, verſed in the oriental languages, and may be inferred from *Strabo*, *Virgil*, and *Appian*, the fable of the ox's hide having long ſince been exploded by the learned. This was juſtly looked upon as the interior part of *Carthage*, ſurrounded by the *Megara* [g], or *Magaria*, i. e. the houſes, or town (for *that* the word imports in the *Phœnician* tongue), its exterior part, according to *Servius*; ſo that together they formed a kind of double town. *Strabo* calls the ſmall iſland in the midſt of the ſecond harbour, *Cothon* [h]; tho' *Appian* applies this name likewiſe to that port or harbour [i] itſelf, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a ſtrong wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word *Cothon* is of oriental extraction, and ſignifies *a port not formed by nature* [k], but *the effect of labour and art*; ſo that this ſeems to have been not a proper, but a common, name amongſt the *Carthaginians*, who undoubtedly pronounced it *Kathum* or *Kathom*; but the *Greeks*, adopting it into their own language, gave it a *Greek* termination, and expreſſing the *Phœnician* A by their great O, (which may eaſily be conceived), thence came the name *Cothon*. The *Carthaginians* were ſo extremely active and indefatigable, that when *Scipio* [l] had blocked up the old port, or *Cothon*, they, in a very ſhort time, built a new one, the traces of which, ſcarce an hundred yards ſquare, are ſtill to be ſeen [m]. This *Cothon* was perhaps the ſame that was called the *Mandracium* [n] in the time of *Procopius*.

Number of inhabitants.

The number of inhabitants this city contained, at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, was ſeven hundred thouſand; a prodigious number, conſidering the many terrible blows the *Carthaginians* had received from the *Romans* during the courſe of the firſt and ſecond *Punic* wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt theſe wars, and the deſtructive broils they had been engaged in with *Maſiniſſa*. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by ſea, when they had a mind to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by *Hamilcar*, in his expedition againſt *Gelon* the tyrant of *Syracuſe*, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was compoſed of more than two thouſand ſhips of war, and above three thouſand tranſports. Their riches were likewiſe immenſe,

[g] Serv. in Æn i. & iv. [h] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. [i] Appian. in Libyc. p. 129, &c. [k] Fest. in voc. *cothons* Serv. in Æn i. Bochart. ubi ſupra Buxtorf in voc. קתם &c. [l] Liv. l. li. epit. [m] Shaw's geographical obſervations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151. [n] Procop. l i. c. 20.

as

as may be collected from what *Scipio* carried off at the final deſtruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, intirely exhauſted and conſumed, *viz.* near a million and a half ſterling. All which may ſerve to give us ſome faint idea of what *Carthage* was, when in the height of its grandeur and magnificence.

The extent of Carthage.

As to the extent of the city, *Livy* informs us, that it was twenty-three[p] miles round; and if what is related of it above be true, this is not improbable. *Pliny*[q] intimates, that *Carthage*, when in the hands of the *Phœnicians*, was much larger than when it was a *Roman* colony; and *Suidas* affirms, that it was the greateſt and moſt powerful city in the world. The dominion of the ſea, which it enjoyed for ſix hundred years, almoſt without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a moſt prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extenſive trade, the mines of *Spain*, &c. thoſe inexhauſtible ſources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould have arrived at ſuch an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our deſcription of *Carthage*, it may not be improper to take notice of, *viz.* the temple of *Apollo*[r], ſtanding near the *Cothon*, wherein was a ſtatue of that deity of maſſive gold, and whoſe inſide was all covered with plates of the ſame metal, weighing a thouſand talents[s]. But this was involved in the common deſtruction of the city, being pillaged and deſtroyed by a party of *Scipio*'s men, when the *Cothon* and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general.

Preſent remains of antient Carthage.

IT has been[t] obſerved by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was himſelf upon the ſpot, that the greateſt part of *Carthage* was built upon three hills, ſomewhat inferior in elevation to thoſe upon which *Rome* was erected. All the remains of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a ſpacious room upon one of thoſe hills, over-looking the ſouth-eaſt ſhore, with ſeveral ſmaller ones hard by it; the common ſewers, which time hath not in the leaſt injured or impaired; and the ciſterns, which have very little ſubmitted to the general ruins of the city. The harbour is now ſtopped up, and, by the north-eaſt winds with the (H) *Mejerdah*, made

[p] LIV. l. li. epit. [q] PLIN. l. v. c. 4. [r] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [s] Idem ibid. [t] SHAW ubi ſupra.

(H) This river, the *Bagrada* of the antients, will be deſcribed in the next chapter.

almoſt

almoſt as far diſtant from the ſea as *Utica*, tho' it is ſtill called *El-Merſa*, or the port, lying to the north and north-weſt of the city, and formeth, with the lake of *Tunis*, the peninſula on which *Carthage* ſtood.

Vaſt extent of the Carthaginian *dominions.*

Strabo [u] obſerves, that the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed three hundred cities in *Africa* before the beginning of the third *Punic* war; which may eaſily be believed, if we conſider, that the dominions of this ſtate in *Africa* before that war, extended from the weſtern confines of *Cyrenaica* [w], to the pillars of *Hercules*, or ſtraights of *Gibraltar* (I), a tract of land near fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its laſt period of perfection, the beſt part of *Spain*, even as far as the *Pyrences*, of *Sicily*, and all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean* to the weſt of this latter, were ſubject to it. How it came to make ſuch large acquiſitions, and by what ſteps it grew ſo formidable, as to diſpute the empire of the world with *Rome* itſelf, will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

[u] Strab. l. xvii. [w] Scylax Caryand. Vide & Bochart. ubi ſupra, &c.

(I) The diſtance betwixt the *Philænorum Aræ* and pillars of *Hercules*, according to *Polybius* (11), was ſixteen thouſand ſtadia, or about two thouſand miles. But from Dr *Shaw*'s moſt accurate obſervations, it appears to have been one thouſand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, ſixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be ſeen in the following table:

	Miles.
From *Tingi*, or *Tangier*, to the river *Malva*, or *Mullooiah*	200
To the eaſtern part of the river *Chinalaph*, or *Abeliff*	220
To the river *Ampſaga* or city of *Cirta*	165
To *Lambus* by *Uzzeſſe*, or *Tajeth*	130
To *Carthage*	70
To *Kairavan*, olim *Vicus Auguſti*	75
To *Tacape* in the *Leſſer Syrtis*	110
To *Tripolis*	135
To *Leptis Magna*, or *Lebida*, in the *Greater Syrtis*	115
To the bottom of the *Greater Syrtis*, now called the gulph of *Sidra*, where the *Philænorum Aræ* are ſuppoſed to have been ſituated.	200
In all	1420

Hence it is evident, that *Polybius* makes this tract to have been of a greater extent than it really was; tho', conſidering the largeneſs of the geographical miles above-mentioned, that author does not ſo much exceed the truth, as may at firſt ſight be imagined.

(11) *Polyb. l.* iii.

SECT

SECT. II.

A description of Africa Propria, *or the territory of* Carthage.

Africa Propria.

HAVING given our readers the beſt account of the origin and foundation of *Carthage* that can be drawn from antiquity, as likewiſe a ſmall ſketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, &c. which we ſhall expatiate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*, or deſcribe the religion, government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, ſciences, &c. of that people, it will be proper to give a deſcription of the country wherein they were ſeated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, poſſeſſed, or got a footing in, they were ſometimes of a larger, and ſometimes of a narrower, extent; ſometimes in their own hands, and ſometimes in thoſe of other ſtates, according as ſucceſs or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Its limits.

Mela [a] and *Ptolemy* will have *Africa Propria* to have contained all the countries ſituate between the river *Ampſaga* and the borders of *Cyrenaica*, which, *Pliny* [b] tells us, were inhabited by twenty-ſix different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include *Numidia* and the *Regio Syrtica*, which are countries diſtinct from the proper territories of *Carthage*. Its true limits ſeem [c] to have been the river *Tuſca* on the weſt, or ſide of *Numidia*; the *Mediterranean* or *African* ſea on the north; the frontiers of the *Garamantes* and deſerts of *Libya Interior* on the ſouth; and the *Mediterranean*, with the *Leſſer Syrtis*, on the eaſt.

Diviſion.

It [d] was divided into two provinces, the *Regio Zeugitana*, and *Byzacium*, with which the kingdom of *Tunis* [e], under its diviſion into the ſummer and winter circuits, at preſent nearly correſponds. According to *Dio* [f], this region was likewiſe called the *old province*, and *Numidia* the *new one*. *Byzacium* [g], or at leaſt the ſea coaſt of that province, ſeems to be the *Emporia* of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

[a] POMP. MELA, l. i. c 7. PTOL. l. iv. c. 3. Vide etiam CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. [b] PLIN. l. v. c. 4. [c] Idem ibid. HERODOT. l. iv. SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. & CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. [d] PLIN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. l. ii. [e] SHAW's geographical deſcription of the kingdom of Tunis, chap. 1, 2, &c. [f] DIO. l. xliii. p. 240. [g] LIV. l. xxxiv. POLYB. l i. & CELLAR. ubi ſupra.

Ptolemy [h] has placed *Carthage*, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too ſoutherly, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the inaccuracy of that geographer in aſcertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the poſition of *Africa Propria* to have been nearly the ſame with that of the kingdom of *Tunis*, as there is great reaſon to believe [i], it muſt have taken up almoſt four degrees of north latitude, *viz.* from 33° 30′ N. to 37° 12′ N. and of longitude about three degrees, ſince *Sbekkah*, the moſt advanced city of the kingdom of *Tunis* to the weſtward, is in 8°, and *Clybea*, the fartheſt to the eaſt, in 11° 20′ E. longitude from *London*. The ſpot of ground on which *Carthage* ſtood is, according to the lateſt obſervations [k], about 10° 40′ eaſt of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 40′.

Zeugitana.

Zeugitana, or the *Regio Zeugitana*, was ſeparated from *Numidia* by the river *Tuſca*, and extended as far as *Adrumetum*, which *Pliny* [l] makes to be the firſt city of *Byzacium*. The ſummer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis* [m], including the fruitful country about *Keff* and *Bai-jah*, and ſeveral other diſtricts, anſwers at preſent to this province, which was the *Regio Carthaginienſium* of *Strabo* [n], and the *Africa Propria* of *Pliny* and *Solinus* [o]. We ſhall not pretend here to give a minute and particular deſcription of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our preſent deſign; but only touch upon ſome of the principal of them, which have been taken the moſt notice of by thoſe writers who have treated of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* affairs.

Utica.

THE firſt place in *Zeugitana* worthy our notice, ſince *Carthage* has been already deſcribed, is *Utica*. In rank and dignity this city was next to *Carthage* itſelf, and even ſuperior to it in point of antiquity. *Ariſtotle* [p] ſays it was built, according to the *Phœnician* hiſtorians, two hundred and eighty-ſeven years before *Carthage*. *Velleius* [q], as has been above related, makes the *Tyrians* to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the deſtruction of *Troy*. *Juſtin* [r] intimates, that the *Tyrians* were ſettled there a conſiderable time before *Dido* came into *Africa*; nay, that this ſettlement commenced upon their firſt arrival in that country: and with theſe two laſt authors *Mela* and *Stephanus* [s] agree. From this great antiquity, *Bochart* [t] thinks the *Phœnicians* gave it the name *Atica*, *the ancient*, i. e. *city*, rather, in our opinion, *Etuca* [u] or *Ituca*, i. e.

[h] PTOL. geog. l. iv. SHAW ubi ſup. [i] SHAW, ibid. [k] ibid. [l] PLIN. ubi ſup. & CELLAR. ibid. [m] SHAW ubi ſup. [n] STRAB. l. xvii. [o] PLIN. ubi ſup. & SOLIN. c. 27. [p] ARISTOT. de mirabil. [q] VELL. PATERC. ubi ſup. [r] JUST. l. xviii. [s] STEPH. de urb. & MELA, c. 7. [t] BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. [u] PART. PAHUL. Vid. SCHIND. pentag.

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the city of long ſtanding, or *the great city*, *the ſtrong city*, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongſt the *Tyrians*, even in *Dido*'s time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from *Scylax* and *Polybius*, the moſt antient authors mentioning it, who call it *Ituce*, or *Ityce*, to whom the other *Greek* authors, ſpeaking of it, except *Dio*, who uſes the *Latin* name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and *Carthage* ſtood, was formed by two promontories, *viz.* the promontory of *Mercury* and that of *Apollo*, under the laſt of which *Utica* was ſeated. *Appian* [w] ſays it was ſixty *ſtadia*, or ſeven miles and a half to the weſtward of *Carthage*; but according to the *itinerary*, theſe two cities were twenty-ſeven *Roman* miles diſtant from each other [x]. *Utica* had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the *Roman* hiſtory, but on none more than the death of the younger *Cato*, who was from thence called *Cato Uticenſis*, or *Cato* of *Utica*. After *Carthage* was razed by the *Romans*, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between *Carthage* and *Hippo*, and was for a conſiderable time the metropolis of *Africa*. An ingenious modern traveller [y] ſuppoſes this place to have ſtood where *Boo-ſhatter* does at preſent; the traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence ſtill viſible there, and the diſtance from *Carthage* perfectly agreeing with that of the *itinerary*, beſides other circumſtances, giving good grounds for ſuch a ſuppoſition.

THE next town in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, but in a contrary direction to the former, is *Tunes*, or *Tuneta*, the *Tunis* of the moderns. This town is undoubtedly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by *Polybius* [z], *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and others; nay, that it was of *Phœnician* original, the name itſelf ſufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the *Lower Egypt*, almoſt contiguous to the borders of *Arabia Petræa* and *Phœnice*, a town called *Tanis* [a], from whence the *Tanitic* nome and *Tanitic* mouth of the *Nile* took their name. And 'tis well known, that this part of *Egypt* [b] was over-run by the *Phœnicians*, either in the time of *Joſhua*, or much earlier; and that theſe ſame *Phœnicians* afterwards ſettled in *Africa Pro-* Tunes.

[w] APPIAN. in Libyc. [x] Auct. itin. int. Carth. & Utic. [y] SHAW, ubi ſup. [z] POLYB. l. i. LIV. l. xxx. DIODOR. SIC. l. xiv. STRAB. l. xvii. &c. [a] HEROD. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. aliiq; Vide etiam. CELLAR. geog. ant. p. 785, 799. ed. Lipſiæ. 1732. [b] D. AUGUST. in expoſit. epiſt. ad 3 Rom. ſub init. PROCOP. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. EUSEB. chron. l. i. p. 11. Gemar. Hieroſol. ad Tit. Shebith, cap. 6. MANATHO. apud. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l i. NONNUS in Dionyſiac l. xiii. NEWTON's chronol. p. 198—202. MARSHAM's can. chron. Bp. CUMBERLAND's treatiſe on Sanchoniatho's Phœn. hiſt. Univ. hiſt. Vol. I.

pria, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*. In confirmation of which sentiment, we find a river in *Numidia* [c], not far from the *Ampſaga*, called *Tanas*; from whence we may infer, ſince nothing is more common in the *oriental* languages, than a permutation of vowels, that *Tunes* is a *Phœnician* name, and that the city itſelf is of *Phœnician* extraction. That it was a town of ſome note in very early ages, is evident from *Livy* [d], *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and ſurrounded with a wall. It was ſeated on or near the mouth of the river *Catada*, fifteen *Roman* miles eaſt of *Carthage*. This city is more famous now, than it was even amongſt the antients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greateſt part of it is ſituate upon a riſing ground, along the weſtern banks of the lake, which goes by the ſame name [e], and in a full proſpect (as the antients have deſcribed it) of the *Goletta*, *Carthage*, and the iſland *Zowa-moore*. *Tunis* ſome time ſince was noted for its corſairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themſelves wholly to trade, and are now become the moſt civilized and polite people in *Barbary* (A).

Maxula. *Maxula*, or, according to *Ptolemy*, *Mazula* [f], is an antient town of the ſtate of *Carthage*, and, if *Pliny* [g] may be credited, pretty near that city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of *Apollo* and *Utica*. We find on the weſtern banks of the *Tigris* a city in *Arabic* [h], named *Moſul*, or *Mozul*, which word is not remote from the *Mazula* of *Ptolemy*. 'Tis likewiſe evident from the authority of *Scylax*, who mentions it, that *Mazula* was of ſome repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which conſiderations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity betwixt the *Arabic* and *Phœnician* languages, that this town was built by the *Phœnicians*. It ſtood on the eaſtern ſide of the *Catada*, now the *Miliana*; and, if the conjecture of the ingenious gentle-

[c] Sal. in Jugurth. c. 95. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 913. [d] Liv. Diodor. & Strab. ubi ſup. & alibi. [e] Shaw ubi ſup. p 155. [f] Ptol. geog. l. iv. [g] Plin. l. v. c. 4. [h] Val. Schind. pentaglot. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 623.

(A) Somewhere near this place *Adis* or *Adda* is to be looked for, where *Regulus* gave the *Carthaginians* a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from *Polybius* (1), that this was a town of ſome importance; but the antients being ſilent as to any farther particulars relating to it, ſave only that it was ſituated amongſt rocks and hills, we ſhall think it ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it.

(1) *Polyb. l.* i.

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man [l] above-mentioned be true, viz. that *Mo-raiſah*, two leagues to the north-east of *Selyman*, be the *Maxula*, or *Muxula*, of the antients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four *Engliſh* miles, south-east of *Tunis* (B).

Carpis, a city of this district, placed by *Ptolemy* [k] one third of a degree more northerly than *Carthage*. *Pliny* calls it *Carpi*. Our learned traveller [l] supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which *Gurbos*, or *Hammam-Gurbos*, at present stands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the *Aquæ Calidæ* of *Livy*. Though the position *Ptolemy* assigns his *Carpis* does not agree with that of the modern *Gurbos*, this last lying above a degree more southerly than *Carthage*, yet we doubt not but the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places. Carpis.

Miſua [m], or *Niſua*, a town taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, between *Carpis* and *Clypea*. The ruins [n] of this place are still to be seen at the sanctuary of *Seedy Dowd*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of *Hercules*. Miſua.

THE next place that occurs is the *Aquilaria* of *Cæſar* [o], where *Curio* landed his troops from *Sicily*. *Cæſar* tells us, it was a very convenient station in the summer season, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of these, in all probability, that of *Mercury* (called by the *Moors* the *Raſ-addar*, and by the *Franks* cape *Bon*) was one; since this is about a league to the northward of *Lowah-reah*, supposed to be the antient *Aquilaria*. Many fragments [p] of antiquities are still extant here, but among them nothing remarkable. Aquilaria.

[l] SHAW ubi sup. p. 57. [k] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. [l] SHAW ubi sup. p. 57. [m] PLIN. & PLOL. ubi sup. [n] SHAW ubi sup. [o] CÆS. lib. ii. civ. bell. c. 23. [p] SHAW ubi sup. p. 158.

(B) We find the *Muſulani*, a people seated in the western part of *Numidia*, not far from the *Ampſaga*, taken notice of by *Tacitus* (2); and a town and promontory of *Ethiopia*, famous for the cinamon they produced, near the confines of *Nubia* and *Libya interior*, named *Moſylon* or *Moſulum*, remembered by *Pliny* (3). Now as a *Phœnician* colony came very early into *Numidia*, and the *Nubians* and *Ethiopians* were the descendants of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, as will hereafter be proved, possibly some light may from hence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

(2) *Tacit. ann.* ii. *c.* 52. & *l* iv. *c.* 24. (3) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 4. & *l.* vi. *c.* 29.

Clypea,

Clypea. *Clypea* [q], a city built upon the ſmall promontory *Taphitis*, five leagues ſouth-eaſt of the promontory of *Mercury*, which being in the figure of a ſhield or hemiſphere, gave occaſion to the name. It is called by *Livy*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Clupea*; by *Polybius*, *Appian*, and *Agathemerus*, *Aſpis*; but by *Solinus* and the *itinerary*, *Clypea*. A mile [r] diſtant from the ground where the old city ſtood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants *Clybea*. *Ptolemy* is guilty of a great miſtake, when he makes *Aſpis* and *Clypea* two different cities.

Curubis. *Curubis*, *Curobis*, and *Curabis*, a town, according to the *itinerary*, thirty-two *Roman* miles diſtant from the former; but, according to the more accurate obſervations of the moderns [s], ſeven leagues, or twenty-one miles, ſouth-weſt and by weſt of it. It is ſtyled by *Pliny* [t] the *free city Curubis*, and ſeems to have been a conſiderable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the ciſterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boaſt of at preſent, if the modern *Gurba* anſwers to it, as both the name and ſituation ſufficiently intimate.

Canthele. *Canthele*, a *Phœnician* city, not far from *Curubis*, according to *Hecatæus* [u]. This town ſeems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity *Saturn*; ſince, according to *Sanchoniatho* [w] and *Damaſcius*, the word *el* in the *Phœnician* tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis obſerved by *Ponticus*, in his life of St. *Cyprian*, that there was a town in that place called by the *Romans*, *vicus Saturni*, *the ſtreet or town of* Saturn. This was not a place of figure, at leaſt ſo low as the claſſic times, ſo that we take notice of it here purely on account of its antiquity.

Neapolis. *Neapolis*, a famous and antient empory of the *Carthaginians* in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Zeugitana*, five leagues to the north-eaſt of *Curubis*. *Thucydides* [x] ſays, that the paſſage from hence to *Sicily* was very ſhort, as being performed in two days and a night. *Scylax* places it not far from the leſſer *Syrtis*, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of *Mercury*. *Nabal*, a thriving and induſtrious modern town, is a furlong to the weſtward of the antient *Neapolis*, which appears to

[q] Strab. lib. xvii. p. 573. [r] Shaw ubi ſup. [s] Shaw ibid. [t] Plin. ubi ſup. [u] Hecatæus perieget. apud Steph. de urb. [w] Sanchoniatho apud Euſeb. in præp. evang. l. i. c. 10. & Damascius apud Photium in bibliothec. 242. [x] Thucyd. l. vii.

have

have been a large city. *Pliny* ſtyles this place, as well as *Curubis, a free city.* Here is a great number of inſcriptions upon ſtones of ſix foot in length, and three in breadth; but they are either ſo unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbiſh and mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. *Strabo* and *Hirtius* agree with *Scylax* in fixing it pretty near the promontory of *Mercury*. *Nabal* [y] ſtands upon the gulph of *Hamam-et* in N. lat. 36° 8′ two leagues from a little opulent town of the ſame name.

To theſe may be added *Nepheris*, a fortreſs lying a little to the eaſtward of *Carthage*. It was a place of good conſideration, being built upon a rock, and ſtrongly fenced by nature on all ſides. *Aſdrubal*, with his whole army, was cut off near it by *Scipio*, who, after a ſiege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conqueſt of *Carthage*. *Strabo*, *Appian*, and the epitomizer of *Livy*, take particular notice of it. Nepheris.

THE only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is *Hippo*, towards the north-weſt borders of it, a ſort of frontier town on the ſide of *Numidia*. From the navigable lake *Hipponitis*, on which it was built, and which ſerved it as a natural fortification, it was denominated *Hippo Diarrhytus*, and *Hippo Zarytus*; tho', from the promontory near it the antients ſometimes gave it the denomination of *Acra*, *Hippuacra*, and *Hippagreta*. *Scylax* calls it ſimply *Hippo*, notwithſtanding it generally went by the names above-mentioned in the time of *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Appian*; and this in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Hippo Regius* in *Numidia*. *Appian* [x] tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repoſitories for naval ſtores. The modern name is *Bizerta*, which is a corruption of the *Hippo Zarytus* of the antients. It is pleaſantly ſituated upon a canal [*], eight miles to the ſouth and by weſt of cape *Blanco*, betwixt an extenſive lake and the ſea. It is at preſent about a mile in circuit, defended by ſeveral caſtles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the ſea. The origin of it was *Phœnician*, as has been fully proved by *Bochart* [z], who derives the name *Hippo* from the *Syriac* or *Phœnician Ubbo*, or *Uppo*, a gulph, which perfectly well anſwers to the ſituation of the place. To which by way of corroboration it may be obſerved, that the gulph, on which it was ſeated, ſeems, in contradiſtinction to the city *Hippo* or *Hippon*, to be called *Hippos* by *Ptolemy*, when he takes notice of the promontory of *Hippos*, or of *the gulph cloſe by it*; and if ſo, this was only the *Syriac* or *Phœnician Ubbo* (gulph) with a *Greek* termi- Hippo.

[y] SHAW. ubi ſup. [*] APPIAN. in Libyc. [†] SHAW. ubi ſup. [z] BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

nation

nation superadded. This gulph is formed by the *Promontorium Candidum* and *Promontorium Apollinis* of the antients, the *Ras el abeadh Ras* and *Zibeeb* of the present *Tuniseens*.

As for the inland towns of *Zeugitana*, *Uticubirra*, *Mediccara*, *Tuccia*, *Gerbica*, *Safura*, *Cibna*, *Vepillium*, *Vina*, *Velli*, *Cigisa*, *Musti*, *Membressa*, *Cilis*, and others equally obscure, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, the *itinerary*, and *Peutinger*'s table; they were for the most part, if not intirely, modern in comparison of the *Carthaginian* times, and never considerable in any other. We shall therefore conclude what we have to say of this province with observing, that there seem to be some traces of *Zeugis* in *Zeugitana* in the present name of the city of *Zowan* or *Zagwan*, a small flourishing town built upon the north-east extremity of a conspicuous mountain of the same name, in the summer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis*. This will appear extremely probable from what has been advanced by *Solinus*, compared with the observations of the learned traveller [a] so often cited. The *Zygantes* of *Herodotus* seem likewise to have been placed in the neighbourhood of *Zagwan*, which is an additional argument in support of this notion.

Byzacium. *Byzacium*, according to *Pliny* [b], was inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*, that is, by a mixture of *Aborigines*, or native *Africans*, and *Carthaginians*. The same author tells us, it was about two hundred and fifty *Roman* miles in circumference, and of so great fertility, that the earth made a return of an hundred fold. The limits of this province seem impossible to be precisely defined, because the antients have passed over the interior part of it bordering upon *Libya* in a very slight manner, and greatly mistaken the course, magnitude, and source of the river *Triton*; only in general it may be proper to remark, that it is supposed not to have differed much in extent and situation from the present winter circuit of the *Tuniseens*. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope that a brief description of some of the principal of them will suffice.

Adrumetum. *Adrumetum*, or *Hadrumetum*, the capital of *Byzacium*, was a city of great antiquity, and of great note in the antient world. It had a variety of names, being called by *Strabo* and *Stephanus*, *Adryme* or *Adrume*, as also *Adrymetus*; by *Plutarch* and *Ptolemy*, *Adrumetus* or *Adrummettus*; by *Appian*, *Adrymettus*; and by *Cæsar*, *Hirtius*, and *Pliny*, *Adrumetum*; by *Mela*, *Hadrumetum*, or, according to *Vossius*, *Hadrumentum*; and lastly, in *Peutinger*'s table, we find it named *Hadrito*. The

[a] Shaw. ubi sup. c. 3. [b] Plin. ubi sup.

city

city was large and ſpacious, built upon an hemiſpherical promontory, like *Clypea*, at the diſtance of two leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of the moraſs, the boundary, as hath been ſuppoſed, betwixt the *Zeugitana* and this province. According to the *itinerary*, it was eighteen *Roman* miles from *Leptis Minor*, though *Peutinger*'s table makes the diſtance greater. Adjacent to the city was a *cothon*, being either a port or little iſland, in imitation of that of *Carthage* ſo called. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the preſent ſituation, was ſomething more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins [c], ſeems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the *Phœnicians*, is evident from *Salluſt* [d] and others; as likewiſe from the name itſelf, which *Bochart*, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two *Syriac* or *Phœnician* words, importing, *the land* or *country returning an hundred fold*, i. e. *of corn* or *grain*. The extraordinary fertility, not only of the province in general, but of *Adrumetum*, the metropolis of it, in particular, is confirmed by an inſcription in *Smetius* [e], which gives a ſanction to *Bochart*'s authority, and ſufficiently convinces us of the truth of what we find related concerning it by the *Latin* authors; though at this day [f] it is but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry ſandy nature, and partly incommoded with moraſſes and *ſhibkahs* (C) diſperſed over it, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon. If the *Herkla* of the *Tuniſeens*, the *Heraclea* of the lower empire, be *Adrumetum*, as we ſee no reaſon to doubt, it muſt have been in N. lat. 35° 50′, though *Ptolemy* places it in N. lat. 32° 40′.

[c] SHAW. ubi ſup. [d] SALLUST. in Jugurth. BOCHART. ubi ſup. [e] SMETIUS in inſcript. vol. & VET INSCRIPT. apud Gruter. p. 362. [f] SHAW ubi ſup. p. 186.

(C) The word *ſhibkah* ſignifies in the *Arabic* language a *ſaltiſh plat* of ground; and denotes a ſpot generally overflowed in the winter, but dry all the ſummer (4). There are great numbers of theſe in the kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, which appear like ſo many extenſive lakes, and produce a conſiderable quantity of ſalt. In the ſummer they may be taken for bowling greens prepared for the turf. Some of them have a hard and ſolid bottom, without the leaſt mixture of gritty mould, retaining the ſalt that lieth cryſtalized upon them after rain; but others are of a more oozy abſorbent nature, ſeldom preſerving any ſaline incruſtations upon the ſurface. The earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and, by a proper ſolution, would yield, no doubt, a copious portion of ſalt.

(4) *Shaw in phyſ. and miſcel. obſerv. p.* 230.

Ruſpina. *Ruſpina*, a town of *Byzacium*, betwixt *Adrumetum* and *Leptis Minor*, where *Cæſar* incamped in his wars with *Scipio* [g]. The village of *Sahaleel*, a little above ſix leagues from *Herkla*, and full a mile from the ſea, has the faireſt pretenſions to *Ruſpina*; ſince we are aſſured by *Hirtius* [h], that the port of *Ruſpina* was not at a much greater diſtance from the town.

Leptis Minor. *Leptis Minor*, one of *Pliny*'s free cities, eighteen *Roman* miles from *Adrumetum*, of *Phœnician* extraction. It had the epithet *minor* commonly annexed to it, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Leptis Major*, a city of the *Regio Syrtica*, which was built either by the *Sidonians*, as *Salluſt* ſeems to intimate [i], or the *Tyrians*, according to *Pliny* [k]. *Bochart* [l] deduces the name *Leptis* from the *Phœnician labt* or *lapt*, denoting a port or ſtation for veſſels. *Strabo* and *Stephanus* ſay, that *Lepethis*, a city of *Cyprus*, was famous for its commodious ſtation, and the ſame is ſaid of *Leptis Minor* by *Lucan* [m]. The city paid every day a talent to the *Carthaginians* by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceeding fruitful, which has induced *Bochart* to derive *Emporia* (its name in *Livy* and *Polybius*) from two *Oriental* words, importing *the fruitful mother*. The place is at preſent called *Lempta*; but there is nothing left beſides a ſmall part of the caſtle, with a low ſhelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the *Cothon*.

Agar. *Agar* [n], a town taken notice of by *Hirtius*, a few miles to the weſtward of *Leptis*. The ſituation of this place is very rocky, and here is a great quantity of ſtones and ruins. The village, at preſent taking up the ſpot of ground on which *Agar* ſtood, is called [o] by the *Arabs*, *Boo-Hadjar*, i. e. *the father of a ſtone*; which agrees in ſignification pretty well with the old name, and anſwers to the circumſtances above-mentioned.

Thapſus. *Thapſus*, a maritime town of this province, ſeated, according to *Dio* [p], upon a ſort of iſthmus, betwixt the ſea and a lake. *Peutinger*'s table makes it eight miles diſtant from *Leptis* to the ſouth. The inhabitants of *Thapſus* were famous for their fidelity to *Scipio*, in his wars with *Cæſar*; but notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the place, they were obliged to ſubmit to the latter, after he had defeated the former. *Demaſs*, the antient *Thapſus*, is ſituated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the E. by S. of *To-bulba*, within half a league of which is the lake taken notice of by *Hirtius*. Here is ſtill remaining [q], in deſiance of time and the ſea, a great part of the *cothon*, built in

[g] Ibid p. 190. [h] Hirt. bell. Afric. ſec 9. in Jugurth. c. 22. & 80. [i] Salluſt. [k] Plin. l. v. c. 19. [l] Bochart. ubi ſup. [m] Lucan. bell. civ. l ix v. 951. [n] Hirt. bell. Afric. ſec. 68. 79. [o] Shaw. ubi ſup. p. 191. [p] Dio. l. xliii. p 745. [q] Shaw. ubi ſup.

frames a

frames; the compoſition whereof is made up of ſmall pebbles and mortar, which are ſo well cemented and knit together, that a ſolid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of *Tlemſan* very much reſemble the remaining part of this *cothon*.

Acholla or *Acilla*, another free city, called by *Appian* [r], *Cholla*. If the ſite *Ptolemy* aſſigns this city be allowed, *Elalia*, ſix miles to the northward of *She-ah*, the antient *Ruſpæ*, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly anſwers to it. Acholla.

Turris Hannibalis *, the tower of *Hannibal*, was a fort, tower, or country-ſeat, belonging to *Hannibal*, betwixt *Thapſus* and *Acilla*, according to *Livy*. To this place *Hannibal* fled from *Carthage*, for fear of the *Romans*; and immediately, upon his arrival, imbarquing in a veſſel that waited for him, paſſed over to the iſland *Cercina*. Either *El-Medea*, five miles to the ſouth of *Demaſs*, or *Salecto* [s], five miles to the S. by W. of *El-Medea*, in all probability, occupies the ſpace on which this fort, tower, or country-ſeat, was erected. Turris Hannibalis.

Thena or *Thænæ*, a town on the coaſt of the leſſer *Syrtis* mentioned by *Strabo* [t], known at this time among the *Tuniſeens* by the name *Thainee*. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren, without either fountain or rivulet to refreſh it. Thena.

BETWIXT *Thænæ* and the mouth of the *Triton*, or the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, *Ptolemy* places his *Macodama*, with which perhaps *Maha-reſs* [u], four leagues to the weſt of *Thainee*, correſponds. 'Tis a village famous for nothing, but ſeveral ciſterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water. Macodama.

Uzita, a town of ſome note near *Tiſdrus* and *Leptis Minor*, mentioned by *Hirtius*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dio*. *Bochart* [w] derives the name from *zaith* or *zait*, *an olive*, or *place where olives are produced*; and, according to *Hirtius*, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives, ſince *Cæſar* exacted yearly from the inhabitants of *Leptis* a vaſt quantity of oil by way of mulct or tribute. This gives great weight to *Bochart's* opinion, and proves the city to be *Phœnician*. Uzita.

Thala [x], a city of great extent, taken notice of by *Salluſt*, ſituated, like *Capſa*, in the midſt of mountains and deſerts, though there were ſome fountains without the city. All which Thala.

[r] APPIAN. in Libyc. * LIV. l. xxxiii. JUST. l. xxxi. [s] SHAW. ubi ſup. p. 102. [t] STRAB. l. xvii p. 572, 574 [u] SHAW. ubi ſup. p. 195. [w] BOCHART. ubi ſup. [x] SALLUST in Jugurth.

particulars agree with the ſituation of the modern *Ferre-anah*, in the ſouth-weſt part of this province.

Capſa. TWELVE leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is *Gafsa*, the *Capſa* of the antients, and one of the ſtrong caſtles of *Jugurtha*[y]. It is built upon a riſing ground, incloſed, almoſt in every direction, with mountains; and hath the like melancholy ſituation with *Ferre-anah*, only with this difference, that the landſkip here is ſomewhat more gay and verdant by the proſpect we have from it of the palm, olive, piſtachio, and other fruit-trees. In the eaſtern languages the word ſignifies *ſtraitly environed*, and ſo the place is on every ſide by ſolitudes and deſerts; which is a good proof that it was originally *Phœnician*[z]. There ſeem to have been two more cities of this name, the one in *Numidia*, the other in *Libya Interior*.

Suffetula, *Turzo*, *Sarſura*, *Tiſdra* or *Tiſdrus*, *Caraga*, *Orbita*, and other obſcure towns of *Byzacium*, of which we know nothing but the bare names, either intirely depend upon the faith of *Ptolemy*, were always inconſiderable in themſelves, or built below the claſſic period of time; and therefore, as they cannot have the leaſt tendency to illuſtrate any part of the *Carthaginian* hiſtory, or ſupply us with the leaſt hint or circumſtance relative thereto, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a conciſe deſcription of the moſt celebrated lakes, rivers, and other principal curioſities of it, and a brief enumeration of the *African* nations, who in the remoteſt times poſſeſſed it.

Lakes. THE chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the antients (beſides the lake *Hipponitis* above-mentioned, and the *Palus Siſara* joined to it, of no great repute) were the *Palus Tritonis* or *Tritonitis*, the *Palus*, *Pallas*, and the *Palus Libya*; all which, according to *Ptolemy*, had a communication with one another, by means of the river *Triton*, which ran thro' them into the ſea. But herein that geographer was greatly deceived. The ſource of the *Triton* is nearer the ſea than theſe lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the ſame lake, whoſe modern name is, the *Shibkah El Lowdea*[a], or *lake of marks*, ſo called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, that are placed at proper diſtances, to direct the caravans in their marches over it. This lake extends itſelf near twenty leagues from eaſt to weſt, and is interſperſed with ſeveral dry ſpots, which appear like iſlands in it. To the eaſtward eſpecially, in the ſame meridian with *Telemeen*, there is one, which,

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Vid. BOCHART. ubi. ſup. & CELLAR. in Geog. ant. p. 875, 913. [a] SHAW, ubi ſup. p. 211, 212.

though

though uninhabited, is very large, and well ſtocked with date trees. This ſeems to be the *Cherſoneſus* of *Diodorus* [b], and the *Phla* of *Herodotus* [c]; and the date trees in it, according to a tradition of the *Arabs*, ſprung originally from the ſtones of thoſe dates which the *Egyptians* brought with them for proviſions, many ages ſince [f], when they invaded this part of *Africa*, and halted here. The *Punic* name perhaps was *Tarit* [g], *Terit*, or *Trit*, i. e. *paſturage*, or *paſture-ground*; for, if we may believe *Scylax* and *Herodotus* [h], it ſerved as a boundary to the *Libyan Nomades*, who abounded with flocks and herds, and whoſe country muſt of conſequence have been of ſuch a nature as the word *tarit* imports the ground bordering upon the lake and river *Triton* to have been. *Scylax* makes the lake to have been in his time about a thouſand ſtadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the beſt modern deſcription we find given of it. *Feſtus* [i] tells us, that the goddeſs *Minerva* firſt appeared in the neighbourhood of this place.

Rivers.

THE moſt famous river of *Africa Propria* was the *Bagrada* [k], *Bagadras*, or *Bragada*, for it went by all thoſe names. On the banks of which, *Regulus*, in the firſt *Punic* war, by the help of his battering engines, killed a ſerpent [l] of a monſtrous ſize, being an hundred and twenty foot in length, whoſe ſkin and jaw-bones were perſerved at *Rome* till the *Numantine* war. *Ptolemy* [m] derives this river from mount *Mampſarus*, where he fixes its ſource, making it bend its courſe almoſt directly from north to ſouth; and herein he is followed by the late geographers: but this is a miſtake [n], its ſtream flowing in a direction almoſt from weſt to eaſt. At this day it is called the *Me-jerdah* [o], whoſe firſt and moſt diſtant branches are the ſmall rivers *Hameeſe* and *Myſki-anah*, in the diſtrict of the *Hen-neiſha*; which, with the concurrent ſtreams of the *Wed el Boule*, *Scilliana*, and ſome other rivulets of the *Frig-eah*, render it as large as the *Iſis* and *Cherwell* united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes ſo well ſaturated with ſoil, that it is of the ſame complexion with the *Nile*, and appears to have no leſs the property of making encroachments upon the ſea. *Utica* ſtood upon the weſtern bank of the *Bagrada*, and *Carthage* on the other ſide, but at ſome diſtance

The Bagrada.

[b] DIODOR. SIC. l iii. p. 130. [c] HERODOT. l. iv. [f] SHAW, ubi ſup. [g] BOCHART. ubi ſup. [h] SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. & HERODOT. l. iv. [i] FESTUS. POMPEIUS, & DIODOR. SIC. l. iii. p. 142. [k] PLIN. l. v. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. APPIAN. l. ii. bell. civil. p. 748. SILIUS ITALICUS, LUCAN. &c. [l] GELLIUS, l. vi. c. 3. PLIN. hiſt. nat. l. viii. c. 14. LIV. epit. xviii. VAL. MAX. i, 8, 19. [m] PTOL. Geog. l. iv. [n] SHAW, ubi ſup. p. 147. [o] Ibid. p. 146.

from

from it. *Bochart* will have the *Phœnicians* to have pronounced the name *Bragda* [p] or *Bractha*, i. e. a *pond*, and produces several authorities, which give a great air of probability to his opinion.

The Catada. THE *Catada* of *Ptolemy*, now the *Miliana*, is famous for nothing but having *Tunis* seated upon the mouth of it; nor the *Triton*, now the *Gabbs*, but on account of the lake of the same name already described. However, it may not be improper to observe, that it has its source [q] only about three or four leagues to the S. S. W. of *Gabbs*, and becomes at once a considerable stream, near as big as the *Cherwell*.

Curiosities. AMONG the principal curiosities of this country are to be ranked the *Hammam Leef* (D), a noted hot bath [r], very much resorted to by the citizens of *Tunis*; the hot bath, with some ruins, at the creek of *Gurbos* [s], the *Aquæ Calidæ* of *Livy*; the salt lake near *To-bulba*, the *Stagnum Salinarum* of *Hirtius*; the *Jibbel Had-deffa*, an entire mountain [t] of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the *lake of marks*, whose salt is as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour; the lead-oars at *Jibbel Rif-sass* [u], near *Hammam Leef*, which are very rich. To which many others might be added, did we not chuse to reserve them for a more proper place (E).

THE

[p] BOCHART. ubi sup. [q] SHAW, ubi sup. p. 197. [r] Ibid. p. 157. [s] Ibid. [t] Idem ibid. p. 229. [u] Idem ibid. p. 237.

(D) These *hammams*, or baths, are so called from the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* verb חמם *hammam incaluit*, their waters being hot, though not all in the same degree; perhaps the word *hummums*, which we have adopted into our language, of the same import, is to be deduced from the same original.

(E) We shall beg leave in this note just to mention the principal islands on the coast of *Africa Propria*, taken notice of by the antients, which are the following:

1. *Cossyria* or *Cosyrus*, a small island in the *African* sea, which some authors refer to *Sicily*; but *Strabo* makes it part of the proper territory of *Carthage*. According to *Ptolemy*, it had a city of the same name, which, by reason of its vicinity to *Carthage*, was doubtless a place of some repute. *Scylax* tells us it was a day's sail only from the promontory *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*; and *Strabo* places it in the middle of the *African* sea, at an equal distance from *Lilybæum* and *Clypea*, a city of *Africa Propria*. From some antique coins, exhibited by *Paruta* and *Lucas Holstenius*, it appears, that *Cossyra* was the name most frequently used. According to *Strabo*, this island was an hundred and fifty stadia in circumference (5).

(5) *Ptol. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *Scyl. Caryand. Strab. l.* vi. *Parut. apud Thesaur. ant. & hist. Sic. vol.* viii. *Luc. Holsten. in not. ad Steph. Byzant.*

2. The

THE moſt antient inhabitants of this country were, according to *Herodotus* [w], the *Auſes*, ſituated to the weſt of the river *Triton*, whoſe capital city was doubtleſs *Auza* or *Auzate*, ſaid by *Menander Epheſius* to be built by *Eth-baal* or *Ithobal*, king of *Tyre*; the *Maxyes*, a *Libyan* nation; the *Machlyes*, another *Libyan* nation near the lake *Tritonis*; the *Zaueces*; and the *Zygantes*, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. Theſe were, in all likelihood, a mixture of old *Libyans* or *Africans* and *Phœnicians*, a more diſtinct account of whom may be expected from us when we come to treat of the different nations of *Libya*. *Antient inhabitants.*

[w] HERODOT. l. iv.

2. The *Tarichiæ* of *Strabo* were certain minute iſlands very near the coaſt of *Africa Propria*, almoſt oppoſite to *Leptis Minor*. They are at preſent called the *Jouvics*, and lie over-againſt *Lempta* and *To-bulba*. *Cæſar* ſeems to have looked upon them as poſts of ſome importance, which is all that we have at preſent to ſay of them (6).

3. *Lopaduſa*, oppoſite to *Thapſus* above-mentioned, and ſix miles long, if we will believe *Pliny*. The ſame author affirms it to have been fifty miles diſtant from *Cercina* and *Cercinitis*, two ſmall iſlands belonging to the *Regio Syrtica* (7).

4. *Æthuſa*, or *Æguſa*, another little iſland mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, lying a little to the weſtward of the former (8).

5. The *Laruneſiæ*, two ſmall iſlands, according to the *Palatine* MS. of *Ptolemy*, that lay above *Ruſpina* (9).

6. The *Inſula Dracontia* of *Ptolemy*, to the north of *Hippo Diarrhytus*. Two little flat contiguous iſlands called the *Cani*, not far from cape *Blanco*, ſeem at this day to bid fair for the ſame ſituation that *Ptolemy* aſſigns to his *Inſula Dracontia* (10).

7. *Galata*, a little iſland above *Tabraca*, three hundred ſtadia from the continent of *Africa* (11).

(8) *Ægimurus*, a ſmall iſland in the gulph of *Carthage*, about thirty miles from that capital. *Pliny* aſſures us, that there were two rocks near this iſland called the *Aræ Ægimuri* or *Ægimori*, which, according to *Servius*, were the remains of an iſland, ſome ages before his time abſorpt by the ſea. This author likewiſe informs us, that they were called *Aræ*, becauſe on them the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their reſpective dominions. The modern *Zowa-moor*, between cape *Zibeeb* and cape *Bon* or *Raſ-addar*, the *Zimbra* of our ſea charts, is undoubtedly the *Ægimurus* of the antients (12).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvii. *Hirt. de bel. Afric.* §. 20. (7) *Strab. l.* xvii. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 7. (8) *Plin. l* iii. *c.* 8. *Ptol. l.* iv *c.* 3. (9) *Cellar. geogr. ant l.* iv. *c* 4 (10) *Ptol. ubi ſupra.* (11) *Cellar. ex itinerario maritimo, ubi ſup* (12) *Strab. l.* xxii. *p.* 573. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 24. *Plin l.* v. *c.* 7. *Virg. Æn.* i. *ver.* 108. *Serv. in loc. Steph. Byzant.* &c.

As for the climate, modern ſtate, and natural hiſtory of *Africa Propria*, both with regard to its animal, vegetable, and ſubterraneous productions, we ſhall defer what we have to ſay on each of theſe heads, till, according to the method already propoſed to ourſelves, we come to write the hiſtory of the ſtates of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*.

SECT. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians *originally* Canaanites *or* Phœnicians.

THE *Carthaginians* being originally *Phœnicians* [a], were the deſcendants of the old *Canaanites* [b], and therefore could trace up their antiquity as high as *Canaan*, the ſon of *Ham*, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the *Greek* and *Roman* [c] writers, that make any mention of their affairs, are clear in this point, without the leaſt variation. And that they themſelves were of the ſame opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongſt their poſterity ſo late as St. *Auſtin*'s [d] days; from the authority of *Servius* and *Procopius* [e]; and from the ſtrong [f] attachment they always ſhewed to the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, from which theſe authors deduce them. One of the *Punic* names of *Carthage*, according to *Plautus* [g], was *Chaedreanech*, or *Chadre-Anak*, which *Bochart* [h] with great reaſon imagines to allude to their *Canaaniti/h* extraction; for *Anak* and his family, upon account of their extraordinary ſize of body, and diſtinguiſhed valour, being eſteemed both by ſacred and profane writers as the moſt famous of the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, from him the whole nation, or at leaſt that part of it bordering upon the ſea-coaſt near the place of his reſidence, might probably receive a new denomina-

[a] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 342, 343, & vol. xvi. p. 412. [b] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 157, & 293, &c. [c] Philistus Syracusanus apud Euſebium in chron. ad an 804 Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. Vell. Paterc. hiſt. Rom. Justin. l. xviii. &c. [d] August. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub init. [e] Servius in Æn. i v. 37. Æn. iv. v. 75. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. [f] Herodot. Polyb. Liv. Diodor. Sic. Q. Curt. Justin. Tertul. Minut. Fel. &c. paſſim. [g] Plaut. in Pœn. [h] Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 1.

tion.

tion (A). This is to be underſtood of the moſt early *Phœnician* colonies ſettled in *Africa*, and many of their deſcendants; for it is to be naturally ſuppoſed, that ſome of theſe mixed with the *Aborigines*, or native *Africans*, whom they found there upon

(A) To what has been already obſerved (1) of the *Anakims*, may be added, that profane authors themſelves, as well as ſcripture, ſeem to have had ſome knowledge of them. *Pauſanias* (2) tells us, that in the iſland *Aſteria* near *Miletus*, the body of the hero *Aſterius*, from whom the iſland received its name, was buried; that he was the ſon of *Anax*, or *Anak*, who was the ſon of the *Earth*; that his body was ten cubits long; and that the whole territory of the *Mileſians* was antiently called *Anactoria*, from his father *Anax*, or *Anak*. *Euſtathius* (3) and the epitomizer of *Stephanus* agree with *Pauſanias*, in relation to the antient name of *Miletus*, with its diſtrict; and add, that this *Anax* was the ſon of *Heaven* and *Earth*. We are aſſured by ſcripture (4), that the *Anakims*, when driven out of their own country by *Joſhua*, fled to *Gaza*, *Gath*, and *Aſhdod*, and there ſettled themſelves. And it is likewiſe probable (5) from the *Phœnician* hiſtory, that *Gath*, the metropolis of theſe *Anakims*, was ſubject to the kings or judges of *Tyre*, as early as the days of *Pygmalion*; ſince it had revolted from the *Tyrians* ſome time before the reign of *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. From whence we may conclude, that ſome of this family might even attend *Dido* into *Africa*, though it is at the ſame time very likely, that many of them, after their chiefs had been cut off by *David* (6), might likewiſe retire to their countrymen, who had fixed their abode in *Africa* ever ſince the days of *Joſhua* (7). We muſt not omit, that the *Dioſcuri* (8), who were *Phœnician* gods, *i. e.* deified *Phœnicians* of great diſtinction, were called *Anakes*, or *Anakims*, by the *Greeks*, on account, no doubt, of their ſuperior ſtature and majeſty. The word *anax* or *anak* (9) was a term of great honour amongſt the moſt antient *Greeks*, being applied only to their kings and heroes. It has been imagined by ſome, that this is a common name, anſwering to the *Latin Torquatus* (10), and that the great men in the eaſt were in the earlieſt times ſo called, on account of the rich collar or chain that they uſually wore about their necks. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* (11) aſſerts, that he ſaw a human rib hanging up in a palace at *Damaſcus*, which was nine *Spaniſh* palms long, and two broad; and that, from an inſcription upon the tomb-ſtone, it appeared, that one of the *Anakims*

(1) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 296—300, *& vol.* ii. *p.* 179, (Z), *& ſeq.* (2) *Pauſan. in Attic. & Achaic.* (3) *Euſtath. in Hom. iliad.* A, *p.* 16, *& Steph. epit. ſub. voc.* Μίλητος. (4) *Joſ.* xi. 22. (5) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 343. (6) 2 *Sam.* xxi. 16—22. 1 *Chron.* xx. 4—8. (7) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 179. (8) *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* iii. (9) *Hom. iliad.* A, *& alibi paſſim.* (10) *Bochart. ubi ſupra & Val. Schind. pentaglot. ſub. voc.* ענק. (11) *Benj. Tudel. itiner. p.* 56.

upon their arrival, and with them, or at leaſt a conſiderable body of them, formed one people. And for this reaſon it is, that the inhabitants of *Byzacium*, eſpecially of the maritime parts of it, were ſometimes called by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Libyphœnicians*, as conſiſting of both nations (B). But a fuller account of the name, as well as a more particular deſcription, of the people with whom the *Phœnicians* were incorporated, will be found in a proper place.

DR. *Hyde*, in his notes upon *Peritſal* [i], is of another opinion; but, in order to ſupport it, he has recourſe to hypotheſis only, and thoſe ſuch as have but a ſlender foundation. On the contrary, *Bochart* [k] proves what he advances by unqueſtionable authorities, the only ſolid arguments in points of this nature, of which he produces ſuch a train, as will not eaſily be overborn.

[i] HYDE. in Peritſ. p. 44. [k] BOCAHRT. ubi ſupra.

was buried there, whoſe name was *Abchamaz*, and who was ſaid to have reigned over the whole world, *i. e.* over a good part of the eaſt, or all the countries in that neighbourhood. But whether this inſcription ought to be looked upon as genuine, or of a late date in compariſon of the age of the *Anakims*, and founded only upon ſome *Oriental* tradition, is what we ſhall not take upon us to determine.

(B) The *Byzacium* of *Pliny* (12) ſeems to be the *Byzacis* of *Polybius*, if we will give credit to *Salmaſius*'s emendation of a paſſage in *Stephanus*, where he quotes the twelfth book of that hiſtorian. A ſtrong preſumption in favour of this is, that both *Pliny* and *Polybius*'s provinces have the ſame extent, the ſame ſituation, and their names are pretty much alike (13). *Byzacium*, according to the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, conſiſted of two parts, the maritime or exterior, and the mediterranean or interior (14), both which were inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*. *Bochart* derives the name from the oriental word *biza* (15), a teat, and thinks it was ſo denominated from its ſurpriſing fertility, of which that was a ſymbol amongſt moſt nations. So *Virgil*,

Terra antiquæ potens armis, atq; ubere glebæ, Æn. 1.
——— *Et fertilis ubere campus.* Georg. l. ii.
——— Ἦμαθ' ἀρούρης. Il. 1.

Which, according to the ſcholiaſt, ſignifies a moſt fertile and beautiful part of the country. The *Mamma* of *Procopius* (16) in this province, a word of the ſame import with *Biza*, greatly ſtrengthens this derivation.

(12) *Vide Salmaſ. in Steph. ſub voc.* Βύζακις. (13) *Conf. Steph. ubi ſupra. Plin. l.* v. *c.* 4. *&* *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 1. (14) *Cellar. geog. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 4. *Bochart. ubi ſupra.* (15) *Bochart. ubi ſupra.* (16) *Procop. de bell. Vand. l.* ii.

SOME

Some [1] authors have imagined, that the *Libyphœnicians*, or, as *Strabo* and moſt of the other *Greek* writers call them, the *Libophœnicians*, were a nation diſtinct both from the *Africans*, or *Libyans*, and *Carthaginians*, and inhabited a different tract. It is certain the true or *Aſiatic Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, bordering upon their reſpective frontiers, were called *Syrophœnicians*, upon account of their intermixing one with another, and by way of contradiſtinction from the people inhabiting the oppoſite parts of thoſe two regions, who were known by their proper names, *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*. In conformity to our notion of the people we are here diſcourſing of, *Livy* [m] ſtyles them *miſtum Punicum Afris genus*; and *Diodorus* [n] ſpeaks of them to the ſame effect. Libyphœnicians.

The firſt government ſettled at *Carthage* [o] was probably monarchical; but this ſeems to have been but of ſhort continuance, as expiring with *Dido* herſelf, or rather in her life-time, when it was changed into a republic. As to the particular form of this republic, authors differ. *Ariſtotle* tells us, that it was partly ariſtocratical [p], and partly (as he terms it) political, *i. e.* democratical (C). According to *Polybius* [q], monarchy, ariſtocracy, and *The form of government at* Carthage.

[1] Vide BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25. [m] LIV. l. xxxi. [n] DIODOR. SIC. l. xx. [o] UBBO EMMIUS, de ſtat. & rep. Carthag. ſub init. CHRIST. HENDREICH. in Carthag. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 15. p. 307. JUST. l. i. aliique mult. [p] ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. UBBO EMM. ubi ſupra. [q] POLYB. l. vi.

(C) Πολιτεία (polity or policy) taken in a general ſenſe (17), ſignified, according to *Ariſtotle*, any form of government, where the laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined ſenſe it was, among the antient *Greeks* before *Ariſtotle*'s time, frequently ſynonymous to δημοκρατία (18), (democracy) as may be proved from *Æſchines* and others. But when *Ariſtotle* comes to diſtinguiſh more ſubtilly (19), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of government, each of which was a compoſition of oligarchy and democracy. That which participated moſt of oligarchy, was called ariſtocracy; but that which inclined moſt to democracy, went by the name of polity or policy. Both of theſe, in ſome reſpects (20), prevailed in the ſtate of *Carthage*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we come to conſider the defects of it; for which reaſon *Ariſtotle* tells us it was compoſed of both. In ſhort, polity or policy regarded men as rich and poor (21), ariſtocracy as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which conſiderations had their influence in the *Carthaginian* commonwealth.

(17) *Ariſtot. de rep. l.* iv. (18) *Idem ibid. c.* 3. (19) *Idem ibid. c.* 7, 8, &c. *Æſchin. in Cteſiph.* (20) *Ariſtot. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (21) *Idem, l.* iv. *c.* 8.

democracy, all centered in it. And laſtly, *Iſocrates* [r] makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. In the forming of it, the *Carthaginians* undoubtedly borrowed many things from their anceſtors the *Tyrians*, who, for ſeveral ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high eſteem on account of their wiſdom, riches, and power. *Ariſtotle* [s] intimates, that the *Cretan*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Carthaginian*, republics were the moſt perfect and beſt modelled of any in the world; and that theſe in many particulars agreed; tho', in ſeveral reſpects, he gives the preference to the *Carthaginian*. The conſummate wiſdom of thoſe maxims and inſtitutions, upon which this laſt was formed, appeared to him from hence, that notwithſtanding the great ſway the people bore in *Carthage* [t], there had been no inſtance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of diſturbing the public tranquility, nor of any tyrant, who had been able, at the expence of liberty, to introduce oppreſſion. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the conſtitution of *Carthage* was compoſed, were of ſuch a nature, as to counterpoiſe one another, and, by their mutual harmony, to preſerve and promote the public felicity (D). Theſe were the ſuffetes, the ſenate, and the people, who, whilſt they kept within their proper bounds, were a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic of all others the moſt flouriſhing; but when, as *Polybius* obſerves, by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the aſcendant over the ſenate, prudence was baniſhed their counſels, nothing but cabals and factions took place; and, in conſequence of this, ſuch precipitate ſteps were taken, as firſt rendered this formidable ſtate weak and contemptible, and ſoon after completed its deſtruction.

IN order to give our readers ſome idea of the *Carthaginian* government, tho' the antients afford us little light on this head, we ſhall give a brief account of the three principal powers above-mentioned.

[r] ISOCRAT. in Nicocl. [s] ARISTOT. ubi ſupra. [t] Idem ibid.

(D) The legiſlator of the *Carthaginians* was undoubtedly a perſon of great political wiſdom; yet *Ariſtotle* himſelf finds ſome defects in his inſtitutions (22), and, notwithſtanding the beautiful draught he has exhibited of this republic, intimates, that the uninterrupted tranquility it enjoyed, was, in ſome meaſure, owing to chance (23).

(22) *Idem*, *l.* ii. *c.* 11. (23) *Idem ibid. ſub fin.*

THE

THE ſuffetes [u] were two in number, of equal power and dignity, and the chief magiſtrates of *Carthage* [w]. They anſwered to the two kings of *Lacedæmon*, as well as to the *Roman* conſuls; for which reaſon we find them ſtyled in different authors both kings and conſuls [x]. However, theſe did not in all things correſpond; for the *Spartan* kings were perpetual, had an hereditary right of ſucceſſion [y], and the ſtate was ſupplied with them from two families only [z]; whereas the *Carthaginian* ſuffetes were annually elected out of all the nobleſt families, and were always ſuch perſons as moſt attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth, which enabled them to ſupport their high ſtation with a becoming grandeur and dignity; for which reaſon *Ariſtotle* prefers the ſupreme magiſtrates of *Carthage* to thoſe of *Lacedæmon* (E). As for the *Roman* conſuls, th y had not only a chief hand in the adminiſtration of civil, but likewiſe in the conducting of military, affairs; whereas, it is very probable, that the ſuffetes were, generally ſpeaking, confined to the former (F). Their province was to aſſemble the ſenate, in which they preſided [a], to propoſe ſubjects for deliberation there, to tell the voices, and to preſide likewiſe in all emergent and deciſive debates. It does *The ſuffetes.*

[u] CHRIST. HENDREICH. ubi ſupra. p. 311. CORN. NEP. in Annib. ARIST. ubi ſupra. & l. vi. c. 49. & alibi. paſſim. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. &c. [w] ARIST. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. xxx. [x] CORN. NEP. ubi ſupra. JUST. l. xxxi. CALID. apud Feſtum. &c. HENDREICH. & UBBO EMM. ubi ſupra. [y] ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. [z] CORN. NEP. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. xxx. ZONAR. tom. ii. ARIST. ubi ſupra. [a] LIV. ubi ſupra. & l. xxxiv. POLYB. l. iii.

(E) He prefers the ſuffetes to the *Lacedæmonian* kings, not becauſe the *Carthaginians* had ſome regard to wealth in their election of them (for this he abſolutely condemns, as will be elſewhere obſerved); but becauſe they choſe them out of all the beſt families in *Carthage*, and eſteemed great abilities in them as an eſſential qualification; which was contrary to the practice of the *Lacedæmonians* (24).

(F) This appears not only from *Livy*, *Polybius*, and other antient authors, but likewiſe from the judicious obſervations of *Ubbo Emmius* (25). However, it muſt be allowed, that we have ſeveral inſtances of the ſuffetes commanding *Carthaginian* armies. *Hannibal*, who commanded the auxiliaries ſent to the relief of the *Ægeſtans*, or *Segeſtans*; *Himilco*, who was general in the ſecond expedition againſt *Dionyſius*; and *Mago*, under whoſe conduct many thouſand men were tranſported to *Sicily* and *Italy*, ſet this point beyond diſpute (26).

(24) *Idem ibid. ſub init.* (25) *Ubbo Emm. de ſtat. & repub. Carthag. apud. Gronov. ant. Græc. vol.* iv. *p.* 1504. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. xiv. xv. *&c. Hendr. ubi ſupra. p.* 315.

not

not appear by whoſe ſuffrages the ſuffetes were elected, but moſt likely [b] either by thoſe of the centumvirate, or the people. According to ſome authors, they had the power of life and death [c], and of puniſhing all crimes whatſoever. Their concurrence in [d] all points with the ſenate was neceſſary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that moſt, if not all, the cities of note in the *Carthaginian* dominions [e], had their ſuffetes or chief magiſtrates, as well as the metropolis.

The ſenate. THE ſenate was a moſt auguſt aſſembly, compoſed of perſons venerable for their age and experience, as well as illuſtrious [f] on account of their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. They arrived at this honour by election, as we are informed by *Ariſtotle* [g], when he makes a compariſon betwixt the *Spartan* and *Carthaginian* ſenates; but who were their electors, is not known. Their number likewiſe we are ignorant of, tho' from *Juſtin* [h] we may infer, that it greatly exceeded that either of the *Spartan* or *Roman* ſenators; for, according to this author, an hundred were ſelected from it, and appointed as judges to inquire into the conduct of their generals; and if this number was thought requiſite, to inſpect into this ſingle article, how many muſt have been deemed neceſſary to ſuperintend, and, in concert with the ſuffetes, manage every branch of the adminiſtration? Beſides, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that there was a great affinity betwixt the cuſtoms and manners of the *Sicilians* and thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, ſince theſe laſt may be juſtly looked upon as ſome of the antient inhabitants of *Sicily* [i]. Now, in the time of *Agathocles*, the ſenate of *Syracuſe* conſiſted of ſix hundred [k] of the principal citizens; no wonder then, if that of *Carthage* was equal, if not much more numerous. In this grand [l] council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negotiations and alliances, to trade and navigation; in ſhort, to all affairs of conſequence, whether foreign or domeſtic were debated, and for the moſt part determined [m]: ſo that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and ſpirit were from thence diffuſed over all the public deliberations. When the votes [n] of the ſenate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and

[b] UBBO EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [c] LIV. l. xxxiii. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. [d] UBBO EMM. & ARIST. ubi ſupra. POLYB. l. xv. [e] LIV. l. xxviii. SELDEN. de diis Syris in prolegom. c 2. & BOCH. Chan. ubi ſupra. [f] UBBO EMM. HENDR. & ARIST. ubi ſupra. [g] ARIST. ubi ſupra. [h] JUSTIN. l. xix. [i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii p. 90. [k] Ibid. p. 218. [l] UBBO EMM. ubi ſupra. POLYB. l iii. c. 15. APPIAN. in Libyc. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. [m] UBBO EMM. ubi ſupra. LIV. & POLYB. paſſ.

from

from thence there lay no appeal; but when there was either a diviſion or a diſagreement with the ſuffetes, the affair in [o] queſtion was referred to the people, who, in ſuch a caſe, had the liberty of offering their ſentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legiſlature; and not only ſo, but what was thus offered paſſed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the dernier reſort of power. However, as *Ariſtotle* [p] obſerves, this was a flaw in the conſtitution, and was at laſt attended with fatal effects; for during the ſecond and third *Punic* wars, the populace at *Carthage* prevailed over the ſenate, whilſt the ſenatorial authority at *Rome* was in its full bloom and vigour; and this, if we may give credit to *Polybius* [q], was the principal cauſe of the riſe of the one, and fall of the other. We muſt not [r] omit, that none but perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit were ever elected ſenators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual (G).

WHAT ſway the people had in *Carthage*, whilſt the different parts of which the conſtitution was framed were duly propor- *Power of the people at* Carthage.

[n] UBBO EMM. & ARIST. ubi ſupra. [o] HENDR. ubi ſupra. p. 323. POLYB. l. XV. [p] ARIST. ubi ſupra. [q] POLYB. l. vi. [r] ARIST. ubi ſupra. UB. EMM. HENDR. POLYB. LIV. JUST. &c. paſſ.

(G) According to *Livy* (27), there was a council formed of ſuch ſenators, as were the moſt venerable and eminent for their wiſdom, who were called *ſeniores*, *ſeniorum principes*, or ſimply, as *Juſtin* (28) intimates, *principes*. This council was in the higheſt repute at *Carthage*, on account of the vaſt influence it had over the ſenate (29). Recourſe was therefore had to it in all caſes of an extraordinary nature. It is not improbable, that this council was *Ariſtotle*'s centumvirate, as being inveſted with great authority, and conſiſting of a pretty large number of members. *Livy* tells us (30) that thirty of theſe were deputed to wait upon *Scipio*, and ſue to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms for a peace with *Rome*. *Polybius* likewiſe makes a diſtinction between theſe and the other ſenators; for he ſays, that among the priſoners taken at *New Carthage* by *Scipio*, there were two [ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας] belonging to the aſſembly of old men and fifteen [ἐκ τῆς συνκλήτου] of the ſenate (31). In other authors, the ſenate, or at leaſt this moſt venerable part of it, went by appellations equivalent to the *optimates* and *patres conſcripti* of the Romans (32).

(27) *Liv. l.* XXX. (28) *Juſt. l.* xi. *c.* 31. (29) *Liv. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Idem ibid. Vide & Q. Curt. l* iv. *c.* 3. *edit. Ariſt.* 1677. (31) *Polyb. l.* x. (32) *Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. l.* xx.

tioned

tioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural ſhare of power, does not appear from any antient author; tho' it can ſcarce be doubted, but ſo accurate a writer as *Polybius* muſt have taken notice of it ſomewhere in his writings. It is [s] likely they had a vote at the election of magiſtrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly thoſe in which they were more immediately concerned; and, in ſhort, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In *Ariſtotle*'s days, the commonwealth ſeems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too ſtrong a tendency to popular government, which was cenſured as [t] a defect in it by that philoſopher. However, the ſenate ſtill kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontroulable; but in *Hannibal*'s time [u], about an hundred years after, there was reaſon to apprehend a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution; the ſenate had little regard or attention paid to it; the people arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power, and of courſe every thing, which might have promoted the public welfare, was obſtructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the moſt famous and potent ſtate of *Carthage* began to decline, and, in the courſe of a few years, loſt not only its liberty, but its very being.

Eſtabliſhments, civil officers, &c. as Carthage.

HAVING thus laid down a general ſketch or plan of the *Carthaginian* government, we ſhall mention ſome of their principal eſtabliſhments, civil officers, *&c.* as taken notice of by the antients, who, it muſt be owned, have been extremely deficient in all their memoirs relating to this republic; for which reaſon the loſs of thoſe excellent pieces of *Polybius*, that, through the injuries of time, have not reached us, is the more to be regretted.

The centumvirate and quinquevirate.

THE centumvirate, or tribunal of the hundred, conſiſted of an hundred and four perſons, not ſimply of an hundred, as the name ſeems to imply, receiving its denomination from the greater number [w]. According to *Ariſtotle*, who is the only author that has given us any deſcription of it [x], the power it enjoyed was very extenſive, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature [y]. Out of this tribunal were ſelected five judges, whoſe juriſdiction was ſuperior to that of the reſt, to whom we may with propriety enough, give the name of quinquevirs, or the quinquevirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewiſe of chuſing thoſe perſons who compoſed the tribunal of the hundred [z]; were, under the ſuffetes, at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great

[s] Ub. Emm. & Hendr. ubi ſupra. [t] Arist. ubi ſupra. [u] Polyb. l. vi [w] Justin. l. xix. Arist. ubi ſupra. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid.

meaſure

measure, the lives, fortunes, reputations, &c. of all the citizens depending upon them. *Ariſtotle* [a] informs us, that the *Carthaginian* centumvirate anſwered in ſeveral reſpects to the ephori at *Sparta*; but with ſubmiſſion to this philoſopher, we think the quinquevirate ſhould be ſubſtituted in its room, as having a better title to the compariſon: for [b] with regard to the ephori, firſt, they were the moſt deſpotic magiſtrates in *Sparta*, their authority being, in a manner, boundleſs, and the lives, fortunes, &c. of all the *Lacedæmonians* almoſt intirely depending upon their will and pleaſure; which may be [c] ſaid of the quinquevirate in *Carthage*, with more reaſon than of the centumvirate. Secondly, the centumvirate was perpetual [d]; but whether the quinquevirate was ſo or not, is uncertain. Now, the ephori were elected annually [e]. Thirdly, the ephori were five in number [f], and ſo were the quinquevirs. Fourthly, an univerſal adminiſtration of juſtice, with regard to individuals, was the province of the quinquevirate at *Carthage* [g], as it was of the ephori at *Lacedæmon*; whereas the inſtitution of the centumvirate was intended only at firſt as a curb to the authority of their generals [h], by calling them to an account for their conduct on their return from the campaign, tho' afterwards it extended to many branches of civil affairs. From which conſiderations it is probable, that the council of five in *Carthage*, rather than the tribunal of the hundred, reſembled the *Lacedæmonian* ephori. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate, gave the *Carthaginian* ſtate [i] the appearance of an oligarchy, tho', as the members of this council diſcharged the duties of their function without any ſalary or reward, and were elected freely by ſuffrages, not by lot (H), it had likewiſe the reſemblance

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 303. [c] ARIST. ubi ſupra. Vide etiam UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [d] ARIST. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. xxxiii. Vide etiam ROLLIN. in hiſt. anc. des Carthag. ſect. 3. [e] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 303. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. & ARIST. ubi ſupra. [g] Univerſ. hiſt. UB. EMM. & ARISTOT. ubi ſupra. [h] JUSTIN. UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [i] ARIST. ubi ſupra.

(H) The *Carthaginian* republic, in this reſpect, followed the *Lacedæmonian*, in which the ſenate, ephori, &c. were elected by ſuffrages or votes (33). On the contrary, at *Athens* the ſenate, prytanes, &c. were all choſen by lot. This laſt method of electing was peculiar to the democratical form of government, as the former was to the ariſtocratical. The manner in which the *Athenians* choſe their magiſtrates and rulers by lot, has been already deſcribed

(33) *Ariſtot. de repub. & Nic. Cragius de rep. Lacedæm. l.* ii. *c.* 1.

resemblance of an aristocracy [k]. *Ubbo Emmius* [l] thinks, that the suffetes presided in this council, and the centumvirate, as well as in the senate, being the chief magistrates concerned in the administration of justice. If so, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of *Hannibal* [m], by whose influence a law passed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. This last observation will point out to us the reason why the supreme magistrates at *Carthage* were called *suffetes*, and enable us to trace up that institution to its first source (I).

THE

[k] Idem ibid. [l] UB. EMM. ubi supra. [m] LIV. l. xxxiii.

in the former part of this history (34); and the *Lacedæmonian* election of civil officers has been fully handled by *Cragius*. It may not be improper here to repeat, that *Solon* was the *Athenian* legislator, and *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian*.

(I) *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Festus*, derives this word from the verb צָפָה tzaphah, *he looked from on high*, or, *he overlooked others*; and so makes it agree in signification with the *Greek* ἐφορος, ἐπόπτης, ἐπίσκοπος, &c. (35). But this, notwithstanding it has some appearance of truth, is not so easy and grammatical as *Bochart*'s etymon. That learned man, after the great *Selden*, will have suffetes to be the same word with שֹׁפְטִים sophetim, or sofetim, *judges, magistrates*, &c. which notion is absolutely confirmed, not only by what we have advanced, but likewise by *Paulus*, *Calidius*, and *Festus* (36). If this be allowed, it cannot well be denied, that the *Carthaginian* suffetes resembled very much the old judges of the *Israelites*, who governed that nation from the death of *Joshua* to the election of *Saul*, the first king of *Israel*. We say, this cannot well be denied; for these old judges were called in *Hebrew sophetim*, or *sofetim*, for which reason the *Hebrews* always styled the book of judges *sophetim*; and this very government flourished in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, the mother of *Carthage*. We may therefore reasonably presume, that the *Carthaginians* borrowed their suffetes either from *Tyre*, or immediately from the *Israelites* themselves, by whom some of their ancestors the *Canaanites* were at first expelled their country in the time of *Joshua*, and others in the time of *David*, after they had, for a considerable period, been contiguous to them. If the *Carthaginians* derived this institution from the *Tyrians*, these last probably received it from the *Israelites* their neighbours. However this may be, it is certain such magistrates as these were in *Tyre* after the destruction of the old city by *Nebuchadnez-*

(34) *Univers. hist. vol.* vi. *p.* 46. *Car. Sigon. de rep. Athen. l.* ii. *c.* 3 & *Nic. Crag. ubi supra.* (35) *Scalig. in Fest. sub. voc.* sufes. (36) *Seld. de diis. Syris. in prolegom. c.* 2. *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. *Paulus & Calid. apud Fest. sub voc.* sufes.

zar;

THE principal, if not only, civil officers eſtabliſhed at *Carthage* (beſides the ſuffetes) that have been remembered by the antients, were the prætor, the quæſtor, and the cenſor. *Civil officers at Carthage.*

THE

xar; for *Joſephus*, in his treatiſe againſt *Apion*, has given us a ſeries of them (37). It ought to be obſerved, that but one perſon was inveſted with the ſupreme authority amongſt the *Hebrews* during the government of the ſophetim, which was likewiſe the cuſtom at *Tyre*; and therefore it is natural to ſuppoſe, that it was ſo originally at *Carthage* alſo (38). The *Romans* had very inadequate ideas of the *Carthaginian* government in general, and of their magiſtrates in particular; and therefore we cannot abſolutely depend upon their accounts of them. Yet even from ſome of theſe it ſeems not improbable, that one of the ſuffetes, even towards the decline of *Carthage*, had a greater ſhare of power than the other; which is a ſort of proof, that at firſt the power of the ſuffetes was lodged in a ſingle hand. *Juſtin* calls *Hanno* the prince, or principal perſon, of *Carthage*. *Cornelius Nepos* gives *Hannibal* the name of prætor; *Livy* and *Gellius* of dictator. 'Tis plain *Hannibal* was by far the greateſt man in the city, becauſe he over-ruled all the other magiſtrates, when he limited the power of the whole bench of judges. *Feſtus* ſays the *ſufes* (or, according to the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, *ſufet*, as appears from the genitive caſe *ſufetis*) was the ſupreme magiſtrate of *Carthage*. And laſtly, from ſome inſcriptions in *Gruter*, it is clear, that ſeveral cities in *Africa* had each of them a ſufes (39). The old *Archontic* government, that took place at *Athens* after the death of *Codrus*, ſeems likewiſe to have been of this form. We find ſome little variation in the *Carthaginian* word *ſuffetes* from the *Hebrew ſophetim*, which is owing partly to the *Latin* termination, and partly to the affinity betwixt the *Punic* language and the *Syriac*. That ES is a *Latin* plural termination, needs no proof; and that the *Punic* language was near akin to the *Syriac*, though it borrowed moſt of its words from the *Hebrew*, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but likewiſe from the authority of St. *Jerom*, St. *Auguſtin*, (40), and *Priſcian*. What therefore the *Hebrews* wrote *ſophetim*, the *Carthaginians*, in all probability, wrote *ſuphetin*, or emphatically *ſuphete* (שופטא) א or E being the emphatical maſculine plural termination in *Syriac*, as ין or IN was the abſolute one. The *Hebrew vaucholem*, or O, anſwered to the *Syriac* and *Punic* V (41); and though the MSS of *Livy* and *Nepos* have *ſuffetes* with a double F, yet, from the authority of *Feſtus*, *Calidius*, and the above-men-

(37) *Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* i. (38) *Jud.* ii. 18, 19, & iii, iv, vii, &c. *Joſeph. ubi ſupra*. (39) *Juſtin. l.* xxi. *Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Lib. l.* xxiii. & lxxxiii. *A. Gell. l.* x. *c.* 52. *Feſt. ſub. voc.* ſufes. *Gruter. p.* 470. *inſcript.* 1, 2. *edit. Græv. Amſt.* 1707. (40) *D. Hieron. com. ad. Jerem.* v. *D. Aug. l.* iii. *cont. lit. Petil. Donat.* & *Priſcian. l.* v. (41) *Vide Boch. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. & *Joſ. Scalig. in Feſt. ſub. voc.* ſufes.

The great *Hannibal*, who, by reaſon of his glorious atchievements, as well as noble extraction, was the moſt illuſtrious of the *Carthaginians*, had the prætorſhip [n] conferred upon him in the fifth year after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, from whence it is evident, that this muſt have been one of the firſt employments in the ſtate. The perſon inveſted with this high dignity had a vaſt influence, not only in paſſing, but likewiſe in repealing, of laws, as may be inferred from *Hannibal*'s impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point againſt them, during his continuance [o] in this office. He moreover [p] received the tribute paid by the different nations under the *Carthaginian* power; collected the yearly taxes and ſubſidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public revenues. It is remarkable, that a tranſition [q] from the office of ſuffetes (after it became annual) to the prætorſhip, was not uncommon in *Carthage*; of which *Hannibal* and *Mago*, not to [r] mention other inſtances that might be produced, ſupply us with abundant proof. Whether there were more prætors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of buſineſs, beſides thoſe above-mentioned, pertained to the office, are points that, for want of ſufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

The quæſtor.

The quæſtor [s] was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, tho' ſubordinate to them, had a very conſiderable degree of power. He [t] likewiſe collected and managed the public money, under the prætor; which induced *Livy* to give him the name of quæſtor. This officer, in his double capacity, ſeems to have anſwered to the old *Roman* quæſtors, who [u] were introduced under the regal government, as well as thoſe who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was ſometimes at leaſt, if not of courſe, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from *Livy* and *Polybius*; but as to any thing further, either concerning him or his function, we are intirely in the dark.

[n] Idem ibid. & Ub. Emm. ubi ſup. [o] Liv. ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid. Ub. Emm. & Hendr ubi ſup. [q] Hendr. ubi ſup. [r] Liv. Polyb Diodor. Sic. &c. [s] Liv. l. xxxiii. [t] Idem, l. xxiii.

[u] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 252, in not.

tioned inſcriptions, they ought to be corrected, the true reading being undoubtedly *ſufetes* with a ſingle F. We have been a little more prolix than uſual in this note, becauſe we take the ſubject of it to be of a very curious nature, and ſuch a one as may lead us to farther diſcoveries both in ſacred and profane hiſtory.

We

WE find another civil officer eſtabliſhed at *Carthage*, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſpect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is ſtyled by *Cornelius Nepos* [w], the præfect of manners, or the cenſor, *Hamilcar* [x], the father of *Hannibal*, tho' the firſt man in the republic, could not eſcape this inſpection; for the cenſor took from him a beautiful youth, named *Aſdrubal*, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was conſiſtent with modeſty; from whence we may conclude, that the power of this magiſtrate extended to every ſubject of the ſtate, even thoſe of the greateſt figure and diſtinction. *The cenſor.*

As for the *Carthaginian* laws, our readers muſt not expect any regular ſyſtem of them. The utmoſt we can pretend to is, to give them a few fragments, or rather traces, of an inconſiderable part of theſe laws. They have all long ſince been buried in oblivion; nor have even the titles of any of them, but what we here produce, eſcaped the general wreck of time. *The Carthaginian laws.*

1. THERE was a law of very long ſtanding amongſt the *Carthaginians* [y], by which they were injoined to ſacrifice to *Saturn* only children nobly born. This, not being complied with for a certain period, grew into diſuſe, the children of ſlaves and foreigners being ſubſtituted in the room of the others. But when *Agathocles* [z] reduced *Carthage* almoſt to the laſt extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of *Saturn*, who, as they imagined, was offended at the non-obſervance of this law. However, to atone for this crime, two hundred children of the beſt families in the city were offered up to that deity. *Children of the beſt families ſacrificed to Saturn.*

2. BY another law, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* were admitted into the number of the *Carthaginian* deities [a]. Magnificent ſtatues were erected in their honour; prieſts were ſelected from amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city for their ſervice; and ſacrifices, after the *Greek* manner, were offered up to them. This happened during the conſternation the people of *Carthage* were thrown into by the *African* inſurrection, and the ill ſucceſs that attended them in their war with *Dionyſius* the tyrant of *Syracuſe*. It was done in order to appeaſe the anger of theſe goddeſſes, whoſe farther reſentment they feared, becauſe *Himilco*, the *Carthaginian* general in *Sicily*, had plundered their temples in the ſuburb of *Acradina*. Ceres *and* Proſerpina *admitted into the number of the* Carthaginian *deities.*

[w] CORN. NEP. in vit. Hamilc. [x] Idem ibid. [y] DIODOR. SIC. l. xx. PLUT. de ſuperſtit. & de ſer. vindic. deor. HERODOT. l. vii. [z] DIODOR. SIC. ubi ſup. PESCEN. FEST. apud Lactant. inſt. l. i. c. 1. [a] DIOD. SIC. l. xiv.

3. ABOUT

Greek language forbidden in Carthage.

3. ABOUT this time likewiſe a law was enacted at *Carthage* [b], by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or ſpeak the *Greek* language. It was hoped by this means to prevent for the future all treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. The law was occaſioned by a *Carthaginian* traytor [c], who, writing in *Greek* to *Dionyſius*, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city (K). But this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected; for we find, that the [d] great *Hannibal* himſelf underſtood this language ſo well, that he compoſed in it a hiſtory of the actions of *Manlius Vulſo* during the time of his proconſulſhip in *Aſia* [e], having been taught it by *Soſilus* the *Lacedæmonian* (L).

The centumvirate inſtituted to reſtrain the power of the Carthaginian generals.

4. IT has been lately hinted, that a council was formed at *Carthage* [f], conſiſting of an hundred perſons taken out of the ſenate, whoſe province it was to inquire into the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that this could any otherwiſe have been effected, than by a law paſſed for that purpoſe. The ends propoſed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of *Mago*'s family within proper bounds, which, by engroſſing all the beſt employments, was become too overgrown for the ſtate; and to ſecure the republic againſt the great authority of its generals in

[b] JUST. l. xx. [c] Idem ibid. [d] CORN. NEP. in vit. Hannib.
[e] Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Scip. [f] JUST. l. xix.

(K) This traytor's name was *Suniator*, *Suniates*, or *Suniatus*, a profeſſed enemy to *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general, and who, in order to hurt him, did not ſcruple an attempt to ſacrifice his country. He was a citizen of the firſt rank, and wrote to *Dionyſius* in *Greek*, giving him advice of the military preparations making againſt him, as well as the incapacity of *Hanno* for the poſt he was in; but his letter being intercepted, he received the puniſhment due to his crime (42).

(L) This *Soſilius*, with *Philenius* or *Silenus*, another *Lacedæmonian*, attended *Hannibal* in all his expeditions. That general ſpoke *Greek* with a tolerable fluency, and is ſaid to have written other books in this language, beſides the work here mentioned. *Soſilus* and *Silenus* undertook to write the hiſtory of their hero; but whether or no they executed that deſign, is not known. If they did, we are never the better for it; ſince not a fragment of either of their pieces has come down to us (43).

(42) *Juſtin. l. xx. Ubb. Emm. ubi ſup. apud Gronov. p.* 511.
(43) *Vide Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. edit. Lugd. Bat.* 1734. *p.* 604. *not.* 5. *Cic. de divin. l. xxiv. Liv. l. xxvi. Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p.* 413.

all

all ſucceeding ages, who, whilſt in the field, were quite deſpotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the ſame with the centumvirate, or [g] tribunal of the hundred, which has been already deſcribed.

5. A ſort of ſumptuary law was made by the *Carthaginian* ſenate, to reſtrain all kinds of exceſſes at marriages. This was occaſioned by a deſign of *Hanno*, the principal perſon in the city, to make himſelf maſter of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter's marriage. In order to this, his intention was to keep open houſe for the populace that day, and to regale the ſenate in a moſt magnificent manner. All the members of this laſt were to have been taken off by poiſon at this entertainment, which would have enabled him to ſeize upon the government without oppoſition. *Hanno*, upon account of his great wealth and power, had ſuch an influence in the city, that the ſenate, upon the diſcovery of this plot, did not think proper to puniſh him for it; but contented themſelves with paſſing the law here mentioned [h]. *Expences at marriages limited.*

BEFORE we conclude our account of the political ſtate of *Carthage*, it may not be amiſs to take notice of a few defects in that conſtitution, as *Ariſtotle* himſelf has pointed them out to us (M). *Defects in the Carthaginian conſtitution.*

FIRST,

[g] Idem ibid. & UR. EMM. ubi ſup. [h] JUSTIN. l. xxi.

(M) Since we follow *Ariſtotle* here in reciting the defects of this ſtate, it will be but juſt, by way of contraſt, to touch upon two things, which may be conſidered as excellencies in it.

1. The *Carthaginians* had public meals or entertainments, which ſeem to have been appointed at firſt in imitation of the *Lacedæmonian phiditia*, and in order to ſerve the ſame ends (44). The *phiditia* were one of the moſt uſeful inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*, which, 'tis imagined, he received from *Crete*, becauſe they went at firſt by the *Cretan* name *Andria*. They were intended to repreſs all kinds of luxury; to form the minds of the *Lacedæmonian* youth, by inſpiring them with virtuous ſentiments; and to excite a noble emulation amongſt them. At theſe meals young people were inſtructed by their ſeniors in the art of converſation, heard the moſt uſeful topics frequently diſcuſſed, and had always before them ſhining examples of wiſdom and virtue. But it is ſufficient juſt to have hinted this here, ſince an ample account of the inſtitution itſelf has been given in its proper place (45).

(44) *Ariſtot. de repub. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (45) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 280. *Vide etiam Joan. Meurſ. miſcel. Laconic. l.* i. *Plut. in Lycurg. Strab. l.* x. *Ariſt. ubi ſupra, c.* 9, 10. *Porphyr. de abſt. l.* iv. *Macrob. ſat. l.* vii. *c.* 3. *& Dicæarch. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* iv.

2. The

First, The [1] philoſopher looked upon it as an imperfection in this commonwealth, that when the members of the ſenate were not unanimous in their voices, the power of deciding thereby devolved on the people; for this he intimates to be contrary to the maxims of all well-regulated ſtates, as tending too much to popular government.

Secondly, He will have it, that the quinquevirate, or, as he terms it, the pentarchy, enjoyed a degree of power inconſiſtent with the nature of a true ariſtocracy, which either originally was, or at leaſt was intended to have been, a principal ingredient in the *Carthaginian* conſtitution.

Thirdly, He reckons it an evil, that merit and a conſpicuous birth, without riches, were not ſufficient qualifications for a man to fill the firſt poſts; for this, in his opinion, does not only oftentimes exclude perſons of the moſt exalted merit from having any ſhare in the government, but likewiſe opens a door to avarice, and all kinds of corruption, which, in the end, muſt ruin any ſtate. The experience of after-ages ſhewed this reflection of his not to have been ill-grounded; for the *Barcan* faction, by the omnipotence of money, carried their point on all occaſions for a conſiderable time; others after them did the like, which at laſt proved the republic's deſtruction.

Fourthly, He will by no means allow, that the ſame perſon ſhould aſſume to himſelf ſeveral imployments; than which no practice was more common at *Carthage*. The reaſons he aſſigns for this are, that a man poſſeſſed but of one office, is much more capable of acquitting himſelf well in the execution of it; that public affairs are managed with more ſpirit and expedition, when the different branches of buſineſs are lodged in different hands; that different imployments frequently claſh with one another; and laſtly, that the welfare of every ſtate is

[1] Aristot. ubi ſupra.

2. The *Carthaginians* had a laudable cuſtom amongſt themſelves, of ſending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions (46). This procured a decent ſettlement for ſeveral citizens, for whom there was no room in the ſtate; provided for the neceſſities of the poor; and carried off great numbers of people, who were always prepared for innovations. All which ſalutary precautions muſt not a little contribute to the preſervation of the public tranquility.

(46) *Ariſtot. ubi ſup. c.* 11. *ſub fin.*

highly

highly promoted by an equal diſtribution of its places amongſt its members, all which reaſons are indiſputably juſt, eſpecially the laſt; ſince nothing more ſtrongly excites an emulation amongſt men of merit, than an impartial diſpoſal of the preferments in a ſtate amongſt them, nor more effectually prevents all thoſe inconveniencies which muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of one man's monopolizing the whole adminiſtration.

FIFTHLY, He blames the *Carthaginian* conſtitution in general, for not having a ſufficient proviſion made in it againſt all popular commotions, or acts of violence, that at any time might happen. Should a majority of the citizens at any time have taken it into their heads to revolt, or be angry with their governors, the laws (N), according to him, could not have afforded a ſufficient relief on ſuch an occaſion. This conſtitution, indeed, as we have already obſerved from him, was at firſt excellently calculated to prevent or avoid all inteſtine diſorders; but it was not ſo well contrived, at leaſt in his time, to allay any heats that might break out in it. He therefore ſeems juſtly to conclude, that the tranquility and repoſe of the ſubjects of *Carthage* were not then ſettled upon a ſolid foundation.

Religion of the Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginians* being deſcended from the *Tyrians*, their religious worſhip muſt of courſe have agreed in all points at firſt with that of the *Phœnicians*, which has been already in ſome meaſure deſcribed [k]. In proceſs of time, by their intercourſe

[k] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 305—320.

(N) In this reſpect it ſeems to have been the ſame form of government as that introduced by *Phaleas Chalcedonius*, which has induced a learned man to believe, that he was the legiſlator of the *Carthaginians* (47) When he lived, *Ariſtotle* (48), who mentions both him and his republic, informs us not; but he muſt have been much later than the firſt formation of the *Carthaginian* republic; for *Chalcedon* itſelf was built near three hundred years after *Carthage*. However, there ſeems to be ſome foundation for the abovementioned conjecture, as will appear from comparing *Hendreich* with *Ariſtotle* (49). It is therefore probable, that the firſt commonwealth ſettled at *Carthage*, which took place immediately after the abolition of monarchy, was of a different form from that which exiſted in *Ariſtotle*'s time. This, in all likelihood, nearly reſembled (if it was not exactly upon the ſame model) the antient *Tyrian* or *Hebrew* republic, wherein one ſupreme magiſtrate preſided. What we have advanced in a former note (50) will ſtrengthen this ſuppoſition, and likewiſe itſelf receive additional force from it.

(47) *Hendr. in Carthag. p.* 329. *Vid. etiam Reinecc. hiſt. Jul. in Carthag. t.* ii. *p.* 460. (48) *Ariſt. de rep. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (59) *Hendr. ubi ſup. Ariſt. ubi ſup. & c.* 2. (50) *Vid. not.* (I).

with the *Greeks*, especially those of *Sicily*, they came to take a liking to the superstition of that nation, adopted several new deities before to them unknown [l], and intermixed some of the *Greek* religious ceremonies with the *Tyrian* [m]. But in this they copied after their ancestors the *Phœnicians*, who gradually imbibed many superstitious notions prevailing amongst the greater states [n], by reason of their vicinity to, and correspondence with, them; and afterwards, upon their subjection to those states, had great alterations made in the whole system of their religion. The *Carthaginians* likewise, by reason of their extended commerce, must have been in some sort acquainted with the different kinds of superstition established in most nations, with which doubtless they tinctured their own; so that from hence, as well as from other considerations, it may appear, that the religion of *Carthage*, was a very gross and multifarious idolatry.

THE knowledge we have of the *Carthaginian* manner of worship, as well as the objects of that worship, is derived from the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods [o] to those of the *Carthaginians*. This has rendered their accounts and observations on this head more imperfect and less valuable; for though we are well assured, that the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Carthaginian*, deities did in the main agree, yet we are as well assured, that each of those nations had not only some particular modes of worship, but likewise some particular deities peculiar to itself. 'Tis impossible therefore to come to an exact knowledge of the *Carthaginian* gods from what is delivered of them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. All that we can do is, to consider their different attributes, and the circumstances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the aforesaid authors. By comparing these with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the *Canaanites* and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious customs and manners of those nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the *Carthaginians*.

Saturn *the principal deity at* Carthage.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the *Carthaginians*, in a particular manner adored *Chronus* [p]; who, according to *Quintus Curtius* [q], and an infinity of other authors, was the *Saturn* of the *Latins*. The sacrifices offered up to him were children of the most distinguished families, as has been above observed.

[l] DIODOR. SIC. l. xiv. xx. &c. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Univers. hist. vol. ii. ubi. sup. [o] HEROD. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. QUINT. CURT. aliiq; mult. [p] DIODOR. SIC. l. xx. & alibi pass. [q] Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 3. PESCENNIUS FESTUS apud. LACTANT. divin. instit. i. c. 21. aliiq; multi.

Upon

Upon the ſignal defeat of the *Carthaginian* army by *Agathocles*, three hundred citizens voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. *Diodorus* farther ſays, that they had a brazen ſtatue or coloſſus of him, the hands of which were extended in act to receive, and bent downwards in ſuch a manner, as that the child laid thereon immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace [r].

THE ſame author adds, that this inhuman practice [s] ſeemed to him to confirm a tradition handed down to the *Grecks* from very early antiquity, *viz.* that *Chronus* devoured his own children. But in this we cannot agree with him; for it can ſcarce be doubted, but that the fable itſelf owes its origin to this moſt execrable ſuperſtition, eſpecially as the knowledge of it could not be hid from the antient *Greeks*, who received both their religion and theology from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* (O).

BUT though the *Carthaginian* god, to whom human victims were ſo agreeable, had the name of *Chronus* given him by *Diodorus*, yet we cannot certainly infer from hence, that he was the ſame deity; becauſe his *Punic* name is unknown, and therefore 'tis impoſſible to determine whether it was of the ſame import with *Chronus*, or no. However, we ſhall endeavour to ſupply this defect, by offering ſome reaſons, which if they will not abſolutely evince the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

1. IN the firſt place the *Carthaginian* cuſtom of giving up their offspring as an expiatory ſacrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the *Greek* tradition concerning *Chronus*, *viz.* that he devoured his own children. This ſeems to have been a great inducement to *Diodorus* himſelf to conclude, that he and *Chronus* were the ſame [t].

[r] DIODOR. SIC. ubi ſup. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid.

(O) Biſhop *Cumberland* proves from ſeveral authors, that human ſacrifices were offered to the *Cabiri* (51), and *Sanchoniatho* aſſerts (52), that *Chronus* or *Saturn* ſacrificed his ſon to the *manes* of his father, whom he had before inhumanly murdered. From which ſource the learned biſhop derives the unnatural practice here mentioned, which prevailed for many ages over a great part both of the eaſtern and weſtern world. But the fragment of *Sanchoniatho*, preſerved by *Philo Byblius* and *Euſebius*, notwithſtanding all the learned biſhop's endeavours, as well as thoſe of M. *Fourmont*, to render it intelligible, is ſo dark and intricate, eſpecially in this particular, that we cannot intirely depend upon it.

(51) *Cumberland. in append. de Cabir.* (52) *Idem ibid.* & *in Sanchoniath. p.* 134—157.

2. BOTH the oblations offered to this *Carthaginian* deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewiſe the brazen ſtatue mentioned by *Diodorus*, plainly enough ſhew, that he was *Moloch* [u] or *Milchom*, the famous idol of the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, and neighbouring nations. The deſcription already given of this falſe divinity, in conjunction with ſcripture, will remove all doubts as to this point. Now that *Moloch* or *Milchom* was the *Chronus* of *Diodorus*, ſeems clear from the following conſiderations (P).

Chronus

[u] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 99, & ſeq. Lev. xviii. 21. xx. 2, 3, 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Pſal. cvi. 37, &c. Vid. etiam Grot. in Levit. VOSS. de idololat. LE CLERC. com. in Levit. SAURIN's diſcourſe, and CALMET's diſſertation on that ſubject.

(P) Nothing can be more evident, than that *Moloch*, *Milchom*, *Baal*, *Bel*, *Chronus*, &c. are all words of the ſame ſignification. They denote a king or prince. *Chronus*, in particular, does ſo. The word קרן *keren* or *kren* properly imports a horn, which was an emblem of power and dominion amongſt the eaſtern nations. From thence undoubtedly our *Engliſh* word *crown* is to be deduced, or at leaſt the *Latin corona*, if it ſhould be thought more proper to derive the *Engliſh* word from this. It might likewiſe, for aught we know to the contrary, antiently have ſignified a crown, ſince all the eaſtern princes were, from the earlieſt antiquity, adorned with that enſign of royalty; and *Tertullian* (53) tells us, that *Chronus* was the firſt who wore it. *Eupolemus*, as preſerved to us by *Alexander Polyhiſtor* in *Euſebius*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, and *Damaſcius*, compared with ſcripture, render it inconteſtably clear, that *Chronus*, *Moloch*, and *Baal*, were the ſame perſon (54). We ſhall beg leave here to conſider a difficult paſſage of ſcripture, which is not at all foreign to our preſent ſubject (55). In the original it is; ונשאתם את סכות מלככם את כיון צלמיכם כוכב אלהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם which, being rendered exactly according to the letter, is; *But ye have born the tabernacle of your* (god) Moloch, *and* (ye have likewiſe born) Chiun *your likeneſſes, the ſtar of your god, which you made to yourſelves* (56). St. *Luke*'s (or rather the *Septuagint*) verſion of this into *Greek*, is: Καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολοχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥεμφὰν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Which ought to be thus rendered; *Viz, ye took up the tabernacle of* Moloch, *and* Remphan *the ſtar of your god*, (*i. e.* Moloch) *figures which ye made to worſhip them.* Our readers will obſerve, that this is different from the common

(53) *Tertul. de corona.* (54) *Apud Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l* ix. *Theoph. Antiochen. ad Autolyc. l.* iii. *Damaſcius in vit. Iſidor.* *Jer* vii. 31. & xix. 5. *Iſai.* xxxvi. 19 & xxxvii. 12. & *alibi paſſ.* (55) *Amos* v. 26. (56) *Act.* vii. 43.

Engliſh

Chronus [w] had, for a considerable period, even amongst the old inhabitants of *Latium*, human victims offered up to him, as *Moloch* had in *Palestine*.

THE

[w] MACROB. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. OVID. in fast. LACTANT. de fals. relig. l. i. SELD. de diis Syr. syntag. 1. c. 6. DAN. CLASENIUS in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4. SCHERLOG. antiq. bibl. de Moloch. GEUS. de victim. human. p. m. 64. RAVANELL. biblioth. sacr. BUXTORF. lex. p. m. 108. FAG. annot. in targ. Onkel. Lev. xviii. 21. B. SALOM. GLASS. phil. s. p. m. 1617. ATHANAS. KIRCH. in Oedip. Ægypt. l. i. s. 4. c. 15. p. 328. & in prod. Copt. c 5. p. 147.

English translation, which has it; *Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of* Moloch, *and the star of your god* Remphan, *figures which ye made to worship them.* Now surely no one can hesitate a moment in determining which of these is the most eligible. The first, in agreement with the original *Hebrew*, makes St. *Luke* to declare, that *Remphan* is the name of the star, not of the god. The second, in contradiction to the *Hebrew*, will have him to assert, that *Remphan* or *Chiun* is the name of the god, not of the star; which is itself a sufficient reason for our rejection of it. Besides, the common translation insinuates, that *Moloch* and *Remphan*, or *Chiun*, were different deities: whereas, according to ours, they were the same; since it makes *Chiun* and *Remphan* the names of that star, which the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* appropriated to the false deity, called by the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, &c. by way of eminence, *Moloch*. And how consonant this is to the general voice of antiquity, may be seen from the plan we are now upon. The sun, moon, and stars, were the first objects of false worship; afterwards the deification of dead men took place (57). The *Egyptians* and *Arabians* adhered to the former species of false worship longer than the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians*. However, all those nations agreed in this, that, from very early antiquity, they formed a mixed kind of idolatry, made up of the worship of the stars and dead men. In consequence of which they assigned a planet to each of the chief of their deified worthies, thinking this the greatest honour they could do them. The highest and most remote of the planets is known to be *Saturn*, whom the old *Egyptians* called either *Remphan*, *Raphan*, *Rampha*, *Rephan*, *Rompha* or *Repha*; but the *Arabians*, *Ciwan* or *Ciwan*, (from whence the *Hebrew Chiun*) as the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and *Persians*, do at this day. The *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and *Canaanites*, though they had a knowledge of this planet, and considered him as conjoined with a deified prince, yet they adored this prince under a bodily representation; whereas the *Arabians* and *Egpytians* paid divine

(57) *Herod. Diod. Sic. Plato, Chron. Alex. Plut. Maimonides, Hyde, Prideaux, aliiq; multi.*

honours

THE *Cretans* [x], in antient times, sacrificed children to *Chronus*, as the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* did to *Moloch*.

Moloch

[x] ISTRUS. in collect. sacrific. & DAN. CLASENIUS. ubi sup.

honours to the star, with which they imagined him conjoined. Hence it came to pass, that the former addressed themselves to an image or statue, and the latter to a star, tho' they all of them intentionally pointed at the same object. Now the *Israelites* had learned the *Egyptian* idolatry during their abode in *Egypt*, and that of the *Arabians* whilst they were in *Arabia Petræa*, or at least its neighbourhood, where they worshipped the false god at present under consideration; and as at the same time they were upon the borders of the *Canaanites*, with whom doubtless they had some kind of intercourse, 'tis natural to suppose, that they were likewise initiated in their form of superstition. This will account for their having with them the *Canaanitish* image of *Moloch*, in a small portable temple, or tabernacle, carried either on mens shoulders, or by oxen; and a star painted on the inside of this tabernacle, or upon the idol itself, in compliance with the *Egyptian* and *Arabian* custom. *Kircher* tells us, that the name of *Saturn* amongst the modern *Copts* is *Rephan*; from whence *Bochart* infers, that the *Septuagint* rendered *Chiun* by *Rephan*, because they made their version in *Egypt*, where this word denoted the same planet that *Chiun* did in *Arabia* and *Phœnice* (58). The same author likewise informs us, that *Moloch* signified in the old *Egyptian* language *Mars* (59). But as *Moloch* was a *Phœnician*, not an *Egyptian*, word; as he proves his assertion only from a modern *Copto-Arabic* vocabulary MS. purchased at *Alexandria* by Sig. *Pietro della Valle* in the year 1615, and by affirming, that the *Egyptian Mars*, *Osiris*, *Typhon*, the *Persian Mithras*, &c. were the same deity, which is a palpable absurdity, we think little regard in this last point is to be paid to him. Some will have the god of the *Syrians*, called by the *Septuagint* and the *Masorites*, *Rimmon*, according to the *Syriac* form, *Remvan*, to have been the *Remphan* of St. *Luke*, as well as the *Rephan* of the *Septuagint* (60). Now *Saturn* is the highest of the planets, as the name seems to import, and therefore might be *Rimmon* or *Remvan*. This god was moreover, without dispute, the *Moloch* and *Baal* of the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, &c. the *Bel* of the *Babylonians*, the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, &c. and a deity very well known in the countries where both the *Septuagint* and St. *Luke* wrote.

(58) *Athan. Kircher in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 140. & in Oedip. Aegyptiac. tom. i § 4. v. 15. Boch. phal. l. i. c. 15.* (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Vid. synops. Criticor. in Am. v. 26. & Act. vii. 43. ut & Dan. Clasen. in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4.*

Bishop

Moloch [y] was the principal god of the country in which his worſhip prevailed, as appears from his name, which im-

[y] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 99.

Biſhop *Cumberland* imagines *Saturn* to have been called *Rephas* or *Rephan*, becauſe he was of a healthful conſtitution, long life, large ſtature, and great ſtrength, all which the *Hebrew* word רפא includes in the idea it conveys to us (61). He farther obſerves, that all his deſcendants, who reſembled him herein, were denominated *Rephaim*; which the *Septuagint* in ſome meaſure confirm, by rendering *Rephaim* γιγαντες *giants*, alluding to the ſuperiority of ſtrength and conſtitution they enjoyed. We muſt not omit remarking, that, in conformity to our tranſlation of the *Greek* paſſage in the *Septuagint* and St. *Stephen*'s ſpeech, the *Syriac* verſion in *Amos*, v. 26, makes *Moloch* and *Chiun* to be the ſame; nor that *Jonathan*'s *targum* expreſly calls *Chiun* a ſtar. Some critics have derived *Chiun* and *Rephan* or *Remphan* from two *Oriental* roots implying the ſame thing, *i. e.* the great principle of life and exiſtence; which is not very different from the notion of *Saturn* to be found in the verſes of *Orpheus*. Others have believed, that, כ'ן before the time of the *Maſorites* was read *Chivan*, and that the foot of the initial letter *caph* being defaced, it appeared to the LXX. elders like *reſh*, who therefore pronounced it *Rephan* (62). But this is too bold a criticiſm, eſpecially as St. *Luke* has ſo cloſely followed the aforeſaid elders, and as *Diodorus Siculus* mentions a moſt opulent king of *Egypt* named *Remphis*, who flouriſhed in very early times (63). This laſt is a full proof, that *Remphis* or *Rempha* was an *Egyptian* proper name of very high antiquity; if not, that this king was the *Egyptian Saturn*, or at leaſt was worſhipped under the form of the planet ſo called. It likewiſe proves, that St. *Luke*'s *Rempha* or *Remphan* is preferable to the *Repha* or *Rephan* of the LXX. as alſo, that the modern *Copts* have borrowed their *Rephan* from the latter, ſince they have not the true *Egyptian* name, but one that is a corruption of it, taken from ſome corrupted copy, which can be no other than one of the LXX. whoſe original reading, we doubt not, was *Rempha* or *Remphan*. Neither is it at all improbable, that the ſame people have taken the name *Moloch* (a *Phœnician* or *Hebrew* word) from the ſame paſſage of this verſion, and, through ignorance, applied it to the planet *Mars*. What gives great weight to this conjecture is, that the notion itſelf is intirely repugnant to the whole ſtream of antiquity; and that *Vettius Valens Antiochenus* and *Julius Firmicus* poſitively declare, that the *Egyptian* or *Coptic* names of the planet *Mars* were *Artes* and *Pyrois* (64).

(61) *Cumberland. on Sanchoniath. rem.* 2. (62) *Synopſ. critic. cor. ubi. ſup.* (63) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. (64) *Vettius Valens Antioch. apud. Seld. de diis Syr. ſyntag.* 1. & *Jul. Firmic. ibidem.*

plies

plies ſovereignty in it, from his having ſuch particular notice taken of him in ſcripture; and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the *Ammonites*. Now *Chronus* [c] was the chief object of adoration in *Italy*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him (Q).

Lastly; to omit many other arguments that might be produced; both *Moloch* and *Chronus* were indiſputably the great *Baal*, *Bel* [a] or *Belus*, of the *Sidonians*, *Babylonians*, and *Aſſyrians*, and conſequently the ſame individual deity.

3. *Baal* [b], *Belus*, *Bal* or *Bel*, (for he was known by all theſe names) was the great god of the *Carthaginians*. As it is therefore apparent from ſcripture [c], that he was delighted with human ſacrifices, and as he was the *Chronus* [d] of the *Greeks*, 'tis evident from hence, that the *Carthaginian* divinity *Diodorus* had in view muſt have been really *Chronus*.

[z] Vossius de idololat. Ovid. Macrob. Istr. Porphyr. Seld. Clasen. &c. ubi. ſup. [a] Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. Seld. de diis Syr. ubi ſup. Vossius ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 5. Vid. etiam Lud. Viv. ad D. Auguſt. de civ. Dei, l. vii. c. 9. Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 152. Suid. ſub voc. Βεέλ. [b] Author. ſupra laudat. & Serv. in Æn. i. Isidor. origin. l. viii. &c. [c] Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. [d] Vid. author. ſupra laudat. & Cumberland on Sanchoniath. Seld. de diis Syr. &c. Vid. & ipſum Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10, &c.

(Q) A ſtrong argument in favour of what is here advanced may likewiſe be drawn from the general homage paid to *Saturn*, as the principal of the gods in moſt countries. He ſeems to have been known to the *Gauls*, *Scythians*, *Celtes*, *Africans*, and even the moſt barbarous nations. Human ſacrifices were offered up to him whereever his worſhip took place, tho' this did not continue long amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whoſe natural ſentiments of humanity and compaſſion ſoon became too ſtrong to permit them to tolerate ſo infernal a practice. The ſolemnities obſerved at the offering up of human victims to the *Carthaginian* god (whoſe name we may reaſonably ſuppoſe was either *Baal* or *Moloch*, or both) anſwered pretty nearly to thoſe obſerved by the *Canaanites* on the like dire occaſion, as we learn from *Plutarch* (64). This is a further preſumption, that the *Phœnician Moloch* and this deity were the ſame. 'Tis an ingenious conjecture of *Banier* (65), that the *Ammonites* worſhipped the ſeven planets in the idol of *Moloch* jointly, as well as *Saturn*, his proper ſtar, and the ſun ſingly.

(64) *Plutarch. de ſuperſtit. Seld. ubi ſup. & Scalig. in epiſt. ad Caſaub.* (65) *Vid. Fourmont. ref crit t.* i. *p.* 357. *& Banier in mythol. l.* vii. *c.* 6.

4. From

4. FROM ſeveral traces to be found in the proper names of *Carthage*, we may diſcover, that the deity under conſideration was known there by the two appellations *Baal* and *Moloch*, as in the eaſt. *Hanni-bal*, *Aſdru-bal*, *Maher-bal*, &c. point out *Baal* or *Bal*; as *Hi-milce*, *Hi-milco*, *Ha-milcar*, *Melicus*[e], *Malchus*[f], &c. do *Moloch* or *Milcom*. Theſe therefore being different names of the ſame deity, who was the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, it muſt be allowed, that *Chronus* or *Saturn* was not only worſhipped, but likewiſe looked upon as the principal god, at *Carthage* (R).

THE

[e] SIL. ITAL. l. 3. [f] GRONOV. theſaur. ant. Græc. tom. ii.

(R) It is believed by ſome, that *Saturn* or *Baal* was the ſun, *Baaltis* or *Aſtarte* the moon, and that theſe were the only deities of the eaſtern nations. But this we cannot allow; for notwithſtanding the ſun and moon were two of the moſt noted objects of falſe worſhip, and poſſibly the firſt, yet we think it undeniable, that the *Orientals* had other falſe gods, in very antient times. From ſcripture we learn, that the nations bordering upon GOD's people worſhipped the ſun, moon, and other planets, in very early ages (66). *Philip*'s treaty with the *Carthaginians*, a copy of which is preſerved to us by *Polybius* (67), renders it indiſputable that this people had other deities beſides the two luminaries above-mentioned, ſome of which were planets diſtinct from them. But we ſhall endeavour to trace up this planetary worſhip to its firſt ſource, or as near it as poſſible. God created the world, or this ſyſtem, in ſix days, and reſted the ſeventh (68). This was the foundation of the *Antediluvian* as well as the *Hebrew* week; and ſeems to be the reaſon that the number *ſeven* was ſo remarkable both amongſt the *Antediluvians* and the *Hebrews*. Vengeance *ſeven*-fold was denounced againſt any perſon that ſhould ſlay *Cain* (69); *Noah* was commanded to take unto him the clean beaſts by *ſevens* (70); the fowls of the air alſo by *ſevens* (71); God foretold to him the beginning of the deluge (72) *ſeven* days before it happened; the ſame patriarch ſent a dove out of the ark a ſecond time to explore *ſeven* days after the firſt (73), and a third time *ſeven* days after this; *Abimelech* received *ſeven* ewe-lambs of *Abraham*, as a teſtimony that a well belonged to him (74); *Jacob* ſerved *Laban* for *Rachael ſeven* years (75); *Pharaoh* in his dream ſaw *ſeven* fat and *ſeven* lean kine come out of the river, por-

(66) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 5. (67) *Polyb. l.* vii. (68) *Gen.* i. ii. *&c.* (69) *Gen.* iv. 15. (70) *Gen.* vii. 2. (71) *Gen.* vii. 3. (72) *Gen.* vii. 4. (73) *Gen.* vii. 10, 12. (74) *Gen.* xxi. 28, 29, 30. (75) *Gen.* xxix. 18, 27.

The goddess Cœlestis worshipped at Carthage.

The goddess *Cœlestis* or *Urania* was held in the highest veneration by the *Carthaginians*. The prophet *Jeremiah* [s] calls her

[s] Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 17. & alibi.

tending (76) so many years of plenty and famine; *Elijah* sent his servant *seven* times towards the sea, to discover the cloud that was forming itself for rain (77); his successor *Elisha* ordered *Naaman* the *Syrian* to wash himself *seven* times in the river *Jordan*, in order to be cured of his leprosy (78), &c. Now 'tis observable, that there is a surprising analogy betwixt the days of the original week, and the system then created. The six primary planets, for the moon is the satellite of the earth, move round the sun, which is fixed, or at rest, and together they are in number *seven*; this answers exactly to the six days of work or motion, and one of rest, in all seven, of which the original week did consist. Thus the *Mosaic* account of the creation is a symbolical description of the world or system created; and such descriptions as these were perfectly agreeable to the genius of the *Orientals*, especially the *Egyptians*, in the first ages, and particularly in that wherein *Moses* lived, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Hence we have the greatest reason to imagine, that the *Antediluvian* as well as the *Postdiluvian* patriarchs, the first *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, &c. famed for their knowledge in astronomy and astrology, knew the number of the planets, and had names for them: *Moses* likewise, *being learned in all the wisdom of the* Egyptians, had undoubtedly a great share of knowledge in the celestial sciences (79). That the *Egyptians* had magicians and wise men, or astrologers, amongst them a considerable, if not a long, time before *Joseph*'s arrival in *Egypt*, appears from scripture, since it was a common practice in that country then to consult such persons (80) upon any extraordinary occasion; and the number *seven* seems likewise to have been symbolical; from whence we may infer, that none of the planets were unknown to them, even from the first formation of their monarchy. The *Chaldees* or *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, &c. agreed with the family of *Abraham* or *Heber* in the most early ages, in their computation of time by weeks, or periods of *seven* days (81), as well as in shewing regard to the number *seven*; they were likewise famed for their early application to the study of the celestial sciences, which is a good proof that they must have been acquainted with the seven planets, even from the beginning. According to *Iamblichus* and *Syncellus*, *Pythagoras* was taken prisoner by *Cambyses* in *Egypt*, in the first year of the sixty fourth olympiad, *i. e.* about five hundred and twenty-four years before the birth of Christ. Now the learned are universally agreed, that this philosopher brought with him home from *Egypt* that antient system of the world which bears

(76) *Gen.* xli. 2, 3. (77) 1 *Kings* xviii. 43. (78) 2 *Kings* v. 10, 14. (79) *Acts* vii. 22. (80) *Gen.* xli. 8. (81) *Gen.* xxix. 27.

his

her *Baaleth ſhemaim* the queen of heaven, i. e. *Juno Olympia*; *Megaſthenes* [b], in *Euſebius*, *Beltis* or queen *Beltis*; *Sanchoniatho*,

[b] MEGASTHENES & ABYDENUS apud EUSEB. in chron.

his name (82), and is generally believed to be the true one, and that he received this from the pillars of the firſt *Hermes*, who was almoſt as antient as the beginning of the *Egyptian* monarchy, and a moſt celebrated adept in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. We muſt therefore allow it probable, that theſe bodies, and the true ſyſtem of the world, were known even from the firſt origin of things. In order to ſupport farther what is here advanced, it may not be improper to obſerve, that from the moſt early antiquity the planets were imagined to bear a near relation to the days of the week, ſince the cuſtom of calling the latter by the names of the former is ſo antient, that the beginning of it cannot be diſcovered. 'Tis undoubtedly as antient as the diviſion of the day into twenty-four hours, ſince the great regard paid to the planets, from a notion of their influence over all terreſtrial bodies, was the cauſe of that diviſion, as that diviſion was of the order in which they ſucceeded one another in their government of the days of the week (83), which does not agree with their ſituation in our ſyſtem. The caſe therefore ſeems to have been thus: There was a great analogy between the days of the firſt, or original, week, and the *ſeven* principal parts of the ſyſtem then created; the former ſeem to have been a ſymbolical deſcription of the latter. This occaſioned the number *ſeven*, common to both of them, to be taken great notice of by all the firſt inhabitants of the world The knowledge of the planets, which was coeval with *Adam*, at firſt afforded many pleaſing ſpeculations to mankind; but afterwards became a ſnare to them, and inſenſibly led them on to the worſhip of theſe heavenly bodies After this took place, the ſame, if not a greater, regard was paid to the number *ſeven*; out of the high veneration the planets were held in amongſt them. They allotted every particular hour, every particular day of the week, to the government of ſome one of them; and, in conſequence of this, gave the name of the planet governing to the day governed. This we take to be the origin of the cuſtom of denominating the days of the week after the planets; and conſequently believe, that it was coeval, or nearly ſo, with the firſt origin of idolatry. *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis* affirms, that the number *ſeven* is perfect in its own nature, becauſe God governs the earth by the *ſeven* planets (84); *Pythagoras*, according to *Apuleius*, revered it in an extraordinary manner (85), looking upon it as a number ſacred to religion, and pointing (86) out particularly to the ſeven planets; *Apuleius* judged it neceſſary, before he addreſſed himſelf to his moſt

(82) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* I. *p.* 481, *&* *ſeq.* (83) *Vol.* iii. *p.* 427. *note* (L). (84) *Alexander Aphrodiſ. in Ariſtot. probl. l.* ii. (85) *Apul. Mileſ.* 11. (86) *Vid. Joan. Meurſ. Denar. Pythagor. c.* 9.

niatho [i], in *Philo Byblius*, *Dione* and *Baaltis*; *Hesychius* [k], *Belthes*. According to this last author, the word was applied both to *Juno* and *Venus*; and indeed in the *Phœnician* theology, we scarce find any distinction betwixt these two deities. St. *Augustin* says, that *Carthage* was the place where *Venus* had

[i] Sanchoniath. & Philo Bybl. apud. Euseb. de præp. evang. l. i. [k] Hesych. sub voc. Βήλθης.

powerful god, to be immersed *seven* times in salt water (87), in conformity, no doubt, to the *Pythagorean*, *i. e.* the most antient *Chaldean*, *Egyptian*, &c. superstition; *Aristotle* insinuates, that *seven* is the number (88) of which the world, *i e* this system, is composed; *Photius*, *Macrobius* (89), and others, likewise declare, that *seven* is a religious number. From which testimonies, as well as an infinite number more that might be produced, it is abundantly evident, that the esteem the antient pagan world shewed for the number *seven* was owing originally to the planets, and that these were adored from very remote antiquity

As infinite power cannot be confined in its productions to any particular part of duration, and as the manner of every one of the divine operations must be calculated to serve some wise end, we may presume, that there was some final cause why the world, or this system, was created in *precisely* six days, which, in conjunction with a *seventh*, formed the first period of time. Now it will not be easy to assign a more rational one than we have hinted above, *viz*, that this was done with a design to point out to the first inhabitants of the earth the principal parts of which the system then created did consist; as likewise to remind them in a particular manner every *seventh* day, that these *seven* heavenly bodies were created by God, intirely dependent upon him, and therefore ought not to be esteemed as objects of adoration. The great propensity of mankind in after ages, particularly the *Hebrews*, God's own people, to this species of false worship, adds no small weight to our hypothesis. That the primitive week, long before the law was in being, consisted of *seven* days, is clear from scripture (90); as likewise, that every one of those days, in the symbolical language of the most early ages, stood for a year (91). We could pursue this point much farther, would the subject we are upon permit; but as it will not, we hope to be able to give our readers a full discussion of it in some future part of this work; and in the mean time shall content ourselves with having suggested a few remarkable hints in this place.

(87) *Apul. ubi sup.* (88) *Arist. maj. metaphys. c. 7. & Alex. Aphrodis. in loc.* (89) *Photius in excerpt. e Nicom. Macrob. in somn. Scip. l. i. c. 6. Etymolog. magn.* &c. *Vide etiam Procl. in Timæ. l.* iii. *Plutarch sympos. l.* viii. *c.* 1. *& l.* ix. *c.* 4. *Diog. Laert. in Platon. l.* iii. *& Jos. Laurent. de sist. & tintinnab. c.* 3. *apud Gronov. thes. ant. Græc. t.* viii. *p.* 1407. (90) *Gen.* xxix. 27. (91) *Ibid.*

established

eſtabliſhed her reign [l]; and *Virgil* informs us, that *Juno* preferred that ſpot to all others, even to *Samos* itſelf [m]. As therefore both the *Greeks* and *Romans* had, generally ſpeaking, one ſingle chief divinity to preſide over every particular city, country, and diſtrict, this double one muſt have been owing to the *Phœnician* or *Punic* word above-mentioned, which included both of the aforeſaid goddeſſes. *Aſtoreth* and *Aſtarte* were ſynonymous to *Urania* and *Baaltis*, and denoted the moon as well as *Venus* and *Juno*, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly, in droughts, to obtain rain [n]. The antient *Greeks* frequently confound *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Diana*, or the moon, which is to be attributed to the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received their ſyſtem of religion, who ſeem in the moſt antient times to have had but one name for them all. In ſuch a perplexed point as this, we ſhall expatiate no farther, ſince it would be both fruitleſs and unneceſſary; beſides, it would carry us from our ſubject. Our readers will find as diſtinct and particular an account of the goddeſs or goddeſſes here mentioned, as they can with reaſon expect, in the ſecond volume of this hiſtory [o]. To that part therefore we refer them (S).

[l] D. AUGUST. in pſal. xcviii. [m] VIRG. Æn. i. [n] TERTUL. apolog. c. 23. [o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 305—319.

(S) *Urania*, *Baaltis*, *Aſtarte*, &c. is by ſome taken to be the *Iſis* (92) of the *Egyptians*; as *Baal*, *Belus*, &c. their *Oſiris*. The *Carthaginian Juno*, according to *Virgil* (93), had armour and a chariot, though of what form he tells us not. *Servius* ſays (94) ſhe had a buckler as well as a chariot, and was invoked by the name of *Juno Curulis*. *Plutarch* ſeems to give her a ſpear, ſince he calls her *Juno Curitis*, *curis*, in the *Sabine* language, ſignifying that weapon. Some are of opinion, that her chariot was a ſmall portable tabernacle, in which her image was carried either from place to place, or in proceſſion. 'Tis certain ſuch tabernacles as theſe were in uſe amongſt the *Carthaginians*. As for the etymon of *Aſhtaroth*, *Aſhtoreth*, or *Aſtarte*, we muſt refer our readers to the *Phœnician* hiſtory (95). According to *Scaliger* (96), *Juno* was repreſented at *Carthage* ſitting upon a lion, with thunder in her right hand, and a ſceptre in her left. No wonder ſhe ſhould have been ſo much revered by the *Carthaginians*, ſince ſhe was in a particular manner the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, their anceſtors (97).

(92) *Biſhop Cumberland on Sanchoniath. & in orig. gent. ant. See alſo the firſt vol. of this hiſt. p. 447, & vol. ii. p. 307, & ſeq.* (93) *Virg. Æn. i.* (94) *Serv. in Æn. i.* (95) *Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 307, & ſeq.* (96) *Joſ. Scalig. de emend. temp.* (97) *Univ. hiſt. ubi ſup. Vid. etiam Apul. metam. vi. Cyprian. in lib. de idol. Salin. c. 30. Tertul. apol. c. 24. Sil. Ital. l. i. Herodian. l. v. Voſſ. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 21. Auguſt. in Judic. c. 7. Voſſ. ubi ſup. c. 25, 26, &c. Franciſc. Florid. Sabin in lect. ſubſic. l. ii. c. 7. & Herodot. l. iv.*

BESIDES

Many deities went antiently by the name of Belus.

BESIDES the firſt *Belus* already taken notice of, there were ſeveral others of a later date in great repute amongſt the *Phœnicians*, particularly thoſe of *Tyre*, and of courſe amongſt the *Carthaginians*. *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, or the ſun, *&c.* were all of them ſo ſtyled, according to the moſt celebrated authors who have treated of this ſubject. That *Jupiter* was worſhipped by this people under the denomination of *Belus* or *Baal*, is notorious from *Polybius*, *Menander*, *Epheſius*, and *Dius* [p]. To him they addreſſed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reaſon to believe, for the moſt part, at the head of their treaties. For which reaſon ſome have not ſcrupled to affirm, that he was the *Baal Berith* of *Phœnice* [q]; but we are rather inclined to ſuppoſe, with biſhop *Cumberland*, that this laſt deity was *Chronus* [r]. *Mars*, according to the *chronicon Alexandrinum*, compared with *Homer* and *Heſtiæus*, an antient author cited by *Euſebius* [s], was dignified with the title of *Belus* by the *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, and doubtleſs by the *Carthaginians* alſo, ſince he was a favourite divinity in their ſtate [t], eſpecially amongſt their generals. *Bacchus* was called *Belus* by the poet *Nonnus* [u], and no wonder, ſince he is often taken to be the ſame with *Jupiter* (T). The nation we are diſcourſing of had, in

[p] POLYB. l. vii. & alibi. paſ. MENANDER. EPHESIUS & DIUS apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. [q] M. BANIER. in mythol. vol. i. [r] CUMBERLAND. on Sanchoniath. p. 152. [s] HOMER. paſ. HESTIÆUS. apud EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. ix. & apud JOSEPH. antiq l. i. c. 6. Vid. etiam SELDEN. de diis Syr. ſyntag. 2. [t] POLYB. ubi ſup. & alibi paſ. SIL. ITALIC. l. i. [u] NONNUS in Dionyſiac. apud SELD. de diis Syr. ſynt. 2.

(T) In a former part of this work we obſerved, that *Pezron* derived *Jupiter* from the *Celtic Jou*, young, becauſe the deity ſo called was ſuppoſed to have been the youngeſt ſon of *Saturn* (98). But the regard we bear to truth obliges us now to declare, that we diſſent from that learned man in this particular, as well as in all the points depending upon it. We are fully ſatisfied, that this name is formed of the word *pater*, *father*, in conjunction with the *Tetragrammaton* or *Jehovah*, as will moſt evidently appear from the following obſervations.

1. There can ſcarce an inſtance be found in all antiquity of any prince's receiving his true and proper name from ſo ſlight a circumſtance as that mentioned by *Pezron*. That *Jupiter* therefore, who was ſo potent a prince, or rather ſo celebrated a deity, that he who was ſo frequently ſtyled by the moſt antient writers *the father of gods and men*, ſhould be ſo called, becauſe he was his father's

(98) *Univ. hiſt. vol. v. p.* 269.

youngeſt

in all probability, ſome knowledge of him [w]. *Apollo*, or the ſun, went frequently either by this name ſimply, or by others, in which this

[w] Compare NONNUS, SELD. & BOCHART. with Sir ISAAC NEWTON in his chronol. p. 23, 24, 97, 98, 191, 192, 193, 194. 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, &c.

youngeſt ſon, is utterly improbable (99). We may therefore, after the beſt writers, venture to aſſert, that the antient *Latins* either took *Jupiter* to be a term equivalent to *Baal*, *Deus*, &c. *i. e.* God, Lord, &c. as *Neptune* was the ſea *Jupiter*, *Pluto* the infernal *Jupiter*, &c. or by it underſtood the great governor of the univerſe himſelf, as the wiſeſt of them moſt certainly did (100). In either of which caſes it can ſatisfactorily be derived from no other ſource than the *Tetragrammaton*.

2. *Diodorus Siculus*, a very good author, where he does not too cloſely copy after *Cteſias*, as he cannot in the point before us, calls the God of *Moſes*, the legiſlator of the *Jews*, *Iao* (1). This is a clear proof, that the God of *Moſes*, or *Jehovah*, was known to the *Greeks* by the name *Iao*, which was their pronunciation, though a corrupt one, of the *Tetragrammaton*. Add to this *pater* or *father*, a word which both the *Greeks* and *Latins* affixed to *Zeus* and *Jovis* (2), and it becomes *Iao-pater*, which is evidently the *Jupiter* of the *Latins*. As therefore the *Iao* of *Diodorus* cannot be derived from the *Celtic* word *Jou*, ſo neither can *Iao-pater*, *Iao-piter* or *Jupiter*, as *Pezron* thinks; being made up of *pater* and *Iao*, that is, of *pater* and the *Tetragrammaton*.

3. We are told by *Macrobius* (3), that the oracle of *Apollo Clarius* affirmed *Iao* to be the greateſt of the gods, or rather the ſupreme God. Now this oracle was of a very high antiquity, as we learn from *Strabo* (4), who makes *Mopſus*, a famous ſoothſayer in the time of the *Trojan* war, to have lived within the verge of it. Nay, it may be collected from *Macrobius* (5), that it was ſuperior in point of antiquity to *Orpheus* himſelf, which will carry us a vaſt way back into the mythic period of time. *Æſchylus* alſo intimates, that there was a *Zeus* (6), or *Jupiter Clarius*, which muſt undoubtedly have been the great God *Iao* above-mentioned. Since therefore *Zeus* and *Iao* are terms ſynonymous, as we have before proved *Iao* and *Jupiter* to be; this is a further argument, that theſe all muſt have had the ſame original, and conſequently that *Jupiter* is not of *Celtic* extraction.

(99) *Heſiod. theogon. Hom. in Iliad. paſ.* (100) *Virg. Hor. Senec. aliiq.* (1) *Diod. Sic. bibliothec. hiſt. l. i. c. 7.* (2) *Homer. & Heſiod. ubi ſup. & Aull. Gell. l. v. c. 12.* (3) *Macrob. Saturn. l. i. cap. 18.* (4) *Strab. l. xiii.* (5) *Macrob. ubi ſup.* (6) *Æſchylus in ſupplic.*

this made one part of the compoſition [x]. Though ſometimes the people of *Carthage* repoſed great confidence in him, yet we find

[x] SELDEN, ubi ſupra.

4. In a fragment of *Philo Biblius* taken from *Sanchoniatho*, and handed down to us by *Euſebius* (7), mention is made of the God *Ieuo*, and of his prieſt *Jerombalus*, which can have no manner of relation to the *Celtic Jou*, becauſe *Sanchoniatho* was a *Phœnician*. *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Euſebius*, and *Epiphanius*, alſo evince, that the *Tetragrammaton* or *Jehovah* was written in *Greek* *Iaou* or *Iau* (8). *Druſius* moreover remarks from *Porphyry*, that the *Ieuo* of *Sanchoniatho* was *Iao* or *Jehovah* (9). From all which authors it appears, that the *Greeks*, in all probability, received this great name from the *Phœnicians*. As therefore the *Phœnician Ieuo*, the *Greek* *Zeus*, the *Latin Jupiter*, were all the ſame with *Iao*, that is, the *Tetragrammaton*, it can by no means be admitted, that the name *Jupiter* is to be deduced from the *Celtic*.

But it is urged in defence of this notion, that *Thurſday*, or the Day of *Jove*, is ſtill called in the remains of the *Celtic* language *Diz-Jou*. (10). Be it ſo; yet this will not come up to the point. For *Diz-Jou* is ſo very near the *Latin Dies Jovis*, that every one will be apt to believe the former to have been taken from the latter, and not the latter from the former. And why may not this be the caſe? If the *Romans* made it a maxim to propagate their language wherever they came, and even tinctured with it the languages of moſt countries they obliged to ſubmit to their arms, why ſhould it appear incredible, that ſeveral, nay, many, *Roman* terms ſhould have been tranſplanted into the old *Britiſh* and *Armorican* tongues, ſince the *Romans* were maſters of the countries where they were uſed for ſeveral centuries, and ſome of their emperors were either born, reſided, or died, in theſe parts of their dominions? This is by no means improbable; eſpecially as the word *Jou* in *Diz-Jou* bears not the leaſt reſemblance to the name of that day in the *Hibernian* dialect of the *Celtic* (11), which was unknown to the *Romans*. The argument therefore would have been but of little force, even ſuppoſing the oppoſite opinion had been ſupported by no reaſons at all; but as the reverſe is true, as moreover we find not the leaſt intimation of any divinity going by the name *Jou* in any of theſe authors who have treated of the *Druidical* religion, which prevailed amongſt the *Celtes*, it ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned. But to proceed:

(7) *Sanchoniatho. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l.* i. (8) *Iren. l.* i. *Epiphan. hereſ.* 26. *Euſeb. de præp. evang. l.* iv. *Clem. Alexandr. ſtrom.* 5. (9) *Druſius in lib. de Tetragram. Vid.* & *Theodoret. quæſt.* 15. *in Exod.* (10) *Pezron. ant. nat. Celt. c.* 12. (11) *Lhuyd in primar. Britan.* & *Hibern. ling. harmonic. p.* 54.

5. According

find their anceſtors, the *Tyrians*, in a caſe of extremity, were dubious of him; for being apprehenſive, that he intended to forſake

5. According to *Plato*, the *Greek* name *Zeus* imported properly the ſame thing that *Jehovah* did, *i. e.* the *Being of Beings*, the principle of life and exiſtence (12). This is a farther proof, nay a moſt ſtrong preſumption, that theſe two names were originally applied to the ſame being.

6. *Gellius* affirms, that the antient *Latin* name of *Jupiter* was *Jovis* (13); which, ſuppoſing *is* to be a *Latin* termination, as it really is, comes very near the *Tetragrammaton*. This will appear to be exactly true from what follows.

7. The old *Etruſcans* (14), who were the deſcendants of the moſt antient *Pelaſgi*, *Phœnicians* and *Lydians* (15), called *Jupiter Juve* or *Jove*. All the earlieſt literary monuments of this nation now remaining have their letters drawn from the right-hand to the left, after the *Oriental* manner (16), which is a convincing evidence of their high antiquity. Every thing conſidered, we look upon this as a deciſive argument in favour of our opinion; and not only ſo, but are fully perſuaded, that the true pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* is hereby diſcovered. The *Maſoretical* pronunciation indeed differs ſomething from it; but undoubtedly the *Etruſcan Juve* or *Jove* is many centuries older than the very being of the *Maſorites*. Beſides, as the *Phœnician* U anſwered to the *Hebrew* O, and the *Maſoretical ſcheva* is a vowel of a moſt rapid pronunciation, we may take for granted, that *Juve* or *Jove*, and *Jehovah*, are the ſame.

8. *Seneca* aſſures us, that the *Etruſcan Juve* or *Jove* was the cauſe of cauſes, the great governor and director of the world, the principle of life and motion, and, in ſhort, the Deity himſelf (17); and that the *Etruſcans* themſelves conſidered him in all theſe views. After this, what can be offered further in ſupport of what we advance? or indeed, what can be required of us further to offer?

But nowithſtanding *Jupiter* was the ſame with the *Etruſcan Juve* or *Jehovah*, and even at firſt, as the word (18) itſelf implies, the name of the ſupreme God in moſt nations; yet we pretend not to deny that there was a king of *Crete*, who being, by reaſon of his heroic actions, deified after his death, received this name as a title the moſt illuſtrious of any that could be conferred upon him. This

(12) *Conf. Hieron. Column. & G. J. Voſſii. not. in Enn. p.* 289. *ed. Heſſelii Amſt.* 1707. *cum Plat. in Cratylo.* (13) *Aul. Gell. l. v. c.* 12. (14) *Vid. ſuite de l' extraite de l' hiſtoire diplomatique de M. Maffei, in bibliotheque Italique, tom. troiſiem. art.* 1. *à Geneve,* 1728. (15) *Tab. Eugubin.* 5. *l. v. & alib. Vid. & tab. Eugubin.* 6. *apud Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. tom.* i. (16) *Vid. moniment. & inſcript. Etruſc. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. & P. Bonarotæ additament. ed. Florent.* 1726. (17) *Senec. natural. quæſt. l.* ii. *c.* 45, 46. (18) *Shuckford's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſt. b.* ix.

forſake them, and go over to *Alexander*, then vigorouſly puſhing on the ſiege of their city, they faſtened his ſtatue with golden chains

notion and what we have advanced are by no means incompatible. But ſtill we muſt inſiſt, that it ought to be conſidered as a title only, and not as his proper name, of which we are intirely ignorant. 'Tis evident to all perſons who have made any reſearches into antiquity, that the neighbouring idolatrous nations did not only imitate the *Hebrews* in thoſe rites which were originally of divine inſtitution, but likewiſe gave ſeveral appellations to their fictitious deities, which the *Hebrews*, and even they themſelves, whilſt they remained in the true religion, appropriated to the true God. Of this *El*, *Baal*, *Adonai*, and even *Jehovah* itſelf, are pregnant inſtances. One of their falſe gods the *Greeks* called *Zeus*, and the *Latins Jupiter*, whoſe worſhip was eſtabliſhed at *Carthage* by *Dido* herſelf, as *Juſtin* relates (19); for which end ſhe carried one of his prieſts with her from *Cyprus* to *Africa*. Under what form the *Carthaginians* exhibited *Saturn* and *Jupiter* to public adoration, is nowhere ſaid; but the manner in which *Baal* was repreſented in the eaſt, has been already touched upon (20).

Mars, called by the *Sabines Mamers*, was the god of war, and, according to *Voſſius* (21), of *Oriental* extraction. Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſays *mavors* (22) or *ma-fors* was a *Phrygian* word, ſignifying valiant. It appears from *Silius*, that the *Carthaginians* (23) addreſſed their oaths to *Mars* as well as to *Jupiter*. *Hannibal* ſacrificed to this god with great ſolemnity, before he ſet out upon the *Italian* expedition (24); from whence we may infer, that he was greatly reverenced by the *Carthaginian* generals.

Bacchus was undoubtedly in *Africa*, and, without queſtion, known in *Carthage*; but as he was more famous in *Libya*, we ſhall defer what we have to ſay of him, 'till we come to the hiſtory of that country.

Bochart ſeems to think, that *Apollo* was originally an *African* deity (25). He takes him to have been the *Phut* of *Moſes*, known among the *Greeks* by the name *Pythius*. The *Carthaginians*, when they took the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, found a ſtatue of *Apollo* of an extraordinary ſize (26), which they ſent to their mother city *Tyre*; and this was the ſtatue which the *Tyrians* faſtened with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules*, when they were under an apprehenſion, that he was going over to *Alexander*, then beſieging their city. Beſides this, there was another at *Carthage* of an immenſe value, taken by *Scipio* at the concluſion of the laſt ſiege, and, as *Plutarch* (27) intimates, ſent to *Rome*. The temple of *Apollo*, as deſcribed by *Ap-*

(19) *Juſtin. l.* xviii. (20) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 307, *not.* (E).
(21) *Voſſius in theol. gent.* (22) *Sir Iſaac Newton chronol. p.* 23.
(23) *Sil. Italic. l.* i. (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Boch. Phal. l.* i. *c.* 2. (26) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 351. (27) *Plutarch. in Flamin.*

pian,

chains to the altar of *Hercules* [z]. *Neptune* was likewise one of the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, or gods of the first class, of the *Carthaginians* [a]. It cannot well be doubted, but that he was the *Baal* of *Sidon*, called *Thalassius*, or the *Sea Baal*, taken notice of in a former part of this history [b].

THE word *Baal*, in itself an appellative, at first served to denote the true God, among those who adhered to the true

Baal, *at first a name of the true* God.

[z] Q. CURT. l. 4. c. 3 [a] POLYB. l. vii. DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. [b] Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 306.

pian, was the richest and most superb edifice at *Carthage*, of which we have given an account above. It was placed in the forum. *Valerius Maximus* relates, that the hand of one who came to strip him of his golden garments was found amongst the pieces of gold cut off from him, which he mentions as an instance of his resenting sacrilege in a high manner (28). If we consider him as the sun, he was the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Mithras* of the *Persians* (29), and consequently the great god of all the east. The *Apollo Libycus* (30) will be fully considered in a proper place.

Neptune some take to have been *Japhet* the king of the isles (31), as they think appears not only from the office antiquity assigned him, but likewise from his name. He presided over earthquakes, plagues, and inundations (32), and, in order to render him propitious, the *Carthaginians* threw victims into the sea as offerings to him. Of this we have a remarkable instance during *Hannibal*'s siege of *Agrigentum* (33), when a number of priests were in this manner offered. The antients attributed to him every thing that related to the management of horses; and from the rock out of which the first horse is supposed to have sprung, he had the denomination of *Scyphius* given him (34) *scyph* in *Punic* signifying a rock or stone. *Bochart* makes his name *Posidon* to be a *Punic* term, importing *broad* or *expanded* (35). His name *Neptune* shall be accounted for, when we come to visit *Libya*; for, according to *Herodotus*, he was originally a *Libyan* (36).

Our readers will not be surprised, that we have passed over in silence the *Carthaginian* images or representations of these four last deities, since we are entirely in the dark as to the manner in which they were figured at *Carthage*. Possibly in the main the *Carthaginians* might agree with the *Greeks* and *Romans* in this particular; and if so, no piece so proper can be recommended to the perusal of the curious, as that of *Albricus* upon this subject (37).

(28) *Val. Max.* (29) *Strab. Suid. Hesych. Univ. hist. vol.* i. *p.* 445, *& vol.* vi. *p.* 503. (30) *Vid. Lucium Ampelium apud Bochart. ubi sup.* (31) *Boch. Phal. l.* i. *c.* 1. (32) *Diod. Sic. l.* xv. *c.* 6. (33) *Idem, l.* xiii. *c.* 12. (34) *Pind. scholiast. in Pyth. od.* 4. (35) *Bochart. ubi supra.* (36) *Herodot. in Euterp.* (37) *Albric. de deor. imag. Bas.* 1570.

religion; though afterwards, when it became common amongſt the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their reſpective idols, he rejected it *. The falſe god to whom they firſt appropriated it, was *Chronus* or *Saturn*, as intimated above. In proceſs of time it became a title, or mark of diſtinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Zebub*, *Baal-Moloch*, &c. of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* [c]. The term imported *god* or *lord* amongſt the *Orientals*, as *zeus* did amongſt the *Greeks* [d]. The plural *Baalim* in ſcripture ſignifies *gods*, *lords*, *maſters*, *ſovereigns*, &c. correſpondent to the ſenſe of *Bel* in the *Chaldee* tongue. According to *Servius* [e], who is followed by *Voſſius* herein, *Bal* in the *Punic* language had two ſignifications; it either ſpecified *Saturn*, or was equivalent to the *Latin deus* or *god*: *Xenophon* [f] inſinuates, that, in the earlieſt times, every head of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in all countries was called *Chronus* or *Saturn*; every firſt-born ſon or daughter of ſuch families *Jupiter* or *Juno*; and the moſt valiant of their offspring *Hercules*. *Theodoret* ſeems to apply this to the *Phœnicians* in particular [g]; adding, that ſuch noble perſonages were deified, on account of ſome ſignal ſervice they did to their country. As we have made *Baal*, and *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, words of the ſame import in different languages, we may ſay of the former what *Varro* in *Tertullian* ſays of the latter, *viz.* that the number of thoſe ſo ſtyled amounted to three hundred. Notwithſtanding which, ſome will have it, that there were originally but two gods of the *Phœnicians*, and conſequently of the *Carthaginians*, or, what is the ſame thing, that all the other deities were reſolvable into theſe two, *viz.* *Baal* [h] and *Aſhtoreth*, or *Belus* and *Aſtarte*.

The ſun worſhipped at Carthage.

Baalſamen, or, as the *Hebrews* would have written it, *Baal-ſhemaim*, i. e. the lord of heaven, ſeems to have been the ſun, as *Beliſama*, or the queen of heaven, above-mentioned, the moon. According to St. *Auſtin*, he had religious honours paid him by the *Carthaginians* [i]. It is probable they had no repreſentation of him at all, becauſe they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory, *Damaſcius* calls him, *El*, *Bolathes*, &c. and makes him to have been the ſame with *Saturn* [k].

* SELD. de diis Syr. c. 1. ſub init. & Hoſ. ii. 16, 17. [c] SELD. ubi ſupra. [d] Idem ibid. [e] SERV. in Æn. 1. VOSS. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 4. [f] XENOPH. in æquiv. [g] THEODORET. de Græc. affect. l. iii. [h] SELD. de diis Syr. ſynt. 2. c. 2. p. 145. SHUCKFORD in his connect. b. v. [i] AUGUST. in Jud. quæſt. 16. [k] DAMASC. in vit. Iſidor.

THE

THE *Carthaginians* introduced *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* as *Greek* deities, when ill ſucceſs attended their arms in the war with *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe*. This *Diodorus* tells us [l]. But *Virgil* aſſerts, that *Dido* herſelf ſacrificed to *Ceres* [m]. The poet here, we think, ought to give way to the hiſtorian; for it is much more probable, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould receive a *Greek* or *Roman* deity from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, than from the *Phœnicians*. The ſtatues of theſe two goddeſſes ſtood in the temple of *Dido*, who was likewiſe deified by thoſe idolaters, together with her ſiſter *Anna*. We find on the reverſes of ſeveral *Carthaginian* coins an ear or ears of corn, either in alluſion to the goddeſs *Ceres*, or as a ſymbol of the fruitfulneſs of the country.

As likewiſe Ceres *and* Proſerpina.

As the *Carthaginians* were a people who ſupported themſelves chiefly by commerce, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they neglected the worſhip of the god of genius, induſtry, and traffic. *Mercury* the antients allotted this province to; and accordingly we find the *Carthaginians* paid divine honours to him, under the name of *Aſumes* or *Aſoumes* [n] (U).

And Mercury.

NOTHING is more celebrated in antient hiſtory than the *Tyrian Hercules*, whoſe worſhip was brought to *Carthage* by *Dido*, and diffuſed itſelf afterwards over all the coaſts of *Africa*, and as far as *Gades* or *Cadiz*, where he had a magnificent temple. The reaſon of his name *Melcartus* has been already aſ-

Divine honours paid alſo there to Hercules.

[l] DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 7. [m] VIRG. Æn. iv. ver. 58. [n] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxv. c. 5. & BOCHART. ex auctario Dioſcorid. Chan. l. ii. c. 15.

(U) *Mercury* was the miniſter of the gods, and preſided over the roads or highways, as well as traffic and commerce (38). The old *Etruſcans* named him *Camillus*, *Caſmillus*, or *Cadmilus*, i. e. a ſervant or miniſter of the gods (39); and the *Carthaginians Aſumes* or *Haſſumes*, which imports a *ſervant* (40). *Bochart* thinks he was *Canaan*, becauſe that word properly denotes a *merchant*, and in ſome reſpect anſwers to the name *Mercury* (41); which conjecture he farther confirms by obſerving, that, in conformity to *Mercury*'s office, *Noah* predicted, that *Canaan* ſhould ſerve his brethren (42). His *pileus* and *caduceus* being winged, ſeem to allude to the ſails of ſhips, and remotely to the long voyages the *Phœnicians* made, and the fartheſt parts of the world they were acquainted with, as doth likewiſe his government of the highways above-mentioned. *Bochart* and *Voſſius* ſet this in a very clear light (43).

(38) *Voſſ. theol. gent. l.* ii. *c.* 32. (39) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 12, 33, *& alib.* (40) *Idem ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (41) *Boch. Phal. l.* i. (42) *Gen.* ix. 25, 26. *Vide etiam Var. Plut. in num. Eſt & vet. auth. apud. Phavorin. &c.* (43) *Voſſ. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. Vide Iſai.* xviii.

ſigned.

ſigned [o]. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* ſuppoſed him to preſide over gold, ſilver, and all ſorts of treaſures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the iſland of *Thaſus* [p], where a *Phœnician* colony, being planted, diſcovered ſome gold mines. The *Thaſians* adored him with the ſame ſolemnity as the people of *Tyre*, and had a brazen ſtatue of him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand, and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly repreſented him both at *Tyre* and *Carthage* [q]. The *Pelaſgi* [r], originally *Phœnicians*, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had [s], on account of a great ſcarcity of grain they once laboured under. The *Carthaginians* for a conſiderable time never failed ſending to *Tyre* the firſt fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to *Hercules*, the protector of *Tyre* and *Carthage* [t]. Public diverſions were inſtituted in honour of him at *Tyre*, which they celebrated every four years [u]. At *Carthage*, no doubt, the ſame cuſtom prevailed, as likewiſe that of offering [w] annually human victims up to him. *Varro* mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldeſt of them ſeems to be the *Tyrian* or *Carthaginian Hercules* (W).

Iolaus

[o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 312, not. (P). [p] Vide Wolfgang. Lazium in Græc. ant. l. i. c. 2. [q] Idem ibid. & Burchard. Niderst. Melita vetus & nov. l. ii. c. 6. [r] Strab. Herodot. Dionys. Halicarn. Epiphan. Boch. Salmas. Grot. & Univ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 432, not. (D). [s] Dion. Halicarn. l. i. [t] Polyb. in excerpt. legat. [u] Maccab. & Theodoret. lib. ſemeſt. ſerm. iii. c. 2. [w] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 6.

(W) We cannot help being of opinion, that the *Phœnician* or *Tyrian Hercules* was the ſame with the *Egyptian*. It appears from *Philoſtratus* (44), that the *Egyptian Hercules*, as well as the *Theban*, i. e. the *Phœnician*, were worſhipped in the ſame temple at *Gadira* or *Gades*; that there were no ſtatues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* finely wrought; which muſt naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre* (a *Phœnician*), bearing *ſmaragdine* fruit, of wondrous workmanſhip, was kept in this temple. Biſhop *Cumberland* proves (45), that the *Phœnician Hercules* was a *Phœnician* king in *Egypt*; that he found out the purple dye, which is of *Phœnician* extraction; and that he built the temple on the iſland near the *Straights*, to which he gave the *Phœnician*

(44) *Philoſt. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l.* v. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (45) *Cumberland. on Sanchoniath. p.* 159, 160. *in orig. p.* 113, 114, *&c. Vide Palæphatum Egyptium apud chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euſeb. in chron. p.* 352.

name

Iolaus comes next to *Hercules*, as being either related to him, Iolaus. or one that introduced ſome of his relations into the iſland of *Sardinia* [x]. The natives of that iſland, at his arrival, were *Tyrrhenians* or *Etruſcans* [y]. Thoſe people inhabiting the mountainous parts of *Sardinia*, received from him the appellation of *Iolaenſes*; and even the moſt fruitful provinces had the name of *campi Iolei*, the *Iolean* or *Iolaan fields* [z]. *Hercules* and *Iolaus*, according to *Voſſius* [a], had jointly divine honours paid them here, either becauſe he was *Hercules*'s near relation, or aſſiſted him in deſtroying the *Hydra*, which he did by drying up the gore with a red-hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from ſprouting out in its room. *Ovid* [b] pretends, that, at the interceſſion of *Hercules*, *Hebe* reſtored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decrepit. As the *Carthaginians* had this iſland in poſſeſſion a conſiderable time, it is ſuppoſed they borrowed him from the *Sardi*; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are given to underſtand by *Polybius* [c]. The rites and ceremonies obſerved at his public worſhip are fully deſcribed by *Voſſius* out of *Pauſanias* [d].

[x] STRAB. l. v. [y] Idem ibid. [z] DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. ubi ſupra. [a] Voss. theol. gent. l. i. c. 40. [b] OVID. met. ix. [c] POLYB. l. vii. [d] Voss. ubi ſupra.

name *Gadira*. Laſtly, Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes it evident (46), that the *Hercules* called *Melcartus*, who was king of *Cartcia*, had the temple at *Gades* conſecrated to him, as *Philoſtratus* intimates the *Egyptian Hercules* had (47); and that this *Hercules* was a *Phœnician*. From whence it may rationally be ſuppoſed, that the *Phœnician Hercules* and that of *Egypt* were the ſame.

The word itſelf is to be ſought for from the eaſt, undoubtedly עַרְקֵל *yercol* or *ercol*, ſignifying *ſwiſt* and *ſinewy*, or *ſtrong*, was the original. This *Hercules* was likewiſe upon the coaſt of *Africa*, and, according to *Oroſius*, built *Capſa* there (48). Biſhop *Cumberland* imagines him to have been called *Aſſis* or *Aziz*, i. e. the ſtrong, as well as *Ercol* or *Hercules* (49). *Africanus* and *Euſebius* give him the name of *Archles* (50). It is probable he was elected king or general of the *Phœnicians*, on account of the great glory he had acquired (51). Some believe, that he, in a manner, traverſed the then known world; but the relations given us of his atchievements are ſo interlarded with fable, that we know not well what to make of them.

(46) *Newton's chronol. p.* 111, 112, 113, 114, *&c.* (47) *Philoſtrat. ubi ſupra.* (48) *Oroſ. l.* v. *c.* 15. *Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *Salluſt. in Jugurth.* (49) *Cumberland in orig. p.* 113. *& Muzeth. apud Joſeph. cont. Apion.* (50) *African. & Euſeb. in chronic. Herodot. in Euterp &c.* (51) *Newton's chronol. p.* 111.

Hendreich

Dea Syria. *Hendreich* intimates, that the *Dea Syria*, or *Syrian goddess*, was a deity of the *Carthaginians* [e]; but who she was, authors are not agreed. By the description of her temple already given [f], and the statue in it, she must either have been *Juno*, or a group of all the goddesses; which last opinion seems most probable. The curious may find further satisfaction on this head, by consulting *Tertullian* and *Lipsius*, as well as the second volume of this history [g].

Æsculapius. The people of *Carthage* likewise addressed themselves to *Æsculapius*, whom *Servius* calls *Pœnigena*, because he supposes his mother to have been a *Carthaginian* [h]. The place more particularly sacred to him was *Byrsa*, or rather the top of that fortress, famous for his spacious temple there situated [i]. We have already observed, that *Asdrubal*'s wife, at the final destruction of *Carthage*, burnt this edifice, together with herself, her family, and nine hundred *Roman* deserters. Considerable quantities of vervain, an herb sacred to him, were preserved in this place. The best authors take him to have been originally a *Messenian*, or an *Egyptian*; yet, according to *Vossius*, the *Carthaginians* received him immediately from the *Tyrians*, to whom either the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians* [k] communicated him. *Alexander* took *Tyre* in the first year of the hundred and twelfth olympiad; and *Carthage* was finally destroyed by *Scipio* in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worship of *Æsculapius* passed from the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians* to the *Tyrians*, and from them to the *Carthaginians*. *Tosorthrus*, or *Sesorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, and the second of the third dynasty of *Manetho*, for his great skill in the art of physic, is generally allowed to have been the first *Æsculapius*. He preceded many ages the *Messenian* [l].

Herebus. *Herebus*, another *Carthaginian* deity mentioned by *Silius* and *Polybius*, seems to have been *Pluto*, or *Dis*. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and represented under a human shape, with long loose hair. *Vossius* and *Hendreich* both take notice of him [m].

Triton. *Triton*, the sea god, had a place amongst the deities of *Carthage*, as we learn from the treaty concluded betwixt *Philip* the son of *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and the *Carthaginians* [n]. Some authors have told us, that he was so called from Τρίτω, a

[e] Hendr. l. ii. sect. 1. c. 4. [f] Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 257, & seq. [g] Tertul. apol. c. 24. Lips. elect. l. ii. c. 21. epist. quæst. l. ii. c. 22. & Univers. hist. ubi supra. [h] Serv. in Æn. 7. [i] Appian. in Libyc. [k] Voss. ubi supra, l i. c. 32. [l] Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 473. [m] Sil. Ital. l. i. Polyb. l. vii. Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 60. & Hendr. ubi supra. [n] Polyb. l. vii.

Greek

Greek word, signifying a *wave* [o]. It appears from *Virgil*, that the province of *Triton* and *Cymothoë* was to releaſe or heave off veſſels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The antient mythologiſts make the nymph *Cymothoë* to have been the daughter of *Nereus* and *Doris*; but *Triton* the ſon of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* [p].

Mopſus, a famous augur or ſoothſayer, after his death, became a ſort of oracle [q] at *Carthage*. The memory of this deified ſage has been tranſmitted down to poſterity by *Lactatius Placidus* and *Apuleius* [r]. *Strabo* takes notice of one *Mopſus* the ſon of *Manto* the daughter [s] of *Tireſias*. But, according to *Voſſius*, this was the ſon of *Ampycus* an *Argonaut*, mentioned by *Apollonius* and *Valerius Flaccus* [t]. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to him by this nation, from whence reſponſes were given, as from ſo many oracles. *Mopſus.*

RIVERS, meads, waters, *&c.* or rather the ſuppoſed genii of all theſe inanimate parts of the creation, were [u] eſteemed as objects of adoration. This humour likewiſe prevailed amongſt the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and moſt other nations, from very antient times. No one has handled this ſubject better than *Voſſius* [w], whoſe writings our learned readers will peruſe with great pleaſure. Some maintain, that the worſhip of the elements was prior to all others in the pagan world; but we muſt beg leave to diſſent from their opinion. *Rivers, meads, waters, &c. gods.*

Scaliger [x] the elder acquaints us, that the old *Africans* paid a religious homage to fire, which was perhaps likewiſe the cuſtom at *Carthage*. This ſentiment he ſeems to have taken from *Leo Africanus* [y], an author whom we ſhall have occaſion to conſult hereafter. *As likewiſe fire.*

WITH this [z] the air and winds alſo ſhared divine honours, which was probably derived from the *Aſſyrians*. The air to this nation appeared to be ſuperior to the other elements, and to have them, as it were, under its government and direction [a]; for which reaſon it was honoured with adoration. We read in *Sanchoniatho* [b], that *Uſous* conſecrated two rude ſtones or pillars *As alſo the air and winds.*

[o] HEND. ubi ſupra. [p] VIRG. Æn. i. ver. 148. [q] APUL. de deo. Socrat. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [r] LUCT. PLAC. in Stat. Thebaid. iii. APUL. ubi ſup. Vide etiam SENEC. in Med. chor. & CÆL. RHODIGIN. l. xxix. c. 15. lect. ant. [s] STRAB. l. xiii. [t] Voss. theol. gent. l. i. c. 32. VALER. FLAC. & APOLLON. in Argonaut. [u] SIL. ITAL. l. i. Voss. ubi ſupra, c. 67. [w] Voss. ibid. p. 67—74. [x] JUL. CÆS. SCALIG. exercit. 258. [y] JOAN. LEO. AFRICAN. de priſc. Afr. fid. & relig. l. i. [z] JUL. FIRMIC. profan. relig. lib. [a] HENDR. ubi ſupra. [b] SANCHONIATH. apud Euſeb præp. evang. l. i.

to fire and wind; to which we may add, that the worſhip of the air and winds was not unknown to the *Greeks* and *Perſians* [c].

Anna Perenna *worſhipped at* Carthage.

THE *Carthaginians* ſometimes ſwore by the *Manes* of *Dido*, as *Silius* relates [d]. *Anna* her ſiſter paſſed for a goddeſs, under the name of *Anna Perenna* [e], according to ſome. It is imagined, tho' with no great appearance of truth, that ſhe fled with *Æneas*, and was drowned by *Lavinia* in the river *Numicus* [f]; from whence ſhe was called *Nympha Numicia*. It is certain the *Romans*, as well as the *Carthaginians* [g], paid her divine honours. *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* were ranked with *Dido* [h], as being all in the ſame temple. *Ceres* was either *cæleſtis*, i. e. the *moon* [i], or *ſubcæleſtis*, i. e. the *fruitful earth*. She anſwered to the *Egyptian Iſis*. Theſe two laſt are amply treated of by various authors [k].

And Sichæus *during* Dido's *life-time.*

THE honour that *Dido* herſelf received from the people of *Carthage* after her death, ſhe, according to *Ovid* [l], had in her life-time conferred upon her huſband *Sichæus* [m].

And Tellus.

Tellus, or the *Earth*, was worſhipped by the *Carthaginians*, as appears from the treaty of peace with *Philip*, mentioned by *Polybius*. For a further account of this deity, our readers may have recourſe to *Voſſius* [n].

As likewiſe Hamilcar.

" *Hamilcar* [o], ſays *Herodotus*, by his father's ſide a *Carthaginian*, but by his mother's a *Syracuſian*, was, by reaſon of " his virtue and ſuperior abilities, elected king of the *Carthaginians*. The ſame day that the battle of *Salamis* was fought, " being defeated by *Gelon* and (his father-in-law) *Theron* near " *Himera*, he vaniſhed, and could never after be found, tho' " *Gelon* cauſed the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for him. The " *Carthaginians*, who have his image in high veneration, ſay, " that during the engagement between the barbarians and the " *Greeks*, which continued from morning till evening without " intermiſſion, *Hamilcar* ſtaid in the camp ſacrificing, and " throwing intire victims upon a flaming pile; but that ſeeing his troops put to the rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, " and, being conſumed, was never more ſeen. Whether he " diſappeared in the manner as related by the *Phænicians*, or

[c] Hendr. ubi ſupra. [d] Sil. Ital. l. i. [e] Hend. ubi ſupra. [f] Ovid. faſt. l. iii. Sil. Ital. l. viii. Voss. theol. gent. l. i. c. 12. & inſtit. orat. l. i c. 6. ſect. 8. Vide etiam Volater. l. xxxiii. [g] Ovid. ubi ſupra. [h] Sil. Ital. l. i. [i] Voss. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 59. [k] Lipsius de cruc. l. i. c. 5. Pompon. Sabin. in Æn. 4 Varro apud Voſſ. ubi ſup. P. Nannius. in miſc. l. vii. c 10. aliique multi. [l] Ovid. heroid. 7. [m] Polyb. l. vii. [n] Voss. ubi ſup c. 9, 51, &c. [o] Herodot. l. vii.

" as the *Carthaginians* aſſert, it is certain, that they offer ſacri-
" fices to him, and have erected monuments to his memory in
" all the cities they have founded, tho' the moſt memorable
" are in *Carthage.*" So far *Herodotus.* It is not unlikely that the *Carthaginians* adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods; nay, we are aſſured by *Silius*, that, notwithſtanding the infamous treatment he met with from his countrymen at laſt, *Hannibal* was adored in his life-time [p]. Theſe deities ſeem to have been of the ſame kind with the *dii indigetes* of the *Latins.*

And the Philæni.

THE *Carthaginians* alſo ranked among their gods the two *Philæni.* Theſe brothers, having been ſent by their countrymen to accommodate ſome differences with the *Cyreneans*, and, in conjunction with the commiſſaries, appointed by that people to ſettle the limits of their reſpective dominions, by fraud extended their own frontiers, to the prejudice of the others. The *Cyreneans*, incenſed at this, would not cede the tract demanded, unleſs the *Philæni* would ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive in the place which they had pitched upon for their boundary. To this they inſtantly agreed, and had afterwards two altars erected there to their memory; which ſerved as a land-mark or limit to the *Carthaginian* territories on the ſide of *Cyrenaica* for many ſucceeding ages. *Salluſt*, *Mela*, and *Valerius Maximus*, give all the particulars of this ſtory [q].

Abaddires *and* Eucaddires Carthaginian *divinities.*

ST. *Auſtin* tells us, that ſome of the *Carthaginian* divinities had the name of *Abaddires* [r], and their prieſts that of *Eucaddires.* This claſs in all probability, was derived from the ſtone which *Jacob* anointed with oil, after it had ſerved him for a pillow the night he had his viſion; for in the morning he called the name of the place where he lay *Bethel.* Now, it is no wonder this ſhould have been eſteemed as ſacred, ſince God himſelf ſays he was *the God of* Bethel, *the place where* Jacob *anointed the pillar* [s]. From *Bethel* came the *Bætylus* of *Damaſcius*, which we find called *Abaddir* by *Priſcian* [t]. This *Abaddir* is the *Phœnician Aban-Dir*, i. e. the *ſpherical ſtone*, exactly anſwering to the deſcription of the *Bætylus* [u] given us by *Damaſcius*, and others. The caſe ſeems to have been this: The *Canaan-*

[p] SIL. ITAL. l. xvii. & BARTHIUS in adverſ. p. 801. [q] SALLUST. Jugurth. c. 79. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 7. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 6. Vide POLYB. l. iii. STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 30. & CELLAR: geog. ant. l. iv. c. 3. [r] AUGUST epiſt. Max. Madaur. 44. [s] Gen. xxxi. 13. [t] PRISCIAN. grammat. HESYCH. in voc. Βαίτυλος. DAMASC. apud Phot. p. 1047, 1062, 1063, &c. [u] DAMASC. ubi ſup. & BOCHART Chan. l. ii. c. 2.

ites of the neighbourhood firſt worſhipped the individual ſtone itſelf, upon which *Jacob* had poured oil; afterwards they conſecrated others of that form, and worſhipped them; which falſe worſhip was perpetuated even to the time of St. *Auſtin* [w]. *Abaddir* may likewiſe be underſtood to mean *Ab-Addir*, i. e. the *magnificent father*, a title given to the true God himſelf; but afterwards applied to thoſe, who by nature were no gods [x]. That *Addir* was an epithet joined to the names of falſe gods in the eaſt, may, in ſome meaſure, appear from *Addir-Dag*, the *magnificent fiſh*, i. e. *Adergatis*, *Atergatis*, &c [y]. *Abaddires* therefore was an appellation belonging to ſome *Punic* deities, as *Eucaddires*, i. e. *Enucaddires*, *perſons initiated in the ſacred myſteries of the* Addires or Abaddires [z], was a term appropriated to their prieſts (X).

Portable temples in uſe amongſt the Carthaginians.

WE muſt not omit, that the *Carthaginians* carried about with them ſome ſmall images, repreſenting certain gods, in co-

[w] AUGUST. ubi ſup. [x] Pſal. viii. 1, 9. & lxxvi. 5. & xciii. 4. Iſai. xxxiii. 21. 1. Sam. iv. 8. DRUS. in loc. Vide BOCHART. ubi ſupra. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid.

(X) The *Bætyli* were ſtones that were believed to be animated, and were conſulted by ſome fanatics as oracles. Theſe ſtones were round, and of ſuch a ſize, that ſome of them might be carried about by their votaries, either by hanging at the neck, or in ſome other way (52).

Iſidorus tells us, they were of different ſorts; and that ſome of them were conſecrated to *Saturn*, others to *Jupiter*, others to the *Sun*, &c. (53).

Their origin was very antient, if any credit may be given to *Sanchoniatho*, who makes *Ouranus* the inventor of them. *Bochart* proves, that *Philo Byblius* has wrongly tranſlated *Sanchoniatho*'s words *animated ſtones*; and that it ought to have been *anointed ſtones* (54).

The antient *Greeks* and *Latins*, who have taken any notice of the *Bætyli*, hardly afford any other notion of them, but as the ſtone which *Saturn* ſwallowed in the place of *Jupiter* (55). The ſcholiaſt upon *Heſiod* relates, upon the authority of *Agathocles*, a *Babyloniſh* author, that *Rhea* had taken that ſtone from the iſland of *Proconneſa*; and *Stephanus* adds, that *Saturn* ſwallowed it upon mount *Thaumaſius*. M. *Falconet* has publiſhed a diſſertation upon this ſubject, which, together with what M. *Fourmont* has offered, will, according to the abbe *Banier*, abundantly ſatisfy the curious (56).

(52) *Banier in mythol. l* i. *c.* 1. (53) *Damaſc. in vit. Iſidor. apud. Photium.* (54) *Sanchoniath. apud. Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* i. *Bochart. Chan. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Banier ubi ſup.* (55) *Idem ibid.* (56) *Idem ibid.*

vered

vered chariots. *Eustathius* [a] calls these ναὸς ζευγηλατουμένους, portable temples, or temples carried by oxen. They were a sort of oracle, and their responses were understood by the motions impressed upon the vehicle. This was likewise an *Egyptian* and *Libyan* custom. The antient *Germans* also had something like it, as we learn from *Tacitus* [b]. *Philo Byblius* relates, that *Agrotes* [c], or at least his image, was carried about in procession in this manner. The tabernacle of *Moloch* above-mentioned, we take to have been a machine of this kind.

The Genius of Carthage.

IT is remarkable, that, in the treaty of *Philip*, so often cited, mention is made of the *Dæmon* or *Genius* of *Carthage* [d]. Who this might be, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only in general observe, that the pagan world looked upon these *Dæmons* as intelligences of a middle nature betwixt the gods and men, as beings who had, in a great measure, the administration of the world committed to them. Hence it is no wonder, they should have received religious honours; for when once mankind were possessed with the opinion, that they were the ministers of the gods, and trusted with the dispensation of their favours, as well as the infliction of their punishments, it is natural to suppose, that they would be desirous of making their addresses to them. We hope to give our readers a full and particular account of these inferior deities, when we come to the *Arabic* history.

The Cabiri adored there.

So full an account has already been given of the *Cabiri*, that there is neither room nor occasion to be prolix here. To what has been already said we shall, however, add, that the *Pelasgi* introduced the worship of these gods into *Samothrace*, *Greece*, and all other countries where they seated themselves; that men and all animals; without distinction, nay, even all kinds of inanimate sacrifices, were offered up to them; that they had at first no proper names, but were worshipped under the general denomination of gods; that the word *Cabiri* either signified certain anonymous divinities, or their priests, known by the name *Corybantes*, that, from an antient inscription mentioned by *Asterius*, it is manifest the *Cabiri* were likewise called *Dioscuri*; that the *Phœnicians* first paid them divine honours, afterwards the *Egyptians*, who built them a magnificent temple at *Memphis* in the earliest ages, which continued to the time of *Achilles Tatius*; that the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Cypriots*, *Phrygians*, *Etruscans*, *Latins*, *Carthaginians*, and almost all the antient pagans, had the most profound reverence for

[a] EUSTATH. in Iliad. A. SERV. ad Æn. vi. [b] TACIT. de sit. mor. & pop. Germ. [c] PHIL. BYBL. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. i. [d] POLYB. l. vii.

the

the *Cabiric* or *Samothracian* myſteries; that the vulgar believed all initiated into theſe myſteries could not fail of being happy, both here and hereafter; that, according to *Sanchoniatho*, the *Dii Cabiri* were eight in number, being the ſons of *Sydik*; that the inhabitants of *Samothrace*, ſacrificed dogs to *Hecate* in the cave *Zerinthus*, ſacred to the *Cabiri*; that the *Pelaſgi*, *Samothracians*, &c. celebrated the *Cabiric* myſteries in the night-time, with great indecency; and that this was the principal motive with the antients not to tranſmit them down in writing to poſterity. Biſhop *Cumberland*, the abbé *Banier*, and *Aſtorius*, have, in a manner, exhauſted this ſubject. A catalogue of the authors who have ſupplied them with materials, our readers [c] will find here inſerted, to whom they may have recourſe at their leiſure (Y).

The

[c] Cumberland. in apend. de Cabir. Herodot. in Euterp. Dionys. Halicar. l. i. Lucian. de dea Syr. Pausan. in Bœotic. Heliac. & alib. Achilles Tatius apud Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. Sanchoniath. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupra, Damasc. apud Phot. Pherecyd. Syr. Nonnus. & Herodot. paſſ. Acesilaus Arg. apud Strabon. l. x. Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & alib. paſſ. Tertul. de ſpect. Orpheus. in Hym. Curet. Seld. de diis Syr. ſynt. ii. c. 4. Horn. hiſt. Phil. l. ii. c. 4. Schol. vet. in Apollon. Arg. l. i. Dionysiod. apud eund. Strab. l. x. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. v. & alib. Plut. in Alexandr. & alib. Suid. &c. Macrob. Plat. Dion. Chrysost. Procl. Clem. Alexand. Lycophr. Stephan. Hesych. Cic. Lactant. Arnob. Firmic. Meurs. aliiq; paſſ. Vide Joan. Astor. diſſert. de Cabir. Banier. in mythol. l. vii. c. 8, &c.

(Y) *Reland*, who has favoured the learned world with a diſſertation upon the *Cabiri*, concludes, that they were the gods of the dead; that *Ceres* was the earth which received them; *Pluto* and *Proſerpina* the infernal regions where they came to dwell, and *Camilus* or *Mercury* the god who conducted them thither (57).

The myſterious names *Axieros*, *Axiokerſa*, *Axiokerſos*, and *Caſmilos*, *Bochart* has happily interpreted; and proved, that, in the *Phœnician* language, they denote *Ceres*, *Proſerpina*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*. Princes, and perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were ambitious of being initiated into the awful myſteries of theſe great gods, upon account of the high reputation they were in. *Voſſius* thinks, that we are to underſtand by the name *Cabiri* only the miniſters of the gods, as the *Curetes* and *Dactyli* of *Crete*, and the *Corybantes* of *Phrygia*; but this, as running counter to all antiquity, can by no means be admitted (58).

Arnobius aſſerts, that, in the celebration of thoſe myſteries, they ſlew one of the initiated, and is followed therein by *Firmicus*; but

(57) *Reland. in diſſer. miſcel.* (58) *Boch. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 12. *Diodor. Sicul. l.* v *Apollon. Arg. Plut. in Alexand. Suid. &c.*

this

THE *Anaces*, *Anactes*, or *Dioscuri*, are by some thought to have been the same with the *Cabiri*, by others different from them. However this may be, they were undoubtedly descended from the *Anakims* of *Moses*. It can scarce be questioned but *Inachus* himself was of this race, as his name plainly imports [f]. Some believe, that the word *Anactes* was a title given to those princes of *Inachus*'s line, who had distinguished themselves by their heroic actions; which evidently alludes to the name of that family, so eminent in scripture for its gigantic stature [g]; and we own ourselves inclinable to fall in with this sentiment. *Pausanias*, *Pliny*, *Philostratus*, and *Julius Pollux*, not to mention many other authors that occur, render it probable, that [h] in antient times there were not wanting instances of persons of a monstrous size of body. However, many of these relations, particularly those of *Phlegon*, *Abydenus*, *Solinus*, and others [i] must be allowed to be fabulous (Z). To

And the Anaces *or* Anactes.

[f] CUMBERLAND. in append. de Cabir. & BANIER. ubi supra. [g] VOSS. BOCHART. & Banier. ubi sup. [h] PAUSAN. in At. PLIN. l. vii. c. 16. PHILOST. Heroic. JUL. POL. in Onomast. [i] PHLEG. TRAL. de mir. c. 14. ABYDEN. & EUPOLEM. apud. Euseb. SOLIN. BEROS. PLUT. &c.

this seems rather to refer to an accident that once happened, than to prove, that such a practice was authorized by custom (59).

The priests of the *Cabiri* according to *Hesychius* were called *Coes*, a word manifestly derived from the *Hebrew cohen*, i. e. *a priest*; a further proof this, that the old obsolete language used by the priests in their ceremonies, was the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* (60).

(Z) *Vossius* is of opinion, that the name of the gods *Anactes* was originally from *Phœnice*; but he thinks it had been brought into the west by *Cadmus*, or by the *Canaanites*, whom *Joshua*, by his conquests, had obliged to quit *Phœnice*, and who had retired into *Greece*. He farther thinks, that the *Spartans*, who called themselves allies of *Israel*, as we learn from *Josephus*, were a colony of the *Canaanites*, who were mostly descended from *Abraham* by *Hagar* and *Keturah*; and this is the reason why the most famous of the *Greek Anactes* were *Castor* and *Pollux*, natives of *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians* having given them that name to honour the memory of *Anak*'s descendants, of whom they had heard so many wonderful stories. We shall only add, that it was a common thing with the *Greeks* to call those persons the sons of the *Earth*, who were so antient, that they had but a very imperfect account of their original; for this reason they called *Anax* or *Anak* the son of the *Earth*, as we have observed above from *Pausanias*.

Pausanias insinuates, that the *Dioscuri* were to be distinguished from the *Cabiri*; but that the *Anactes* were the same with them (61).

(59) *Arnob. l. v. Jul. Firmic. de cor. prof. rel.* (60) *Hesych. in voc.* Κόες. (61) *Paus. in Phocic.*

His

And Pataici *or* Patæci.

To what has been obſerved of the *Pataici* or *Patæci*, in the firſt volume of this hiſtory, we ſhall only ſubjoin, that the ſtatues of theſe gods, of the *Cabiri*, and of the *Egyptian Vulcan*, had a great reſemblance to one another; that therefore, ſince *Vulcan* was eſteemed the moſt antient of the gods, the *Patæci* muſt have been of great antiquity; that, in after-ages, the *Penates* had the ſame reſpect paid them by the *Romans*, as theſe received from their votaries the *Phænicians* and *Carthaginians*; and laſtly, that the word, according to *Scaliger*, is to be deduced from the *Hebrew patach*, *he engraved*, or, as *Bochart* will have it, from *batach*, *he confided in*; either of which etymologies very well quadrates with the uſe the *Phœnicians*, and after them the *Greeks*, made of the gods *Patæci* [k].

The Palici.

As the *Palici* were *Sicilian* deities [l], of eaſtern extraction, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they owed their origin in *Sicily* to the *Carthaginians*, who got a footing in that iſland in very antient times, and therefore may juſtly be looked upon as ſome of its moſt antient inhabitants. This, we ſay, is probable; but as there is not the expreſs teſtimony of any good author to ſupport it, we ſhall drop all further particulars concerning them; and conclude here what we have to ſay of the gods of the *Carthaginians*.

The cuſtom of ſacrificing men remained in Africa *till the time of* Tiberius.

The barbarous cuſtom of offering up human ſacrifices did not expire with the city of *Carthage*, but continued amongſt the *Africans*, even till the time of *Tiberius*. That prince, tho' none of the moſt humane and compaſſionate, was ſo ſhocked at the unnatural practice of offering up children to *Saturn*, that in his proconſulſhip, according to *Tertullian* [m], he

[k] Æschylus, Callias, Polemon, & Xenagoras apud Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c. 19. Sil. Italic. Diodor. Sic. l. ii. Ovid. metam. l. v. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c 28. [l] Bochart. ubi ſupra. [m] Tertul. apolog. c. 9.

His words are to this effect: "With regard to the *Anakes*, men are "divided in their ſentiments about them; ſome will have them to "be the ſame with the *Dioſcuri*; others with the *Curetes*; but the "moſt intelligent perſons take them to be the *Cabiri*." *Suidas* intimates, that the word was applied both to kings and gods (62). *Pindar*, *Cicero*, and *Tzetzes*, all take particular notice of them (63).

The account publiſhed by Sir *Hans Sloane*, in the *philoſophical tranſactions*, of the foſſil teeth and the bones of elephants, which falls in with this ſubject, is very well worth the peruſal of our curious readers (64).

(62) *Suid in voc.* Ἀνακοὶ. (63) *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* iii. *Pind. Pyth.* ii. *epod. ult. Tzetzes in Licophron.* (64) *Philoſophical tranſact. numb.* 403, 404.

ordered

ordered the priests concerned in that horrid impiety to be hanged, and committed the care of the execution to the *African* militia. This practice had been retained, with little or no intermission, from the foundation of the city; for notwithstanding the *Carthaginians*, to avoid drawing upon themselves the indignation of *Darius Hystaspis* [n], might, for a few years, suspend it, or at least pretend so to do, yet it is certain, that, in his successor *Xerxes*'s time, they had resumed it. This appears from history; for *Gelon*, after he had vanquished them in the reign of that prince, concluded a treaty of peace with them, of which this was one article, *that no more human sacrifices should be offered to* Saturn [o]; nay, to such a pitch of frenzy, or rather savage barbarity, were they come, that mothers, who are naturally the most susceptible of tender impressions, made it a merit to view their own offspring thrown into the devouring flames, without so much as a groan [p]. They even, by kisses and embraces, hushed the cries of their children, before they were cast into the flaming statue of *Saturn* above-mentioned, imagining the efficacy of the sacrifice would have been intirely lost, if any thing that might have been interpreted as a mark of the least reluctancy or regret had been shewn [q]. They used a drum or a tabret, among other instruments, to drown the shrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims [r]. Some authors believe, that the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* derived this detestable custom, contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, without burning them; but *Selden* and others evince this to be a mistake [s]. *Plutarch* tells us, that the mothers were, in some measure, obliged to stand by as unconcerned spectators; since a groan or tear falling from them would have been punished by a fine, and still the child must have been sacrificed [t]. In times of pestilence, or other public calamities, the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to appease their offended gods by vast numbers of such oblations; of which we have given an instance or two above [u] (A).

FROM

[n] JUST. l. xix. [o] DIODOR. SIC. l. xi. PLUT. de ser. vind. deor. [p] PLUT. de superst. [q] Idem ibid. & TERTUL. in apol. [r] PLUT. ubi sup. [s] SELD. de diis Syr. synt. i. Univ. hist. vol. ii. p. 101. [t] PLUT. ubi sup. [u] Vide etiam DIODOR. SIC. l. xx.

(A) Those persons, who are not disposed to give over-much credit to the fragments of *Sanchoniatho*'s history still extant, think human sacrifices can be traced up no higher than *Abraham*. The *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* (65), in whose country that patriarch attempted

(65) *Vide Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. H. de de relig. vet. Pers. aliosq; scriptor. quamplurim.*

The Carthaginians *extremely addicted to superstition.*

From many authors it appears, that the *Carthaginians* were extremely addicted to superstition. They had, however, in general, some good notions: they addressed themselves to the gods, before they attempted to put in execution any enterprise by them formed; and after any advantage gained, they were not slack in making proper returns [w] to the powers above for it. Temples very magnificent they abounded with at *Carthage*, and took care to have no deficiency of them in any part of the *Carthaginian* dominions. One famous temple, sacred to *Baal* or *Balis*, in a city of that name on the borders of *Cyrenaica*, we find taken notice of by *Stephanus* [x], who intimates, that the city received its appellation from that deity. There is great reason to believe, that *El*, *Il*, *Bel*, *Bal*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Balis*, *Helius*, &c. were different names of the same pagan divinity.

Carthaginian *women prostitute themselves for gain in the temple of* Astarte.

We have already described the manner in which the *Babylonian* women prostituted themselves [y] to strangers at the temple of *Mylitta*, as likewise the same custom prevailing amongst the *Phœnicians* [z], whose women, for this end, repaired to the great temple of *Astarte* at *Byblus*. We have now to add, that the same thing, in all respects, was practised at *Carthage*; excepting that the money got by this infamous commerce amongst the *Babylonians* and *Phœnicians* was presented to *Mylitta* or *Astarte*, i. e. *Venus*, whereas the *Carthaginian* women applied the wages of their prostitution to their own use [a]. This indeed savoured something more of the common harlot than the other; but all these nations were arrived at such a height of infatuation and impiety, on account of their gross idolatry, and variety of pol-

[w] Liv. l. xxi. xxiii. &c. [x] Stephan. περὶ ἐθνικῶν. [y] Univ. hist. Vol. iv. p. 248. [z] Idem ibid. p. 401, 402. [a] Vide Valer. Max. l. ii. & Hendr. ubi supra.

to offer up his son *Isaac*, in obedience to the divine command, imitated the *Jews* in many particulars, and derived many of their institutions from those of that nation, which were of divine origin, as has been before observed. It is probable therefore, that they might reason with themselves after this manner: "If God was so highly "pleased with *Abraham*'s bare intention of offering up his son *Isaac*, "that he showered down blessings upon his posterity in a most ex- "traordinary manner, what marks of the divine favour may not "those persons expect, who actually do sacrifice their children?" Thus the highest instance of obedience upon record might, through the depraved imaginations, and blinded understandings, of a great part of mankind, together with the suggestions of their grand enemy, become the accidental cause of one of the most enormous and unnatural kinds of wickedness that could be committed.

lutions

lutions attending it, that it is hard to say which of them was the worst (B).

Some traces of Succoth Benoth *to be found in* Sicca Venerea.

A very learned author of our own nation imagines, that some traces of the *Succoth Benoth* [b], mentioned in scripture, may be found in *Sicca Venerea*, the name of a city in *Numidia*, not far from the borders of *Africa Propria*. The name itself bears a near allusion to the obscene custom above taken notice of, and seems to have been transported from *Phœnice*. This cannot well be disputed, when we consider, that in this very city there was a temple, where [c] women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies. The author of the *itinerary* sometimes calls it simply *Sicca*, and *Solinus Venerea*. *Sicca* signifies a tabernacle, as well as *Succa*; and therefore probably this was what it imported in the *Punic* tongue. *Procopius*, *Victor Uticensis*, and others, in conjunction with our author, render this opinion almost incontestable [d].

IF any points of consequence relating to the worship of the people at present under consideration should have hitherto escaped us, they will be occasionally touched upon hereafter, as they offer themselves in the course of this history.

[b] SELDEN. de diis Syr syntag. ii. c 6. [c] VAL. MAX l. ii. Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 248. [d] PROCOP. VICT. UTICENS. ATHANAS. &c. apud SELD. ubi sup. Vid. & CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5.

(B) *Canaan*'s posterity were a most profligate and abandoned race of men, addicted to all, even the most unnatural, kinds of lust, as the scripture gives us good reason to apprehend, Now, it is worthy admiration, that *Noah* cursed *Canaan* only of *Ham*'s sons (66), on account of *Ham*'s breach of modesty in exposing his father's nakedness, which was both unchaste and unnatural. This is a strong intimation, that *Canaan* only was an accomplice of his father *Ham* in this wickedness, which was an evident token of a most dissolute and vicious turn of mind. This vile disposition exerted itself in his posterity, and vastly contributed towards drawing down those heavy divine judgments, which, in process of time, fell upon them. Hence it appears, that, in conformity to the patriarch's prediction, *Canaan*'s descendants were subject to the posterity of *Shem*, i. e. the *Jews*; and that this very judgment was, in a great measure, occasioned by the effects of that vile disposition inherent in them, which so eminently displayed itself in *Ham*, and, as is probable, in *Canaan* also, and which immediately drew upon them all the curse of their great ancestor *Noah*. So true is that observation of the psalmist, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments* (67).

(66) *Gen.* ix. 22, 25, 26, 27. (67) *Psal.* cxix. 137.

Punic tongue at first the same with the Phœnician.

The *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* languages were in a manner the same, as has been observed in several places of this history [a]; and is apparent, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the concurrent testimony of learned men, who, generally speaking, agree in this particular. The *Pæni* or *Carthaginians* therefore having been originally *Phœnicians*, 'tis undeniable, that their language must at first have been the *Phœnician*. However, *Scaliger* [f] believes, that the *Punic* (he must mean that of after-ages) in some respects, deviated from the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, which, considering how distant the *Carthaginians* were from their mother-country, *Phœnice*, and the people they were incorporated with, is not to be wondered at. 'Tis much more wonderful, that they should have retained so much, nay, in a manner, the whole, of their original tongue; for that they did so, after what has been advanced by *Scaliger*, *Petit*, *Bochart*, and others, will scarce admit of a dispute.

This fully proved by Scaliger, Selden, Petit, *and* Bochart.

Our great *Selden*, next to *Scaliger* [g], seems to have been the first who endeavoured in earnest to settle this point; which, from the authority of St. *Jerom*, St. *Austin*, and many other writers, he likewise seems to have done effectually. He has moreover given us a specimen of an interpretation of the remains of the *Punic* language to be found in *Plautus* [h]. *Petit* and *Bochart* have been much more copious on this head [i]; but what they have advanced has not met with universal applause, which the last of these seems to have been beforehand apprehensive of [k]; in short, there is room enough left for any learned man to exercise his wit and talents on this subject.

Agreed in substance with the Hebrew.

Bochart has produced a vast collection [l] of *Punic* words from different authors, and traced them all up to the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*: all which will serve as so many proofs, that the *Carthaginian* language agreed in the main with these; that, notwithstanding the small variations from them discernible in it, it ever continued to be the same in substance with them.

Hebrew, Phœnician, *and* Punic, *proper names nearly the same.*

From what has been offered in the first section of the history we are now upon, it appears [m], that the word *Carthago* or *Cartaco* itself was of *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* extraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the languages to which they belong, the following short catalogue of *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* and *Punic* proper names, by demonstrating the harmony betwixt these languages, will not a little contribute to confirm the sentiment which we, in common with so many others, have espoused.

[a] Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 268. & vol. iii. p. 406. Vid. & Seld. de diis Syr. prolegom c. 2. [f] Scalig. ad Ubert. p. 362. [g] Seld. ubi sup. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Sam. Petit. & Bochart. in Chan. l. ii c. 6. [k] Bochart. ubi sup. [l] Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. passim. [m] See before, sect. i.

Hebrew

HEBREW or PHOENICIAN.	PUNIC.
Zachæus.	*Sichæus.*
Michæus.	*Machæus.*
Amalec.	*Amilco*, or *Himilco.*
Melchior.	*Amilcar.*
Jeſche, or *Jeſſe.*	*Giſgo*, or *Geſco.*
Hinnon, or *Hanun*, or *Hanon.*	*Hanno.*
Hannabaal, or *Baal-Hanan.*	*Hannibal.*
Ezra, or *Exdras-Baal.*	*Aſdrubal.*
Barac.	*Barca.*
Elizabeth.	*Eliſa.*
Milca.	*Imilce.*
Magog.	*Mago.*
Meſſiah.	*Meſſe.*
Adoni.	*Doni.*

SOME of theſe names we have been ſupplied with by *Reinecius*[n]; but the following we remember not to have ſeen compared by any author whatſoever.

HEBREW or PHOENICIAN.	PUNIC.
Anna, or *Hannah.*	*Anna.*
Jachin, or *Jecon-Jah.*	*Jachon.*
Adar, or *Ader-Baal.*	*Adherbal.*
Baal.	*Bal.*
Mathan, or *Matham-Baal.*	*Muthumbal.*
Mehir, or *Mahir-Baal.*	*Maherbal.*
Saph, *Saphai*, *Sapham*, *Saphan*, or *Saphon.*	*Sapho.*

[n] REINECCI hiſt. Jul. in rep. Carth. vol. ii. p. 464. ed. Helm. 1595.

We

We have chosen to compare the *Punic* proper names in this place with the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*, to which they undoubtedly answer, rather than produce their etymons, as *Bochart* does; since in our opinion this more clearly exhibits the very great agreement betwixt them, and renders the near relation they bore to one another obvious to all capacities.

Punic tongue tinged with the Chaldee or Syriac.

THE *Punic* tongue had likewise a tincture of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, as we learn from *Priscian* and St. *Austin* [o]. But as this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded St. *Austin*, or even that in which he lived; and as the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* languages themselves were, in all probability, nearly allied to the *Hebrew*, nay, almost the same with it, in early times, we shall infer nothing from this observation, but leave it to our readers to make what use of it they please.

The same with the old Egyptian, according to Salmasius.

ACCORDING to *Salmasius* [p] there have been some persons who have believed, that the *Punic* language and the old *Egyptian* were the same; but as neither arguments nor sufficient authorities are produced to support this hypothesis, we shall make no scruple to reject it.

Some remains of it to be found in the present Maltese language.

M. *Maius*, professor of the *Greek* and *Oriental* languages in the *Ludovician* university of *Giessen* [q], published a small piece in the year 1718, wherein he proves, that the present language of the *Maltese* contains a great deal of the old *Punic* in it. The materials of which this tract consists, he was supplied with by one father *James Stanislaus John Baptist Ribier de Gattis*, a missionary *Jesuit*, and native of *Malta*, who very well understood the language (C) of the *Maltese*, having resided many years amongst them. The piece is very curious, containing proofs that this island was, for a considerable period of time,

[o] PRISCIAN. l. v. p. 123. AUGUST. super. JOAN. tract. 15. tom. ix. [p] SALMASIUS. in Tertul. de Pal. [q] JOANNES HENRICUS MAIUS in specim. ling. Punic. in hodiern. Melitens. superst. Marpurg. 1718.

(C) One of the authors of this history was very well acquainted with this father *Ribier*, or, as he called himself *Riviere*, at *Oxford*, where he died in the year 1736. He confirmed to this person by word of mouth every particular he had communicated to M *Maius*, and added some others; *viz.* that he had carefully examined most of the *Oriental* words in the *Maltese* tongue, and found they approached much nearer the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* than the *Arabic*; that the natives had a sort of tradition, that they were descended from the *Carthaginians*, &c. He was a very good *Orientalist*, and had his education, as he related, in the *Jesuits* college at *Ingolstat* in *Bavaria*. Some small MSS. pieces he left in the hands of the person above-mentioned.

subject

ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; and that the *Punic* tongue was planted and continued in it, as likewiſe a large collection of *Malteſe* words more remote from the *Arabic* than from the *Phœnician*, *Chaldee*, or *Syriac*. We cannot pretend to tranſcribe the whole treatiſe, though it is but a ſhort one; but as the *Malteſe* names of the cardinal numbers differ pretty much from thoſe of other living languages, except the *Arabic*; as they come nearer the terms expreſſing thoſe numbers in the *Phœnician* or *Chaldee*, than any other tongue; and conſequently furniſh us with a ſtrong argument, that the *Malteſe* tongue has much of the old *Punic* in it; and at the ſame time improve our idea of this laſt; we think we cannot do our curious readers a greater pleaſure than by inſerting them.

MALTESE.	CHALDEE.		ENGLISH.	
Huchet.	חד	Heb. אחת	*One.*	1.
Tnei.	תרין תרי	Heb. שני	*Two.*	2.
Tlieta.	תלתא		*Three.*	3.
Herbba.	ארבעא		*Four.*	4.
Chamſæ.	חמשא		*Five.*	5.
Sittu.	שתא		*Six.*	6.
Seba.	שבעא		*Seven.*	7.
Tmiena.	תמניא		*Eight.*	8.
Diſha.	תשעא		*Nine.*	9.
Haſhra.	עסרא		*Ten.*	10.
Chaddas.	חד עסר		*Eleven.*	11.
Tnàs.	תרי עסר		*Twelve.*	12.
Tlittàs.	תלתא עסר		*Thirteen.*	13.
Herbbatàs, or *Erbatàs.*	ארבעא עסר		*Fourteen.*	14.
Chmiſtàs.	חמשא עסר		*Fifteen.*	15.
Sittàs.	שתא עסר		*Sixteen.*	16.
Sebatàs.	שבעא עסר		*Seventeen.*	17.
Tmientàs.	תמני עסר		*Eighteen.*	18.
Dſchiatàs.	תשעא עסר		*Nineteen.*	19.
Haſhrin.	עסרין		*Twenty.*	20.
Tlietin.	תלתין		*Thirty.*	30.
Erbhin.	ארבעין		*Forty.*	40.
Chamſin.	חמשין		*Fifty.*	50.
Sittin.	שתין		*Sixty.*	60.
Sebihin.	שבעין		*Seventy.*	70.
Tmienin.	תמנין		*Eighty.*	80.
Diſchin.	תשעין		*Ninety.*	90.
Mia.	מאה		*An hundred.*	100.
Elf.	אלפא	Heb. אלף	*A thouſand.*	1000.
Elfein.	תרין אלפין		*Two thouſand.*	2000.
Tlieteleſ.	תלתא אלפין		*Three thouſand.*	3000.
Erbateleſ.	ארבעא אלפין		*Four thouſand.*	4000.

I. OUR

1. Our readers will at firſt ſight diſcover, that the *Malteſe* words in general here are almoſt the ſame with the *Chaldee*; which ſeems to be a confirmation of what *Priſcian* and St. *Auſtin* aſſert [r], *viz.* that about their time the *Punic* language, notwithſtanding it agreed in the main with the *Hebrew*, was tinged with the *Chaldee*.

2. It ought to be obſerved, that *tnei two* borrows ת *tau* from the *Chaldee*, and נ *nun* from the *Hebrew*; that *buehet*, *one*, and *elf*, *a thouſand*, are the *Hebrew* אחד and אלף; that the numerals from *ten* to *twenty* end in *as*, like the *Greek* δεκὰς, δυὰς, τριὰς, τετρὰς, &c. and that the reſt are *Punic* or *Phœnician* (D).

3. From the numerals ending in *in* from *twenty* to *an hundred*, and thoſe ending in *a* from *two* to *eleven*, 'tis evident, that the language of *Malta* even ſtill follows the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* form; and that the *Punic* did ſo in St. *Auſtin*'s time, and much higher, is plain from ſeveral *Punic* words that might be produced, though 'tis probable that, in very early times, it nearly reſembled the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*.

4. In ſupport of what has been advanced by *Maius*, it may be further conſidered, that *Joannes Quintinus Heduus*, an author who lived in *Malta* about the middle of the ſixteenth century, was of the ſame opinion, affirming, that the iſland of *Malta* was formerly ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; that the *African*, i. e. *Punic*, tongue was ſpoken there in his time; that there were then extant ſome pillars in the iſland, that had *Punic* inſcriptions upon them; and that the *Punic* words to be found in *Plautus*, *Avicenna*, &c. were perfectly underſtood by the *Malteſe* (which he urges as an argument, that the old *Punic* tongue was not even then much corrupted [s]). All which is confirmed by *Fazellus* [t] in his curious hiſtory of *Sicily*; and this gives a great ſanction to the other's authority.

5. According to father *Ribier de Gattis* [u], the *Malteſe* have the following proverb amongſt them at this day: *Il ſtus iffitiech peſt*; *tnei attieh*, *li iehdoc inkella*, i. e. *The plague*

[r] Priscian. & D. August. ubi ſup. [s] Joannes Quintinus Heduus in epiſt. ad Soph. [t] Tho. Fazel. de reb, Sic. pri. decad. ſub. init. in theſaur. ant. & hiſt. Sic. vol. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1723. [u] P. Stanisl. Jac Joan. Bapt. Ribier de Gattis apud Joan. Henr. Maium, ubi ſup.

(D) And ſo are thoſe that end in *as*, which is evidently the firſt ſyllable of עשר *aſar*, the *Hebrew* numeral; if ſo, the numbers from *ten* to *twenty* are nearer the *Hebrew* than the *Chaldee*. Perhaps the *Greek* words here mentioned ending in *as*, derive that termination from the ſame original.

wants

wants a piece of money; give it two, if it will withdraw itself from you. Now this very proverb was a *Punic* one in St. *Austin*'s days, as he himself assures us. This greatly contributes to evince what M. *Maius* had in view.

FROM the whole we may conclude, that *Postellus*, *Schindler*, and *Drusius*, have not that foundation for maintaining the *Arabic* and *Punic* tongues, to have been the same, as *Selden*, *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, *Reinesius*, and others, have for supposing, that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Phœnician*, and *Punic*, were always most nearly related, and even originally the same (E).

THE *Punic* letters, as well as language, at first must certainly have been the *Phœnician*, for the reason above assigned; and though they were considerably altered by length of time, yet 'tis certain they always retained a great similitude to their originals, as will appear from a nice inspection into the characters upon the most elegant *Phœnician* and *Punic* coins. The

Punic *letters originally the same with the* Phœnician.

(E) In *Arnobius*'s time the *Punic* language (4) was still spoken in that part of the country bordering upon the *Garamantes*; but more northerly the *Latin* tongue was used; besides these, in the *Mediterranean* parts, no less than twenty-two languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. *Bochart* thinks (5), that the six last verses of the unknown language in *Plautus* were *Libyan*, because they are intirely different from the other 'Tis certain the *Carthaginians* spoke both *Punic* and *Libyan*; for which reason they were called *Migdilybes*, *Bilingues*, and *Bisulcilingues* (6).

Lastanosa (7), a curious *Spanish* author, affirms many of those coins, that *Aldrete* and others took to be *Carthaginian*, to have been old *Spanish* medals. He asserts further, that the character on these coins is different from the *Carthaginian*. This he in some measure proves by observing, that the characters on the pieces dug up about *Cadiz* and in *Andalusia*, with which parts the *Carthaginians* had a more immediate communication, were very different from those found on others discovered in places not so well known to that people. 'Tis certain one of the *Spanish* medals given us by *Aldrete* (8), as well as the greatest part of those collected by this author, has characters upon it bearing little or no resemblance to the *Punic*. This author's work was printed at *Huesca* in 1645, and contains a handsome collection of *Spanish* medals, which we may possibly have occasion to consider more fully when we come to the history of *Spain* *Aldrete* and others believe many *Punic* pieces had *Libyan* letters upon them; which may possibly be true; but that it really is so, we must not presume to assert

(4) *Arnob. in Psal.* civ. (5) *Bochart. l.* ii. *c* 6. (6) *Plaut. in Pœn. Virg. Æn.* 1. *Sil Italic. l.* ii. 16 (7) *Don Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa en Museo de las Medallas desconocidas Espaũolas*, *p.* 15, 16. This piece was dedicated to Don *Bern. Fernandez de Velasco*, constable of *Castile*, and is now extremely scarce, tho' very curious. (8) *Bern. Aldret. varias antiguedades de Espana*, *l.* ii. *c.* 1. *en Ambr.* 1614.

character, however, upon the *Punic* coins is various, many of those found in *Spain*, as well as *Sicily*, having letters intirely rude and barbarous, whilst the better sort exhibit a character resembling the *Phœnician*, and even the *Assyrian* or *Hebrew*, letters. Two questions here arise, which we shall beg leave to consider.

First, whether the *Samaritan* character, which is by many persons believed, be the same with the antient *Phœnician*? And

Samaritan characters different from that on the Phœnician *coins.*

Secondly, whether the *Samaritan* or the *Assyrian*, commonly called the *square* letters, were the antient character of the *Hebrews*?

As to the first, in order to determine the point couched in in it, we must diligently compare the letters of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* with those of the legends found upon the *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* coins. This has been done with the utmost accuracy by *Reland* and *Loescher* [w]; from whom it appears, that there is a very considerable discrepancy betwixt them; almost, if not intirely, as considerable as that betwixt the old *Assyrian*, or *Hebrew*, alphabet, and the character found on these coins. This is rendered evident beyond dispute by the two learned men aforesaid, who have obliged the world with an exact and just delineation of all the principal *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* coins. From whence we cannot but infer, that the antient *Phœnician* character was different from the present *Samaritan*.

Most of the learned imagine the Samaritan *letters to have been prior to the* Assyrian.

With regard to the second question, it must be owned, that the greatest part of the learned world, for above a century, have held it in the affirmative. But it must likewise be owned, that no number of great names can give a sanction to error, and that this point has not been considered thoroughly till of late. The main argument all along insisted upon in defence of this opinion has been taken from the legends found upon some coins, said to have been dug up in *Judæa*; wherein are discovered these words, *Jerusalem the holy*, and *the shekel of Israel*. The letters of these legends are asserted to be the *Samaritan*; and since neither the *Samaritans*, by reason of their known aversion to the *Jews*, nor the ten tribes after their separation from the other two, because from that period they had nothing to do at *Jerusalem*, could possibly have struck these pieces, 'tis from hence inferred, that they must have belonged to the *Jews* before the captivity, or even to the *Israelites*, before the separation of the ten tribes [x]; and consequently, that the *Samaritan* letters, supposed to be the same with those on these coins, were the *Hebrew* character in the most early times, and that in which the sacred books of the old testament were originally written.

[w] Adrian. Reland. de vet. Hebræor. num. dissert. pass. & Val. Ern. Loescher. de causis. ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224. ed. Francof. & Lipsiæ, 1706. [x] Walton. in prolegom. 3. Prideaux in connect. l. v.

This

THIS is the argument which has all along been deemed sufficient to overthrow all the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other side of the question; and which the learned Dr. *Prideaux*[y] has not scrupled to pronounce unanswerable. But whether or no it really is so, we shall be the better able to judge, when we have maturely weighed the following considerations:

Chief argument in favour of this taken from some coins with Samaritan letters upon them.

1. M. *Ottius*, who applied himself closely to the study of these coins, intimates, that those which are genuine[z], if any such there be, bear a small proportion to the number of the counterfeits; and that he found it a difficult matter to meet with any of them. How then can we be assured, that those mentioned by bishop *Walton* and Dr. *Prideaux* are genuine? 'Tis not sufficient to say, there were some of them in *Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman*'s days, above five hundred years ago; for how can we be assured, that any of those now extant were then in being? or if we could, what is this to the purpose, since his age is modern, in comparison of the supposed antiquity of these coins? But, (F)

This examined.

2. ADMITTING them all to be genuine, yet the letters on them are most certainly not the same with those of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. This clearly appears from *Reland* and *Loescher*[a] abovementioned, who have given us an accurate plate of all these pieces, as well as a complete alphabet of the letters they exhibit. Nay, 'tis evident from them, that these letters resemble the old *Assyrian* or *Hebrew* almost as much as they do the *Samaritan*[b].

3. SUPPOSING the character on these shekels had been the *Samaritan*, yet nothing could have been from thence collected in favour of so remote an antiquity of this character as they are brought to prove. For 'tis now universally received amongst the learned, and the dates on the pieces themselves clearly evince it, that the oldest of these coins, with legends upon them, do not precede the settlement of the high-priesthood in the *Asmonean* family, which happened not much above an hundred and fifty years before the christian æra, and some of them are much later[c]. This single observation, which is supported by the

[y] PRIDEAUX ubi sup. [z] JO. BAPT. OTTII epist. apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert. 3. [a] ADR. RELAND. & VAL. ERN. LOESCHER, ubi sup. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. Ez. SPANHEM. de us & præst. num. ant. dissert. 2. & CONRINGIUS de num. Hebræor.

(F) There is great reason to believe, that not one of the *Samaritan* coins is genuine, at least not one of them is indisputably so. *Reland* and *Ottius* as good as confess it; and from what *Spanheim* has declared on this head, we may find, that he was in a very great doubt about it (9).

(9) *Jo. Bapt. Ottius apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert.* 3. *Adr. Reland. ubi sup. dissert.* 9. *Ez. Spanhem. ubi sup.*

ſtrongeſt proofs, ſeems to render all concluſions, drawn from the ſuppoſed high antiquity of theſe coins, perfectly chimerical.

THE main difficulty being thus removed, the arguments offered in favour of the contrary opinion cannot fail of having great weight with all perſons of penetration and impartiality. The principal of them are the following:

Arguments in favour of the contrary opinion.

1. THERE cannot be conceived a greater antipathy between any two nations, than that which ſubſiſted between the *Jews* and *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians*, eſpecially after the captivity. The former had the latter, and every thing belonging to them, in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. 'Tis morally impoſſible therefore, that they ſhould have forſaken their own character, after their return from *Babylon*, to adopt that of the others.

2. THE *Phœnicians* received their alphabet from the [d] *Aſſyrians*; of courſe, therefore, the *Aſſyrian* letters muſt have been prior to the *Phœnician*. If, therefore, the *Aſſyrian* and *Phœnician* alphabets were different, the *ſquare* or *Chaldee* letters are prior to the *Phœnician*; if the ſame, as we are inclined to believe, the *ſquare* or *Chaldee* letters are the true old *Hebrew* character, and the original letters of the eaſt.

3. FROM a diligent compariſon of the *Phœnician*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, old *Arabic* or *Cuphic*, &c. with the antient *Aſſyrian* or *Hebrew* letters, it will appear, that all the others were derived from the *Aſſyrian*. The ducts of theſe letters are plain, eaſy, and ſimple, ſuch as 'tis natural to ſuppoſe the firſt letters were; the letters on the *Phœnician* coins are the next to theſe in plainneſs, eaſe, and ſimplicity, and bear a great analogy to them; and laſtly, the *Samaritan* letters are the others, with ſome additional ſtrokes and lines intermixed, which, at firſt ſight, carry with them the air of novelty in reſpect of the *Aſſyrian*. This has been ſet in ſo ſtrong a light by two or three eminent hands, that it will be a great pleaſure to our learned readers to conſult them [e].

4. THE *Septuagint* verſion is of higher antiquity than any of thoſe coins, which are ſuppoſed to have the *Samaritan* character upon them. Now 'tis certain the authors of this verſion have frequently differed from the *Hebrew*, by their miſtaking one ſimilar *Aſſyrian* letter for another [f]. This is an undeniable argument, that the individual *Hebrew* copy they tranſlated was written, not in the *Samaritan*, but the *Aſſyrian*, character; and conſequently, that the *Hebrew* text of the old teſtament

[d] PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. [e] SPANHEM. & LOESCH. ubi ſup. SCHULTENS. in inſtitüt. ad fund. ling. Hebr. p. 20 & alib [f] ENGELBERT. ENGELS MARCOD. JULIACENS. in præfat. ad Val. Schind. pentaglot. Hanov. 1612.

was



was written in that character, before any of thoſe ſhekels brought to prove the antiquity of the *Samaritan* letters were in being.

5. THE *Samaritan Pentateuch* itſelf differs in ſeveral places from the *Hebrew*. Many of theſe differences ariſe [g] from a confuſion of ſimilar letters, not *Samaritan*, but *Aſſyrian*; as namely, the ב with the כ, the ד with the ר, the ו with the י, the ח with the ה, the א with the ע, &c. This muſt be owned to be the ſtrongeſt proof imaginable, that the *Samaritan* was poſterior to, and even taken from, the *Pentateuch* written in the *Aſſyrian* character; and of courſe bids fair to put an end to this famous diſpute (G).

WE cannot recollect, that any perſon has hitherto tried to explain the legends on any of the *Punic* coins, notwithſtanding the letters on many of them ſeem to be nearly related, partly to the *Hebrew*, partly to the *Syriac*, and partly to the *Phœnician*.

An attempt to explain the legends on two Siculo-Punic coins.

HOWEVER, in order to excite others, who have more leiſure and greater abilities, to ſome attempts of this kind, we ſhall here endeavour at an explication of thoſe upon two *Siculo-Punic* medals; hoping that our readers will conſider the ſubject, as it really is, dark and intricate, and therefore make all

[g] VAL. ERN. LOESCHER, p. 217, 218. STEPH. MORIN. de ling prim. exercit. 2. c. 7 p. 199. Sq. Jo. GOT. CARPZOVIUS in crit. ſacr. vet. teſt. Lipſiæ, 1728. p. 229, 230, 231.

(G) The learned baron *Spanheim*, Dr. *Allix*, *Conringius*, and others, have intirely overthrown the common opinion of the antiquity of the *Samaritan* letters, from ſeveral topics not mentioned by us here. But this is the moſt effectually done by the famous Dr. *Carpzou* of *Leipſick*, in his defence of the *Hebrew* text of the old teſtament againſt Mr. *Whiſton*. In relation to the laſt argument here offered, no further ſatisfaction can be either given or required by the moſt curious reader, than what may be met with from him (10).

Father *Souciet* indeed intimates, that the *Samaritan* character was reſtored by *Simon*. But firſt, this is a direct begging of the queſtion; for it ought to be proved, that it was antiently in uſe as to ſacred matters amongſt the *Hebrews*, before it ſhould be aſſerted, that it was reſtored by *Simon*. And ſecondly ſuppoſing this fact, which there is great reaſon to preſume it is not, that the old teſtament was ordered to be written in the *Samaritan* character, either by *Simon*, or any other of the *Aſmonean* family, is an aſſertion utterly deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon or authority, either *Jewiſh* or chriſtian, to ſupport it (11).

(10) *Allixius apud Spanhem. ubi ſup. Conring. de num. Hebræor. paſſ. Jo. Got Carpzov. ubi ſup. Vid. etiam Hottinge. Villalpand. Cellar. hiſt. Samarit. alioſq. plurimos.* (11) *E. Souciet. recueil de diſſertat. critiq. ſur les endroit. & ſur de matier. qui ont rapporta l'ecriture.*

favourable

favourable allowances for whatever miſtakes may be diſcovered in our conjectures.

I. THE firſt which is here exhibited is taken from *Paruta*, who ranks it amongſt the coins belonging to the city of *Panormus*, now known by the name of *Palermo* [h]. Upon the reverſe is a horſe in full ſpeed, with theſe two *Punic* letters 𐤇𐤈, which we think ought to be read *hhet* or *hhit*, and in our opinion, ſtands for *hhittin* or *hhitte*, i. e. of the *Carthaginians*. That the two letters are *hheth* and *tau* [i], appears from *Spanheim*, *Reland*, *Loeſcher*, and others; and that the names of cities, or rather their inhabitants, eſpecially *Greek* cities, are frequently found upon the reverſes of coins belonging to them, is too obvious to need any proof. *Panormus* therefore being the metropolis of the *Carthaginian* part of *Sicily*, and in the neighbourhood of the *Greeks*, if not itſelf filled with them, 'tis no wonder the *Carthaginians* there ſhould in this reſpect imitate the people with whom they lived. What may ſerve to confirm this is, that we find ſeveral *Greek* coins of the *Panormitans* [k], done in the manner above-mentioned, of as high antiquity as theſe; and there are even inſtances of *Sicilian* coins [l] with both the *Greek* and *Punic* characters upon them. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be called *Hhittin* or *Hhitte*, i. e. *Hittites*, we are not to think ſtrange; ſince *Anak* [m] and his family, from whom *Carthage* was called *Chaedre-Anech* or *Chaedre-Anak*, were *Hittites*, and conſequently that people were the moſt eminent of the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* deduced their original. As for the name being abbreviated, this is no uncommon thing. The word ΣΥΡΑ for ΣΥΡΑΚΟΙΣΙΩΝ is frequently found on the medals of the *Syracuſans* [n], not to mention many other inſtances which might eaſily be produced. For a farther illuſtration of this point, ſee the following note (H).

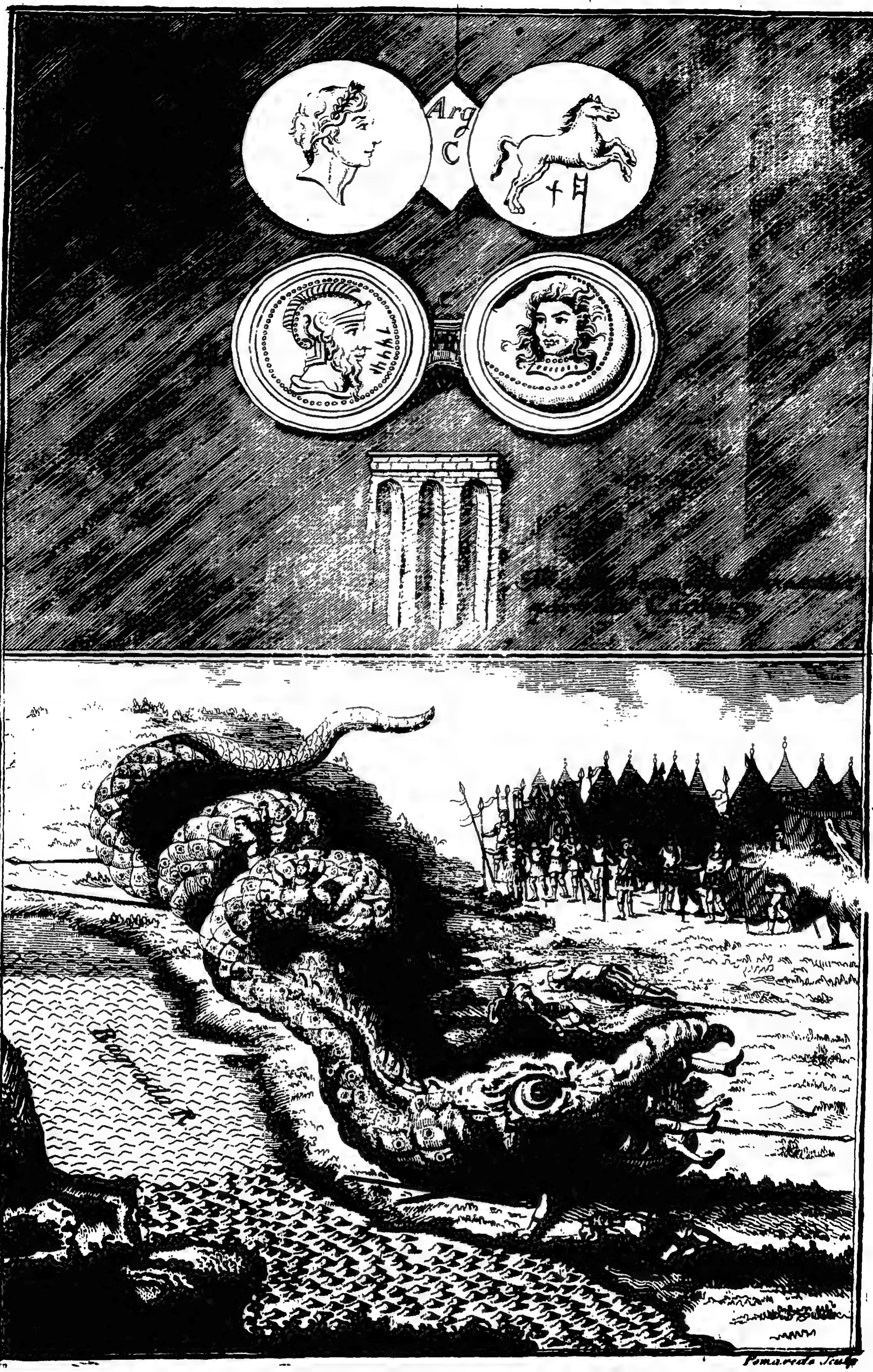
II. THE

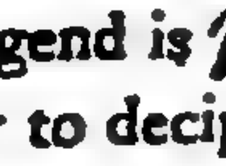
[h] PARUT. apud theſaur. ant. & hiſt. SIC. vol. viii. tab. 14. num. 140. [i] RELAND. & LOESH. ubi ſup. SPANHEM. de uſ. & præſt. num. diſſ. 2. [k] Vid. PARUT. ubi ſup. [l] PARUT. apud ſcript. SIC. vol. vii. tab. 13. num. 123, 124 tab. 14. num. 136, 137. [m] BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. [n] PARUT. ubi ſup. vol. viii. Lugd. Bat. 1723. tab. 33. num. 2. tab. 38. num. 12.

(H) The *Hittites* (12) were the primary nation of *Canaan*, and ſeem to have been more famous than any of the others. They were not entirely reduced till the time of *Solomon*, being intermixed with the *Iſraelites*, and living in the neighbourhood of the *Sidonians* and *Tyrians*. Hence we may conclude, that not only great numbers of them ſettled in *Africa* after their expulſion by *Joſhua*, but likewiſe, that even ſome of their deſcendants might attend *Dido* into the ſame

(12) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 157, *& ſeq.* 171, 183, 188.

country.


Arg
C
Pomarede Sculp

II. THE ſecond coin we are ſupplied with by *Haym*, who, following other antiquaries, ſuppoſes the hero there repreſented to be *Hannibal*. The *Punic* legend is  , every one of which letters we ſhall endeavour to decipher °.

THE firſt  is evidently the ſame with the old *Oriental aleph* given us by *Loeſcher*, as well as the *Syriac olaph*. It likewiſe

° HAYM. in teſor. Britan.

country, They were ſo formidable to their neighbours, that from them the word חתה *bittah* ſeems to have ſignified *fear*, and a ſudden conſternation (13). That this *Punic* word is to be read and interpreted in the manner we propoſe, will farther appear from hence, that the letter is found upon the reverſes of ſeveral other *Panormitan* (14) coins, which evidently allude to the ſtate of *Carthage*, and muſt have been ſtruck when the *Carthaginians* were maſters of that place (15). 'Tis alſo worthy obſervation, that the *Greek* mark or abbreviation on the reverſes of theſe medals, peculiar to the *Panormitans*, conſidered as *Greeks*, was  , or  , i. e. ΠANP for (16) ΠANOPMITAN. We may therefore reaſonably imagine, that the *Carthaginians* had likewiſe an abbreviation in their own language and character, *viz.*  or  , i. e. *bhit* for *bhittin*, or emphatically *bhitte*. That theſe letters were an abbreviation, is ſo apparent, that *Havercamp* (17) pronounces them the mark of *Panormus*; though he abſurdly confounds them with the *Greek*  , whereas they are entirely different from it, and indiſputably the *Phœnician bheth* and *tau*. It muſt be owned indeed *Havercamp* will not allow theſe coins to be *Punic* (18); but the *Carthaginian* horſe on ours, as well as the palm tree and horſe on the others, together with the authority of the learned *Invges* (19), and the *Punic* characters on them all, not only refute what he has ſaid, but obviate every thing elſe that can be offered to the contrary.

That this is a *Punic* abbreviation, in imitation of the *Greek* manner, is alſo probable, becauſe every thing on this medal is either *Greek* workmanſhip, or an imitation of it. Other *Panormitan* coins have on their reverſes ΠA (20), which greatly ſtrengthens what has been advanced. If we ſuppoſe *bheth* here to be of the ſame organ with *koph*, as it ſometimes is, being by ſome pronounced *cheth*, then this abbreviation may be *chat* or *chart*, i. e of the *Carthaginians*. Perhaps this conjecture will pleaſe ſome of our readers better than the other.

(13) *Bochart. Phal. l* iv. *c*. 36. *ſub init.* (14) *Parut. ubi ſup. tab.* 14. *num.* 134 *& tab.* 17. *num* 166 *&c.* (15) This appears from the ſymbols upon them, and from their being found near the metropolis of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. (16) *Vide num. panorm apud. Parut. ubi ſup. paſſ.* (17) *Sigebert. Havercamp. comment. in Parut. num. Panormitan. p.* 61, 62. (18) *Idem ibid.* (19) *Auguſt. Invg. Car h. Sic. p.* 323. *& alib.* (20) *Parut. ubi ſup tab.* 10. *num.* 99, 100, *&c.*

in

in figure approaches near the *Phœnician aleph* or *alpha*, (⅄) as found on coins, wanting only the transverse line at the top, which, by length of time, might easily have grown into disuse amongst the *Carthaginians*. We may therefore esteem it as equivalent to A [p].

The second 4 is apparently the *Phœnician* Y, which letter we see upon several *Phœnician* coins in *Spanheim*. The *Etruscan* ||\ likewise comes near it. We may therefore assert 44 to be NN [q].

The third letter is the *Phœnician jud* (⅄) inverted (⅄). The inversion of letters is a thing that frequently happens; but at present we shall content ourselves with naming one instance only. From the *Phœnician* W is formed the *Greek* ΣΣ or Σ The *Punic* Ψ is therefore of the same power with I.

The last letter 1 is a more rude and simple kind of *beth*; for it differs only from the *Phœnician* (9) and *Hebrew* (ב) *beth* in this [s], that it is destitute of the transverse line at the bottom, and has the vertical angle more acute than that of the *Hebrew*, and the line parallel to the transverse one at the bottom of the *Phœnician beth* defaced. In fine, as there is no other letter of the *Phœnician* alphabet, to which this approaches so near as it does to *beth*, we may conclude, that they were the same; and therefore we must look upon 1 as B.

Thus we find, that 14441 expressed in *Latin* letters is ANNIB, in conformity to the sentiments of *Haym* [t] and other antiquaries. And we can assure our readers, that the *Punic* characters here do not differ so much from the *Phœnician*, with which we have compared them, as the various forms of the same *Phœnician* letters found on different medals do from one another [u].

Hanibal's effigies on a Carthaginian coin.

It has been observed above, that the suffetes of *Carthage*, were called kings by the *Greeks*; that one of these, at least, was possessed of a vast degree of power; that *Hannibal* was, for some time, the supreme magistrate of *Carthage*; that he acted

[p] Loesch. p. 224 Et Ezech. Spanhem de us. & præst. numism dissert. 2. [q] Spanhem. ubi sup. & Phil. Bonarot. in addiament.. op. Dempst. Florent. 1726 [r] panhem. ubi sup. Montfauc. in dissert. de vet. Græc & Lat lit. ad fin Palæogr. Græc. Par. 1708. [s] Loesch Spanh & Montfauc. ubi sup [t] Haym. del tesor. Britan. p. 143. [u] Vid Adrian. Reland. Val. Loescher. ubi sup. aliosq; plurim.

In

in that city, in a manner without controul; and, in fine, that he was deified there in his life-time. After this, who can be ſurpriſed, that he ſhould have had his name and effigies upon coins? For our part, we think nothing more probable, and without the additional proof of this medal, ſhould not have ſcrupled to have affirmed it (I).

As to the progreſs of the liberal arts and ſciences amongſt the *Carthaginians*, and the degree of perfection they arrived at in them, we have not much to ſay. If *Carthage* could ever have boaſted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now loſt; though for our parts we are inclined to believe, that this people gave themſelves up ſo entirely to commerce, that they paid little or no regard to any branch of literature. Military ſkill ſome of their generals were moſt eminently famous for, though even in this they ſeem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*; but philoſophy, we have reaſon to apprehend, was always at a low ebb amongſt them. As they undoubtedly therefore applied themſelves chiefly to trade and navigation, as alſo to the military art, that they might be the better enabled thereby to enjoy in ſecurity their immenſe wealth and poſſeſſions, their arts and learning will not be a very copious topic; and even this we muſt for a moment ſuſpend, in order to give our readers a ſhort ſketch of ſome of their principal cuſtoms.

Liberal arts and ſciences at a low ebb in Carthage.

THEY ſuffered no private injury, offered by any perſon whatſoever to another, to go unpuniſhed. This maxim of equity they received from their firſt anceſtors, and were very ſtrict on all occaſions in the obſervance of it [w].

Cuſtoms of the Carthaginians.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another, but ſome perſon convicted of a capital crime, for which he was ſoon to ſuffer. They thought the meſſengers of ſuch tragical events ought ſoon to die, or at leaſt never more to appear before the perſons to whom they brought the melancholy advice [x].

IF any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black. This was done after the deſtruction of their fleet by *Agathocles*; after the loſs of their army under *Himilco*'s conduct in *Sicily* by the plague; and upon other ſuch diſmal occaſions, as we are informed by various authors [y].

[w] HUNDR. ubi ſupra, in cap. de leg. & conſuetud. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. Vide & DIODOR. SIC. LIV. OROS. l. iv. c. 6. &c.

(I) *Havercamp* aſſerts, that the *Carthaginians* ſtruck medals in honour of their generals, with their effigies upon them; this is likewiſe allowed by that learned *Sicilian* antiquary *Inveges* (21).

(21) *Inveg. & Havercamp ubi ſup.* p. 84.

THEY uſed dog's fleſh for food till the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; but upon that prince's conceiving ſome diſguſt at this practice, they left it off, at leaſt for a certain period of time [z].

THE ſoldiers were prohibited, under the ſevereſt puniſhment, whilſt in the field, to taſte wine; a laudable inſtance this of their temperance and ſobriety [a].

EVERY ſoldier, at leaſt every officer, wore a number of rings anſwering to the number of campaigns he had made. This doubtleſs was intended to excite a noble ſpirit of emulation amongſt them, inſpire them with a thirſt after military glory, and conſequently lead them on to the greateſt atchievements [b].

THEIR generals, though perfectly innocent, upon any diſaſter, were frequently put to death. This probably was deſigned to oblige them to make uſe of all their ſkill, addreſs, and vigilance; though, after all, it was a moſt barbarous and imprudent cuſtom. This wild maxim prevails amongſt the *Turks*, who are juſtly looked upon as barbarians for it, at this day [c].

THE populace and the ſenators had diſtinct baths appointed them. This in general we are told by *Valerius Maximus*; but what gave occaſion to this, he ſays not, nor gives us any further particulars concerning it [d].

IT was uſual with many of them to have ſtatues or buſts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bed-chambers, that they might, in ſome meaſure, ſee and converſe with them when abſent. This appears from *Silius*, in his account of *Dido* after *Æneas*'s departure from her [e].

DIGNITY and power in this ſtate could not ſcreen any great offender from condign puniſhment. Of which *Machæus*, *Hanno*, *Bomilcar*, and others, that we ſhall meet with in the courſe of this hiſtory, are pregnant inſtances [f].

THEIR anniverſary feſtivals were obſerved with great ſolemnity, particularly the day on which the *Tyrians*, under the conduct of *Dido*, began to lay the foundations of *Carthage*. This, according to *Silius*, ſeems to have been celebrated yearly, even till the deſtruction of the city, with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence [g].

THERE were no public inns amongſt them. They entertained ſtrangers as friends in their own private houſes. This was likewiſe a cuſtom amongſt other nations, particularly the

[z] JUST. hiſt. l. xix. [a] PLAT. de legib. & HENDR. ubi ſupra.
[b] LIV. HENDR. ubi ſupra. ARISTOT. BARTH. adverſ. l. iv. c. 22.
[c] Vide LIV. DIODOR. SIC. SIL. ITALIC. &c. [d] VALER. MAX. l. ix c. 5. [e] SIL. ITAL. [f] Vide LIV. DIODOR. SIC. JUST. OROS. &c. [g] SIL. ITAL. & HENDR. ubi ſup.

Greeks

Greeks and *Romans*. Hence it came to paſs, that the ſame word frequently ſignified friendſhip and hoſpitality. The manner of receiving gueſts or ſtrangers was thus: A dye or token was divided into two parts; one of theſe was given to the gueſt, and upon his producing it to the maſter of the houſe, he was received by him, and ever afterwards entertained as a friend. This token was tranſmitted down to poſterity, and kept in the family as a mark of friendſhip with the perſon or his family to whom it related [h]. Hence thoſe who violated the laws of hoſpitality were ſaid *teſſeram hoſpitalem frangere*. The deity preſiding over theſe laws was invoked by the name of *Jupiter Xenius*, as the god of friendſhip was called *Jupiter Philius*, and that of ſociety or good-fellowſhip *Jupiter Hetærius*.

IT was a cuſtom with the *Carthaginians* to conſult their augurs and vates upon all emergencies, and before any enterpriſe of importance was undertaken. Thus *Hamilcar*, at the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, conſulting one of his vates, was told by him, that the next night he ſhould ſup in that city; and, to wave all other inſtances, *Pygmalion*, upon his intention to purſue his ſiſter *Dido*, was aſſured by the inſpired college of vates, that he ſhould feel the reſentment of the gods, if he offered, in any manner, to obſtruct the great deſign ſhe was gone upon; nay, according to St. *Auſtin*, theſe vates were in great repute about thoſe parts long after the deſtruction of *Carthage*, ſince one of them, named *Albicerius*, was very famous there in his time for the reſponſes he gave *.

THE magiſtrates, during the exerciſe of their power, were [l] obliged to abſtain from wine; though that this inſtitution was obſerved always to the expiration of the commonwealth, we cannot poſitively affirm.

THE *Phœnicians* are ſaid to have repreſented their gods as carrying large bags or ſacks full of money; becauſe gold amongſt them was the emblem of power, and ſymbol of dominion. Perhaps the *Carthaginians* repreſented theirs in the ſame manner, which, together with the vaſt quantities of treaſure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the moſt precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ſhips, might occaſion that inſatiable avarice they were ſo famous for.

[h] PLAUT. Pœnul act. v. ſc. 1. BUDÆUS in Pandect. TAUBMAN. ad Plaut. loc. citat. Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Hippol. JOAN. HARTUNG. in decur. locor. memor. c. 8. l. 39. SIL. ITAL. l. xvii. * VIRG. Æn. 4. SIL. ITAL. de bell. Pun. l. i. DIODOR. SIC JUST. l. xviii. AUGUST. l. i. cont. academ. [l] ALEX. ab ALEX.

SEVERAL other customs might here be mentioned; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and disposition of the *Carthaginians* in general, we shall comprise them all in the following short character of that people.

Character of the Carthaginians.

THEIR minds were intirely set upon amassing of wealth, being mean-spirited, grovelling, and sordid, to an incredible degree [k]. In order to this, they stuck at no low, not to say infamous, arts. This must be understood of the *Carthaginians* in the later periods, and towards the decline of their state; for it is not to be questioned, but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earliest ages, and that, even to the last, they had many generous and heroic souls amongst them. The ardor and public spirit the women themselves shewed just before the last siege of *Carthage*, as well as during that siege [l], sufficiently prove this. In short, we find such a contrast of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almost impossible to determine which of them were predominant. It must only be observed, that the nearer we approach the destruction of their city, the worse we find them. However, as the characters we have of the *Carthaginians* come handed down to us chiefly from the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, we must not pay too great a regard to them. The *Romans* took care to destroy, not only their archives, which, by the way, shews, that that nation ought to be reckoned amongst those where barbarism prevailed, but almost every thing they wrote, that had any appearance of literature or true history.

Polybius [m] makes it his complaint, that both *Philinus* and *Fabius Pictor*, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* historians, were so partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them, when treating of the *Carthaginian* affairs. Of their perfidiousness and black ingratitude, history supplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to *Plutarch* [n], they were of a morose, saturnine, and savage, disposition (K), utterly averse to every thing that had but the least appearance

[k] POLYB. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. ii. APP. in Lybic. Vide etiam FRONTIN & VEGET. [l] APPIAN. ubi sup. [m] POLYB. l. i. [n] PLUT. in præc. de ger. rep. c. 5.

(K) The great *Hannibal* was an exception to this general character of the *Carthaginians* given by *Plutarch*. Though that renowned general was, for many years, so much employed in military labours, he yet found means to cultivate the muses. Some of his repartees, that have been transmitted down to us, plainly shew, that he had a great fund of natural wit. This he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, and in such a republic as *Carthage*. Tho' several smart turns, that have been

appearance of wit or raillery, not being able to bear a joke, in which they were diametrically oppoſite to the genius of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. Some of them were likewiſe acted by an intolerable ſpirit of arrogance, and moſt vicious ambition, by which they were prompted to deſire divine honours. Of this *Hanno* affords us a flagrant inſtance °, who, as we are told by *Ælian*, taught birds to ſay, Hanno *is a god*; though this did not anſwer his end, ſince, after their flight from him, they returned to their former notes again (L).

COMMERCE,

° ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. xiv. c. 30.

been attributed to him by the antients, might be produced, yet we ſhall content ourſelves here with one out of *Macrobius* (22): *Antiochus*, valuing himſelf upon the rich armour and ſplendid accoutrements of his troops, aſked *Hannibal* at a review, Whether he thought they were *ſufficient* for the *Romans*, meaning to cope with them? *Hannibal*, far from being dazzled with the pompous appearance they made, replied, that the *Romans* were indeed very avaricious; but that, however, he thought, theſe were abundantly *ſufficient* for them, *i. e.* that the plunder accruing to the *Romans* from them was enough to ſatisfy that rapacious people. This was a proper rebuke to *Antiochus* for his prepoſterous notion of military bravery, and at the ſame time a ſpecimen of brillant and flowing wit in *Hannibal*.

(L) The *Carthaginians* were extremely addicted to corruption, to which their conſtitution itſelf had a natural tendency, as *Ariſtotle* (23) has rightly obſerved. Their chiefs frequently made uſe of this with good ſucceſs, when all other expedients failed them. The *Barchine* faction ſupported themſelves a long time by the venality of their fellow citizens; and others after them purſued the ſame method of acting, which ended in the total ruin of the commonwealth. In conſequence of this mean diſpoſition, in proſperity they were elevated to a pitch inconſiſtent with the maxims of prudence and moderation, and in adverſity as much depreſſed. Of this we ſhall meet with various examples hereafter (24).

At their weddings they entertained their friends with the tunny fiſh; another remarkable cuſtom that deſerves mentioning.

The *Carthaginians* paid the greateſt deference to their nobility, who held a moſt diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt them. Some perſons were reputed nobles, or at leaſt upon a level with them, on account of their riches; for *Ariſtotle* intimates, that wealth had a vaſt influence at *Carthage*, as well as nobility of birth; and that great regard was had to both in filling the high poſts of the ſtate, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of diſtinction

(22) *Macrob. ſaturn. l.* ii. *c. p.* 225. *Vide etiam. Corn. Nep in vit Hanib. Liv. l.* xxxv. *Plut. in vit. Flamin. & in Pyrrho, p.* 687. (23) *Ariſtot. de repub. ubi ſupra.* (24) *Vide Liv. Polyb. Juſt. Corn. Nep. Plut. Oroſ plariuſque alios hiſtoric. paſſ.*

due

Commerce, the army, and the marine, chiefly regarded at Carthage.

COMMERCE, the army, and the marine, were the principal, if not ſole, objects of public attention at *Carthage*. Theſe ſo intirely due to them for their ſuperior virtue and merit. And laſtly, others derived their nobility from a long train of noble anceſtors. Theſe were the proper nobility; of whoſe families in order to render this hiſtory the more complete, we ſhall beg leave to preſent our readers with the following genealogical table, though it muſt be owned to be a very imperfect one:

1. The family of MACHÆUS.

Machæus.

Carthalo.

2. The family of MAGO I.

Mago.

Aſdrubal. — *Hannibal.* *Aſdrubal.* *Sappho.*

Hamilcar. — *Hamilco.* An anonymous ſon. — *Himilco.* — *Hannibal.*

Hanno. — *Giſco.* — *Hannibal, ſurnamed the Senior.* — *Hannibal.*

Giſco. — *Hamilcar.* *Giſco.* — *Hannibal, ſurnamed the Junior.*

Hanno. — *Hanno.* — *Hanno.*

3. The family of MAGO II.

Mago II.

Mago.

4. The

intirely engroſſed the minds of all people there; that they had no inclination to purſue, nor indeed any great taſte for, the liberal

4. The family of BOMILCAR the tyrant.

Brothers.

Hamilcar. An anonymous one.

Bomilcar.

5. The family of HANNO.

Hanno.

Aſdrubal.

6. The family of HAMILCAR.

Hamilcar.

Hannibal. *Hanno.*

7. The family of HIMILCO.

Himilco.

Maherbal.

8. The family of GISCO.

Giſco:

Hamilcar. *Aſdrubal.*

Hanno. *Sophoniſba*, the wife of king *Syphax.*

9. The family of BOMILCAR, the king or ſuffet.

Bomilcar.

Hanno.

Hanno the Great.

10. The

beral arts and ſciences. However they muſt have known ſomething at leaſt of the rudiments of aſtronomy, ſince, without this, they could not have been tolerably verſed in the art of navigation. Beſides, the *Edomites* and *Phœnicians* were famous for being the greateſt adepts, with the *Egyptians*, in the celeſtial ſciences, of all other nations. The *Carthaginians* therefore, their deſcendants, could not have been void of a competent knowledge herein. That they had ſome notion likewiſe of

10. The BARCHINE or BARCAN family.

Barca, the brother of *Dido* foundreſs of *Carthage*.

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Nineteen generations.

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Hannibal
|
Hamilcar, ſurnamed *Barcas*, or *Barca*.

Hannibal the Great.	*Imilce*.	*Aſdrubal*.	*Mago*.	*Hanno*.
		A daughter, the wife of *Naravaſus*.	A daughter the wife of *Aſdrubal*.	
	Hamilcar.			*Sichæus*.

11. The family of HAMILCAR II.

Hamilcar.
|
¶ *Himilco*, ſurnamed *Phamæas*.
¶ *Giſco*.
¶ *Aſdrubal*, the laſt king or ſufes of *Carthage*.

For

of ſculpture and painting, tho' the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to aſcertain, is plain from the *Dii Patæci* they carried along with them in their voyages, as likewiſe from the pictures with which their ſhips of war, and other veſſels, were adorned. As a ſea-faring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to ſupply the neceſſities or luxury of other nations with, it is alſo probable, that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts. The *Sidonians* and *Tyrians* were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical ſkill in very early ages, as we learn from ſcripture; conſequently the *Carthaginians*, one branch of their poſterity, muſt have been ſo likewiſe. But the ſuperb temples, magnificent palaces, rich furniture in their houſes, great variety of arms, *&c.* in *Carthage*, put this point beyond diſpute (M).

Few perſons of learning amongſt the Carthaginians.

AFTER what has been ſaid, our readers will not expect to meet with many perſons of erudition amongſt the *Carthaginians*, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies have informed us of. The *Romans*, as has been juſt obſerved, made great havock both amongſt their public and private writings, and this out of a principle of envy and malice prepenſe. However, the names of ſome of their writers have been tranſmitted down to poſterity, the principal of which are the following:

Carthaginian *writers*: Hannibal.

Hannibal, the moſt renowned general *Carthage* ever produced, was well verſed in the *Greek* language. According to *Cornelius Nepos* and *Plutarch*, he wrote ſeveral pieces in it, particularly the hiſtory of *Manlius Vulſo*'s proconſulſhip in *Aſia* [p].

[p] CORN. NEP. in Hannib. PLUT. in Scip.

For a more particular account of theſe families, our readers may conſult *Reineccius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, and *Chriſtopher Hendreich*, ſo often quoted, at their leiſure (25).

(M) So famous was *Carthage* for its artificers, that any ſingular invention or exquiſite piece of workmanſhip ſeems to have been called, even by the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, *Punic*. Thus the *Punic* beds or couches, the *Punic* windows, the *Punic* wine-preſſes, the *Punic* lanterns, *&c.* were of all others eſteemed the moſt neat and elegant for their workmanſhip by that people. This is an undeniable proof, that the *Carthaginians* had not only good mechanical heads and hands, but likewiſe excelled all other nations, their original anceſtors excepted, in every thing of that kind (26).

(25) *Ariſtot. de rep. ubi ſupra. Chriſt. Hendr. Ubb. Emm. Reinec. in hiſt. Jul. vol.* ii. *Lucius Ampelius lib. memor. p.* 191. *edit. Cantab.* 1680. *Juſtin. l.* xix *Liv. Diod Sic. Polyb. &c.* (25) *Valer. Max. Cato de re ruſt. Ovid. el* vi. *Plaut. Aulul.*

Mago. *Mago*, another celebrated general of the *Carthaginians*, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings, as his military atchievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the *Roman* senate had in such esteem, that, after the taking of *Carthage*, when they presented the *African* princes with the libraries founded there, they ordered these books to be translated into *Latin*, though *Cato* had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above-mentioned are a further proof, that learning was not intirely banished *Carthage*[q].

Philinus. *Philinus*, though a *Sicilian*, being born at *Agrigentum*, is esteemed by *Polybius* as a *Carthaginian* historian. He wrote a history of the wars betwixt the *Romans* and the state of *Carthage*; but disguised facts so palpably in favour of the latter, that, were his performance still extant, it would not be held in any great repute, especially after the stigma *Polybius* has fixed upon it. *Fabius Pictor*, though in the main a good historian, yet, in most points relating to the *Carthaginians*, was guilty of as great partiality on the *Roman* side. This we learn from *Polybius*, who, in order to arrive at truth, has steered the middle course betwixt them both [r].

Himilco. *Himilco*, a sea-officer, was sent by the senate of *Carthage* to discover the western shores and ports of *Europe*. This he did, and wrote a journal of his voyage, together with an account of his discoveries, which were inserted in the *Punic* annals. *Festus Avienus* [s] has intirely followed this author in his description of the western coasts of the world; and intimates, that he saw the original journal itself in the annals aforesaid. Nay, from *Festus* it appears, that the *Carthaginians* were acquainted with the *Britannic* islands, which he calls *Oestrymnides*.

Hanno. *Hanno*, another *Carthaginian* general, by order of the senate, sailed with a considerable fleet [t] round *Africa*. He entered the ocean by the straights of *Gibraltar*, made many important discoveries, and had continued his navigation, if provisions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his vogage, an extract from, or rather a fragment of, a *Greek* version of which, is still remaining. He is said to have hung up in *Juno*'s temple some skins of several savage women, whom he ordered to be flayed. *Isaac Vossius*, in opposition to his father, supposes him to have been older than either *Homer* or *Hesiod*; but the great Mr. *Dodwell* solidly and learnedly refutes this notion. If *Pliny*

[q] Cic. l. i. de orat. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3. [r] Polyb. l. i. [s] Festus Avienus in or. marit. p. 290. Vide & Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 35, 39, &c. [t] Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. v. c. 1. Athen. deipnosoph. l iii. p 83. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 9. p. 63. edit. Isaaci Vossii. Voss. de hist. Græc p 514.

is

is to be credited, *Hanno* and *Himilco* above-mentioned were contemporaries. It is certain there were two *Carthaginian* generals of these names in the time of *Agathocles*. Whilst *Himilco* steered towards the west, in order to discover new countries, *Hanno* took his course from *Gades* or *Cadiz* to the farthest parts of *Arabia*. Mr. *Dodwell* thinks, that the piece going now under the name of *Hanno*'s *periplus*, is not his, but was written by a *Sicilian Greek*. However, it cannot be denied, that he penned a relation of his voyage, since this is often quoted by the antients. This most learned gentleman has, with the greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time somewhere betwixt the ninety-second and the hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad [u].

Silenus was an historian, who wrote of the *Carthaginian* affairs in the *Greek* language; from whence it should appear, that he was a *Greek*. Some authors take him to have been the same with *Philinus* above-mentioned; but of this we have no sufficient proof, and therefore we must look upon them as two distinct writers [w]. Silenus.

Clitomachus, called in the *Punic* language *Asdrubal*, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous *Carneades*, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in *Athens* the honour of the academic sect. *Cicero* says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the *Carthaginians* generally were. He composed several books, in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of *Carthage*, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery. By this it is manifest, that he lived after the destruction of that city by *Scipio* [x]. Clitomachus.

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the *Carthaginians*, it will not be foreign to our subject to mention what *Pliny* tells us of *Hanno*, *viz.* that he was the first man who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The same author adds, that he was condemned, which must either imply in it death or banishment, upon account of this art; since his countrymen could not be persuaded, but that he who had the power of softening the fiercest of beasts, must likewise be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens, in such a manner as to become master of their freedom [y]. This is related to us by *Pliny*, and it is either an argument of their extreme weakness, or his ex- Hanno, *the first who tamed a lion.*

[u] DODWEL. dissert. de peripl. Hannon. ætat. in lim. geogr. vet. script. Græc. min. tom. i. edit. Oxon. 1698. ARISTOT. in lib. de admirand. audit. JUSTIN. l. xxii. &c. [w] CIC. de divinat. l. i. [x] PLUT. de fort. Alex p 328. DIOG. LAERT. in Clitom. CIC. in academ. quæst. l. iv. n. 98. Tusc. quæst. l. iii. n. 54. [y] PLIN. ubi sup. P. HARDOUIN. apud Bayl. voc. Hanno, vol. iii. p. 1579. not. (D). Lond. 1710.

treme credulity. Some believe this perſon to have been the writer *Hanno* above-mentioned (N).

AMONGST

(N) In one reſpect we may rank the celebrated *Terence* amongſt the writers of this country, ſince, according to *Donatus*, he was born at *Carthage* (26). Being taken captive when very young, either by *Scipio* at the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, as ſome will have it, or, as others ſay, by the *Numidians*, in one of their incurſions into the *Carthaginian* territories ſome time after that war, he became the property of *Terentius Lucanus*, a *Roman* ſenator. *Terentius*, being much taken with the fine diſpoſition of his ſlave, not only gave him an excellent education, but likewiſe enfranchiſed him, and called him after his own name, as was the prevailing cuſtom of thoſe times. In the conſulſhip of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn Octavius Nepos*, this famous dramatic poet was in his higheſt reputation (27). Tho' an *African* born, yet his diction is moſt pure, elegant, and polite; inſomuch, that ſome have not ſcrupled to affirm, that he received conſiderable aſſiſtance in the comedies aſcribed to him from *Scipio* and his friend *Lælius*. It is certain, that either to pleaſe theſe great men, who were not unwilling to be thought concerned with him in thoſe performances, or becauſe it was true, he himſelf countenanced this notion (28). Six of thoſe comedies only are now extant, all of which were highly eſteemed at *Rome*, and met with prodigious applauſe when acted there. *Feneſtella* makes him to have been older than (29) *Scipio* and *Lælius*; but *Cornelius Nepos* is more to be credited, who aſſerts them all to have been co-temporaries. *Suetonius* ſays (30), that, in his return from *Greece*, he loſt an hundred and eight comedies tranſlated from *Menander*, of whom he was a great admirer, and could not ſurvive an accident which afflicted him in a moſt ſenſible manner. However this be, he died in the conſulſhip of *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius*, aged thirty-five years. He is ſaid to have been of a middle ſtature, ſlender, and of a ſwarthy complexion. He had a daughter who ſurvived him, and was married to a *Roman* knight.

Under this note we ſhall likewiſe beg leave to obſerve, that it is intimated by *Plutarch* (31), that this *Hanno* made uſe of lions as beaſts of burden; which is confirmed by *Ovid* and *Silius* (32). If we will belive *Ælian* (33), there were lions in the temple of *Adonis* ſo tame, that they fawned upon perſons at their entering in, came to the table there when called, and, after taking what was given them, modeſtly retired. The ſame author tells us, that the *Indians* (34) had ſo tamed their lions, that with them they hunted bulls, wild aſſes, and other ſavage animals. *John* II. king of *Portugal* is reported to have

(26) *Æl. Donat. P. Terent. vit.* (27) *Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt.* vol. xii. *p.* 185, 218, 238. (28) *Æl. Donat. ubi ſup.* (29) *Feneſtella apud Æl. Donat. ubi ſup.* (30) *Sueton. in vit. Terent.* (31) *Plut. de præcep. ger. rep.* (32) *Ovid. triſt.* iv. *l.* 6. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. (33) *Ælian. de animal. l.* xii. (34) *Idem ibid. l.* xvii.

had

AMONGST other inventions this nation was famous for, we muſt not forget that of the *quadriremes*, or four-oared galleys, which the antients attributed to the *Carthaginians*. It is moreover probable, that they were the firſt who made cable-ropes for large veſſels of the ſhrub *ſpartum*, which was a ſort of broom; at leaſt, that they were the firſt who communicated this invention to the *Romans*. But this perhaps more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the *Carthaginians*, which we ſhall now endeavour to give our readers a ſuccinct idea of [z].

The Carthaginians *inventors of the quadriremes.*

WITH regard to trade and navigation (for we ſhall conſider them jointly), no nation was ever more famous for theſe, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they did. The *Mediterranean*, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eaſtern parts they puſhed their diſcoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatſoever, and to the weſtward, in all probability, farther. *Britain* and the *Canaries* were known to them; nay, according to ſome, *America* itſelf; but this ſeems to be a conjecture without ſufficient foundation. The formidable fleets they fitted out on many occaſions, the vaſt quantity of ſhipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had for a long period of time of being almoſt univerſally acknowledged as maſters of the ſea, to omit many others, are moſt glaring proofs of the flouriſhing condition of their trade and navigation. Neither is this without the beſt authority to ſupport it; for, to wave many other authors of unqueſtionable reputation that occur, it appears from *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, that ſcarce any people made ſo great a figure by ſea as the *Carthaginians*, which was the natural effect not only of their genius for naval affairs, b. t alſo of the flouriſhing and extenſive commerce they were in poſſeſſion of. The baſis of this felicity

The trade and navigation of the Carthaginians.

[z] ARIST. LIV. l. xxi. POLYB. l. i. CÆL. CALCAGNINUS de re nautic. comment. c. 1. XENOPH. de re venator.

had a lion always following him like a dog (35); and, according to *Paulus Jovius*, the king of *France* gave ſuch a one as this to the cardinal de *Medicis*. What has been ſaid of the *Indians*, *Paulus Venetus* likewiſe relates of the *Tartars* (36).

Silenus was an hiſtorian mentioned by *Cicero*, and, as is probable, by *Nepos* (37). The former of theſe aſſures us, that he wrote a hiſtory in *Greek*, with great care and accuracy, of *Hannibal*'s expeditions; and that *Cælius* in ſome points followed him.

(35) *Petr. Meſſius*, *l.* ii. *c.* 3 (36) *Paulus Venet. l.* vii. *c.* 17. (37) *Cic. de divinat. l.* i. *Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l.* iii. *p.* 413. *Vide Boſium, & not. in Corn. Nep. de Hannib. p.* 604. *Lugd. Bat.* 1734.

was

was owing to the *Tyrians*, from whom they brought the diſpoſition they were ſo eminent for into *Africa*. But in proceſs of time they eclipſed the glory of even their anceſtors themſelves; inſomuch, that *Pliny* derives the origin of trade, not from the *Phœnicians*, but the *Pœni* or *Carthaginians*. The natural fertility of its ſoil, the ſurpriſing ſkill of its artificers, together with its happy ſituation, rendered *Carthage* the centre of traffic, the great mart, not only of the *Mediterranean*, but even of the moſt remote nations [a].

Their commodities.

THE commodities they ſupplied other countries with, in great abundance, ſeem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers ſorts of proviſions, and high ſauces; wax, honey, oil, the ſkins of wild beaſts, *&c.* all the natural produce of their own territories. Their ſtaple manufactures were utenſils, toys, cables, all kinds of naval ſtores, and the colour from them called *Punic*, the preparation of which ſeems to have been peculiar to them. From *Egypt* they fetched fine flax, paper, *&c.* From the coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. From *Tyre* and *Phœnice*, purple, ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture, *&c.* From the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, *&c.* In fine, they purchaſed the ſuperfluities of all nations at an eaſy price; and by knowing the neceſſities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they ſold theſe at their own rates; which brought immenſe treaſure daily to *Carthage*, rendered this republic terrible to all her neighbours, and even enabled her to contend ſo long with *Rome* for the empire of the world itſelf [b].

HAVING thus given our readers a general idea of the extenſive trade this mighty republick was miſtreſs of, which was the

[a] FEST. AVIEN. ubi ſup. POSID. & ARIST. de mem. CLAUD. l. 3. STRAB. APOLLON. PHILOST. l. ii. c. 14. l. 5. PINDAR. &c. CHRIST. HENDR. Carth. l. ii. ſ. 1. c. 8. p. 262, 263, &c. HERODOT. l. i. THUCYDID. l. i. ſub. init. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. vii. c. 56. LIV. POLYB. DIODOR. SIC. JUSTIN. OROS. aliiq; paſſ. [b] CHRIST. HENDR. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. xxxi c. 8. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. l. ii. JUL. POLLUX, l. vi. ISIDOR. orig. l. xx. c. 3. A. SCHOTTI obſerv. l. iii. c. 7. HILRON. MAGIUS in miſcel. l. ii. c 9. HADR. JUN. animadv. l. vi. c. 17. TURNEB. adverſ. l. x c. 12. CATELLIANUS COTTA in memorab. VARRO, l. iv. c. 23. de LL. TIBUL. l. ii. eleg. & ad eum PASSERATIUS, l. iii. iv. JOH. BRONNUS in miſcel. l. vi. c. 24, & l. i. c. 8. ALEX. VANEGAS, l. ii. c. 2. & MENASSEH REN. ISRAEL. en eſper. de Iſr p. 18, 19, &c. En Amſterdam en la Impreſion de Semuel Ben Iſrael Sociro, A.M. 5410.

great

great ſource of all her wealth and power; we muſt now beg leave to remark in particular, that no branch of their commerce ſeems to have been more beneficial to the *Carthaginians*, than that they carried on with the *Perſians*, *Garamantes*, and *Ethiopians*. Theſe remote nations, beſides other rich commodities, brought with them *carbuncles*, of almoſt ineſtimable value, to *Carthage*; to which place they yearly reſorted, as is moſt likely, in caravans. Theſe gems, from the plenty of them at *Carthage*, were called by the antients *Charchedonian* or *Carthaginian*, as *Pliny* relates. From *Polybius* it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* merchants, at the ſale of their wares, had a crier and ſecretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profeſſion was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this ſtate; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men therein. After this, it will be needleſs to obſerve, that the moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to apply themſelves to it [c].

The moſt valuable branch of their commerce was that carried on with the Garamantes, Perſians, *and* Ethiopians.

WE ſhall cloſe this ſection with taking notice of a remarkable cuſtom obſerved by the *Carthaginians*, and the *Libyans* bordering on the ſea-coaſts, in their trafficking with each other, as *Herodotus* himſelf has related it [d].

"THE *Carthaginians*, ſays this hiſtorian, ſailing beyond the "ſtraights, or pillars of *Hercules*, traded with the *Libyans* of "thoſe parts in the following manner: After they had got into "ſome creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them ex-"poſed on ſome point of land, returned again on board their "ſhips. They then cauſed a great ſmoak to be raiſed, at the "ſight of which the *Libyans* immediately came to the place "where the wares had been left; and laying down a certain "quantity of gold, retired at a good diſtance from them. Upon "this the *Carthaginians* went on ſhore a ſecond time; and if "upon viewing the gold it appeared to them ſufficient, they "carried it off, and ſailed without delay; if not, they left it, "and continued quiet on board for ſome time. The *Libyans* "finding this, made an addition to what they had before depo-"ſited; and if this proved inſufficient, they continued increaſing "the original quantity of gold till the *Carthaginians* were ſa-"tisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of theſe nations of-"fered the leaſt injuſtice to the other. The *Carthaginians* "did not ſo much as touch the *Libyan* gold till it was of equal "value with their wares, nor the *Libyans* the *Carthaginian* "merchandize, till the gold they offered as an equivalent was "accepted and taken away."

[c] PLIN nat. hiſt l. xxxviii. c. 7. & DALECAMP. in loc. PETRON. in ſatiric POLYB. l. iii. [d] HERODOT. l iv.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The chronology of the Carthaginians.

Carthaginian *chronology the same with the* Phœnician.

THE *Carthaginian* chronology was at first the *Phœnician*, already by us considered, and, in all probability ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the *Carthaginians* kept records in the same manner as their ancestors the *Tyrians* did, cannot well be doubted; especially, if we consider, how closely they adhered to the customs and maxims of those ancestors. Sir *Isaac Newton* seems to imagine, that the artificial chronology of *Eratosthenes* did not absolutely prevail amongst the *Romans* even in the *Augustin* age, but thinks that *Virgil* might have taken some of his historical facts from the records of *Carthage*; which evidently supposes, that these records might then have existed. *Servius* seems to insinuate, that they, or at least some part of them, were in being when he wrote; for he tells us, that, according to the *Carthaginians* themselves, *Dido* came from a town called *Charta*. But, however this may be, 'tis certain, from *Solinus* and others, that annals, and an epoch, at the destruction of their city, the *Carthaginians* must have had; otherwise the *Romans* could never have known how many years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of that metropolis, as we find they did. But this is so apparent, that we shall insist no further upon it[e].

THE method of computing time from the building of cities was in use throughout a good part of the east in very early ages, though it was of a later date at *Rome*, particularly amongst the *Lydians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*, as it was likewise amongst their descendants the old *Etruscans* and *Carthaginians*. This is evident beyond contradiction from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Censorinus*, *Scaliger*, and a famous inscription, whose epoch is the foundation of *Interamna* in *Umbria*, which *Gruter* and *Justus Fontaninus*, in his *antiquities of Horta*, have given us [f].

Their year luni-solar.

THE antient year of the *Phœnicians*, as well as that of the other eastern nations, was most certainly luni-solar, *i. e.* it consisted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months

[e] NEWTON's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. SERV. in Æn. i. & Æn. iv. SOLIN. c. 29. [f] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c 1. CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 17. SCALIG. de emend. temp. l. v. p. 385. GRUTER. CXIII 2. JUST. FONTANIN. de antiquit. Hort. l. i. c. 7. p. 135, 136, ed. Rom. 1723.

wanted

wanted of the ſolar year. At length the *Egyptians* of *Thebes*, according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*, introduced the ſolar year, *i. e.* they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the courſe of the ſun. Now as the computation by ſolar years did not take place even in *Egypt* till the time of *Amenophis* (tho' the difference betwixt the ſolar and kalendar years was diſcovered in the reign of *Ammon* the father of *Seſac*), *i. e.* about an hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the æra of *Nabonaſſar*; nor amongſt the *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians* till the commencement of that æra; and as *Dido*'s departure from *Tyre* was at leaſt co-eval with, if it did not precede, the former of theſe events, the luni-ſolar year was, without diſpute, obſerved then by the *Phœnicians*, and conſequently afterwards by the *Carthaginians* [g].

As was that of the Arabians *and* Damaſcenes.

IN confirmation of which we muſt not omit remarking, that *Simplicius*, in his commentary on the firſt of *Ariſtotle*'s *phyſical acroaſis*, affirms the *Damaſcenes* and *Arabians*, who were either neighbours to the poſterity of the old *Phœnicians*, or intermixed with them, to have had the luni-ſolar year in uſe amongſt them ſo late as his time; from whence 'tis not a little probable, that this was always the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian* year [h].

WE have nothing very material to offer farther on this head, the *Carthaginian* annals having for a long ſeries of ages been deſtroyed. As therefore we cannot pretend to give any tolerable particular account, much leſs a methodical ſyſtem, of the *Carthaginian* chronology, all that can be done, in order to ſatisfy our readers, is, to exhibit to their view a chronological table of ſome few of the principal tranſactions, in which that famous republic was concerned, including a liſt of ſeveral of its great men, in order of time, as they lived.

[g] CENSORIN. de die natal. c 19. & 20. CIC. in Ver. GEMINUS, c. 6. Gen. i. 14. viii. 22. NEWTON's chronol. p. 71—82. DIODOR. SIC. l. i. STRAB. l. xvii. PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſir. HECATÆUS apud Diod. l. i. [h] SIMPLIC. apud Theodor. Gazam de menſibus.

The Monarchy *of* CARTHAGE.

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
DIDO, the daughter of *Mettinus*, king of *Tyre*, founded *Carthage*. How long ſhe reigned there, hiſtory informs us not.		890 or 892

The Republic *of* Carthage.

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
After *Dido*'s death, there is a chasm in the history of *Carthage* for above three hundred years. Only from *Justin* we learn, that this state was much agitated by intestine commotions during part of that period.		
The *Carthaginians* plant a colony in the island *Ebusus* or *Eresus*, on the coast of *Spain*, according to *Diodorus*.	160	730
The *Tyrrhenian* and *Carthaginian* united fleets are, according to *Herodotus*, after a bloody engagement, put to flight by the *Phocæans*, in the sea of *Sardinia*.	347	543
Which action is likewise mentioned by *Thucydides*, who relates, that the city of *Massilia*, at present *Marseilles*, built by the said *Phocæans*, was then in its infancy (A).	347	

Machæus,

(A) That this most antient naval engagement happened not far from the year, in which our most learned archbishop *Usher* has placed it, is, in some measure, evident from a circumstance taken notice of by *Thucydides* in his first book, where he mentions it. That author informs us, that this event happened not long after the foundation of *Massilia*, or *Marseilles*, which was built by the *Phocæans*. Now it is asserted by *Timæus Siculus*, that *Massilia* was founded by the *Phocæans* an hundred and twenty years before the battle of *Salamis*, which falls in with the first year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and consequently the foundation of *Massilia* preceded the action under consideration fifty-seven years. It might then therefore very justly be said, as *Thucydides* relates, to have been in its infancy. That *Massilia* was built by the *Phocæans* about the time mentioned by *Timæus*, is confirmed by *Aristotle*, *Harpocration*, *Scymnus Chius*, *Justin*, *Athenæus*, and other authors. Both *Thucydides* and *Herodotus* likewise seem to relate some events after this, as happening in the time of *Cambyses*; which may be looked upon as an additional

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
Machæus, a famous general, gains some very conſiderable advantages over the *Africans*, with whom the *Carthaginians* are now ingaged in a war. This happened, as appears probable from comparing *Juſtin* with *Oroſius*, towards the concluſion of *Cyrus*'s reign, or that of his uncle *Cyaxares* II. and therefore we may place it about the year.	353	537
He reduces part of *Sicily* to the obedience of the *Carthaginians*.	354	536
A plague makes great havock at *Carthage* about this time, when the *Carthaginians* endeavour to appeaſe the gods by ſacrificing children.	355	535
After a long and ſucceſsful war in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginian* army, under the command of *Machæus*, thinks proper to retire from that iſland.	360	530
The ſame army afterwards invading *Sardinia*, is intirely defeated by the *Sardi*, and the greateſt part of it cut off.	360	530
The remaining part, upon their return home, are baniſhed by their countrymen, together with *Machæus* the general. Incenſed at this barbarous treatment, they attack *Carthage*, carry the city, and, after putting ten ſenators to death, ſettle the republic upon its former footing.	360	530
Machæus crucifies his ſon about the ſame time.	360	530
Some time after this the ſame general, being accuſed of a deſign to make himſelf		

tional argument in defence of our learned primate's notion, which he has taken from *Euſebius* (1).

(1) *Uſh. ad an. per. Jul.* 4171. *Herodot. l.* i. *Timæus Sic. apud Marcian in peric. Solin. Euſeb. in chron. ad olymp.* 45, 1. 59, 2. *&c. Ariſtot. apud Harpocration in voc.* Μασσαλία, *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* xiii. *Juſt. l.* xliii. *Strab. l.* iv. *Scymnus. Chius, Ammian. Marcellin.* 15, 23. *Gell. noct. att.* 10, 16. *&c.*

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
abſolute, is puniſhed with death, and ſucceeded by *Mago* in the command of the army.	367	523
An alliance formed between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* the year after the regifuge, in the conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Valerius*.	382	508
Mago, after the introduction of military diſcipline amongſt the *Carthaginians*, dies, leaving their forces in an excellent condition. If *Juſtin* is to be credited, this ſeems to have happened ſome years before *Darius Hyſtaſpis* died; and therefore we may look upon it to fall in juſtly enough with the year.	401	489
Soon after *Mago*'s death, his two ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar* attempt the conqueſt of *Sardinia*, as likewiſe to free their country from the annual tribute impoſed upon them by the *Africans*.	401	489
Darius ſends embaſſadors to *Carthage* to demand a body of auxiliaries againſt their common enemy the *Greeks*, for a war with whom he was then making very great preparations.	402	488
At firſt *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar* ſeem to have had great ſucceſs in *Sardinia*, by the number of triumphs *Juſtin* aſſigns *Aſdrubal*; but, towards the concluſion of this war, *Aſdrubal* is mortally wounded, and the intire command of the army thereby devolves upon his brother *Hamilcar*.	404	486
A treaty of peace is concluded between the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* about this period, by which the annual tribute of the latter is continued.	405	485
The *Sicilians* implore the aſſiſtance of *Leonidas*, to enable them to ſhake off the *Carthaginian* yoke.	405	485
Not long after this *Hamilcar* is killed in *Sicily*, leaving behind him three ſons, *Hamilco* or *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Giſco*.	410	480

After

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
After the death of *Hamilcar*, and the total defeat of the *Carthaginian* army by *Gelon*, a peace is made, and *Gisco*, the son of *Hamilcar*, banished.	410	480
The *Carthaginians* engage at once in a war with the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *Africans*; the result of which is, that they are excused the annual tribute before exacted of them.	430	460
Some time after this period the two brothers *Philæni* sacrificed themselves for the honour, as they apprehended, of their country.		
The *centumvirate* instituted, somewhere in this interval, to reduce the exorbitant power of *Mago*'s family within proper bounds, and be a curb upon their generals, according to *Justin*.		
Hannibal, the son of *Gisco*, makes an expedition into *Sicily*, takes and razes *Selinus* and *Himera*.	482	408
The same general, in conjunction with *Imilcar*, makes another campaign in *Sicily*; but dies of the plague in his camp before *Agrigentum*, of which distemper a great part of his army likewise perishes.	486	404
Imilcar, *Hannibal*'s collegue, takes *Agrigentum*.	486	404
He likewise reduces *Gela*.	486	404
He puts an end to this war by a treaty concluded with *Dionysius*.	486	404
Dionysius takes *Motya* from the *Carthaginians*.	494	396
Himilco retakes *Motya* by storm, reduces *Messana*, and razes it. *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, likewise defeats the *Sicilian* fleet under *Leptines*. *Himilco* advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of *Syracuse*, and plunders the temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* in the suburb of *Acradina*; but the plague carrying off		

a great

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
a great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.	495	395
The *Africans*, to the number of two hundred thouſand, ſeize upon *Tunis*, and threaten *Carthage* itſelf. But famine and diviſions oblige them at laſt to diſperſe. *Himilco*, not being able to ſurvive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.	495	395
Mago, the *Carthaginian* general, is routed by *Dionyſius* at *Abacænum*.	498	392
A ſecond peace concluded between *Dionyſius* and the *Carthaginians*.	499	391
Dionyſius routs the *Carthaginians* at *Cabala* in *Sicily*, but is beaten by them at *Cronion*, upon which a peace enſues.	508	382
A plague breaks out in *Carthage*, which ſweeps away an infinite number of people. The *Africans* and *Sardi* riſe up in arms, and endeavour to render themſelves independent of the *Carthaginian* ſtate. A particular ſpecies of madneſs ſeizes many of the inhabitants of *Carthage*, and produces diſmal effects there.	512	378
Dionyſius advances, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, into the *Carthaginian* territories. With this force he ſoon takes *Selinus* and *Entella*, and plunders all the adjacent country. The *Carthaginians*, on the other hand, enter the port of *Eryx* with two hundred ſail, and carry off moſt of the beſt *Syracuſian* galleys laid up in that harbour.	522	368
Dionyſius II. ſucceeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the *Carthaginians*.	523	367
Paralus, the *Carthaginian* governor of *Minoa*, permits *Dion* to land five thouſand arms there, and ſupplies him with carriages to convey them to *Syracuſe*; by which means that prince is enabled		

to

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
to proceed in his expedition againſt *Dionyſius* II.	534	356
Timoleon brings ſuccours from *Corinth* to the *Syracuſians*, and lands his forces in *Sicily* by a ſtratagem.	546	344
He defeats *Icetas* at *Adranum*, and poſſeſſes himſelf of *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, according to *Diodorus*.	547	343
A ſecond treaty concluded between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans*, in which the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Utica* are comprehended.	547	343
Timoleon gives a total overthrow to the *Carthaginian* forces under *Mago*, upon the banks of the river *Crimeſus*.	551	339
And concludes a peace with that nation.	552	338
About this time, in all probability, *Hanno* forms a deſign at *Carthage* to aſſume the ſovereignty to himſelf, by deſtroying the whole body of the ſenate. He receives but a ſlight puniſhment for the firſt attempt; but upon his having recourſe afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to ſupport himſelf in his rebellion by an alliance with the *African* princes, he is made an example of the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity.	554	336
Alexander forms the ſiege of *Tyre*, upon which the *Tyrians* ſend their wives and children to *Carthage*, where they are kindly received.	559	331
The *Carthaginians* ſend *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Rhodanus*, as their miniſter to *Alexander* at his camp before *Tyre*; and put him to death on his return home.	559	331
The *Cyreneans* apply to the *Carthaginians* for ſuccours againſt a body of *Greek* mercenaries, that invaded them, but in vain.	568	322
The *Carthaginians* ſend ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of *Soſiſtratus*, and the *Syracuſian* exiles, againſt *Agathocles*.	574	316
They oblige *Agathocles* to reſtore the caſtle of *Mylæ* to the *Meſſanians*.	576	314

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
Hamilcar routs *Agathocles* at *Himera*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*.	580	310
Agathocles invades *Africa*, and gives a memorable defeat there to *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, the *Carthaginian* generals, according to *Diodorus*.	581	309
Hamilcar is taken by the *Syracusians*, and has his head ſtruck off, which is ſent to *Agathocles* in *Africa*.	582	308
Agathocles prevails upon *Ophellas*, prince of the *Cyreneans*, to march to his aſſiſtance, and then cuts him off by treachery.	583	307
Bomilcar crucified for forming a deſign to make himſelf tyrant of *Carthage*.	583	307
Agathocles receives a great defeat from the *Carthaginians*, and is forced to abandon *Africa*, which produces a peace between the two powers.	584	306
The articles of the peace ſigned.	585	305
A third treaty concluded between the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* about the time of *Pyrrhus*'s arrival in *Italy*.	610	280
The *Carthaginians* offer the *Romans* aſſiſtance in their war with *Pyrrhus*, and for that purpoſe ſend a fleet of an hundred and twenty ſail under the command of *Mago*; tho' the *Romans* decline accepting it.	610	280
The *Carthaginians* beſiege *Syracuſe* with an army of fifty thouſand men, and a fleet of an hundred ſail.	611	278
Pyrrhus makes a deſcent in *Sicily*, reduces all the *Carthaginian* towns in that iſland, except *Lilybæum*, almoſt as ſoon as he appears before them; and loſes them again with the ſame rapidity to the *Carthaginians*.	613	227
	614	276
Hannibal, the *Carthaginian* general, ſends a detachment to reinforce the *Mamertine* gariſon of *Meſſana*, and thereby prevents *Hiero* from poſſeſſing himſelf of that place, which occaſions the firſt *Punic* war.	625	265
The firſt *Punic* war begins.	626	264

The

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
The *Romans*, after a ſiege of ſeven months, take *Agrigentum*, and gain a victory over the *Carthaginian* forces under *Hanno*, ſent to its relief.	628	262
The conſul *C. Duilius* gains a complete victory over the *Carthaginians* by ſea, their admiral *Hannibal* eſcaping with much difficulty. The other conſul, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, being ſurpriſed, ſurrenders himſelf to the enemy under *Boodes*.	630	260
A drawn naval engagement between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans*.	633	257
The *Carthaginians* receive a great blow by ſea from the *Romans*; above thirty of their ſhips being ſunk, and ſixty-three taken. *Hanno*, who had behaved ſo ill at *Agrigentum*, and *Hamilcar*, are their admirals at the time of this diſaſter. *Regulus* alſo lands this year in *Africa*, reduces *Adis* a ſtrong fortreſs, and many other places. He gives the *Carthaginian* army, commanded by *Hanno*, *Boſtar*, and *Hamilcar*, a moſt memorable defeat.	634	256
The *Roman* army under *Regulus* overthrown by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who, at the deſire of the *Carthaginian* ſenate, takes upon him the command of their forces. *Regulus* himſelf is taken priſoner in this action.	635	255
The *Carthaginians* become once more maſters of the ſea.	638	252
Lilybæum, a *Punic* town in *Sicily*, beſieged by the *Romans*.	640	250
The great *Hannibal* born.	642	248
Hamilcar behaves himſelf with great bravery for three years together in *Sicily*.	645	245
The *Carthaginians* under *Hanno* are routed by the *Romans* near the iſlands *Æguſæ* or *Ægates*.	648	242
Hamilcar, having received full powers from the *Carthaginian* ſenate for that		

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
purpoſe, concludes a peace with the *Romans*. This put a period to the firſt *Punic* war, after it had laſted four and twenty years.	649	241
After various turns of fortune, the *African* or *Libyan* war is brought to a happy concluſion by *Hamilcar*, tho' the *Carthaginians* were reduced to the laſt extremity through the incapacity of *Hanno*, and *Hannibal*, by his indolence, had given a great advantage to the enemy.	652	238
Hamilcar, being ſent by the *Carthaginians* as their general into *Spain*, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion, ſubdues many nations there; but expoſing himſelf too much in a battle with ſome of the moſt warlike *Spaniards* as yet unconquered, he is ſlain, and ſucceeded in his poſt by *Aſdrubal*.	661	229
Aſdrubal dies, and is ſucceeded by *Hannibal*. That general takes *Althæa*, the capital of the *Olcades*; conquers that nation; the *Vaccæi*, *Carpetani*, &c. The *Saguntines* appriſe the *Romans* of theſe proceedings.	670	220
The *Romans*, by their embaſſadors, demand *Hannibal* of the *Carthaginians* for taking of *Saguntum*. That general, having ſettled matters in *Spain*, makes preparations for a war with the *Romans*.	671	219
This year the ſecond *Punic* war commences, according to *Polybius*. *Hannibal* paſſes the *Alps*, and defeats *Scipio* near the *Ticinus*, now called the *Teſino*, after taking *Turin*, and routing the *Gauls*, who diſputed the paſſage of the *Rhone*.	672	218
The ſame general overthrows *Sempronius* on the banks of the *Trebia*.	672	218
Hanno is defeated in *Spain* by *Scipio*, who extends his conqueſts as far as the *Iberus*.	672	218
C. Flaminius is overthrown by *Hannibal* at the lake of *Thraſymene*, now the		

Lago

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
Lago di Perugia, with the ſlaughter of fifteen thouſand men. He likewiſe gives a terrible repulſe to *Minucius*; but is checked in his progreſs by *Fabius*. *Cn. Scipio* defeats *Hanno* at the town of *Ciſſa* in *Spain*.	673	217
The *Roman* army commanded by *Terentius Varro* and *Æmilius Paulus*, is totally defeated at *Cannæ* upon the *Auſidus* in *Apulia*. This was the greateſt blow the *Romans* ever received. The *Carthaginians* in *Spain* under *Aſdrubal*, are overcome by the *Romans*.	674	216
Philip king of *Macedon*, by his miniſter *Xenophanes*, concludes a treaty with *nibal*.	675	215
Hannibal takes *Tarentum*.	678	212
Capua beſieged by the *Romans*. The two *Scipios*, with their armies, deſtroyed in *Spain* by the *Carthaginians* and their allies.	678	212
Hannibal, in order to raiſe the ſiege of *Capua*, bends his march towards *Rome*, and advances within five miles of that capital.	679	211
Tarentum retaken by *Fabius*.	681	209
Hannibal, by a ſtratagem circumventing *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, cuts off *Marcellus*, and other *Romans* of diſtinction.	682	208
Edeco, *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, &c. petty kings or *reguli* of *Spain*, join *Scipio*. By the acceſſion of their forces he is enabled to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, at *Bætula*, and to drive him out of *Spain*.	682	208
Aſdrubal, coming with a powerful army into *Italy* to join *Hannibal*, is overthrown, and his army utterly ruined.	683	207
Scipio in *Spain* vanquiſhes *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, *Mago*, and *Indibilis*; draws off *Maſiniſſa* from the *Carthaginian*		

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
ginian intereſt; reduces all *Spain*; and is then recalled to *Rome*.	684	206
Scipio lands in *Africa*; beſieges *Utica*; burns the camps of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*; overthrows the *Carthaginian*, *Numidian* and *Celtiberian* forces; and takes *Tunis*. *Hannibal* is obliged to quit *Italy*, and return to *Africa*.	687	203
An interview between *Scipio* and *Hannibal*. The latter of theſe is intirely defeated at the battle of *Zama*; which produces a peace, and terminates the ſecond *Punic* war.	688 689	202 201
Hannibal, being obliged to leave his native country, lands at *Tyre*, and afterwards ſeeks an aſylum at the court of *Antiochus*.	695	195
Hannibal dies, according to *Livy* and *Cornelius Nepos*.	708	182
Maſiniſſa, depending on his friendſhip with *Rome*, makes an irruption into the province of *Tyſca*, and invades the *Carthaginian* territories.	730 or 731	160 or 159
An embaſſy is ſent from *Rome*, at the head of which is *Cato*, to diſpoſe both parties to an accommodation, and determine all differences between them upon the ſpot. But the *Carthaginians* reject the mediation of the *Romans*, tho' they had before admitted it; which occaſions the third *Punic* war.	732	158
A bloody war breaks out between *Carthage* and *Maſiniſſa*.	740	150
The *Carthaginians*, after the *Romans* had moſt perfidiouſly and inhumanly deprived them of all means of defence, are commanded to abandon their city; which they not complying with, it is totally deſtroyed by *Æmilianus*, and levelled with the ground.	744 Or, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton* and *Salmaſius* in conjunction with *Solinus*. 746	146 146

Appian tells us in round numbers, that *Carthage* ſtood ſeven hundred years; but *Solinus*, with greater accuracy, determines its duration to have been ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven years, *i. e.*

i. e. either ſo many complete years preciſely, or ſo many complete years, with part of another elapſed, which was not reckoned in the computation. Now, if with Sir *Iſaac Newton* and *Salmaſius*, we ſuppoſe this term to have commenced at the *encænia* or dedication of the city; which, they have proved, fell upon the ſixteenth year of *Pygmalion*'s reign at *Tyre*, the beginning of the foundation of *Carthage* muſt be placed nine years higher, ſince *Dido* came to *Africa* in the ſeventh year of that prince's reign; and conſequently this happened ſeven hundred and forty-ſix years before the final deſtruction of that city by *Æmilianus*. Since therefore *Joſephus*, from *Menander Epheſius*, or, according to *Tatian*, *Menander* of *Pergamus*, as he is corrected by *Petavius*, intimates, that *Carthage* preceded *Rome* an hundred and forty-years, which almoſt exactly correſponds with Sir *Iſaac Newton* and *Salmaſius*; and ſince the æra of *Petavius*, which we have followed, does not differ from that of *Solinus* as ſtated by the two great men above-mentioned, above two years, a trifle in a point of ſo remote antiquity, we may look upon theſe æras as the ſame. This is a ſtrong preſumption, that both of them approach very near the truth; and therefore we may venture to aſſure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, chuſe which of them they pleaſe [1].

Menander Epheſius, Solinus, Salmaſius, Petavius, and Sir Iſaac Newton, agree very well in ſetling the æra of Carthage.

THE chronological ſynopſis here inſerted, gives our readers the whole plan of the affairs of *Carthage* at one view, and, by enabling them to form a general idea of all the principal events that happened to this republic at once, prepares them for the peruſal of the following hiſtory with double advantage.

End of this chronological ſynopſis.

IT may not be improper to inform our readers, that the firſt part of this ſynopſis depends chiefly upon the authority of *Juſtin* and *Oroſius*, compared with *Diodorus Siculus*, as the latter does upon that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, in conjunction with archbiſhop *Uſher*(B). The times of the firſt tranſactions of this

Authorities upon which it is founded.

[1] APPIAN. in Lybic. SOLIN. c. 30. SALMAS. in SOLIN. ibid. NEWTON's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. 5. l. ix. c. 14. & cont. Apion. l. i. DION. PETAV. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. SOLIN. c. 27. TATIAN. adv. Græc.

(B) We doubt not but the whole learned world will intirely concur with us in our notion of the incomparable archbiſhop *Uſher*; and, to ſhew our regard to the memory of ſo profound a chronologer, we ſhall endeavour to clear up a point, which he has left a little confuſed. That moſt learned prelate fixes the foundation of *Rome*, with *Fabius Pictor*, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh, or beginning of the eighth olympiad; and yet he will have the year of *Rome* ſix hundred and ſeven (in which *Carthage* was finally deſtroyed) to

this ſtate it is impoſſible to determine to any tolerable degree of exactneſs, yet, we hope, our determination of them is not very remote from the truth. In aſcertaining the years of thoſe of a later date, we have paid no regard to the ſentiments of thoſe writers who differ from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, as being in point of authority vaſtly inferior to them [k].

[k] JUSTIN. OROS. DIODOR. SIC. & POLYB. paſſim. USS. annal. vet teſt. paſſ. Vide etiam GLAREANI chronol. in Liv. per Badium Aſcenſium, Pariſ. ex. officin. Mich. Vaſcoſani, 1543.

to have preceded the chriſtian æra an hundred and forty-ſix years. This ſeems to render him a little inconſiſtent with himſelf; for an hundred forty-ſix years, added to ſix hundred and ſeven, makes ſeven hundred and fifty-three years, which, he appears to intimate, was the age of *Rome* at the birth of Chriſt. But this ſeeming inconſiſtency will vaniſh, when we conſider, that he all along follows *Fabius Pictor*, who places the foundation of *Rome* five years lower than *Varro*, whom *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and moſt of the *Roman* authors, follow. This obſervation will obviate all difficulties that might otherwiſe occur in ſome material points, from comparing archbiſhop *Uſher* with the generality of the *Roman* chronologers, and thereby prevent confuſion. The year of *Rome*, in which the deſtruction of *Carthage* happened, according to *Fabius Pictor*, muſt have been the ſix hundred and ſecond, to which add an hundred and forty-ſix, and it correſponds, as well as the other, with the chriſtian æra. This is a demonſtration of the truth of archbiſhop *Uſher*'s computation in this particular; and therefore nothing further can be added to it. We think it proper to inform our readers here, that, from the commencement of the olympiads, our numbers perfectly agree with them, and conſequently are not repugnant either to the *Varronian* or *Fabian* accounts, tho', with archbiſhop *Uſher*, we are of opinion, that the latter points out the true epoch of *Rome*. It muſt not be forgot, that we were miſtaken in the *Roman* hiſtory, vol. xi. p. 154. when we made archbiſhop *Uſher* to prefer *Varro*'s opinion to that of *Fabius*; and yet at the ſame time obſerved, that the archbiſhop places the birth of Chriſt ſeven hundred and forty-eight years diſtant from the foundation of *Rome*, in direct agreement with *Fabius*. What led us to that miſtake, was a paſſage in him, wherein he ſeems to follow *Varro*; but, upon a ſecond peruſal of that paſſage, we are fully convinced, that he there only gives us what, he conceived, was *Pliny*'s opinion.

(2) *Jac. Uſſ. annal par. poſt. ad ann. Jul. period.* 4568. *p.* 87. & *annal. vet. teſt. ad ann. Jul. period.* 3966 *p.* 87. *edit. Lond.* 1650, & 1654.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The history of the Carthaginians, *from the foundation of their city, to the first* Punic *war.*

ELISA, known also by the name of *Dido*, fled from *Tyre* in the seventh year of the reign of *Pygmalion* king of that city. Her flight is said to have been occasioned by the cruel and insatiable avarice of *Pygmalion*, who was her brother. This prince, in order to secure to himself the immense treasures of his uncle *Sichæus*, who had married his sister *Dido*, was the priest of *Hercules*, and, by virtue of that post, the second person in the kingdom, found means to destroy him. The manner in which this was effected, is differently related: *Virgil* will have it, that *Pygmalion* barbarously murdered his uncle at the altar; but *Eustathius* and *Cedrenus* intimate, that he dispatched him at a hunting-match, and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occasion of his death. However, as *Sichæus* was well acquainted with the sordid and avaricious temper of his nephew, he had, by way of precaution, buried his riches under ground; which, with the prudent and artful conduct of *Elisa*, rendered abortive the tyrant's design. *Sichæus*, appearing to his disconsolate widow in a dream, apprised her of his tragical exit, and advised her to fly immediately, in order to avoid the same fate. Upon this she determined to make her escape, and carry off those treasures, which had prompted her brother to so inhuman an action; but, in order to this, she judged it proper for some time to amuse him, which she did, by dissembling her resentment, and keeping up the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of assembling her friends, and concerting with them the proper measures for speedily abandoning *Tyre*. The principal of these were her brother *Barca*, and several senators, who, hating *Pygmalion*, and apprehending themselves every moment in danger of being sacrificed by a prince, who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the design she had formed the more effectually, she applied to the king for vessels to carry her, *Barca*, and their effects, to *Chartica* or *Chartaca*, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of residing there. To this *Pygmalion* readily agreed, as imagining, that by such a step he should become master of what had so long been the object of his most ardent desires. *Elisa*, being thus supplied with men and ships, weighed anchor; and being got

Cause of Elisa's departure from Tyre.

into

into the ocean at a proper distance from *Tyre*, commanded her men to throw into the sea some bags filled with sand, which, she told them, contained the wealth of her husband *Sichæus*, and, in a doleful tone, intreated his manes to accept of those riches as an oblation, which had been the cause of his destruction. Then, addressing herself to her companions, she gave them to understand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's resentment, for being instrumental in defeating his avaricious purposes, if ever they fell into his hands; by which means having fixed them more firmly in her interest, she pursued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach, before he was apprised of her resolution [a].

Pygmalion *prevented from pursuing* Elisa.

Pygmalion, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his sister's subtlety, and being grieved, that those treasures should be snatched from him in a moment, which he thought himself so sure of, and which he had so long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to pursue the fugitives; but he was diverted from this design by the intreaties of his mother, and the menaces of the inspired college of vates, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obstruct in any manner the grand project *Elisa* was gone upon [b].

Elisa *touched first at* Cyprus.

The first place our heroine touched at was some port in the island of *Cyprus*, possibly *Salamis*, which was then in its infancy; since, according to *Virgil* and *Servius*, in conjunction with the *Arundelian* marbles, *Teucer* and *Mettinus*, *Elisa*'s father, seized upon *Cyprus*, or at least a part of it, not very long before, when the former of these built *Salamis*. Here she met with a priest of *Jupiter*, who offered to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune; which she readily accepted of. As this motion of the priest proceeded from an impulse, or rather command, of the deity himself,

[a] Justin. l. xviii. Tacit. annal. xvi. Tertul. in Pal. Sil. Ital. l. i. Appian. in Lib. sub init. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. ut & ipse Dionys. Herodian. l. v. Liv. l. xxxiv. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Virgil. Æn. i. & iv. Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. & iv. Georg. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. Joseph. antiq. l viii. c. 13. cont. Apion. l. i. Solin. c. 30. & 27. edit. Salm. Vide & Salian. & Torniel. in annal. Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 63. & rationar. temp. par. ii. l. ii. c. 13. Tatian. cont. Græc. Theophil. Antiochen. apud Autolyc. l. iii. Tertul. apol. Clem. Alex. strom. Strabo, l. xvii. Plin. l. v. Ammian Marcel. Plutarch. Eutrop. Flor. Oros. Zonar. Reinecc. hist. Jul. vol. i. & ii Hendr. de rep. Carth. l. i. sect. i. c. 1. [b] Justin. l. xviii.

she

ſhe looked upon it as a good omen, and ſettled the prieſthood of *Jupiter* in that family [c].

Cyprian *women proſtitute themſelves for dowries.*

IT was a prevailing cuſtom in this iſland at the time of *Eliſa's* arrival, for the maids to go on certain ſtated days, before marriage, to the ſea-ſide, there to look for ſtrangers that might poſſibly arrive on their coaſts, in order to proſtitute themſelves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of theſe the *Tyrians* ſelected a certain number, *Juſtin* ſays eighty; and carrying them on board, found them very ſubſervient to their deſign of planting a new colony [d].

She lands in Africa.

FROM hence they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of *Africa*, and at laſt happily landed in the province called afterwards *Africa Propria*, not far from *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, and city of great antiquity; which we have already deſcribed. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and giving them a moſt kind reception, adviſed them to build a city upon that ſpot, to which the fates had conducted them [e].

Cultivates a good underſtanding with the natives.

IT was *Eliſa's* firſt care, upon her arrival, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the natives, to which they were by no means, for any conſiderable time, averſe, on account of the advantages they perceived would naturally flow to them from an eſtabliſhed commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She then purchaſed a tract of land of them, for her and her wearied *Tyrians* to ſettle upon. *Juſtin*, *Appian*, *Virgil*, *Euſtathius*, *Themiſtius*, &c. intimate, that the *Phœnicians* impoſed upon the *Africans*, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They deſired for their intended ſettlement only ſo much ground as an ox's hide would encompaſs. This requeſt the *Africans* at firſt laughed at; but were ſurpriſed, when, upon their granting it, they found *Eliſa* cut the hide into the ſmalleſt ſhreds, and with them ſurrounded a large extent of territory, on which ſhe built a citadel, from this incident called *Byrſa*. The learned, however, unanimouſly agree in exploding this fable, which ſeems to owe its origin either to the envy and malice of the *Romans*, or the vanity of the *Greeks*, who ridiculouſly affected to deduce every thing that favoured of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never ſo remote from them. *Appian* ſeems to inſinuate, that at firſt *Eliſa* met with ſome oppoſition from the native; which may poſſibly be true, ſince it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the *Tyrians* poſſeſſed was, by their firſt agree-

[c] Idem ibid. VIRG. Æn. i. SERV. in loc APOLLODOR. NEWTON's chronol. p. 65. [d] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [e] Idem ibid.

ment with the *Africans*, exacted from them, which they were obliged to pay for many years after [f].

Either builds a new city there, or inlarges an old one.

THE neighbouring people, at firſt invited by the proſpect of lucre, and with this view repairing to the *Phœnician* ſettlement to ſell theſe foreigners the neceſſaries of life, in a ſhort time incorporated themſelves with them. Theſe inhabitants ſoon growing very numerous, *Eliſa* followed the advice of the *Utican* embaſſadors, who were ſent to congratulate her upon her happy arrival in the name of their ſtate; and built a new city, or at leaſt much inlarged the old one, which could make no very conſiderable figure before. As the natives of the country, or *Aborigines*, were of the ſame ſentiments with the *Uticans* in this particular, and, as may reaſonably be preſumed, gave the *Tyrians* all neceſſary aſſiſtance, both in the building their city, and peopling it afterwards, *Carthage* ſoon became a place of great fame, and demanded the reſpect of all its neighbours [g].

A horſe's head found whilſt the Tyrians *were digging for the foundations of* Carthage.

WE are told by *Juſtin*, that, in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen firſt found an ox's head, which was indeed a ſymbol of fertility of ſoil, but at the ſame time preſaged continual toil and perpetual ſervitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another ſpot, where, in digging, they diſcovered a horſe's head, which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants. *Euſtathius* adds, that the horſe's head had a palm-tree, or at leaſt a a branch of palm, diſcovered with it; which they conſidered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This determined *Eliſa* to fix upon that ſpot for the ſituation of her city; and in alluſion to this it was, that the *Carthaginians* had, in after-ages, a horſe's head, or a horſe and a palm-tree, ſo frequently upon the reverſes of their coins [h] (C).

[f] JUSTIN. l. xviii. VIRG. Æn. i. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. Afr. APPIAN. in Lib. ſub init. THEMIST. orat. xxi. p. 260, 261. SERV. in Æn. i. LIV. l. xxxiv. DIONYS. in perieg. JUSTIN. l. xix. SIL. ITAL. l. i. Vide Voss. th. gent. l i. c. 32. BOCHART. Chan. &c. [g] VIRG. SERV. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. [h] VIRG. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup ISIDOR. l. xv. c. 2. & l ix. c 2. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. Afr. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb ANTON. AUGUSTIN. dial. ant. 6. SUID. CÆL. RHODIGIN. ant. lect. l. xviii. c. 38. & BOCH. Chan. l. i.

(C) Some of theſe coins, particularly of the ſilver and gold ones, are of exquiſite workmanſhip, nothing at all inferior to any of the *Greek* or *Roman*. They are found in the kingdom of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, in thoſe parts of *Spain* the *Carthaginians* firſt poſſeſſed, and in *Sicily*. Numbers of them may be ſeen in *Aldrete*, *Paruta*, *Hayn*, and the cabinets of the curious.

THE

THE principal names of *Carthage* have already been given in the firſt ſection of the hiſtory we are now upon. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the *Carthaginians* are ſometimes called *Sidonians*, and their city *Tyre*, by antient authors. *Euſebius* ſeems to affirm, that its moſt antient name was *Origo*; but as *Carthage* and its foundreſs are both mentioned in that paſſage; and as her name, *Eliſa* (D) or *Eliſſa*, imports the ſame thing in *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* as *Virago* in *Latin*, *Bochart* takes the word Ὀριγὼ or *Origo* to be a corruption of Ὀυιραγὼ or *Virago*; and conſequently ſuppoſes it to refer not to *Carthage*, but to *Eliſa* or *Dido*. As *Servius* aſſerts, tho' falſely, *Dido* in *Punic* to have anſwered to *Virago* in *Latin*, and it is very poſſible *Euſebius* might have been impoſed upon by this miſtake, we cannot help declaring ourſelves intirely of *Bochart*'s opinion. It is likewiſe denominated by *Stephanus Oenuſa*, or *Oenuſſa*; by *Euſtathius*, *Cadmea*; and by *Suidas*, *Aphrice*. According to ſome, the name *Tarſhiſh* in ſcripture ſometimes denotes *Carthage*; in one paſſage particularly this word ſeems ſo plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered by the *vulgate* verſion *Carthago*. *Theodoret* and others countenance this notion [i]. *Different names of* Carthage.

EVERY thing thus conſpiring with *Eliſa*'s views, and ſucceeding according to her deſire, by the coalition of different nations, the new city, in a ſhort time, grew wealthy and flouriſhing; which agreeable ſituation tempted *Iarbas*, a neighbouring prince, Dido *ſought in marriage by* Iarbas, *a neighbouring prince.*

[i] VIRG. & SIL. ITAL. paſſ. SAL. de bell. Jugurth. TIBUL. l. iv. ver. 137. OVID. ep. her. D. AUGUST. de unit. eccleſ. EZEK. xxvii. 12. THEODORET. HIERONYM. EUSEB. in chron. BOCH. in præfat. Phal. & Chan. l. i.

(D) According to the author of the *etymologicon magnum*, *Eliſa* or *Eliſſa* was the firſt name of this princeſs, which, as *Bochart* ſhews, may either be interpreted *divina virgo*, or, with the *Arabic* article prefixed, *virago*, καὶ ἐξοχήν. *Phavorinus*, in conjunction with the author of the *etymologicon* aforeſaid, will have the name *Dido* to have been given her after her arrival in *Africa*, as importing the *traveller*, or *wanderer*, to which *Bochart* agrees. *Euſtathius* abſurdly ſays, *Dido* ſignifies a *murderer of a huſband*; whereas *Eliſa* or *Eliſſa* will admit of ſuch an interpretation; and *Servius*, with as much impropriety, tranſlates *Dido virago*, the undoubted ſignification of *Eliſa* or *Eliſſa*. Many more conjectures about theſe words may be ſeen in *Bochart* and *Voſſius*, which it is not worth while to recite (3).

(3) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. *& l.* ii. *c.* 24. *Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Afr. Voſſ. idol. gent. l.* i. *c.* 32. *Serv. in Æn. Reinec. in hiſt. Jul. t.* 1, 2.

to endeavour at making himself master of it without any effusion of blood. In order to which he desired that an embassy of ten of the most noble *Carthaginians* might be sent him; which having obtained, he proposed to them a marriage with *Elisa* or *Dido*, for that, in all probability, was the name she went by after her departure from her native country, threatening them with a war, in case of a refusal. The embassadors, being afraid to deliver the message, told their sovereign with *Punic* subtlety, that *Iarbas* desired some person might be sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his *Africans*; but that there was no possibility of finding any of her subjects, who would leave his relations for the conversation of barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here being reprimanded by the queen, she asked them, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed their very lives? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that, according to her own decision of the point, and to set her subjects a good example, she ought to sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Being thus ensnared, she called upon her husband *Sichæus* with tears and lamentations, and at last answered, that she would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. In the mean time, she caused a pile to be erected in the fartherst part of, the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time she required for the execution of her design, killing many victims, as tho' she intended to sacrifice to, and appease the manes of, her first husband before her second marriage, she ascended it. Then looking all around her upon the spectators, she told them, she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her: and immediately, with a dagger she had taken with her for that purpose, put a period to her days [k].

Justin and Virgil differ in their opinion of Dido's æra.

THIS is *Justin*'s account of the death of that princess, which, we need not tell our readers, is different from *Virgil*'s. *Cedrenus* and Sir *Isaac Newton* favour *Virgil*'s notion, though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of these relates, that *Æneas* the *Phrygian*, after the destruction of *Troy*, came to *Africa*, and resided some time with *Dido* there; but perceiving *Iarbas*, king of the *Numidians*, the *Mauritanians*, the *Massyli* or the *Gætulians*, to take umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and resentment. This passage of *Cedrenus*, whom we take to have been a very good compiler and collector of antient history, seems greatly to support Sir *Isaac Newton*'s opinion, in relation to *Æneas* and *Dido*'s being cotemporaries, and likewise to evince a

[k] JUSTIN. ubi sup.

most

moſt material point, *viz.* that *Virgil* and *Trogus*, whom *Juſtin* epitomized, agree in their chronology. What Sir *Iſaac Newton* advances concerning *Dido*'s father *Mettinus* and *Teucer*'s ſeizing upon *Cyprus*, about the time of the *Trojan* war, renders *Virgil*'s chronology likewiſe more probable, than the generality of learned men are willing to allow. But this we ſhall juſt touch upon immediately [l].

Dido's *character.*

How long *Dido* reigned at *Carthage*, or when ſhe came to the violent death above-mentioned, we cannot take upon us to determine. What ſeems to be the beſt ſupported by antient hiſtory is, that her brother *Barca* and ſiſter *Anna* attended her from *Tyre* to *Africa*; and that, by their committing every thing to her management and direction, it ſhould ſeem ſhe was a woman of an uncommon genius. This likewiſe appears from the artful manner in which ſhe impoſed upon her brother *Pygmalion* before her departure from *Tyre*, when, under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her huſband's death, which, ſhe inſinuated, *Carthage* could not fail of perpetuating, ſhe had the addreſs to perſuade him, that her intention really was to retire to, and reſide at, *Chartaca*. The ſecrecy and prudence with which her grand enterpriſe was conducted, as well as the cunning device by which ſhe fixed even *Pygmalion*'s men in her intereſt, above-recited, indiſputably evince the ſame thing. That ſhe was a lady of moſt attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chaſtity, is atteſted by the beſt authors [m].

Macrobius *inconſiſtent with himſelf in relation to* Dido's *character.*

Macrobius tells us, that *Virgil*'s relation of *Dido*'s amours with *Æneas*, and of her laying violent hands on herſelf at his departure from *Africa*, after he had debauched her, was univerſally eſteemed as fabulous in his age. This indeed we diſbelieve, but not upon *Macrobius*'s authority; for that author is inconſiſtent with himſelf in reſpect to *Dido*'s character. In one place he celebrates her temperance and chaſtity, which is exactly agreeable to the faith of hiſtory; whereas in another he makes her guilty of the greateſt intemperance, luxury, and profuſion, at her entertainments; which, in our opinion, deſerves no credit at all, as being not only contrary to the general character of our princeſs, but likewiſe to the *Carthaginian* genius, as has been above obſerved. *Virgil*, as a *Roman*, we believe, in this particular did not pay the greateſt regard to truth, the antipathy betwixt his nation and the *Carthaginians* not permitting it; but notwithſtanding this, we cannot help imagining his chronology to be ſomething nearer the truth than is generally

[l] CEDREN. ubi ſupra. NEWTON's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c.
[m] REINEC. hiſt. Jul. t. 1. SIL. ITALIC. JUST. ubi ſupra. TERTULLIAN. MACROB. AUSON. &c.

ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, and that for the reaſons hinted above, as well as for the following one, which to us ſeems ſomething cogent, and which therefore we beg leave to tranſcribe from the excellent Sir *Iſaac Newton*: "The *Phœnicians*, after the death of *Melcar-* "*tus*, ſays this incomparable author, built a temple to him in "the iſland *Gades*, and adorned it with the ſculptures of the "labours of *Hercules*, and of his *hydra*, and the horſes, to "whom he threw *Diomedes*, king of the *Biſtones* in *Thrace*, "be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of *Teucer*, "and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *ſmaragdine* fruit; "and by theſe conſecrated gifts of *Teucer* and *Pygmalion* you "may know, that it was built in their days." If theſe facts, and the reaſoning built upon them, be admitted, it will follow, that *Teucer* and *Pygmalion* were cotemporaries, and conſequently that *Æneas* and *Dido* might be ſo. Now, though we cannot pretend to aſſert, that this argument is demonſtrative, becauſe there is no abſolute neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that all theſe ornaments were brought into the temple at once, yet, conſidering what we have before offered from Sir *Iſaac Newton*, *Apollodorus*, *Servius*, and the marbles, in proof of *Teucer* and *Mettinus*'s being jointly concerned in the conqueſt of *Cyprus*, we cannot look upon it as void of a tolerable degree of probability[n].

Acbaſm in the hiſtory of Carthage *for above three hundred years.*

How long monarchical government prevailed at *Carthage*, or what accidents befel this ſtate in its infancy, or even what tranſactions it was concerned in for ſeveral ages at firſt, we cannot inform our readers, ſince there is a chaſm in the *Carthaginian* hiſtory for above three hundred years after the tragical end of *Dido*. In general, *Juſtin*, and he alone, gives us to underſtand, that *Carthage* was much agitated by civil diſſenſions, and harraſſed with the plague during part of this period. It likewiſe appears from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, that this republic had got a ſtrong footing in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and made conſiderable acquiſitions elſewhere, before the date of any of thoſe tranſactions it bore a part in, the knowledge of which has reached us.

Carthage very formidable by ſea in the time of Cyrus *and* Cambyſes.

Thucydides and *Herodotus* moreover put it beyond diſpute, that it was very formidable by ſea even in the time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, and that it muſt have performed many brave exploits upon that element even before the reigns of thoſe puiſſant monarchs. But this is not to be wondered at, it not being poſſible for any nation endued with ſuch a genius, and poſſeſſed of ſo much power as the *Carthaginians* muſt have been famous for in very early ages, to have long remained in a ſtate

[n] Macrob. ſaturn. l. v. c. 17. & l. vii. c. 1. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. l. v. c. 1. apud Phot. Newton's chronol. p. 112, 113, &c.

of

of inaction, either by land or sea. A flourishing state of commerce naturally begets riches, and riches power; and, considering that ambition is a darling passion in the minds of great men, and almost inseparable from power, and that war, for the most part, is the effect of ambition, it cannot well be doubted, but that our republic made many expeditions against, and incursions into, the territories of its neighbours, long before the beginning of, what may be termed with respect to us, the *Carthaginian* historical period of time. Had the writings of *Philistus Syracusanus*, *Ephorus*, *Timæus Siculus*, *Aratus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, books of *Diodorus Siculus*, or any of the *Punic* historians, been now extant, we might have received sufficient light from them in many material points relating to the first ages of *Carthage*; but all these have, for a long series of generations, been no more. The *Punic* archives would also most certainly have set us right in all particulars of moment relating to the history we are now upon, had they been in being; but these the ROMAN *virtue, generosity, greatness of soul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny posterity, lest they should have given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cause of truth.* We are therefore obliged, though with great regret, to pass over the transactions of the *Carthaginian* state during the chasm aforesaid, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work in the best manner we can from those pieces and fragments of antiquity that, through the injuries of time, have been handed down to us.

The Carthaginians, in conjunction with the Etruscans, defeated in a sea-fight by the Phocæans.

WE have just hinted, that the *Carthaginians* were very powerful by sea in the time of *Cyrus* and his son *Cambyses*, not to say much earlier. This appears from several considerations, particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the *Carthaginians* and *Etruscans* and that of the *Phocæans*, one of the most formidable nations in the world by sea in *Cyrus*'s reign, wherein though the *Phocæans* got the victory, yet their whole fleet was either sunk or disabled; insomuch, that they durst not venture a second engagement, but abandoned the island of *Cyrnus*, now *Corsica*, to the *Carthaginians* and *Etruscans*. The *Phocæans* retired to *Rhegium*, and soon after to *OEnotria*, now *Ponza*, a small island in the *Tyrrhenian* or *Etruscan* sea, over-against *Velia* in *Lucania*, which their ancestors had first peopled; and the *Carthaginians*, with the *Etruscans*, took quiet possession of *Cyrnus*. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* both take notice of this sea-fight, as one of the most antient to be met with in history. The *Carthaginian* and *Etruscan* united fleets consisted of an hundred and twenty sail, the most active part of which, we may suppose, was the *Carthaginian*, since the *Etruscans* at that time did not make so great.

great a figure by ſea; and the *Phocæan* of ſixty. *Herodotus* ſeems to ſneer the *Phocæans* upon their victory, as being in a manner ruined by it. According to *Thucydides*, the *Phocæans* built *Maſſilia*, now *Marſeilles*, ſome time near this period °.

TOWARDS the concluſion of *Cyrus*'s reign, or that of his uncle *Cyaxares* the ſecond, as we have ſtated it, the *Carthaginians* carried on a war with the neighbouring *African* princes, wherein they obtained great advantages, which, according to *Juſtin*, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general *Machæus* (E). Soon after the concluſion of this war, they ſent a great body of forces, with a powerful fleet, to *Sicily*, under the command of the ſame general, who reduced a good part of that iſland to their obedience. But notwithſtanding the happy ſituation of their affairs abroad, the author above-mentioned inſinuates, that they were much agitated by civil diſſenſions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the peſtilence, that then made dreadful havock at *Carthage*, ſeems to have been the moſt terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appeaſe them with human ſacrifices; nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they ſcrupled not to offer up their children themſelves on this melancholy occaſion. This deteſtable practice, ſo contrary to the dictates of humanity, and all the tender impulſes of nature, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, incenſed the gods ſtill more againſt them. In conſequence of which, according to *Juſtin*'s obſervation, their arms were attended afterwards with ill ſucceſs, though they had before been ſo fortunate in *Sicily* (which, by the way, proves their ſettlement in that iſland to have been coeval with, if not prior to, the beginning of the *Perſian* empire), for, immediately after the concluſion of the *Sicilian* war, tranſporting their forces into the iſland of *Sardinia*, they intended nothing leſs than making an abſolute conqueſt of it; but the diſpleaſure of the gods now purſuing them, they received a notable defeat here from the *Sardi*, in which above half of their army was cut off. Enraged at ſo many diſaſters, inſtead of endeavouring to diſcover the true cauſe of them, they baniſhed their general *Machæus*, with the remainder of the

They reduce a good part of the iſland of Sicily.

Incenſe the gods by ſacrificing children to them.

Baniſh their general Machæus.

° HERODOT. l. i. THUCYD. l i. ſub init.

(E) This general's name, in ſome manuſcripts of *Juſtin*, is *Malæus*, in others *Machæus* or *Macheus*. *Oroſius* calls him *Maxeus*; and *Græv.us*, *Malchus*. *Voſſius* likewiſe ſeems to prefer the laſt to the others; but offers no ſolid argument for this preference. We beg leave therefore to follow *Reinecius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, and *Hendreich*, who chuſe *Machæus*, notwithſtanding many of our late editions of *Juſtin* have *Malæus*.

army

army under his command. That commander, covered with glory and victory before the laſt unhappy expedition to *Sardinia*, could not but highly reſent ſuch ungrateful, as well as inhuman, treatment, eſpecially as, by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the iſland of *Sicily* to the obedience of the *Carthaginians*, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. Firſt therefore he ſends to *Carthage* in an amicable manner, begging the ſenate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; adding withal, that, in caſe of a refuſal, they would do themſelves juſtice by force of arms. But neither this friendly remonſtrance, nor the menace annexed to it, making any impreſſion on the ſenate, after waiting in vain ſome days for an anſwer, they went on board their ſhips, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. As ſoon as they had inveſted it, they appealed to the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declared in the preſence of gods and men, that their deſign was not to hurt their fellow-citizens, but only to demonſtrate to them what wrong ſentiments they had entertained of their valour, when they attributed the loſs abovementioned to a want of bravery in the troops; whereas it ought to be aſcribed to the caprice of fortune. This not availing, after they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and the continent, they beſieged it in form, and ſoon reduced it to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. The *Carthaginians*, involved in theſe deplorable circumſtances, began now to reflect upon their paſt folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themſelves out of their preſent difficulties, was the grand queſtion. In the mean time, *Cartalo*, the general's ſon, arrived in the city from *Tyre*, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and poſſibly have diſpoſed him to an accommodation. This *Cartalo* had been ſent by his countrymen to *Tyre*, with the tenths of an immenſe quantity of plunder taken by his father in *Sicily*, intended as a donation or offering to the *Tyrian Hercules*; and paſſing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but this command, for the preſent, he refuſed complying with, under pretence, that he muſt perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an inſtance of filial duty. *Machæus* was far from being pleaſed with this anſwer; however, for the preſent he took care to conceal his reſentment, as not daring to do any thing that might look like the leaſt violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, having obtained leave for that purpoſe, he came out of the city to the camp, dreſſed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it ſhould ſeem, the prieſt of *Hercules*. His father, far from be-

Who beſieges Carthage.

ing ſtruck with ſuch a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: "Haſt "thou the aſſurance, moſt abandoned wretch, to appear in this "rich and ſplendid habit before ſo many miſerable citizens, and "a camp overwhelmed with woe? What mean theſe enſigns "of peace and felicity at this juncture, but to inſult all of us? "Was there no other place for thee to diſplay thy pride and "haughtineſs in, but this ſpot of ground, which is the ſcene of "thy father's miſery and diſgrace? How came you ſo lately to "deſpiſe, with ſuch an inſolent air, the command, I will not "ſay of your father, but of your general? And what are theſe "gorgeous robes but the fruit of my victories? Since therefore "you have conſidered me not as a father, but an exile, I, in re-"turn, will behave to you not as a father, but a general." And he was as good as his word; for immediately ordering a high croſs to be erected, he had him crucified thereon in his ſacred veſtments, in the ſight of all the citizens. Some days after, the city ſurrendered; when convening the ſenate and people, he complained of the injury and indignity offered him, and excuſed the hoſtile manner in which he had behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice, but neceſſity. He, for the preſent, made no alterations in the eſtabliſhed form of government; but contented himſelf with putting to death ten of the ſenators, by whoſe advice the late violent reſolutions againſt him and the army had been taken • (F).

And crūcifies his ſon Cartalo.

The city ſurrenders.

ALL

• JUSTIN. & OROS. ubi ſupra.

(F) In this note we ſhall endeavour to give ſome account of crucifixion, which was a capital puniſhment uſed amongſt the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Jews*, *Africans*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. According to *Fagius*, it was not at firſt in uſe amongſt the *Jews*; and indeed this appears from the law of *Moſes* itſelf. The learned *Caſaubon* concurs with him herein, though *Baronius* and *Lipſius* maintain the contrary opinion. *Sigonius* confounds this with hanging or ſuſpenſion, as does father *Calmet* in many inſtances, particularly thoſe of the worſhippers of *Baal-peor*, and the king of *Ai*, who were hung up alive. The *Talmudiſts* refer it to ſtoning or lapidation. There were three different ſorts of croſſes erected for the execution of malefactors. The firſt was the *crux decuſſata*, in the form of the letter X, as St. *Andrew*'s croſs is pictured. The ſecond the *crux commiſſa*, like the letter T. The third the *crux immiſſa*, when one piece of wood was tranſverſely faſtened to another in ſuch a manner, as to cut it at right angles at ſome diſtance from the top, ſo †. Such, according to antient medals, and the tradition of the chriſtian church in all ages, was our bleſſed Saviour's croſs. Crucifixion was the puniſhment appointed for ſlaves, and

ALL things in *Carthage* being thus ſet upon the antient foot, the republic enjoyed ſome repoſe. But this was not of long continuance;

and the ſcum of the people, when guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, and was therefore called *ſervile ſupplicium*; the freemen, or perſons of diſtinction, in ſuch caſes, falling by the ax or ſword. The criminals, before execution, were taken either from home or the prætorium amongſt the *Romans*, and ſcourged in a moſt cruel manner. Sometimes they were tied to the croſs, as we find our bleſſed Saviour was, and always obliged to carry it, or part of it. When they arrived at the place of execution, they were ſtripped naked, and nailed to the croſs, either lying on the ground, or erect. Their hands and feet were firſt tied to it with cords, and afterwards nailed with three or four nails, as the executioner pleaſed, beginning with the right hand or foot, and proceeding from thence to the left. Upon the piece of wood riſing above the arms of the croſs, an inſcription was poſted, ſpecifying the crime for which the malefactor ſuffered, though ſometimes, inſtead of this, the crier proclaimed it to the ſpectators attending the execution. In *Judæa*, the thighs of the malefactors were broken, in caſe they were not dead by ſunſet; becauſe the *Jews*, by their law, were obliged to take them from the croſs at that time, which the *Romans*, their governors, permitted them to do. By the *Roman* laws, the bodies remained on the croſs, till they were intirely conſumed, as our notorious offenders do now upon gibbets; nevertheleſs the judge, or ſupreme magiſtrate, had the power of giving the bodies to friends or relations, in order to be interred. On the emperor's birth-day, or ſuch-like feſtivals, they were frequently taken down from the croſs, and buried, without the interceſſion of friends. The *Jews* conſtantly buried the bodies of crucified malefactors, in conformity to their law, though the pagans left them expoſed on the croſs as aforeſaid. According to ſome authors, the *patibulum*, or gallows, and the antient croſs, were the ſame, though *Iſidorus* makes them different. He calls the tranſverſe piece of wood *patibulum*, and the erect one *ſtipes* and *crux*. Afterwards *patibulum* and *furca*, the gallows, were the ſame, and the puniſhment on them was looked upon as much milder and leſs ignominious, than that on the croſs; for on the gallows the criminals ſoon expired, whereas on the croſs they continued a long time in torture. Sometimes offenders ſuffered death on the croſs with their heads downwards, as St. *Peter*; and ſometimes with their thighs as well as arms expanded, in like manner as St. *Andrew* is ſuppoſed to have been crucified. The croſſes were made of the hardeſt wood, frequently of oak, as ſome believe our Saviour's was. The places of execution were either near the public roads and high-ways, or on the top of ſome mountain or eminence, that the bodies might be ſeen by all people, and thereby a terror ſtruck into them. If the *crux* and *patibulum* were originally the ſame, crucifixion prevailed at *Rome* in the time of the kings. The perſons condemned to be crucified, or deſerving it, were called by

He endeavours to introduce arbitrary power; but his design being discovered, he receives condign punishment.

timuance; for *Machæus*, puffed up with the late advantages he had gained, endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and introduce

the *Romans cruciarii*. To be crucified was a mark of great infamy to soldiers, officers, and men of quality. This punishment was so common amongst the *Romans* in the times of the republic, and afterwards, that pains, afflictions, troubles, and unprosperous affairs, were called *crossis*, and the verb *cruciare* frequently denoted the infliction of all sorts of chastisements, and pains of body and mind. Friends and relations generally attended the execution, in order to beg the bodies of the supreme magistrate or commanding officer, at least in *Judæa*. When this did not happen, parties of soldiers were posted near them, to prevent their being carried off. *Constantine* abolished crucifixion, thinking enormous villains, and persons guilty of the most flagrant crimes, unworthy of suffering death in the same manner our blessed Saviour did, and introduced hanging in its stead. The *Jews* did not permit the relations of the persons executed to place their kinsmen in the tombs belonging to their families, till their flesh had been first consumed in the public sepulchres; then they were allowed to remove their bones into private sepulchres. It was perhaps for this reason that *Joseph* of *Arimathea* desired leave from *Pilate* to lodge the body of *Jesus* in his own tomb, that he might not be thrown into the public burying-place appointed for criminals (6).

The *Carthaginians*, contrary to the practice of other nations, crucified their nobility, suffetes, and even the generals of their armies themselves, however absolute they might be in the field, if their enterprises were not attended with success. The crosses of malefactors amongst them seem to have been higher or lower, in proportion to the quality of the person suffering, and the heinousness of the crime for which they suffered. If any notorious offender of distinction escaped justice in his life-time, his body, after death, was exposed on a cross, in order to deter others from committing the same crime, especially when it merited the most severe and ignominious punishment. Of this *Hanno*, in *Justin*, not to mention others, is a pregnant instance (7). We must not omit observing, that the *Greek* word σταυρὸς, which signifies a *cross*, is put often for a

(6) *Paulus. Fagius ad Deut.* xxi. xxii. *Casaub. exerc.* xvi. *num.* 77. *Baron in annal. Just. Lips. de cruc. Sigon. de rep. Hebræor. l.* vi. *c.* 8. *Liv. & Senec. pass. Lucian. Plut. Plaut. Petron. in satyric. pass. Apul. de asin. aur. l.* iii. *Joseph. l.* v. *c.* 32. *B. Gerhardi harmon. evang. hist. pass. Christ. c.* 19 *Philo in Flac. Cic.* 5. *in Ver. & Tusc. quæst. Joseph. And. Quenstedius de sepult. vet. c.* 3. *Durand. variar. l.* ii *c.* 15. *Cerda in adversar. Isidor. l.* i. *Gretser. & Joseph. Laurent. de torment. c.* 7. *Aur. Vict. in Constant. Sozom. in hist. eccles. Vide & alios quamplurimos apud Calmet. in dict. bibl. sub voc.* croix.

(7) *Hendr. in repub. Carthag. l.* ii. *sect.* 1. *c.* 5. *& Justin. l.* xxi. *c.* 24.

piece

duce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime; upon which event *Justin* makes this reflection: "He was justly rewarded for the cruelty "he had been guilty of both to his son and country [p]".

WE are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cambyses*, in the sixth year of his reign, resolved upon an expedition against the *Carthaginians*; but that he was forced to drop his project, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him therein, because the *Carthaginians* were their descendants. This is a plain proof, that the whole naval power of the *Persian* empire at that time, without the assistance of the *Tyrians*, was not able to cope with the *Carthaginian* [q].

The Phœnicians *refuse to assist* Cambyses *against the* Carthaginians.

IN the year after the regifuge, the *Carthaginians* sent embassadors to *Rome*, and concluded a treaty with the *Romans*. They were the first nation the *Romans* were acquainted with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen, in *Polybius*'s time, on the base of a column, in the antient *Roman* language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoken in his time, that those who were most conversant in the *Latin* tongue, could not, without much study and labour, understand it. As in a former volume we have inserted this treaty as transmitted to us by the *Greek* historian, it will be intirely unnecessary to repeat it here. However, we shall beg leave to make four or five short observations upon it [r].

The Carthaginians *conclude their first treaty with the* Romans.

FIRST, This treaty was signed twenty-eight years before *Xerexes* invaded *Greece*, and gives us to understand, that the whole island of *Sardinia*, and part of that of *Sicily*, were then subject to the *Carthaginians*.

Some observations upon it.

SECONDLY, It appears, that the *Carthaginians* were very well acquainted with the coasts of *Italy*, had visited several of the petty nations seated there, and even made some attempts upon them, before this period.

THIRDLY, It is evident, that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of fortification, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent into any country; since they are prohibited by one article of this treaty to

[p] JUT. ubi supra. [q] HERODOT. l. iii. [r] POLYB. l. iii. p. 245, 246, 247. edit. Gronov.

piece of wood only fixed in the ground, by the *Latins* called *palus* or *vallum*. Our readers will find a fuller account of this punishment in the authors referred to in this note.

erect

erect any forts whatsoever in the country of *Latium*, even in case they at any time invaded it in a hostile manner.

FOURTHLY, This treaty makes it manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were particularly careful to exclude the *Romans* from all the territories subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though, even at that time, they took umbrage at the growing power of the *Romans*. They seemed, even in these early times, to harbour in their bosoms the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, which were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could extinguish, but the ruin of one of these two most potent republics.

FIFTHLY, The *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, would not allow the *Romans* to sail beyond the promontory called the *Fair promontory*, lying to the north of *Carthage*, lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy situation of the cities, and consequently should be tempted to make a settlement there. This, it must be owned, was a wise precaution, and shewed, that the *Carthaginians* were not only a people of foresight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprising genius of the *Romans*, long before they came to blows with them.

Mago succeeds Machæus in all his high posts;

THE republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it in the manner above related, chose *Mago* to succeed *Machæus* in all the high posts he filled. If we may judge of *Mago*'s capacity from the good effects of his administration, he was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. *Justin* tells us, that he was the first who introduced military discipline amongst the *Carthaginian* soldiery; that in his time the dominions of *Carthage* were much inlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, its riches increased, its military glory raised to a high pitch, virtue alone countenanced both in the army and state; in short, that he left his country in a most flourishing condition. His two sons, *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, succeeded him in all his high employments [a].

And is succeeded by his two sons, Asdrubal *and* Hamilcar;

Who command the army appointed to act against Sardinia.

Asdrubal and *Hamilcar* being adorned with the same virtues that rendered their father so conspicuous, the people of *Carthage* thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act against *Sardinia*; which island, it seems, had then revolted from them. Accordingly they landed their forces here, and for some time carried on a war against the *Sardi*; but with what success, is not said: only we are told, that towards the close of it *Asdrubal* was mortally wounded, by which melancholy accident the intire com-

[a] JUSTIN. l. xix. sub init.

mand

mand of the forces devolved upon his brother. The *Carthaginians* made great lamentation for this general, as indeed they had good reaſon; for he had been eleven times one of the ſuffetes, and diſcharged the duties of that high function with great applauſe, and in his military capacity had triumphed no leſs than four times; nay, the enemy themſelves looked upon his death as a blow given the *Carthaginians* equivalent to the cutting off of their whole army [t].

The Carthaginians attempt to ſhake off the African *yoke; but do not meet with ſucceſs.*

SOMEWHERE near this period, the *Carthaginians* had a mind to ſhake off the *African* yoke, that is, to diſcontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay; in order to which they declared war againſt them. The *Africans* having juſtice on their ſide, ſucceſs attended their arms; and, notwithſtanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage, the principal article of the treaty being, that the tribute at firſt impoſed upon them, for the ground on which their city ſtood, ſhould be continued [u].

Darius Hyſtaſpis *ſends an embaſſy to* Carthage, *inviting the people of that city to enter into an alliance with him againſt the* Greeks.

ABOUT this time, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, king of *Perſia*, ſent an embaſſy to *Carthage*, requiring the people of that city to abſtain from human ſacrifices, and eating dogs fleſh; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories; and laſtly, to furniſh him with a body of auxiliary forces to ſerve in the war he was going to declare againſt *Greece*, for which he was then making vaſt preparations. Every thing was complied with, at leaſt in appearance, for ſome time, till all the apprehenſions of feeling his reſentment were vaniſhed, except the laſt article, which the *Carthaginians* deſired to be excuſed from paying regard to, becauſe all their troops were then otherwiſe employed. *Juſtin* inſinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the *Carthaginians* on this occaſion; but this we can ſcarce believe, ſince it does not appear from hiſtory, that *Carthage* was ever ſubject, or even tributary, to the *Perſians*; beſides, this author, from whom the particulars here mentioned are drawn, affirms *Darius* to have ſent embaſſadors to *Carthage*; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his ſubjects. That the *Carthaginians*, and conſequently the *Phœnicians*, buried their dead antiently, may be collected from hence; but this is ſo clear from ſcripture, that it ſtands in no need of any other teſtimony to ſupport it. *Juſtin* likewiſe here obſerves, that the *Carthaginians* at this juncture were much embroiled with their neighbours; which ſeems to ſuggeſt, that either the war with the *Sardi* and *Africans* above-mentioned, or ſome other, was then

[t] Idem ibid [u] Idem ibid.

carried

carried on. It is no wonder *Darius* ſhould apply to the people of *Carthage* for aſſiſtance againſt the *Greeks*, ſince both the *Perſians* and *Carthaginians* looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

Some few years afterwards, the *Greeks* of *Sicily*, being extremely harraſſed by the *Carthaginians*, ſolicited *Leonidas* to ſend ſome *Lacedæmonian* forces to their relief [w]. From *Herodotus* it appears, that they could not obtain their requeſt; but that, however, *Gelon*, the tyrant of *Syracuſe*, was ſo happy as to preſerve his own dominions, and even to inlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the *Carthaginians* invaded *Sicily* almoſt immediately after, it is probable they did not ſuſtain any very conſiderable loſs in that war. It cannot be inferred from *Herodotus*, as we formerly imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were driven out of *Sicily* by *Gelon* at this time; but only that the tyrant gained ſome advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and ſupported himſelf without the aſſiſtance of the *Greeks*, as the paſſage referred to implies. It is rather probable from thence, that both parties in the main kept what they were in poſſeſſion of before the beginning of the war, though the *Carthaginians* might loſe ſome particular diſtricts, eſpecially ſince, according to *Juſtin*, there was no conſiderable, much leſs deciſive, action in it. The excellent character *Herodotus* has given us of *Hamilcar*, and the high encomium he has paſſed upon that general's conduct, ſeem likewiſe to determine in favour of our preſent opinion [x].

Gelon gains ſome advantages over the Carthaginians *in* Sicily.

Notwithstanding the *Carthaginians*, by reaſon of the various wars they were then engaged in, could not ſupply *Darius* with any ſuccours againſt the *Greeks*, as has been juſt obſerved; yet it appears extremely probable from hiſtory [a], that an offenſive and defenſive league was made betwixt theſe two powers towards the cloſe of that prince's reign. At leaſt it is moſt certain, that an alliance was formed between *Darius*'s ſucceſſor *Xerxes* and the ſtate of *Carthage*, not many years after the *Perſian* embaſſy above-mentioned was ſent to that city. By the treaty concluded with *Xerxes*, the *Carthaginians* were to invade *Sicily* with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the *Greeks* from thence, as well as the continent of *Italy*, whilſt that prince ſhould march in perſon with the whole ſtrength of the *Perſian* empire againſt *Greece* itſelf. But of this more hereafter [b].

Before we enter directly upon the tranſactions of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, we ſhall beg leave to give a ſhort account

[w] Herodot. l. vii. [x] Herodot. l. vii. Justin. l. xix.
[a] Justin. l. xix. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. c. 1, 2.

of

of the firſt footing this nation got in *Spain*. We are no-where told in hiſtory preciſely when this happened; nevertheleſs there is good reaſon to believe, from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Juſtin*, that it was very early, and before the times we are now ſpeaking of. The former of theſe authors aſſerts, that the great nerve of the *Carthaginian* power were the mines of *Spain*; that by them they were enabled to equip ſuch powerful fleets, and bring ſuch formidable armies into the field; nay, that by their aſſiſtance they made ſuch great conqueſts in *Sicily* and *Africa*. Hence 'tis apparent, that the firſt *Carthaginian* ſettlement in *Spain* muſt have long preceded, not only the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Darius*, but even that of *Cyrus* himſelf. But this is ſtill rendered more evident by *Juſtin*, who intimates, that this happened when the city of *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, was but of late ſtanding, or even in its infancy. The neighbouring *Spaniards*, finding this new city beginning to flouriſh, attacked it with all their forces; inſomuch, that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the *Carthaginians* to their aid. Both of them being originally colonies from *Tyre*, the *Carthaginians* readily granted their requeſt; and furniſhing them with powerful ſuccours, not only repulſed the *Spaniards*, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole province in which the new city ſtood [c].

Greateſt part of Spain *remained unſubdued till the time of* Hannibal.

THIS happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of ſubduing the whole country, to which they were alſo ſtrongly excited by the rich mines above-mentioned. 'Tis probable they could not puſh their conqueſts far at firſt, becauſe they had there to do with very warlike nations, who defended themſelves with great courage and reſolution. It appears from the accounts of *Livy* and *Polybius*, that the greateſt part of *Spain* remained unſubdued till the wars of *Hamilcar*, *Aſdrubal*, and *Hannibal*. Nay, 'tis very probable the *Carthaginians* could never have intirely reduced ſo many provinces there, as *Strabo* obſerves, had all the *Spaniards* formed but one ſtate, or mutually aſſiſted one another. But as every canton, every people, were intirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the leaſt correſpondence with them, they all by degrees fell a prey to the common enemy.

The Carthaginians *plant a colony in the iſland* Ebuſus, *or* Ereſus, *now* Yvica.

WE are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, as has been taken notice of in the chronological table, that the *Carthaginians* planted a colony in the iſland *Ebuſus* or *Ereſus*, now *Yvica*, on the coaſt of *Spain*, an hundred and ſixty years after the foundation of their city. The city *Ereſus*, the capital of the iſland, built by this colony, was ſurrounded with a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ſhips. The houſes in it were for the moſt

[c] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xliv. ſub fin.

part built in an elegant taſte, and inhabited by a variety of barbarous nations, as *Diodorus* calls them; but the moſt numerous of theſe were the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*. 'Tis highly probable therefore, that about this time the *Balearic* iſlands, at preſent known by the names of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were likewiſe either planted or reduced by the ſame people. This can ſcarce be doubted, if we conſider, that the name itſelf is *Phœnician* or *Punic*; that *Ebuſus* is but ſeven hundred ſtadia, *i. e.* not an hundred miles, diſtant from the *Balearic* iſlands; that the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed theſe iſlands from ſo remote an antiquity, that their firſt arrival here is prior to every thing related of them by any hiſtorian now extant, except their peopling the iſland *Ebuſus*; and that, according to *Vitruvius*, *Ebuſus* was reckoned to belong to the *Balearic* iſlands, which 'tis very natural to ſuppoſe. Now as we learn from *Juſtin*, that the firſt expedition the *Carthaginians* made to *Spain* was in order to aſſiſt the new city of *Gades* (A) above-mentioned; and as the *Carthaginian* fleet ſailing from *Carthage* to *Gades* eaſily might, nay, almoſt naturally would, take *Ebuſus* and the other *Balearic* iſlands, in its way, there is pretty good reaſon to believe, that *Gades* was ſuccoured, and *Ebuſus*, with the other *Balearic*

(A) It appears from the word *Gadir* or *Gaddir*, the true *Phœnician* or *Punic* name of *Cadiz*, that the city received its name from the iſland on which it was ſeated, and therefore that the *Tyrians* were in poſſeſſion of it ſome time before they built the city. For *Gadir* properly ſignifies an incloſure, or ſpot of ground ſeparated from all other tracts, as this iſland was by the ſea. It likewiſe denotes a fence or mound, as this iſland was doubtleſs conſidered by the *Phœnicians*, after their long and fatiguing voyages, againſt the rage and fury of the ſea. According to *Strabo*, the *Tyrians* firſt ſailed to this iſland a conſiderable time after *Hercules* was deified; and made ſeveral fruitleſs expeditions, at conſiderable diſtances of time, before they could ſettle upon it; which, in conjunction with what has been advanced by *Philoſtratus*, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at leaſt, of as late a foundation as we have ſuppoſed. The author of the *etymologicon* indeed inſinuates it to have been built by *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Phœnix*, which will carry it back to a very remote antiquity; but this ſavours ſo much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We ſhall only at preſent farther obſerve, that *Cadiz* and *Tarteſſus* were frequently miſtaken for one another. A particular deſcription and hiſtory of this city may be expected from us, when we come to the hiſtory of *Spain* (1).

(1) *Strab. l.* iii. *Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l.* v. *c.* 1. *apud Phot. & Newton's chronol. p.* 112, 113. *Salluſt. in fragment. ex hiſt. l.* ii. *Feſtus Avienus in or. marit. Plin. Arrian. &c. apud Bochart. in Chan. l.* i. *c.* 34. *Solin. Iſidor. Heſych. apud eund. & Liv. l.* xxviii.

iſlands,

islands, planted or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods likewise, in which *Justin* and *Diodorus* have related these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond; which in some measure confirms our opinion. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the *Carthaginians* made their first descent in *Spain* about an hundred and sixty years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the most early foreign transactions they were concerned in. Farther, since *Carthage* was so potent when *Gades* was in its infancy, we must suppose the former to have been at least eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; and if so, *Dido* might have founded her city not far from the time of the *Trojan* war, since, according to *Velleius*, *Gades* was built by the *Tyrians* about that number of years after the destruction of *Troy*. This is an additional argument in favour of what Sir *Isaac Newton* has advanced as to the time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability. As to *Velleius*'s assertion, that *Gades* was more antient than *Carthage*, he is plainly refuted by *Diodorus* and *Justin*, and the reason of the thing; neither had he asserted this, had it not been in consequence of an hypothesis. The *Romans* in his time generally followed the technical chronology of *Eratosthenes*, supposing it to be true: *Velleius* finding therefore in some good author, that *Gades* was absolutely affirmed to be built by the *Tyrians* eighty or an hundred years after the *Trojan* war; and by the *Punic* records, that *Carthage* was betwixt two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of *Eratosthenes*, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that *Gades* was older than *Carthage*. But the *Eratosthenean* chronology is now by some very learned men believed to have placed the destruction of *Troy* near three hundred years too high; and if so, no great stress is to be laid upon it. *Velleius*'s authority therefore, when he asserts the city of *Gades* to have been built about eighty or an hundred years after the *Trojan* war, depends upon some good author, as is plain from *Justin* compared with *Virgil*, *Servius*, *Apollodorus*, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than *Carthage*, upon the chronology of *Eratosthenes*, which cannot be intirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from *Justin*, *Diodorus*, and others; in the first case therefore it is pretty widely different from what it is in the other. *Justin* clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the island *Gades* had a temple there sacred to *Hercules*, before the city was built; so that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about or immediately after the time of the *Trojan* war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet we are far from positively insisting upon as matter of

fact, but only propose it to our readers as a point deserving farther consideration. On this occasion it may not be improper to remind our readers, that, according to the common computation, *Troy* was taken the twenty-fourth day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ; whereas Sir *Isaac Newton* places it 904 years only before the commencement of the christian æra [d].

Soldiers from Spain *one great nerve of the* Carthaginian *power.*

ANOTHER motive to the *Carthaginians* to make themselves masters of *Spain*, was the great number of brave recruits found in that country. The *Spaniards* were valiant, easily disciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With such immense treasure therefore as they annually drew from thence, and such bodies of the best soldiers as were continually formed there for their service, 'tis no wonder the *Carthaginians* should make such prodigious efforts, as we learn from history they did, to enslave all their neighbours [e].

First settlement of the Carthaginians *in* Corsica.

As *Diodorus Siculus* has given us a description of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the *Balearic* islands, *Corsica*, &c. in the same chapter, we think this authorizes us to speak a word or two here concerning the first *Carthaginian* settlement in the island last-mentioned. *Sardinia*, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and had been so for some time, when the first treaty was concluded between them and the *Romans*. *Corsica* likewise, we have reason to imagine, was possessed by them either wholly, or in part, in very antient times. This island was called by the *Greeks Cyrnus*, by the *Romans* and natives *Corsica*, had a beautiful large harbour, according to *Diodorus*, named *Syracusium*, together with two considerable cities, *Calaris*, or *Aleria*, built by the *Phocæans*, and *Nicæa* by the *Etruscans*. Notwithstanding the defeat of the *Carthaginian* and *Etruscan* fleets by the *Phocæans*, in the reign of *Cyrus* abovementioned, the victory cost the latter so dear, that they were obliged to abandon *Cyrnus* to the former. And we are farther informed by *Herodotus*, that the *Cyrnians*, *i. e.* the *Corsicans*, were one of those nations, out of which the *Carthaginians* formed that vast army, with which they invaded *Sicily* in the days of *Gelon*. These, to omit many others, that might easily be produced, are sufficient proofs, that the state of *Carthage* had a footing, at least, in *Corsica* in very remote times [f].

THE small islands of *Melita* and *Gaulos*, now *Malta* and *Gozo* or *Gozzo*, being conveniently situated for trade, and hav-

[d] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 1. VITRUV. JUSTIN. ubi sup. VELL. PATERC. l. i. sub init. NEWTON's chronol. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.
[e] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 2. [f] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup c. 1. HERODOT. l. vii.

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ing commodious ports, were indisputably in subjection likewise to the *Carthaginians*. It appears from *Diodorus*, that these islands were at first peopled either by the *Carthaginians*, or their ancestors the *Phœnicians* [g].

Malta and Gozo antiently subject to Carthage.

WE have above observed, that part of the isle of *Sicily* was subject to the state of *Carthage* before the beginning of the *Persian* empire; but when the *Carthaginians* first carried their arms thither, for want of sufficient light from history, we cannot take upon us to determine. M. *Rollin* affirms *Xerxes* to have been the first who prompted that people to attempt conquering the island at present under consideration, which is contrary to the faith of history; and immediately after, almost in the same breath, declares the period, in which the *Carthaginians* first landed there in an hostile manner, not to be exactly known [h]. This is a plain inconsistency, but not the only one in his system of antient history. As we have already given so particular a description of *Sicily*, as well as those heroic atchievements and great transactions, of which it was for so many ages the theatre, we shall have occasion to refer our readers frequently to some of the preceding parts of this work; though after all, in order to preserve and continue the thread of our history, we shall find repetitions in many places unavoidable.

When the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily unknown.

HOWEVER, in order to render these the more tolerable, whenever we are obliged to them, we shall endeavour to diversify the narration with several fresh incidents, not mentioned in any of our former volumes, as not so immediately relating to the histories of the countries we were then upon, drawn either from the historians quoted by us there, or others which at that time had escaped us.

The Carthaginians make great preparations for an expedition to Sicily.

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty with *Xerxes*, the *Carthaginians*, in pursuance of their engagements, made vast preparations for a war with the *Greeks* of *Sicily*, both by sea and land. The *Carthaginians* at this time were the most powerful people of all the west; and while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, they were to fall upon the *Greek* colonies, both in *Sicily* and *Magna Græcia*, as above, that thereby the *Greeks*, of all countries and denominations, might be diverted from helping one another. The preparations for this war were so prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithstanding *Xerxes* sent them vast sums of money from *Persia* for that purpose. With these they hired great numbers of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Liguria*, *Corsica*, &c. and raised what forces they could in *Africa*. All things at last being in readi-

[g] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

[h] M. ROLLIN. in hist. antien. des Carthag. p. 2. c. 1. sub init.

ness,

neſs, they ſet ſail from *Carthage* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, compoſed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thouſand ſhips of war, with three thouſand tranſports, not doubting but to make an intire conqueſt of *Sicily* the firſt campaign [i].

Hamilcar's horſes and chariot loſt in a ſtorm.

THE general who commanded in this expedition was *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Hanno*, according to *Herodotus*, or of *Mago*, as *Juſtin* will have it, a perſon of great authority both in the army and the city, who had behaved himſelf with uncommon conduct and bravery on many occaſions in the ſervice of his country. In his paſſage from *Carthage* to *Sicily*, his horſes and chariots, with the veſſels they were on board, periſhed in a ſtorm, which the *Carthaginians* doubtleſs, being extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, looked upon as ominous. However the general himſelf, upon his arrival at *Panormus*, now *Palermo*, endeavoured to diſſipate all gloomy apprehenſions, by declaring, that ſince they were happily arrived in *Sicily*, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the pain the late ſtorm gave him was a fear of the *Sicilians* eſcaping the danger that threatened them [k].

He inveſts Himera.

AFTER he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refreſh them, and repair the damage his fleet had ſuſtained in the late ſtorm; and then marching to *Himera*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, immediately cauſed it to be inveſted. To give ſome idea of the capacity of this general, *Diodorus* tells us, that, upon his ſitting down before *Himera*, he diſpoſed his army in two camps, the one deſtined for the land forces, the other for the ſhips and marines. He took care to ſecure his long ſhips or galleys, by drawing them on ſhore, ſurrounding them with an entrenchment, and placing all his marines there for their defence. The land forces were encamped in front, oppoſite to the city, extending themſelves from the lines of the other camp to the hills overlooking the town. The place being thus blocked up on the weſt ſide, he unladed the ſhips of burden of their proviſions, and ſent away what veſſels he had left to *Africa* and *Sardinia* for a further ſupply. After this he advanced with the flower of his army to the very walls of the city, routed a party of the gariſon in a ſally they made upon him, and thereby ſtruck a great terror into the beſieged [l].

Gelon defeats the Carthaginian foragers.

Theron, tyrant of the *Agrigentines*, at that time commanded in the place, who, though his gariſon was very ſtrong, being intimidated by the laſt diſaſter, as well as the numerous forces

[i] DIOD. SIC. l. xi. c. 2. HERODOT. l. vii. EPHOR. apud ſchol. Pind. Pyth. 1. ad ver. ἰλλαὶδ' ἐξ' ἀχαιῶν. [k] DIOD. SIC. & HERODOT. ubi ſup. [l] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

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of the enemy, diſpatched an expreſs to *Gelon* at *Syracuſe*, with all poſſible expedition, for immediate relief. *Gelon* having got his troops in readineſs to march at an hour's warning, upon advice of what had befallen the *Himeræans*, advanced to their city without delay, with an army of fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. He firſt encamped near the city, and afterwards fortified his camp in ſuch a manner as to put it out of danger of being inſulted by the enemy. By this means he infuſed new life and vigour into the gariſon, and freed them from all apprehenſions of the *Carthaginian* power. He ſent his horſe in queſt of the enemy, who were diſperſed in ſmall parties all over the country, in order to forage. Theſe, meeting with the *Carthaginians* ſtraggling about the country, without any diſcipline or order, fell upon them, took above ten thouſand priſoners, and brought them triumphantly into the town. By this action *Gelon*'s glory was raiſed to a very high pitch, and the *Himeræans* inſpired with a contempt of the enemy.

Gelon finds an opportunity of ſurpriſing the Carthaginians.

To demonſtrate to the *Carthaginians* the high contempt he had them in, he cauſed the gates *Theron* had before built, to ſecure him from their approaches, to be pulled down, and built others, more eſſential to the defence of the place, in their room. In fine, *Gelon* being an able warrior, and excelling in ſtratagems, ſet his head to work to find out ſome method of deſtroying the *Carthaginian* forces without any danger to himſelf or his army, which in ſtrength was ſo much inferior to the enemy. Fortune favoured the project he was upon by the following accident, which brought on a battle, and occaſioned the death of *Hamilcar*, and the total overthrow of his army [m].

The Carthaginians intirely defeated by Gelon.

A courier was brought to *Gelon*, having been intercepted by a party of his horſe, carrying letters from the inhabitants of *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*; whereby he underſtood, that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Neptune*, and that he had appointed the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the ſame day in the ſaid camp. *Gelon*, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horſe, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. Upon receiving theſe orders, by favour of the night, they conveyed themſelves privately to certain poſts cloſe by the *Carthaginian* camp, of which they took immediate poſſeſſion; and the next morning, approaching the ſaid camp, were admitted into it about ſunriſing, without the leaſt ſuſpicion. *Hamilcar* was then buſy in ſacrificing, and the greater part of the ſoldiery attending him

[m] Idem ibid.

without

without arms, according to *Diodorus*. But *Herodotus* intimates, that this general ſtaid in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from morning till the duſk of the evening, without intermiſſion. *Diodorus* adds, that the *Syracuſians*, without the leaſt oppoſition, making up to *Hamilcar*, killed him, purſuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces moſt of his marines, and ſet fire to the ſhips. *Herodotus*, on the contrary, gives us to underſtand, that *Hamilcar* was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that ſeeing his troops put to the rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, and was intirely conſumed. Upon the firing of the ſhips, *Gelon*, who had notice of the ſucceſs by a ſignal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the other camp. The *Carthaginians* at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the ſame time ſeeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to ſtand their ground, but betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; and then the ſlaughter was dreadful. As *Gelon*'s orders were, that no quarter ſhould be given during the heat of the engagement, no leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand men were ſlain in the battle and the purſuit. The reſt retired to an eminence, where they for ſome time defended themſelves; but at laſt, for want of water, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. This was the greateſt blow the *Carthaginians* had ever received before that time; for they did not only loſe their general *Hamilcar*, who was himſelf by his mother's ſide a *Syracuſian*, but had their whole army in ſuch a manner cut off, or taken priſoners, that not a ſingle man of it eſcaped to *Carthage*, to carry thither the news of this unparallelled defeat [n].

Polyænus, in his account of the *Carthaginian* general's death, differs ſomething both from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus*. According to this author, *Gelon*, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, ſent *Pediarchus*, the captain of his archers, who much reſembled him, dreſſed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer ſacrifice upon ſome altars near the ſpot of ground on which *Hamilcar* uſed daily to ſacrifice. *Pediarchus* was attended by a party of his archers, cloathed in white garments, with large ſprigs of myrtle in their hands, as an evident ſign of their going to perform ſo ſolemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with ſeveral arrows, which they were to let fly at the general as ſoon as he came within ſome diſtance. *Hamilcar*, ſuſpecting nothing of violence, came as uſual, with his

[n] Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

attendants,

attendants, to addreſs himſelf to the gods, and was immediately ſlain. However this may be, the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſians*, both of them ambitious of claiming ſo great a man to themſelves, gave out, that *Hamilcar*, upon the defeat of his troops, vaniſhed, and was never afterwards ſeen. The former, notwithſtanding his misfortune, and their immediate reſentment of it, in after-ages paid him divine honours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies ſeated themſelves [o].

The Carthaginians deify Hamilcar.

WE muſt not here omit obſerving, that *Terillus*, the ſon of *Crinippus*, invited the *Carthaginians* at this time into *Sicily*, and therefore was, in ſome reſpect, as well as *Xerxes*, the occaſion of this fatal war. *Terillus* was tyrant of *Himera*; but being driven from thence by *Theron*, the ſon of *Æneſidemus*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the inſtigation of *Anaxilaus*, the ſon of *Critineus*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, who married his daughter *Cydippe*, he had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, being well aſſured they would not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of inlarging their dominions in the iſland of *Sicily*. *Hamilcar*, in order to ſecure his fidelity, obliged him to ſend his ſons to him for hoſtages. This account *Herodotus* tells us he received from the *Sicilian* writers of his time, who made no mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the *Perſians* and the *Carthaginians* [p].

Terillus invites the Carthaginians into Sicily.

Herodotus farther informs us, that the battle of *Himera* was fought the ſame day with that of *Salamis*: but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the ſame day that *Leonidas*, with his brave body of *Spartans*, periſhed at *Thermopylæ*. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The "gods on purpoſe ſeemed to have deſtined the *Greeks* at the "ſame time a glorious victory in one place, and a moſt honour-"able death in another [q]."

Battles of Himera and Salamis fought the ſame day.

THE firſt thing after the battle *Gelon* did was, amply to reward all thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in the action, eſpecially the body of horſe to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greateſt part of the ſpoils, which were of an immenſe value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuſe* and *Himera*. What remained, together with the captives, he diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had ſhewn. Many of the laſt, to whatever city's ſhare they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and ſo many were taken, that all *Africa* ſeemed to have been tranſplanted into *Sicily*. Some of

Gelon rewards his ſoldiers for their bravery.

[o] POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 27. ex. 2. HERODOT. ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid. [q] DIOD. SIC. & HERODOT. ubi ſup.

the citizens of *Agrigentum* in particular, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. The fugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmost consternation, fled into the inland provinces of *Sicily*, especially the territory of *Agrigentum*, where, being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with prisoners. The greatest part of them were put in irons, and set apart for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first was, cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at *Agrigentum*, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were so much admired by the antients, and called *Pheaces*, from one *Pheax*, who was the overseer of the work. The *Agrigentines* likewise, by their labour, sunk a fish-pond at great expence, seven stadia in circumference and twenty cubits deep [r] (B).

Gelon *compared to the most famous* Greek *commanders.*

By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, *Gelon* acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. The stratagem by which the *Carthaginian* army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and soul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to *Themistocles*, and the advantage accruing to the *Greek* nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of *Platæa*. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in history of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Neither did the *Carthaginian* fleet, consisting of that vast number of ships of war and transports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ships or galleys, which *Hamilcar* had occasionally drawn out for necessary services, happened to be out at sea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and consequently escaped the general conflagration. These

[r] Diod Sic. ubi sup.

(B) This famous pond, the effect of *Carthaginian* labour, was supplied with water both from fountains and rivers, and excellently well stocked with fish of all kinds, serving both for food and pleasure. Great numbers of swans likewise rested upon it, which afforded a most pleasant prospect to the eye. By the negligence of succeeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at last became wholly dry ground. The soil was so rich in *Diodorus*'s time, that the *Agrigentines* planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very considerable revenue (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

failed

ſailed directly for *Carthage*; but meeting with contrary winds and tempeſts, before they reached that place, they were all caſt away, a few men only being ſaved in a ſmall boat. Theſe arriving at *Carthage* brought the diſmal news of the intire defeat of their army, and the loſs of their fleet. The *Carthaginians*, little expecting to hear of ſuch a ſignal diſaſter, but on the contrary pleaſing themſelves with the imagination of reducing the whole iſland of *Sicily* almoſt without ſtriking a ſtroke, were moſt ſtrangely ſhocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverſes of fortune the nation we are diſcourſing of ever loſt their courage, and abandoned themſelves to deſpair, ſo in the preſent caſe they gave every thing up for loſt. Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city; the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and degrees of people amongſt them were overwhelmed with inexpreſſible grief, deſpondency, and conſternation.

The Carthaginians apply to Gelon for a peace.

IN this deplorable ſituation, the *Carthaginians* thought they could have recourſe to nothing but *Gelon*'s clemency; and therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Sicily*, injoining them to ſtrike up a peace with him upon any terms.

His moderation and humanity.

UPON the arrival of theſe embaſſadors at *Syracuſe*, *Gelon* afforded them an inſtance of great moderation and humanity. Notwithſtanding by the late victory he was become the arbiter of peace and war, and had the *Carthaginians* intirely at his mercy, he received theſe miniſters in a moſt affable and courteous manner. His proſperity had not in the leaſt elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho' this deputation conſiſted of perſons the moſt famed of any in *Carthage* for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a moſt mean and abject manner. They threw themſelves at *Gelon*'s feet, with tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he ſhould think proper to preſcribe. This plainly ſhews how void the *Carthaginians* then were of that true reſolution and magnanimity, which ſupported the old *Romans* in all adverſity, and carried them through all dangers; that reſolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foundations of an almoſt univerſal empire, and even to deſtroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the hiſtory of; though it muſt be owned this heroic virtue and greatneſs of ſoul was much tarniſhed in their poſterity, to ſay no worſe, by ſome actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the *Carthaginian* ſtate.

The terms on which he grants them a peace.

Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compaſſion for the miſeries of the *Carthaginians*, granted them a peace upon the following eaſy conditions: Firſt, that they ſhould

ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver towards defraying the expences of the war. Secondly, that they ſhould build two temples, where this treaty of peace ſhould be depoſited, and at all times be expoſed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they ſhould abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. This laſt article ſhews the great humanity of *Gelon*'s temper, and is a proof, that the people of *Carthage* were obliged a ſecond time to aboliſh that barbarous practice for a certain period, at leaſt in appearance; for it cannot be doubted, but they ratified this treaty, it being ſo advantageous to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of deſtruction.

THE *Carthaginians*, having recovered their ſpirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to ſhew their gratitude to *Damareta*, *Gelon*'s wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly inſtrumental in bringing it to a happy concluſion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, ſent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name *Damaretia*, each of them being worth ten *Attic* drachmas. The *Sicilians* gave them the name of *Pentecontalitra*, from their being fifty pounds in weight [s] (C).

An inſtance of Gelon's military capacity.

WE muſt not omit one circumſtance, which may ſerve as a further inſtance of *Gelon*'s military capacity. Upon his firſt approach to *Himera*, to ſuccour the beſieged, a detachment of his forces defeated many of the *Carthaginian* parties ſent to

[s] Idem ibid. & PLUT. apopth. 175. & de ſer. vindic. deor: p. 552. Vide & ſchol. PIND. ad Pyth. od. 2. necnon. JAC. PERIZON. comment. in Ælian. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 11.

(C) Theſe pieces ſeem to have been rather medals ſtruck on occaſion of *Gelon*'s victory over the *Carthaginians*, than common coins. The ſize of them ſupplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The braſs *litra* of *Sicily* was at firſt a pound weight, as the *libra* or *as* was amongſt the *Romans*; and ſixty ſuch *litræ* made a talent. According to *Pollux*, *Damareta* and the other *Syracuſian* ladies of diſtinction brought all their ſilver utenſils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called νόμισμα Δημαρέτιον. But *Diodorus*'s relation is more probable; ſince, if *Gelon* had been in great want of money, he would undoubtedly have ſtamped it in the ſmalleſt ſpecies, and not in pieces of ſuch a magnitude, which ſeemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the *Carthaginians*, as well as the immenſe booty found in their camp (z).

(z) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Jul. Pol. p.* 437, & *alib. Vide & ſchol. Pind. olym.* ii.

forage

forage in different parts of the iſland. Beſides what they killed, they took ten thouſand priſoners, as above related. Theſe probably were the worſt troops in the *Carthaginian* army; and therefore a ſtratagem *Frontinus* relates *Gelon* to have been the author of ſeems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince, having a large number of priſoners, picked out the weakeſt of them, who were auxiliaries, moſtly tawny, and of a very deſpicable appearance; and expoſed them quite naked before his ſoldiers, that they might have the moſt contemptible notion of the enemy[t]. Something like this happened, if we miſtake not, in the late war betwixt the *Turks* and the *Ruſſians*, when the former, to give their people at *Conſtantinople* the meaner opinion of the latter, led the moſt miſerable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital.

What uſe Gelon made of the Carthaginian ſpoils.

BESIDES the public works above-mentioned, the *Carthaginian* ſpoils enabled *Gelon* to build two noble temples, the one to *Ceres*, and the other to *Proſerpina*. A tripod of gold likewiſe, of ſixteen talents, he cauſed to be made out of them, and ſent it as a donation to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude to that deity. If an inſcription given us by the ſcholiaſt on *Pindar* may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one ſent thither on this occaſion in the name of *Gelon* and his brothers, who had all of them a great ſhare in the ſucceſſes they gave thanks for (D).

THE

[t] FRONTIN. l. i. c. 11, 18.

(D) We are further aſſured by *Pauſanias*, that *Gelon* ſent ſeveral valuable preſents to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at *Olympia*, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, with which he was furniſhed from the booty found in the *Carthaginian* camp. Among the reſt there were three curious veſtments of fine *Carthaginian* linen, each of them repreſenting a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as ſomething particularly rare, ſince *Xenophon* intimates the *Carthaginian* flax to have been of a very fine nature. A ſtatue of *Jupiter* alſo, of a prodigious ſize, was ſent to the ſame place in the name of *Gelon* and the *Syracuſians*, when they were full of the moſt grateful ſentiments for the ſignal victory obtained over the *Carthaginians* both by ſea and land. The cell or apartment, in which theſe donations were depoſited, was of exquiſite workmanſhip, being made by thoſe celebrated artificers *Pythæus*, *Antiphilus*, and *Megacles*, at *Gelon*'s order. Beſides the golden tripod above-mentioned, *Gelon* ſent a golden ſtatue of *Victory* to *Delphi*, which ſeems to have been the third offering of metal ever brought thither. This we learn from *Phanias Ereſius*, and *Theopompus*, as cited by *Athenæus*, who inform us that before the

Giſco, *the ſon of* Hamilcar, *baniſhed* Carthage.

THE *Carthaginians*, incenſed at *Hamilcar*, as imputing the late diſaſter intirely to his conduct, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had done the ſtate on other occaſions, reſolved, that his family ſhould feel the effects of their reſentment; and therefore baniſhed his ſon *Giſco*, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of neceſſaries. The *Sicilian* cities, that ſided with the *Carthaginians*, upon their firſt application to *Gelon*, were received into favour, and had a confirmation of all their antient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner [u].

Little ſaid of the Carthaginians for ſeventy years.

FROM this time for full ſeventy years, that is to ſay, till towards the cloſe of the ninety-ſecond, or the beginning of the ninety-third, olympiad, we ſcarce find any mention of the *Carthaginians*, or their affairs, in the *Sicilian* hiſtory. The laſt blow they received in *Sicily* was ſo terrible, that a peace of ſome duration was abſolutely neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs; and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that, of all places in the world, *Sicily* would be the laſt they would, for a conſiderable period of time, chuſe for the ſcene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarqued in another war there, which, though pretty bloody and expenſive, ended with much better ſucceſs to them than the former.

The Carthaginians render themſelves independent in Africa.

HOWEVER, in ſome part of this interval, ſeveral remarkable incidents, mentioned by *Juſtin*, *Salluſt*, and *Valerius Maximus*, ſeem to have happened. The *Carthaginians* carried their arms againſt the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *African* nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. They likewiſe ſhook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them ſo much uneaſineſs, and rendered themſelves abſolutely independent.

Have warm diſputes with the Cyreneans, *on account of a diſputation of limits.*

THEY had warm diſputes with the people of *Cyrene*, a *Mediterranean* city, the capital of *Cyrenaica*, built by the *Theræans* under *Battus*, who were a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, which aroſe from the want of a regulation of limits between the two

[u] DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 11.

ſtates.

the days of *Gyges* and *Cræſus*, kings of *Lydia*, all the votive gifts ſent to *Delphi* conſiſted of braſs, and theſe not ſtatues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this obſervation ſeemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit it (4).

(4) *Pauſan in Eliac. poſter. l* vi. *p.* 379. *ed. Hanov.* 1613. *Xenoph. de venat. p* 975. *ed. Lunclav Francof.* 1594. *Phan. Eref. & Theopomp. apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l.* vi.

ſtates. As the *Cyreneans* were very powerful, much blood was ſhed on this occaſion; but at laſt the two nations, after having almoſt exhauſted each other by a long and expenſive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner [x].

BEING ſo weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to ſome foreign invader, they conſented firſt to a ceſſation of arms, in order to a pacification. Afterwards it was agreed, that each city ſhould appoint two commiſſaries, who ſhould ſet out from their reſpective towns upon the ſame day, and that the ſpot they met upon ſhould be the common boundary to both ſtates. Upon this, two brothers, called *Philæni*, were diſpatched from *Carthage*, who advanced with great celerity, whilſt the *Cyreneans* proceeded more ſlowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the lazineſs of the latter, or to ſome accident intervening, is not certain. However, the latter is not improbable, ſince in thoſe ſandy regions, at certain ſeaſons of the year, there are as violent ſtorms and tempeſts as upon the ſea; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering, that in ſuch countries, which are open and level, and have not ſo much as a ſhrub to break the force of the wind, ſometimes boiſterous weather muſt almoſt neceſſarily happen; and then the ſand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, noſtrils, *&c.* of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at leaſt, if it does not put an intire ſtop to, their journey. *Valerius Maximus* intimates, that the *Philæni* acted perfidiouſly, by ſetting out before the appointed time, and thereby impoſed upon the others. Be this as it will, the *Cyreneans*, finding themſelves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accuſed the *Carthaginians* of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the ſtipulated time; inſiſted, that the convention agreed upon between their principals was broken; and declared they would ſuffer all extremities, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a baſe and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the *Philæni*, with much ſeeming calmneſs and moderation, deſired the *Cyreneans* not to talk in ſo loſty a ſtrain, but themſelves to propoſe ſome expedient, whereby their differences might be terminated, promiſing at the ſame time to ſubmit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then propoſed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive there, not in the leaſt imagining they would comply with ſo hard a condition. But herein they were diſappointed; for the *Carthaginian* brothers, without heſitation, conſented to it, laid down

But at laſt come to an accommodation.

[x] Sall. Jug. c. 79

their

The Philæni *suffer themselves to be buried alive, in order to enlarge the dominions of their state.*

their lives, and gained a large extent of terrritory by that means to their country. The *Carthaginians* ever afterwards celebrated this is a moſt brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with ſuitable inſcriptions upon them. *Strabo* informs us, that no traces of theſe were to be ſeen in his days, though the place ſtill retained the name of *the altars of the* Philæni. However, 'tis not to be doubted, but the ſtate of *Carthage*, as long as it exiſted, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the ſide of *Cyrenaica*. *Salluſt* relates, that there was a ſandy tract of ground betwixt the territories of *Carthage* and *Cyrene*, without hill, river, or ſpot, in it, whereby to to aſcertain the borders of the two nations; ſo that they were obliged to have recourſe to the method aforeſaid. The love of one's country is certainly a moſt amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation ſhould carry this ſo far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, is very ſtrange; yet this the *Carthaginians* did, if *Valerius Maximus* may be credited, by paying ſo high a regard to the memory of the *Philæni*. That author, however, runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby diſcovers much of the *Punic* diſpoſition. In ſhort, this piece of hiſtory gives us a lively idea of the *Carthaginian* notion of bravery and heroiſm, as do ſeveral other incidents to be found in the courſe of this hiſtory [y].

The Egeſtines *occaſion another war between the* Carthaginians *and* Syracuſians.

The *Egeſtines*, allies of the *Athenians*, after the concluſion of the *Syracuſian* war, of which they had been the principal occaſion, by inviting the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, entertained ſtrong apprehenſions of being called to an account by the *Syracuſians* for all the acts of hoſtility they had committed againſt them. About this time alſo the *Egeſtines* had ſome diſputes with the *Selinuntines* about a regulation of limits, which at laſt broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two ſtates; but the former dreading the reſentment of the *Syracuſians*, and believing they would aſſiſt their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the *Egeſtines* gave up all the points in diſpute, the *Selinuntines*, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irritating the *Egeſtines*, they had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, imploring their protection, both againſt the *Selinuntines*, and their confederates the *Syracuſians*. The affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for ſome time debated at *Carthage* what courſe it would be proper to take.

[y] Idem ibid. Strab. l. iii. Pomp. Mel. l. i. c. 7. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant l iv c. 3.

On

On the one hand, the *Carthaginians* were very desirous to possess themselves of *Egesta*, a city which lay so convenient for them; and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole island of *Sicily*, the favourite project this state always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of *Syracuse*, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the *Athenians*, and was become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last their thirst after empire prevailed, and, through the desire of getting the city into their hands, they promised the *Egestines* succours.

Hannibal appointed to command in the Sicilian expedition.

THE general appointed to command in this war, if matters came to the last extremity, was *Hannibal*, the grandson of *Hamilcar*, killed at the battle of *Himera*, and son of *Gisco*, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes, and a person of very great consideration. As he bore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was desirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he sought, by all means possible, to distinguish himself on this occasion for the service of his country. He was indefatigable, all that summer and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other necessary preparations; insomuch, that, in the beginning of the spring, he had an incredible number of soldiers of different nations listed under his standard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the *Selinuntines*, he had recourse to *Punic* policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the *Syracusians* their allies. Being apprised, that the *Selinuntines* were not satisfied with the tract of land ceded them by the *Egestines* in the last treaty of peace, but laid farther claim to a great part of their territories, he desired the *Syracusians* to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to sow the seeds of dissension betwixt the *Syracusians* and the *Selinuntines*, imagining, that if the latter should reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwixt them would of course be dissolved, and consequently that each of them would more easily fall a prey to the *Carthaginians*. But his scheme proved abortive; for tho' the *Syracusians* interposed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the *Selinuntines* and *Egestines*, yet finding these ineffectual, they did not think proper to make use of any compulsive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The *Carthaginians*, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their embassadors, openly espoused the cause of the *Egestines*, and sent

a ſupply of five thouſand *Africans*, and eight hundred *Campanians*, to their aſſiſtance. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to aſſiſt the *Athenians* againſt the *Syracuſians*; but after their overthrow, ſailing back into *Campania*, ſtaid there, in hopes that ſome ſtate might ſoon ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. Accordingly, the *Carthaginians* took them into their ſervice, bought them horſes, and placed them in gariſon at *Egeſta*; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themſelves maſters of. Notwithſtanding this powerful body of *Carthaginian* auxiliaries, the *Selinuntines*, being both rich and numerous, held the *Egeſtines* in great contempt [w].

The Carthaginians and Campanians ſurpriſe the Selinuntines, and cut off a thouſand of them.

THE *Selinuntines*, having drawn together a ſtrong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about *Egeſta*, and deſpiſing the enemy, who were far inferior to them in number, diſperſed themſelves in parties, without order or diſcipline, all over the territory of the *Egeſtines*, for the ſake of plunder. The *Carthaginians* and *Campanians* in gariſon, obſerving this, took the firſt opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the *Egeſtines*, of ſurpriſing them; which they did ſo effectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thouſand on the ſpot, and carried off all their baggage. Immediately after this action, both cities diſpatched embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from their reſpective confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracuſians*, and the *Egeſtines* from the *Carthaginians*; which being readily agreed to on both ſides, a moſt dreadful war broke out between the *Egeſtines* and *Carthaginians* on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians* on the other.

The Carthaginians make great preparations for a war with the Selinuntines.

THE *Carthaginians*, before they directly engaged in this war, took care to make an eſtimate of the prodigious ſums neceſſary to ſupport it, and the numerous body of forces requiſite to carry it on with vigour; and having empowered their general *Hannibal* to raiſe an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a ſuitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the war, intending to attack the iſland of *Sicily* with their whole power the beginning of the following ſpring.

Hannibal *ands his forces in* Sicily.

Hannibal, at the time appointed, put his army on board ſixty long galleys, and fifteen hundred tranſports, together with an immenſe quantity of proviſions he had amaſſed for their ſubſiſtence, military engines, arms, and all other things neceſſary for a ſiege. Setting ſail with theſe, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he croſſed the *African* ſea, and arrived at *Lilybæum*, a promontory of *Sicily*, oppoſite to the coaſt of *Africa*. Before he landed his troops, he was diſcovered by a party of *Selinun-*

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

tine

tine horſe, who poſted away with great expedition, to give their countrymen intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the *Selinuntines* diſpatched couriers to *Syracuſe* for immediate relief. *Hannibal* in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called *The well of* Lilybæum, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. Here he ſtaid a ſhort time to refreſh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

Ephorus *and* Timæus Siculus *differ in their relations of the ſtrength of the* Carthaginian *army.*

ACCORDING to *Ephorus* the hiſtorian (E), the *Carthaginian* army conſiſted of two hundred thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe,

(E) *Ephorus*, an orator and hiſtorian, was born in the city (1) of *Cumæ* or *Cyme* in *Æolia*, and one of *Iſocrates*'s (2) ſcholars. His hiſtory contained chiefly the tranſactions of his countrymen the *Greeks* for the ſpace of ſeven hundred and fifty years; that is, from the return of the *Heraclidæ*, to the twentieth year of *Philip* king of *Macedon* (3), in which year he beſieged *Perinthus*. *Plutarch* intimates (4), that he wrote a particular hiſtory of *Cumæ*. He was a writer of ſlow parts, according to *Tully*, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his ſchool-fellow *Theopompus*. *Seneca* ſays (6), he had little regard to veracity; which ſeems confirmed by moſt of the paſſages taken from him by *Diodorus*. His ignorance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the *Iberians* inhabitants of the ſame city; from whence *Joſephus* rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the weſtern parts of the world came very late to the *Greeks*. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, *Diodorus* informs us (8), that he wrote with great accuracy, and in an elegant ſtyle; tho' in the laſt article he is contradicted by *Duris Samius* (9) and *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, whoſe teſtimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand hiſtory he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Beſides the performances above-mentioned, he compoſed a treatiſe *de rebus inventis*, of which *Strabo* (11) takes notice; another *de bonis & malis*, divided (12) into twenty-four books; another *de rebus paſſim admirabilibus* (13), divided into fifteen books; another *de civitatibus Thraciæ*, of which *Harpocration* quotes (14) the fourth book. Father *Harduin* aſcribes to him a particular treatiſe (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the increaſe of the *Nile*; but, according to M. *Bayle* (16), the authors

(1) *Strab. l.* xiii. *p.* 428. (2) *Plut. in vit. Iſocrat. p.* 837. (3) *Diod. Sic. l.* iv. *& l.* xx. (4) *Plut. de vit. Homer. ſub init.* (5) *Cic. in Brut. Quint. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (6) *Senec. quæſt. natural. l.* vii. *c.* 16. *Vide & Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl.* 245, *&c.* (7) *Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* i. (8) *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *ſub init.* (9) *Duris Samius in hiſt. l.* i. *apud Phot. bibl.* 176. *Dion Chryſoſt. in orat. de dicend. exercit.* (10) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi. (11) *Strab. ubi ſupra.* (12) *Suid in* Ἔφορος. (13) *Idem ibid.* (14) *Harpocrat. voce* Αἶν. (15) *Harduin. in judic. auctor. Plin.* (16) *Bayle, in dict. hiſt. & crit.*

horſe, though *Timæus Siculus* (F) will not allow them to have been much above an hundred thouſand. *Hannibal*, after landing his

alledged by him prove no ſuch thing; and indeed this he makes out very clearly. *Ephorus* is complimented (17) by *Polybius* and *Strabo*; but notwithſtanding *Diodorus* ſeems ſo fond of him, yet, in another paſſage, that writer tells us, he related ſo many falſities (18) of *Egypt*, that we muſt not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* (19), as well as *Diodorus*, ſpeaks favourably of his ſtyle. The two other hiſtorians this laſt author ranks with him, are *Theopompus* (20) and *Calliſthenes*. We find a valuable fragment of *Porphyry* preſerved by *Euſebius*, from which it appears, that *Ephorus* was accuſed of being a plagiary; nay of ſtealing three thouſand lines (21), word for word, from *Daimachus*, *Anaximenes*, and *Calliſthenes*. *Lyſimachus* is ſaid to have written a piece, containing all his plagiariſms; and *Alcæus*, (22) a ſatyrical poet, is affirmed by *Porphyry* likewiſe to have expoſed them. He is ridiculed by *Strabo* (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A ſon, called *Demophilus*, ſurvived him, who, (24) being a ſcholar, was thought by ſome to have put the finiſhing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be ſeen in *Voſſius* (25) and M. *Bayle*, to whom we refer our readers.

(F) *Timæus Siculus*, a *Greek* hiſtorian of good note (26), the ſon of *Andromachus*, a noble *Sicilian*, who according to *Diodorus* (27), aſſembling the fugitives of *Naxus*, ſettled with them on a hill called *Taurus*, to which ſettlement the city of *Taurominium* owed its origin. *Timæus* flouriſhed in the time of *Agathocles*, and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. *Suidas* and *Heſychius* will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of hiſtory; and *Polybius* accuſes him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judgment, and a trifling genius, on ſeveral occaſions (28). He was a perſon of violent paſſions, as appeared both from his ſhameful calumnies, and impious flattery, which prejudiced many writers, and ſome of theſe even too much, againſt him. Becauſe he was baniſhed by *Agathocles*, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death, not only deſcribing his crimes and ill qualities in the blackeſt manner, but loading him with fabulous calumnies. He was acted ſo much by a ſpirit of revenge on this occaſion, that he contradicted himſelf in a moſt flagrant manner; for which (29) reaſon the five laſt books of his hiſtory, which treated of the actions of *Agathocles*, were undoubtedly very deficient in

(17) *Polyb. apud Strabon. l.* x. *& alib.* (18) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. (19) *Dionyſ. Halicar. de col. verb. c.* 31. (20) *Diod. Sic. l.* iv. (21) *Porphyr. de erud. audit. apud Euſeb. in præp. evang. l.* x. (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *Strab. ubi ſupra.* (24) *Conf. Jonſium de ſcript. hiſt. philoſ. p.* 43, 44. *cum Athen. in deipnoſoph. l.* vi. (25) *Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. & Bayle, ubi ſupra.* (26) *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* ii. *& alib.* (27) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvi. *c.* 7. (28) *Heſych. & Suid. in* Τίμαιος. (29) *Suid. ubi ſupra.*

point

his forces, cauſed all his ſhips to be drawn aſhore, for fear of giving umbrage to the *Syracuſians*, and then, being joined by the

point of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe *Suidas*, he exalted his hero *Timoleon* (30) to a ſuperiority above the higheſt divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deſerved a greater puniſhment than *Calliſthenes*, who ſuffered death for deſigning to deify *Alexander*, a prince infinitely more illuſtrious than *Timoleon*. He compoſed ſeveral pieces; one conſiſting of three books, *de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibuſque*; another divided into ſixty-eight books, *de argumentis rhetoricæ*; another intituled *olympionicæ, ſeu acta chronica*; two more, whoſe titles were, Ἰταλικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ conſiſting of eight books; and Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, whoſe number of books is not known. In the former of theſe two laſt works he wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily*, as far as it was coincident with the *Roman* hiſtory; and in the other he gave an account of the *Sicilian* tranſactions, as they were intermixed with thoſe of the *Greeks*. His hiſtory of *Pyrrhus* was a diſtinct piece, as we are informed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and *Cicero* (31). *Diogenes Laertius* quoted no book of his hiſtory beyond the eighteenth though *Athenæus* (32) cited the twenty-eighth; which is a proof, that thoſe authors paid no great regard to the diviſion of his *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Sicilian*, hiſtory, as given us by *Voſſius*. Notwithſtanding what has been offered by *Suidas* to invalidate the authority of *Timæus* in the five laſt books of his hiſtory, yet this author himſelf allows (33), that, in all other parts of it, he adhered ſtrictly to truth; and even according to *Polybius*, though he blames our hiſtorian in ſeveral reſpects, particularly for truſting too much to the reports of others, he laid it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and ſoul of hiſtory. However he might be impoſed upon in what related to *Africa*, *Corſica*, and other countries that he was a ſtranger to, as *Polybius* intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of opinion, that he was an excellent and moſt faithful hiſtorian as to the *Sicilian* affairs, except when he diſcharged all the impetuous torrents of his rage againſt *Agathocles*, which indeed could never be vindicated. In moſt of thoſe paſſages of *Diodorus*, wherein *Timæus* and *Ephorus* are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his ſide, of which we ſhall at preſent only give one inſtance, not having time to produce all the reſt: *Ephorus* informs us, that the *Carthaginian* army, which reduced *Selinus* conſiſted of two hundred thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; but, according to *Timæus*, it could not well have conſiſted of above an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thouſand men. Now,

(30) *Idem ibid. & Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. p.* 82. *Vide & Antigon. ἐν θαυμασ. hiſt.* i *& Parthen. erot.* xxix. (31) *Dionyſ. Halicar. l.* i. *c.* 6. *Cic. epiſt. l.* v. 22. *ad Lucceium.* (32) *Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l.* viii. *n.* 60. *Athen. in deoprnoſoph. l* xi. *p.* 471. (33) *Suid. ubi ſup.* (34) *Polyb. l.* xii. (35) *Idem ibid. & l.* ii. *p.* 105.

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Hannibal *lays siege to* Selinus.

the *Egestines*, marched to *Selinus*, which city he immediately caused to be invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible

it is evident from *Diodorus*, that upon *Hannibal*'s marching to *Himera*, immediately after the reduction of *Selinus*, his army consisted but of an hundred thousand men; for he was joined by twenty thousand *Sicani* on his march, and, upon his arrival before *Himera*, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thousand men. Since therefore we cannot well suppose the *Carthaginians* to have lost above ten or twenty thousand men before *Selinus*, because the siege of that place was a very short one, it will follow, that when *Hannibal* first invested *Selinus*, his army, in all probability, consisted of about an hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty thousand men, nearly as *Timæus* related. It is certain *Diodorus* very well agrees with this historian; for that author tells us, *Hannibal*'s army, upon his laying siege to *Himera*, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men, as above-mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled *Ephorus*, and depreciated *Timæus*, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as several others that might be recited, preferred the latter to the former. Both *Diodorus* and *Cicero* (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the last of which was of the *Asiatic* kind. *Plutarch* (37) entertained different sentiments of his style; and *Longinus* censures him for his affectation and puerility therein, as well as the eager desire he shews to reprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, M. *Bayle* has plainly proved, that the instances (38) produced by *Longinus*, in support of his criticism, do not come up to the point, and that he deserved censure in this particular, rather than *Timæus*. *Longinus* owned, that sometimes he came up to the lofty and sublime style, had a great share of knowledge, and expressed himself very judiciously; but still he seems to us to have been so much prejudiced against our historian, on account of the numerous instances of ill-nature visible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too strong a disposition to discover blemishes in him; which made him copy after *Cecilius* in finding imaginary faults, and thereby fall into the very same crime he condemned *Timæus* for. He lived to a very old age (39), some say, ninety-six years. According to *Polybius* (40), he lived a sedentary life, which, in the opinion of that historian, must have disqualified him for writing history. *Plutarch* informs us (41), that he fell into the follies of *Xenarchus* in several parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the most minute, and even ridiculous, circumstances. *Cicero* (42) puts him on a level with *Herodo-*

(36) *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *sub init. Cic. de orat. l.* ii. *& in Bruto, sub fin.* (37) *Plut. in Nic. Longin.* περὶ ὕψ. *c.* 3. (38) *Bayle, in dict. hist. & crit.* (39) *Lucian. in macrobiis, p.* 642. *tit.* 2. (40) *Polyb. l.* xii. (41) *Plut. ubi supra.* (42) *Cic. de orat. l.* ii. *Vide & Clem. Alexand. strom. l* i. *Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl.* 244. *Aul. Gell. l.* xi. *c.* 1. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *&c.*

thus

dible fury. In his way he took *Emporium*, a town ſeated on the river *Mazara* (G), by ſtorm; and having cloſely begirt *Selinus* with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the ſiege of that city. In order to puſh this on with the greater vigour, he erected ſix high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His ſlingers and darters likewiſe greatly annoyed the beſieged, by forcing them from many fortified poſts. The *Selinuntines*, little expecting ſuch a viſit from the *Carthaginians*, as having been the only people of *Sicily* who ſided with them againſt *Gelon*, and having long been diſuſed to ſieges, were ſtruck with great terror at the approach of ſo formidable an army, and the reſolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reaſon to expect, that the *Syracuſians* and their other confederates would ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours, they defended themſelves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel ſo barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardleſs of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their country [x].

IN order to inſpire his troops with courage, *Hannibal* promiſed them the plunder of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being inceſſantly battered day and night *And takes it.*

[x] EPHORUS & TIMÆUS SICULUS apud DIOD. SIC. l. xiii.

tus, *Thucydides*, *Philiſtus*, *Theopompus*, *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, and *Calliſthenes*. That he was ſuperior, in point of authority, to *Ephorus*, when he treated of the affairs of *Sicily*, we think pretty evident from what we have juſt advanced, which we remember not to have ſeen taken notice of by any other author.

(G) *Rhodomanus*, in his *Latin* verſion of *Diodorus*, calls this river *Mazarus*; but we chuſe rather to follow *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Diodorus* himſelf, who give it a feminine termination. Some believe the word *emporium* here not to be a proper, but a common, name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was *Mazara*; for *Stephanus* tells us, *Mazara* was a caſtle or fortreſs of the *Selinuntines*. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortreſſes ſeated on them, the ſame names, and that even in *Sicily* itſelf. To wave all other inſtances at preſent, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that *Gela*, a city of great note in this iſland, had a river of the ſame name running cloſe by its walls. On or near this ſpot there is a fine city, called *Mazara*, at this day, but no monuments of antiquity, according to *Fazellus*, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of *Stephanus*'s *Selinuntine* caſtle, it ſeems to point out the true name of the town *Hannibal* took by ſtorm on his march to *Selinus*.

by

by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was ſoon made, and the firſt who entered it were the *Campanians*, out of an ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves above the the reſt; but they were repulſed with great loſs, as were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* ſent to ſupport them. The fight laſted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* ſounded the retreat. In the mean time the *Selinuntines* ſent expreſſes to *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Syracuſe*, acquainting them, that, without ſpeedy aſſiſtance, it would be impoſſible for the gariſon of *Selinus* to defend itſelf againſt ſo numerous an army, provided with ſuch a train of battering engines. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* held themſelves in readineſs to march; but, however, thought it proper to wait for the *Syracuſian* auxiliaries, that they might more ſucceſsfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The *Syracuſians* alſo, having certain advice, that *Selinus* was beſieged, immediately ſtruck up a peace with the *Chalcideans*, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could; but as they did not think them ſufficient to relieve effectually the beſieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for ſome days, till they had got together a ſtronger force. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. *Hannibal*, as ſoon as it was light, renewing the aſſault, poſſeſſed himſelf of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbiſh, with the flower of his troops charged the *Selinuntines* with ſuch fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them into diſorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in deſpair. Many fell on both ſides; but the *Carthaginians* were conſtantly ſupplied with freſh men; whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the aſſault was daily renewed for the ſpace of nine days with great courage and reſolution, and with incredible ſlaughter on both ſides. At length the beſieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians*, after a ſharp diſpute, lodged themſelves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houſes filled all places with cries and lamentations. The *Selinuntines*, now giving up every thing for loſt, barricaded all the ſtreets and paſſages, being determined to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood; which occaſioned a long and bloody conteſt. The women alſo, notwithſtanding their firſt panic, ſorely galled the *Carthaginians* with ſhowers of tiles and ſtones thrown by them from the tops of the houſes, which kept the fate of this city for ſome time in ſuſpenſe; but the *Carthaginians* returning to the charge with inexpreſſible ardor,

ardor, and continually pouring freſh men into the town, the poor *Selinuntines* were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow ſtreets, were purſued by the conquerors into the market-place, where, making a ſtand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

An inſtance of the Carthaginian *barbarity.*

Selinus being thus taken by ſtorm, and the plunder of it given up to the ſoldiers, it is impoſſible to expreſs the miſery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the cruelties exerciſed upon them by the *Carthaginians*, who, it muſt be owned, on ſuch melancholy occaſions as theſe, generally ſhewed themſelves to be moſt ſavage barbarians. They raged in all parts of the town without reſtraint, rifled the houſes, and then ſet fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or dragging them into the ſtreets, put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword. Neither did their inhumanity reſt here; they carried it ſo far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, ſome of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of oſtentation, bearing the heads of the ſlain on the points of their ſwords and ſpears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, eſcaped the common deſtruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compaſſion, of the victors; for believing that theſe poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, ſet fire to the temples, and by that means conſume all the treaſure and valuable effects they expected to find in thoſe places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a ſtate of deſperation. The ravages in the city continued moſt part of the night, inſomuch, that every place was full of blood, horror, and confuſion. The ſurviving matrons had the mortification to ſee their daughters forced to be ſubſervient to the brutal luſt of the barbarians, which, with a ſenſe of the diſmal ſervitude prepared for them in *Africa*, made them wiſh they had not ſurvived their friends and relations. In fine, after ſixteen thouſand miſerable wretches had been cruelly maſſacred, and two thouſand ſix hundred eſcaped to *Agrigentum*, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, about five thouſand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives [y].

A body of Selinuntines *eſcapes to* Agrigentum.

THE body of *Selinuntines* that retired to *Agrigentum*, made their eſcape by the favour of the night, having found an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow paſſes. Upon their arrival at *Agrigentum*, they were received with great humanity and tenderneſs; corn was diſtributed to them out of the public ſtores; and every private per-

[y] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

ſon, out of his own generous diſpoſition, liberally ſupplied them with all kinds of neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtence.

The Carthaginians *plunder the temples at* Selinus.

A few days after the city was taken, three thouſand *Syracuſians* arrived at *Agrigentum*, on their march to *Selinus*; but underſtanding that the city was taken, they ſent embaſſadors to *Hannibal*, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at leaſt ſpare the temples. *Hannibal* returned anſwer, that ſince the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deſerved to be treated like ſlaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedneſs, had forſaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. This anſwer is a clear demonſtration of the *Punic* genius at that time, and exactly correſponds with what *Diodorus* has related of the *Carthaginians* in this particular: "These barbarians, ſays that author, "exceed all men in impiety; for whereas other nations, ſpare "thoſe who fly into temples, out of a principle of religion, not "daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, leſt they "ſhould offend the deity; the *Carthaginians*, on the contrary, "moderate their cruelty to theſe perſons, that they may have "a better opportunity of pillaging the temples themſelves." The *Syracuſians* however, not acquieſcing in this anſwer, ſent another embaſſy, and at the head of it one *Empediones*, a *Selinuntine*, who had always been in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*, and had even adviſed his countrymen to open their gates to *Hannibal* at his firſt appearing before the town. The *Carthaginian* general received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, reſtored him to his eſtate, pardoned all the priſoners related to him, and even permitted the *Selinuntines*, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to rebuild and repeople their city, and manure their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians* [z].

Hannibal *attacks* Himera.

After the reduction of *Selinus*, *Hannibal* marched with his army to attack *Himera*, which above all things he deſired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been ſlain there by *Gelon*, with above an hundred and fifty thouſand *Carthaginians*, and almoſt as many taken priſoners. Beſides, as he had already puniſhed the *Selinuntines* for the inſults they had offered his father *Giſco* in his baniſhment, he now reſolved to take vengeance of the *Himereans*, for being the occaſion of that baniſhment. On his march he was joined by twenty thouſand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he ſent, with the main body of the army, to lay ſiege to the city, while he, with

[z] Idem ibid.

a body

a body of forty thouſand men, encamped on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from it. His troops being flushed with their late ſucceſs, he puſhed on the ſiege with the utmoſt v°gour, battering the wall with his engines in ſeveral places at once; but finding this not fully to anſwer his intention, he undermined it and by ſupporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards ſet on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this a warm diſpute enſued, the *Carthaginians* making all poſſible efforts to enter the town; and the *Himereans*, having the fate of the *Selinuntines* always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thouſand *Syracuſian* auxiliaries, with ſome troops from their other allies under the command of *Diocles*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt extraordinary manner; and repulſing the enemy with great bravery, immediately repaired the wall. In fine, the *Carthaginians*, having been conſtantly repulſed in their attacks for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, were obliged for the preſent to deſiſt from all further attempts to ſtorm the town; which mortified them extremely, eſpecially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground [a].

The Himereans make a vigorous ſally upon the Carthaginians.

THE *Himereans*, animated by this advantage, reſolved not to be any longer cooped up in the city, as the *Selinuntines* had been, but to endeavour, by one ſtrenuous effort, intirely to diſlodge the enemy. Having therefore poſted detachments of their gariſon at proper diſtances on the wall, to repel any aſſault that might be given, they made a ſally on the beſiegers with their whole remaining force, conſiſting of ten thouſand men. The *Carthaginians*, little dreaming that the beſieged were capable of ſuch an attempt, at firſt imagined, that the confederates of the *Himereans* had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the *Himereans* for ſome time eaſily bore down all that oppoſed them; and tho' the *Carthaginians* afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head againſt them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the preſent juncture, throwing them into diſorder, they incommoded one another more than the enemy. The beſieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inſpired with freſh courage at the ſight of their parents, children, and friends, who, for this purpoſe, expoſed themſelves on the ramparts, charged them with ſuch intrepidity, that they put their whole army to flight, purſuing them to the very hill where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general, ſeeing his army

[a] Idem ibid.

in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole *Carthaginian* army, till they all died upon the spot [b].

But are repulsed.

The Carthaginians sustain a great loss in this action.

THE *Carthaginian* army, tho' victorious, was yet rudely handled, the *Himerean* troops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the cruel treatment they expected from their enemies, if conquered, inspired with a much greater degree of resolution. *Ephorus* says, the *Carthaginians* lost twenty thousand men in the first action, before they were pursued to *Hannibal*'s camp; tho' *Timæus Siculus* reduces this number to six thousand. As there was a very sharp engagement afterwards betwixt the *Himereans* and *Hannibal*, many more must undoubtedly have perished, though the precise number of them is not given us by any historian. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Carthaginian* army, that laid siege to the town, exclusive of *Hannibal*'s camp, consisted of eighty thousand effective men [c].

AFTER this action, five and twenty galleys, which had been sent by the *Siculi* some time before to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now returning home, appeared off of *Himera*; upon which a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracusians*, with all their forces and allies, were coming to the relief of the city. This was so far from discouraging the *Carthaginians*, that it put *Hannibal* upon a new enterprise; for imagining that the *Syracusians* had sent

[b] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. [c] Idem ibid.

(H) Though the native *Carthaginians* were well armed and good troops, yet the *Africans* and *Numidians* were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a considerable part of the *Carthaginian* armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which sometimes produced dismal effects. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Timoleon*, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the *Carthaginian* forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable, a great part of the army besieging *Himera*, consisted of these troops, whilst that under the command of *Hannibal*, which covered the siege, was composed of the national forces (20).

(20) *Plut. in Timol. Polyb. l.* xiv. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 3. & *l.* xxv. *c.* 13. & *l.* xxviii. *c.* 1. *Hendr. l.* ii. *sect.* 2. *memb.* 1. *c.* 7.

all

all their ſtrength to ſupport their confederates, he doubted not but the city muſt be left in a manner defenceleſs; and therefore, immediately imbarquing with the flower of his troops in the galleys which lay at *Motya*, prepared to ſail for *Syracuſe*, in order to ſurpriſe that city. In the mean time, *Diocles*, commander in chief of the *Syracuſian* troops in *Himera*, a man of great foreſight and penetration, adviſed the captains of the *Sicilian* veſſels to ſail with all poſſible expedition to *Syracuſe*, leſt *Hannibal* ſhould make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more ſtrongly induced to, ſince, if in another action the beſiegers ſhould cut off the beſt of his men, he plainly perceived, that their own city muſt of courſe fall a prey to the *Carthaginians*. He therefore thought it adviſeable to leave *Himera* for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to *Syracuſe* on the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought ſufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a ſtate of defence, ſhould return. This the beſieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his meaſures, the greateſt part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to ſend on board the galleys by night, in order to have them tranſported to *Meſſana* [d].

Diocles imbarques part of his troops for the defence of Syracuſe.

As *Diocles* and his men imbarqued in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions ſlain in the ſiege uninterred. However, they carried off with them many of the *Himereans*, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other veſſels. Upon his departure, the *Carthaginians* redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermiſſion. On the other hand, the beſieged, believing the ſhips would return ſpeedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulſing the enemy. Thus they held out againſt the repeated aſſaults and utmoſt efforts of above an hundred thouſand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, gave a general aſſault, and with their numbers bearing down all before them, drove the gariſon from the ramparts, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, entered the city ſword in hand. The *Iberians* ſignalized themſelves greatly on this occaſion, being the firſt that forced the beſieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no ſort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* did not practiſe on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to ſex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himſelf put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The houſes were plundered, the temples

Which occaſions the loſs of Himera.

[d] Idem ibid.

pillaged

pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them those wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itself levelled with the ground. *Hannibal* caused the women and children, that survived the first fury of the soldiers, to be preserved; neither durst any one offer the least injury to them: but the men, to the number of three thousand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, where his grandfather *Hamilcar* had been defeated and killed by *Gelon*'s cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred.

The Campanians *think themselves ill used by the* Carthaginians.

THUS ended this campaign, one of the most prosperous the *Carthaginians* had ever met with in *Sicily*; after which *Hannibal*, dismissing the *Siculi* and confederates, and disbanding the *Campanians*, embarqued with the rest of his forces, and set sail for *Africa*. The *Siculi*, upon their dismission, went home, as did likewise the *Campanians*; but the latter complained bitterly of the *Carthaginians*, because they looked upon themselves as slighted by that nation, tho' they had remarkably distinguished themselves in their service at the siege of *Selinus*, and indeed through the whole course of the campaign. *Himera* had stood, at the time it was razed by *Hannibal*, two hundred and forty years [e].

Hannibal, *at his departure from* Sicily, *leaves some troops to protect his confederates there.*

Hannibal, upon his quitting *Sicily*, left a small body of troops with his confederates, that they might not be too much exposed to the resentment or ambition of their neighbours. After a short passage, he arrived safe at *Carthage*, loaden with the plunder he had carried off from *Selinus* and *Himera*. The whole city went out to meet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things, in so short a time, than any ever before him [f].

The Carthaginians *make preparations for another campaign in* Sicily.

ANIMATED by the late success in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* resolved now in earnest to pursue the design which they had ever entertained of reducing the whole island. With this view they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same *Hannibal*. But, as by reason of his great age he endeavoured to get himself excused from taking upon him the command in this new expedition, they joined in commission with him *Imilcar* the son of *Hanno*, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers

[e] DIOD. SIC ubi sup. [f] Idem ibid.

with

with large ſums into *Spain*, *Libya*, *Sardinia* (I), and the *Balearic* iſlands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewiſe large ſuccours from the princes and ſtates with whom they were in alliance, *viz.* from the *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and even the nations bordering on *Cyrenaica*. Beſides all which, they took a body of *Campanians* out of *Italy* into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and ſuch as they could intirely depend upon, eſpecially when intermixed with thoſe of other nations. When all their forces were muſtered at *Carthage*, the army was found to conſiſt of three hundred thouſand effective men, as *Ephorus* informs us; but *Timæus Siculus*, with more probability, ſays, that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thouſand: a force, however, ſufficient, as it ſhould ſeem, to over-run *Sicily* in one campaign.

THE *Carthaginians*, in the interval betwixt the firſt beginning of their preparations and their embarquing for the *Sicilian* expedition, drew together, out of *Carthage* and other cities in *Africa*, all perſons who were willing to tranſplant themſelves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in *Sicily*, which was from thence called by the *Greeks* *Therma*.

They people a new city in that iſland, called by the Greeks, from its ſituation, Therma.

BEFORE the grand fleet, which was compoſed of a thouſand tranſports, beſides a numerous ſquadron of galleys, with the forces on board, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, *Hannibal* ſent forty galleys

(I) *Livy* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* armies were generally made up of a great variety of barbarous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, inſomuch, that they did not underſtand one another. As the *Carthaginians* applied themſelves wholly to naval affairs, they employed moſt of their own hands on board their ſhips; and the moſt opulent citizens did not care to expoſe their perſons in the war, but contented themſelves with enabling the ſtate to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewiſe have ſome political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their ſtate to be rendered more ſecure, than if their armies conſiſted wholly of *Carthaginian* citizens, ſince theſe could not be ſo intirely truſted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at *Carthage*; beſides, ſuch an army as we have mentioned could not eaſily mutiny, or revolt, ſince 'tis impoſſible ſo many different nations ſhould act in concert, or form any dangerous ſcheme againſt their principals. However, *Polybius* condemns this practice, and not without reaſon, ſince it not a little contributed to the decline of the *Carthaginian* ſtate, and once brought it to the very brink of deſtruction (2).

(2) *Liv. l.* xxviii. *c.* 12. *Polyb. l.* i. *& l.* vi. *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *& l.* v. *Chriſt. Hendr. l.* ii. *ſect.* 2. *mem.* 1. *c.* 4.

to

to reconnoitre the coasts, and get intelligence of the enemy. These fell in with a *Syracusian* squadron of equal force off of *Eryx*, and immediately engaged them. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last victory inclined to the *Syracusians*. Of the *Carthaginian* galleys, fifteen were sunk, and the rest, by the favour of the night, made their escape. When the news of this unexpected defeat reached *Carthage*, *Hannibal* sailed immediately with fifty galleys, designing both to prevent any ill consequences from thence to the *Carthaginians*, and to secure the passage and landing of the army [g].

The Syracusians *defeat the* Carthaginians *by sea.*

Upon *Hannibal*'s arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the *Carthaginians*, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving safe in *Sicily*, the troops landed on the coast of *Agrigentum*, and marched strait to that city.

Hannibal *lands his troops in* Sicily, *and advances to* Agrigentum;

The *Syracusians*, and their confederates, had sent embassadors to *Carthage* to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by *Hannibal*, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any more troops into *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the *Syracusians* had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had sent to the *Greeks* of *Italy* and the *Lacedæmonians* to solicit succours, and dispatched expresses to all the *Sicilian* cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of *Sicily*, none were under such apprehensions as the *Agrigentines*; they seemed fully satisfied, that this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. The *Carthaginians*, upon their investing *Agrigentum*, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand *Africans* and *Iberians*, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the sallies of the besieged. When they first sat down before the town, they invited the *Agrigentines* either to join them, or stand neuter, declaring they would be well satisfied with either point of conduct, and forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. Both proposals being rejected, they attacked

Which city he besieges, but meets with a warm reception.

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. atq; Ephorus & Timæus Siculus. apud eund ibid.

the

the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous reſiſtance. And this indeed was not without reaſon; for the *Agrigentines* had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to aſſiſt in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from *Gela*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who was in high eſteem at that time on account of his country, according to *Timæus Siculus*. Eight hundred *Campanians* alſo, who had formerly ſerved under *Imilcar*, were taken into the ſervice of the *Agrigentines*, and defended the hill *Athenæum*, which commanded the city, and was therefore a poſt of the utmoſt conſequence. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, *Imilcar* and *Hannibal*, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made uſe of on this occaſion were of ſurpriſing force; and two towers (K) were brought againſt the city of a monſtrous ſize. The firſt day out of theſe they made an aſſault; and, after having cut off many of the beſieged, ſounded a retreat. However, the next night the *Agrigentines* made a ſally, burnt the engines, deſtroyed the towers raiſed againſt them, and, after having made a great ſlaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon *Hannibal*, intending to ſtorm the place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and ſtately monuments, ſtanding round the city, to be demoliſhed, and mounts to be raiſed with the rubbiſh as high as the walls. But whilſt they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic ſeized the army, occaſioned by *Theron*'s monument being deſtroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the ſoothſayers preſent, put a ſtop to the deſign. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a ſhort time carried off a great number of the ſoldiers, and

Theron's monument deſtroyed by lightning, which occaſions a panic in the Carthaginian *army.*

(K) Soon after the *Carthaginians* had inveſted a town they raiſed a mount of equal height with the walls, if not ſuperior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the higheſt battlements and towers of ſtone, either upon the walls or within the town. Theſe moved upon wheels, and with them the beſiegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place. They were very large, and capable of containing conſiderable numbers of men, and ſome of the ſmaller engines of battery, whereby the beſieged were greatly annoyed. From theſe towers they made their aſſaults, and frequently ſtormed towns, or at leaſt opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. *Juſtus Lipſius* gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) *Juſt. Lipſ. polior. l.* ii. *c.* 3, 4, *&c. Vide etiam Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. *& Chr. Hendr. l.* ii. *ſect.* 2. *memb.* 1. *c.* 9.

the general *Hannibal* himself. The *Carthaginian* soothsayers above-mentioned interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the soldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the deceased. Wherefore *Imilcar*, in whom the whole power was now vested, ordered supplications to be made, according to the practice of *Carthage*, and the demolition of the tombs to be intirely discontinued. A boy was also sacrificed to *Saturn*, in compliance with a custom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongst the *Carthaginians*: by his orders *Neptune* likewise was appeased, and several priests thrown into the sea, as the most pleasing victims to that deity. *Imilcar* having, as he imagined, by these cruelties atoned for the sacrileges of *Hannibal*, and pacified the gods, renewed the assaults with more vigour than ever, filled the river with rubbish close to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them upon the town in such a manner as reduced the besieged to great straights [h].

In the mean time, the *Syracusians* taking into consideration the deplorable condition of *Agrigentum*, and fearing it would undergo the same fate that *Himera* and *Selinus* had done, began to think in earnest of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from *Italy* and *Messana*, and being joined by the *Camarineans*, *Geleans*, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. Judging these sufficient for their purpose, they gave orders to *Daphneus*, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the territory of the *Agrigentines*, a fleet of thirty galleys, which sailed close by the shore, at the same time keeping pace with him. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the *Iberians* and *Campanians*, with forty thousand *Carthaginians*, injoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river *Himera*. Pursuant to his orders, the *Syracusians* were attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as they were advancing in good order towards *Agrigentum*. The dispute was sharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far superior in number to the *Syracusians*. But at length the latter carried the day, and pursued the *Carthaginians* to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. *Daphneus* fearing, lest *Imilcar* should take advantage of the confusion his troops were thrown into by their eagerness in the pursuit, and thereby wrest the victory out of his hands,

The Syracusians *send an army to oblige him to raise the siege.*

Which is attacked by the Carthaginians, *but defeats them.*

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

as had formerly happened to the *Himereans* on the like occaſion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the ſpot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate poſſeſſion of. The *Carthaginians* loſt ſix thouſand men in this action [i] (L).

THE *Carthaginians* eſcaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it ſhould ſeem, of the *Agrigentine* commanders. For the beſieged, ſeeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmoſt confuſion, immediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore preſſed their officers to ſally out upon them without loſs of time, that they might complete their ruin. They were, however, deaf to theſe ſolicitations, and would not permit a man to ſtir out of the town. To what motive ſuch an unaccountable procedure was to be attributed, is hard to ſay; however, the fugitives were hereby ſaved, and arrived ſafe in their other camp. This fatal ſtep could never afterwards be retrieved, but was followed by the loſs of the city [k].

The Agrigentine commanders guilty of a falſe ſtep, which occaſions the loſs of the place.

UPON *Daphneus's* arrival, a great part of the gariſon, with *Dexippus* at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here ſhewed himſelf highly diſſatisfied, that ſo fair an opportunity had been loſt of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and deſtroying ſo many myriads of them. Hereupon great diſputes aroſe, inſomuch, that four of the *Agrigentine* commanders, at the inſtigation of one *Menes*, a *Camarinean*, were ſtoned by the enraged multitude, and a fifth, called *Argeus*, only by reaſon of his youth, eſcaped. *Dexippus* himſelf was highly reflected upon, and loſt much of the reputation he had before acquired, by concurring with the reſt. After the council broke up, *Daphneus* formed a deſign to attack *Imilcar's* camp; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, he

A mutiny, wherein four of theſe commanders are ſtoned, and a fifth narrowly eſcapes.

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

(L) We are told by *Polyænus*, that *Daphneus* defeated the *Carthaginians* by the following ſtratagem: The armies being engaged, that general heard a great noiſe in the left wing, where the *Italian* forces were poſted; and haſtening thither, he found them almoſt defeated: upon which immediately repairing to the right wing, compoſed of *Syracuſians*, he told them, that the *Italians* had routed the enemy; and therefore, to render the victory complete, intreated them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion. Animated by this good news, they immediately cried out, *Let us fall upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury*. Upon which, charging them with incredible bravery, they ſoon put them to flight (4).

(4) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 7.*

altered his reſolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to periſh with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the paſſages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was ſoon brought to ſuch ſtraights, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries began to mutiny; and going in a body to *Imilcar*'s tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days, aſſuring them they ſhould be very ſoon plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, and in the mean time pawned to them the drinking veſſels of the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers. He had been informed, that the *Syracuſians* were then loading many ſhips with corn, to be ſent to *Agrigentum*, and did not in the leaſt doubt but he ſhould intercept the convoy, the *Syracuſians* not ſuſpecting, that he would attempt any thing by ſea. Accordingly, he diſpatched meſſengers to *Panormus* and *Motya*, where his fleet lay, injoining the commanders to man the galleys with all poſſible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ſhips that were to bring the proviſions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being ſpeedily equipped, the *Syracuſian* fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore tranſports, laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ſhips were ſunk, and the reſt driven on ſhore. This changed the face of affairs on both ſides; for as ſuch an unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* freſh courage, ſo it greatly diſheartened the *Agrigentines*, who, having already held out for the ſpace of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved ſo quickly as their preſent neceſſity required. Beſides, at the beginning of the ſiege, when bad ſucceſs attended the *Carthaginians*, they had ſquandered away their corn and other proviſions in a very profuſe manner, by which means they were now reduced to the greater diſtreſs. The *Campanians*, in the ſervice of the *Agrigentines*, obſerving the deſperate condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from *Imilcar*, went all over in a body to to the *Carthaginians*. *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian* alſo, according to *Diodorus*, was ſaid to have been bribed with the ſame ſum; for he on a ſudden adviſed the *Italian* commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, inſinuating, that they were likely to be ſtarved there, without the leaſt proſpect of rendering any ſervice to thoſe who had hired them: whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advantage

Imilcar in great ſtraights for want of proviſions.

But ſupplies himſelf plentifully by intercepting a Syracuſian *fleet of tranſports laden with corn, and all ſorts of proviſions.*

advantage in ſome other part: with which advice complying, they left the *Agrigentines* to ſhift for themſelves [l] (M).

THE mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants deſponding for want of neceſſaries, a council of war was ſummoned, when it was judged abſolutely impoſſible to hold out any longer, there not being proviſions enough in the public ſtores to ſupport the ſoldiery and people two days. It was therefore reſolved, that the city ſhould be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to ſome place of ſafety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being appriſed of this reſolution, were thereby thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every houſe; and the grief and dread they were all ſeized with, in ſeeing themſelves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and eſtates, or elſe expoſe themſelves to the fury of a mercileſs enemy, were inexpreſſible. However, though their riches were immenſe, yet they eſteemed life ſtill more valuable; and therefore, as they expected no mercy from ſuch cruel barbarians, the greateſt part of them gave way to unavoidable neceſſity. We ſhall not here expatiate upon the ſcene of horror now before us, *Diodorus Siculus* having done this in a moſt affecting manner, but only obſerve, that the place appointed for theſe miſerable wretches to retire to was *Gela*, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindneſs and humanity, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries at the expence of the public. What happened to them afterwards may be ſeen in a former part of this hiſtory [m].

Upon which the Agrigentines reſolve to leave their city to the enemy.

[l] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. p. 146, & ſeq.

[m] Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii.

(M) *Polyænus* tells us, that *Imilcar* (whom he calls *Aimilco*) gave private orders to his men to fly before the beſieged whenever they made a ſally, in order to draw them into an ambuſcade. There happened to be a wood juſt before the town, in which he poſted a detachment of his troops, with orders to ſet this on fire as ſoon as the enemy were got at a conſiderable diſtance from the town. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the *Agrigentines* purſued the *Carthaginians* with great ardor for ſome time; but at laſt looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze; which they imagined was a fire iſſuing out of the city itſelf. Upon this they retired with great precipitation towards the town; but falling into the ambuſcade, and being hotly purſued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken priſoners (5).

(5) *Polyæn. ſtratagem. l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 4. *Vid. & Frontin. ſtrat. l.* iii. *c.* 10. *ex.* 5.

THE

Imilcar *enters the city, where he commits great cruelties,*

The garriſon was no ſooner withdrawn, and the *Syracuſian* army retired, But *Imilcar*, marching out of his trenches, entered the city not without ſome fear and jealouſy, and put all thoſe he found in it to the ſword, not ſparing even ſuch as had fled to the temples. Among theſe was *Gellias* (M), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who ſeeing that the *Carthaginians*, without reſpecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in them, ſet fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and conſumed in the flames both himſelf and the immenſe riches of that ſtately edifice. *Gellias*, according to *Diodorus*, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: firſt, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; ſecondly, the ſacrilegious carrying off of the vaſt treaſure lodged there; and, thirdly, the abuſe of his own body [n].

And pillages every part of it.

Imilcar, having pillaged every part of the city, both ſacred and profane, found himſelf maſter of an immenſe treaſure. Nothing leſs could be expected from the ſpoils of a city, which was

[n] Idem ibid. See alſo Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 146. not. (X).

(M) The munificence of *Gellias* may be learned not only from *Diodorus Siculus*, but *Valerius Maximus* and *Athenæus* (6). He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of *Agrigentum* from periſhing with hunger. He gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair. He had built houſes in the city and country, purpoſely for the accommodation of ſtrangers, whom he uſually diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. In ſhort, *Gellius*'s riches, immenſe as they were, were ſurpaſſed by his greatneſs of ſoul, his treaſures being, as it were, to uſe *Valerius Maximus*'s phraſe, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, and all the neighbouring provinces, ſhould ſo ardently pray for his health and proſperity. No greater loſs could have happened to that part of *Sicily* than the fatal end of ſo excellent a perſon, but the death and deſtruction of all thoſe poor wretches, who ſhould have regretted him. *Athenæus*, in all the preſent MSS. calls him *Tellias*; but *Nicholaus Sturio* has diſcovered this to be a fault of the tranſcribers, though it muſt have been a very antient one, ſince *Euſtathius* oftener than once calls him likewiſe *Tellias*. What *Athenæus* has concerning him is taken almoſt word for word out of the eleventh book of *Timæus*'s hiſtory, and poſſibly *Diodorus*'s may have been deduced from the ſame ſource. The great reſemblance betwixt the capital *tau* (T) and *gamma* (Γ) might poſſibly occaſion the miſtake above-mentioned; for that it is a miſtake, the printed copies and MSS. of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Valerius Maximus* ſufficiently evince.

(6) *Valer. Max. l.* iv. *c. ult. Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* i. *Vid. & Iſ. Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. l.* i. *p.* 12.

one

one of the moſt opulent in *Sicily*, containing two hundred thouſand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even beſieged. An infinite number of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues, done by the greateſt maſters of thoſe times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquiſite taſte for the polite arts. To give our readers ſome idea of *Agrigentum*, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the very ſepulchral monuments ſhewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with ſtatues of birds and horſes, famous for their elegance. *Empedocles*, the philoſopher, born in *Agrigentum*, has a memorable ſaying concerning his fellow-citizens; *That the* Agrigentines *ſquandered away their money ſo exceſſively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhauſted; and built with ſuch ſolidity and magnificence, as if they thought they ſhould live for ever.* The moſt valuable part of the plunder *Imilcar* ſent to *Carthage*; every thing elſe he cauſed to be ſold under the ſpear. Among other curioſities, the famous bull of *Phalaris* was ſent to *Carthage* [o].

Empedocles's ſaying of the Agrigentines.

THE people of *Syracuſe*, being prodigiouſly alarmed at the reduction of *Agrigentum*, had a decree paſſed for the raiſing a numerous body of troops to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Carthaginians*, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. *Imilcar* having gained the city, after eight months ſiege, a little before the winter ſolſtice, did not preſently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the neceſſary refreſhment. The *Sicilians* in general, as well as the inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, were ſtruck with terror at the *Carthaginian* conqueſts, and many of them fled to *Syracuſe* for protection, whilſt others tranſported themſelves, with all their effects, to the continent of *Italy*. Thoſe, who took ſanctuary in *Syracuſe*, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints againſt the *Syracuſian* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raiſed ſuch diſturbances in *Syracuſe*, as at laſt gave *Dionyſius* an opportunity of ſeizing upon the ſovereign power. *Imilcar*, after laying it intirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the ſpring, left *Agrigentum* [p].

Many of the Sicilians, *being ſtruck with terror at the* Carthaginian *conqueſts, fly to* Syracuſe *for protection.*

THE *Gelcans*, receiving intelligence that the *Carthaginians* intended to open the campaign with the ſiege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themſelves, implored the protection of *Syracuſe*; upon which *Dionyſius* immediately marched to their aſſiſtance with two thouſand foot and four hundred

The Syracuſians *ſend* Dionyſius *to aſſiſt the people of* Gela.

[o] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. & & CIC. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.

[p] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

dred horſe. The *Geleans* were ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and even ſent embaſſadors to *Syracuſe* to return their thanks for the important ſervice that city had done them in ſending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generaliſſimo of the *Syracuſian* forces, and thoſe of their allies, againſt the *Carthaginians*. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already ſhewn, and will further appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

THE *Carthaginian* forces, under the command of *Imilcar*, having, on the return of the ſpring, razed the city of *Agrigentum*, made an incurſion into the territories of *Gela* and *Camarina*; and, after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off ſuch an immenſe quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. *Imilcar*, then marching with his whole army againſt *Gela*, took poſt on the banks of the river *Gela*, and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting but *Dionyſius* would come to the relief of the beſieged with a powerful army. The *Geleans*, in the beginning of the ſiege, were

Imilcar *marches with his army againſt* Gela,

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention ſome particulars relating to the *Carthaginian* camps, which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the *Carthaginians* were apprehenſive, that the enemy would attempt to raiſe the ſiege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a ditch and a wall, as we learn here from *Diodorus*. Their camps ſeem to have been formed in a regular manner, reſembling a town, and had gates to them. The *Numidian* camp was always ſeparated from the *Carthaginian*; the reaſons of which ſeem to have been, that the *Carthaginians* were generally foot, but the *Numidians* horſe, and that the latter could not permit themſelves to be confined to the rules of military diſcipline ſo eaſily as the former. The general's tent was, for the moſt part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and ſuperb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their reſpective orders; and a ſtrong guard, *Polybius* intimates a thouſand horſe and as many foot, were generally poſted before it. Near this ſtood the ſacred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of diſtinction, performed their devotions. The *Carthaginian* tents ſeem to have been raiſed in a regular manner of wood, faſcines, &c. reſembling ſo many cottages; but the *Numidian* were the reverſe, conſiſting only of reeds, ſtraw, ſtubble, and other ſuch-like ſlight materials (7).

(7) *Liv. l.* xxvi. *c.* 13 & *l* xxviii. *c.* 1. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *Juſt. Lipſ l.* v. *dial.* 2. *milit. Rom. Polyb. l* i. *c.* 45 & *l.* iii. *c* 71. *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 3. *Polyb. l.* vi. *Plutarch. in Scip. Lipſ. milit. Rom l.* v. *dial.* 5. & *Chriſt. Hendr. Carth. l.* ii. *ſect.* 2. *memb.* 1. *c.* 7.

determined

determined to ſend away their wives and children to *Syracuſe*, as a place of greater ſafety; but they all, running to the altars in the *forum*, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but proteſted that they would undergo the ſame fate as their huſbands and parents. This reſolution encouraged the *Geleans* to exert themſelves in the defence of perſons ſo dear to them, and to whom they were ſo dear. They made ſeveral ſallies with good ſucceſs, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them priſoners into the town. No ſooner was a breach opened in the wall by the *Carthaginian* rams (O), but

(O) The *ram* was a battering engine uſed in ſieges by the antients. *Pliny* tells us it was found out by *Epeus*, a *Greek*, at the ſiege of *Troy*; but this is not very probable, becauſe we find no mention made of it in *Homer*, who, if ſuch a wonderful machine had been then known, could not poſſibly have omitted taking notice of it. 'Tis therefore much more likely, that the *Carthaginians* invented it, as *Vitruvius* and *Tertullian* believe, with whom *Lipſius* agrees. The *ram* was a large beam, equal to the maſt of a ſhip, with a head of ſolid iron, reſembling that of a ram, from whence it derived its name. This was faſtened in the middle to another beam, ſupported by a large piece of timber on each ſide, by ropes, in ſuch a manner as to be pendulous like a balance. This being drawn backwards by a great number of hands as far as poſſible, was then puſhed forwards with as great an *impetus* as they could give it, ſo that the iron head beating againſt the walls of a city with inconceivable force, eaſily ſhook them; neither was there any wall or tower but what this, by repeated blows, was capable of battering down. As theſe blows, in ſome reſpect, reſembled the buttings of a ram, this was a further reaſon for giving the machine the name of that animal. *Appian* relates, that the *Romans* battered the walls of *Carthage* with two *rams* of an immenſe ſize, one of which was played by a body of ſix thouſand foot, and the other by a vaſt number of rowers, which may ſerve to give us ſome idea of this terrible engine 'Tis mentioned by the prophet *Ezekiel* in two paſſages, and *Nebuchadnezzar* made uſe of it at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. Whether the *Carthaginians*, or their anceſtors the *Tyrians* (for both ſometimes went by the ſame name), firſt diſcovered it, cannot be certainly determined, nor at what time the diſcovery was made; but we take *Ezekiel* to be the earlieſt author in whom any mention of it is to be ſeen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full deſcription of the various kinds of this machine in *Vitruvius* and *Lipſius*, whom at their leiſure they may conſult (3).

(3) *Tertul. de Pal. Plin. Joſeph. Vitruv. & Fig. apud Lipſium in poliorc. l.* iii. *dial* 1. *& alib. Appian. in Libr. Vitruv. l.* x. *c.* 19. *Ezek.* iv. 1, 2. *&* xxi. 22. *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 56. *Chriſt. Hendr. ubi ſup. p.* 468—475.

but the citizens repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully ſhared

Now we are upon this ſubject, we ſhall here once for all give a ſhort account of the *catapulta* and the *baliſta*, two other engines frequently taken notice of by the antient hiſtorians. The *catapulta* was a machine out of which the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, ſent vollies of darts and large arrows, made on purpoſe, upon the enemy, particularly upon thoſe parties of gariſons poſted on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the *rams*. *Diodorus* intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the ſiege of *Motya*. Some authors confound this with the *baliſta*, which was an engine out of which ſtones of a vaſt weight were diſcharged; for *Diodorus* writes, that the *Carthaginians* filled *Lilybæum* with *Catapults*, out of which they threw ſtones; and *Appian* relates the ſame of the *Roman catapults*. But *Lipſius* (and he has reaſon on his ſide) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the *catapulta* diſcharged both ſtones and arrows. That author ſays, there were two ſorts of *catapults*, the *majores catapultæ*, and the *minores*; the firſt ſent forth ſhowers of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other thoſe of half that length. At the taking of new *Carthage* in *Spain*, an hundred and twenty large *catapults* were found there, and two hundred and eighty one of the ſmaller ſize. The *Carthaginians* always abounded with theſe engines: when *Pyrrhus* attacked *Lilybæum*, there was ſuch an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would ſcarce contain them; and, a little before the deſtruction of their city, they delivered up to the *Romans* two thouſand of them, according to *Appian*, or, as *Strabo* will have it, three thouſand. The *baliſta*, as juſt hinted, was an engine out of which the antients threw ſtones of a prodigious magnitude: this was alſo uſed at ſieges, and in many reſpects anſwered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the *baliſta*, if we may depend upon the relations of the antients, ſeems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to *Lipſius*, the *baliſta* likewiſe was either *major* or *minor*; the *major* threw ſtones of three hundred and ſixty pounds weight, and the *minor* thoſe of an hundred. *Hegeſippus* relates ſeveral ſurpriſing effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans* found at *Carthage* twenty-two of the larger *baliſtæ*, and of the ſmaller fifty-two. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as explained and illuſtrated by *Lipſius*, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, uſe, form, and, in ſhort, of every thing relating to theſe terrible engines, to which authors, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers (4).

(4) *Juſt. Lipſ. ubi ſup. dial.* 2. & 3. *Vid. etiam Frid. Taubmannum in Plaut. capt. act.* iv *ſc. n.* ii. *v.* 16. *Diod. Sic. in excerpt. l.* xxii. *c.* 14. *Appian in Libyc. p.* 46. *Liv. l.* xxvi. *c.* 47. *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xxiii. *Hegeſip. l.* iii. *c.* 12. *Vide & Joſeph. Laurentium de torment. c.* 7, *&c.*

with

with them the labour and danger. The young men were continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the reſt employed in working and other neceſſary ſervices. In fine, they defended themſelves with ſuch courage and reſolution, that, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, they held out a long time againſt a moſt formidable army, without receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from their allies [q].

And meets with a vigorous reſiſtance.

IN the mean time *Dionyſius*, by the junction of his mercenaries, and ſuccours from *Magna Græcia* with the *Syracuſians*, almoſt every one of whom capable of bearing arms he obliged to liſt under his ſtandard, formed an army of fifty thouſand foot, according to ſome, though *Timæus Siculus* makes them only thirty thouſand, and a thouſand horſe; with which, and fifty ſail of ſhips, he advanced to the relief of *Gela*. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the ſea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he propoſed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilſt his horſe and ſhipping ſhould intercept all proviſions coming to their camp from any part of the *Carthaginian* dominions; which he doubted not would greatly diſtreſs them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he reſolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, in order to this, made the following diſpoſition of his forces: The *Sicilian* foot had orders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; the troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and marching to the ſhore, attempt the camp in the weakeſt place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the ſpot where the *Carthaginian* engines were placed, in order to deſtroy them; the horſe he commanded to paſs the *Gela*, upon a ſignal given by the foot, to join them, if ſuperior to the enemy, or, if repulſed, to ſupport them; and laſtly, the ſea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as poſſible with the ſhips, when the *Italian* troops came up. As *Imilcar* had ſent a ſtrong detachment towards the ſhore, to oppoſe the enemy's landing, and defend that part of the camp which lay moſt expoſed, the *Italian* auxiliaries met with a great reſiſtance. However, they behaved with ſuch bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the *Carthaginian* camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly ſupported, they muſt have carried it and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But *Dionyſius*, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himſelf able to advance with ſufficient expedition through the ſtreets of the city to their relief, the

Dionyſius *advances to the relief of Gela,*

And attacks the enemy's camp;

[q] Idem ibid.

Siculi being too remote to afford them timely ſuccour, and the gariſon not daring to make an effectual ſally by way of diverſion, leſt they ſhould leave the walls too naked; the *Carthaginians* reſuming their courage, and being relieved by a powerful ſupply of freſh troops, ſoon broke them, killed a thouſand on the ſpot, and forced the reſt into a narrow paſs within the lines. Here they muſt all have been inevitably cut off, had not a ſhower of darts, and other miſſive weapons, from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The *Sicilian* foot, in the mean time, charged a large body of *Africans* with ſuch reſolution, that they put them to flight, and purſued them to their very trenches with great ſlaughter; but theſe *Africans* being ſoon reinforced by the *Campanians*, *Iberians*, and *Carthaginians*, who had routed the *Italians*, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the *Siculi*, drove them back to the town, with the loſs of ſix hundred men. The horſe finding the foot not able to withſtand the efforts of the enemy, and ſeeing theſe advance on all ſides in order to ſurround them, retired likewiſe to the city with precipitation. *Dionyſius*, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greateſt part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper alſo to retreat, and take ſhelter within the walls. After this unſucceſsful attempt he ſummoned a council of war, conſiſting of his particular friends, the reſult of whoſe deliberations was, that, ſince the enemy was ſo much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the iſſue of a battle; and therefore, that the inhabitants ſhould be perſuaded to abandon their country, as the only means to ſave their lives. In conſequence of this, a trumpet was ſent to *Imilcar*, to deſire a ceſſation of arms till the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of *Gela* an opportunity of making their eſcape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens left the place, and he himſelf, with the army, followed them about mid-night. To amuſe the enemy, he left two thouſand men of his light-armed troops behind him, commanding them to make fires all night, and ſet up loud ſhouts, as though the army remained ſtill in the town. At day-break, theſe took the ſame route as their companions, and purſued their march with great celerity. By theſe ſtratagems, *Dionyſius* preſerved the inhabitants of *Gela* from all inſults, and ſecured the retreat of his army [r].

But is repulſed with great loſs.

Which obliges the inhabitants to abandon the place.

Dionyſius *leaves two regiments behind, and part of his army, by ſtratagem.*

Imilcar finding the city deſerted by the greateſt part of its citizens, the gariſon, and *Syracuſian* army, immediately entered it, and either put to the ſword or crucified all he met with in it.

[r] Idem ibid.

He

He likewiſe thoroughly plundered it in the ſame manner as *Agrigentum*, and then moved with his forces towards *Camarina*. *Dionyſius* had before drawn off the *Camarineans* with their wives and children to *Syracuſe*, by appriſing them of *Imilcar's* ſpeedy approach. Their city underwent the ſame fate with that of *Gela*. The manner in which it was abandoned, *Diodorus Siculus* deſcribes in a moſt moving manner. But this, as well as what happened to *Dionyſius* hereupon, may be ſeen at large in a former part of this hiſtory [s].

Imilcar plunders Gela, *and then moves towards* Camarina, *which undergoes the ſame fate.*

Imilcar, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the caſualties of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himſelf in a condition to continue the war, ſent a herald to *Syracuſe* to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionyſius*, and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the *Carthaginians*. The articles of it were; that the *Carthaginians*, beſides their antient acquiſitions in *Sicily*, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the countries of the *Sicani*, the *Selinuntines*, the *Himereans*, and *Agrigentines*; that the people of *Gela* and *Camarina* ſhould be permitted to reſide in their reſpective cities, which yet ſhould be diſmantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontini*, *Meſſanians*, and all the other *Sicilians*, ſhould live according to their own laws, and preſerve their own liberty and independency, except the *Syracuſians*, who ſhould continue in ſubjection to *Dionyſius*. Theſe articles being ratified by both parties, *Imilcar* returned to *Carthage*, having loſt above half his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havock in *Africa*, carrying off vaſt numbers both of the *Carthaginians* and their allies [t].

A peace concluded betwixt the Carthaginians *and* Dionyſius.

BEFORE the *Carthaginian* army retired from *Sicily*, *Imilcar* ſeparated the *Campanians* from the other troops, and left them to defend his conqueſts in that iſland. It happened ſoon after, that *Dionyſius* was reduced to ſuch extremities by his ſubjects the *Syracuſians*, that he was adviſed by his moſt intimate friends either to kill himſelf, or by one deſperate effort force his way through the enemy's camp, and eſcape to thoſe places which were ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. But *Philiſtus* (E) the hiſtorian, who

Dionyſius *in imminent danger of loſing the ſovereignty at* Syracuſe;

[s] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 153, & ſeq.
[t] Idem ibid.

(E) This *Philiſtus* was, according to *Suidas* (1), the ſon of *Archonidas*, or, as *Pauſanias* calls him, *Archemenidas*, and ſcholar to the elegiac poet *Eucnus*. He was particularly intimate with *Dionyſ-*

(1) *Suid. in* Φιλιστος, *& Pauſan. in Eliac. i. v. Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. & xvi. *& Plut. in Dion.*

ius,

who, for a conſiderable time, had ſupported *Dionyſius*, oppoſed this advice, telling him, that he ought to reſume his courage, and either

ſius, and above any other perſon inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing that tyrant's power at *Syracuſe*; for which reaſon he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is ſuggeſted by ſome, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with *Dionyſius*'s mother, tho' with his privity. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of *Leptines*, brother to *Dionyſius*, without imparting his deſign to that prince, he was baniſhed by him, and retired to *Adria*. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of *Dionyſius* the younger, thoſe who oppoſed *Dion* had him recalled; for they were afraid, leſt *Plato*, by his eloquence and philoſophy, ſhould change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) ſo learned a man as *Philiſtus* would be able to prevent, eſpecially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himſelf to the tyrant's diſpoſition. He anſwered their expectations; for, as ſoon as he was in favour, he oppoſed *Plato*, and perſuaded *Dionyſius* to expel *Dion*. Soon after, *Dion* made war upon *Dionyſius*, and beſieged him in the caſtle of *Syracuſe*. *Philiſtus* haſtened to his aſſiſtance from *Iapygia*, with a ſtrong ſquadron of (3) galleys, but had the misfortune to be defeated. *Ephorus* ſays, he fell by his own hands, and is followed herein by *Diodorus Siculus*. But *Timonides*, who lived with *Dion* from the beginning of theſe commotions, informs us, that he was taken priſoner, and put to death; with whom *Timæus Siculus* in the main agrees. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, he was denied burial. He may juſtly be eſteemed to have been a man of merit, if we conſider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in ſome meaſure, appear from the account of him in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*. *Suidas* (4) aſcribes to him a treatiſe concerning oratory; *Ægyptiaca*, or the hiſtory of *Egypt*, in twelve books; *res Siculæ*, or the *Sicilian* hiſtory, in eleven books; ſome orations, and one amongſt the reſt againſt *Tricaranus*, concerning the city of *Naucratis*; the hiſtory of *Dionyſius* the tyrant; three books about the theology of the *Egyptians*; and a treatiſe concerning *Libya* and *Syria*. *Cicero* (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His *Sicilian* hiſtory was the work in greateſt eſteem, of which, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (6), there were two parts. The firſt conſiſted of ſeven books, including the tranſactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympiad, when the *Carthaginians* took *Agrigentum*. The other begins when the firſt left off, that is, at the time when *Dionyſius* the elder began his reign over the *Syracuſians*, which was the year after the taking of *Agrigentum*. According to *Cicero* (7), he

(2) *Plut. ubi ſup.* (3) *Idem ibid & Diod. Sic. l* xvi. (4) *Suid. ubi ſup.* (5) *Cic. de divinat. l.* i. (6) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. (7) *Cic. de orat. l.* ii.

took

either maintain himself on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant, falling in with the sentiments of *Philistus*, resolved to part with his life, rather than the power he had acquired. In consequence of this resolution, he dispatched an express privately to the *Campanians*, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated himself out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and afterwards became a scourge both to his own subjects and the *Carthaginians* [u].

But delivered from thence by the Campanians.

HAVING disarmed the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, and by that step fixed his sovereignty there, he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the *Carthaginians*; for he had struck up the late peace with *Imilcar* so suddenly, with no other view, than to amuse him till he had established his au-

He makes preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians;

[u] DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 3.

took great pleasure in imitating *Thucydides*; and, if *Quintilian* (8) may be credited, exceeded him in perspicuity. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* (9) made him too much inferior to *Thucydides*. However, all are agreed, that he much resembled him in the conciseness of his style. He affected this so much, that, if *Theon* (10) may be believed, he avoided digressions to an excess. *Timæus* abused him; but *Ephorus* extolled him up to the skies; for which they are both censured by *Plutarch* (11). His works, as well as those of *Ephorus* and *Timæus Siculus*, are all intirely lost. Had *Philistus*'s *Sicilian* history, and his treatise concerning *Libya*, been extant, we should undoubtedly have met with many curious particulars relating to the building of *Carthage*, the first formation, growth, and decay, of the *Carthaginian* state; in short, of all the principal transactions in which it was concerned, from its earliest ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of those pieces, but likewise from a hint given us by (12) *Eusebius* and *Appian*. Notwithstanding he wrote a history during his banishment, he did not shew any resentment against *Dionysius* in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and concealed his vices. This conduct *Pausanias* (13) endeavours to excuse, or at least to palliate, by saying, that the motive to it was a desire to be recalled to *Syracuse*. Some believe *Philistus* to have been born at *Naucratis*, others at *Syracuse*, and lastly, others believe there were two historians of that name, one of whom was born at *Naucratis*, and the other at *Syracuse*. It is not very material which of these is in the right.

(8) *Quintil. l. x. c. 1.* (9) *Dionys. Halicarn. ep. ad Pomp.* (10) *Theon in progymnasm. c. 4.* (11) *Plut. adv. sup.* (12) *Euseb. in chron. ad num. præcip. vide & animad. J. Scaligeri in loc. Appian. in Libyc. init.* (13) *Pausan. in Attic. p. 25. Vide & Vales. ad hist. Græc. l. i. c. 3.*

Thirdly,

thority, and found himſelf in a condition to attack the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Sicily* with a powerful army. The motives, that ſeem immediately to have prompted him to this war, were two: Firſt, to prevent the future deſertion of his ſubjects, many of whom retired every day with all their effects to the *Carthaginian* gariſons, as well as to recover thoſe he had loſt, ſince he imagined, that, upon the breaking out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the *Carthaginians* would drive them from thence. And ſecondly, the great proſpect of ſucceſs he had at that particular juncture, by reaſon of the deplorable ravages the plague then made in the *Carthaginian* territories. As he knew the *Carthaginians* to be the moſt potent nation in the weſt, and that, if an opportunity offered they would moſt certainly beſiege *Syracuſe*, he thought proper, by way of precaution, to fortify the hill *Epipolæ*, which commanded the town. This he did at a vaſt expence, with the aſſiſtance of ſixty thouſand freemen and ſix thouſand yoke of oxen. *Diodorus* tells us, that on this occaſion the tyrant did not only ſuperintend every part of the work, but frequently worked himſelf, enduring as much hardſhip and fatigue as the pooreſt labourer; by which means the workmen were inſpired with ſuch a ſpirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day and part of the night, and, which is almoſt incredible, in twenty days finiſhed a wall thirty furlongs in length, and of a proportionable height, which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper diſtances, and built of hewn ſtone, rendered the place almoſt impregnable[w].

And fortifies the hill Epipolæ.

Having thus put his own city in a ſtate of defence, he made preparations ſuitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very ſenſible with how formidable a power he was ſoon to cope. His firſt care was to bring to *Syracuſe* from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all ſorts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their reſpective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and of ſtriking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the temples, but the ſchools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay, even private houſes, were filled with workmen. The great wages which *Dionyſius* paid them induced the beſt artificers every-where to offer him their ſervice. He himſelf directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to

[w] Idem ibid. c 4.

ſuperintend

ſuperintend them, with orders to promiſe great rewards to the diligent for their future encouragement. The art of making engines to batter walls was, according to *Diodorus*, now firſt brought to *Syracuſe*; but the artificer's name, to whom *Dionyſius* was obliged for this, is no-where told us. As he was ambitious of being ſuperior to the *Carthaginians* by ſea, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the ſea-ſide, and then ſhipped for *Syracuſe*. Mount *Ætna* alſo ſupplied him with many fir and pitch-trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the neceſſary materials, he employed ſuch a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred ſail was ſoon ready to put to ſea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys that were refitted. He likewiſe cauſed an hundred and ſixty diſtinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for ſheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ſhips a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old uſeleſs veſſels, covered them with planks. The *Syracuſians* themſelves manned half of the long ſhips, and the foreigners, who had entered into *Dionyſius*'s ſervice, the reſt. In order to have his troops completely armed as ſoon as poſſible, *Dionyſius* animated the artificers by his preſence, by the applauſes he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them ſhared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited more ſtrongly, than any other circumſtance, the induſtry and ardour of theſe people; for thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only ſure of receiving ſome particular marks of his favour, but even ſometimes had the honour to dine or ſup with him. It is no wonder therefore, that in a ſhorter time than can eaſily be conceived, beſides an immenſe quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred and forty thouſand bucklers, the ſame number of ſwords and helmets, and fourteen thouſand cuiraſſes, all of excellent workmanſhip. He had alſo prepared for ſervice a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for land-forces, beſides his own ſubjects, many ſoldiers came from *Italy*, *Greece*, and other countries, to liſt in his ſervice. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that *Dionyſius* is ſaid by *Diodorus* to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a deſire, that the *Syracuſians* ſhould be thought to rival their anceſtors in ingenuity; for being apprized, that the triremes, or three-oared veſſels, were firſt made at *Corinth*, he was deſirous the number of oars ſhould be firſt enlarged by the *Syracuſians*, a colony of the *Corinthians*[x].

Artificers flock to him out of all countries, and ſoon enable him to build a vaſt number of ſhips, and to forge a prodigious quantity of all ſorts of arms.

[x] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 7.

THE tyrant, having finiſhed his military preparations both by ſea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his deſign to the *Syracuſians*. In order to which he convened the ſenate, and communicated his intention to them of attacking the *Carthaginian* territories inſtantly, and even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occaſion, and to ſpirit up the aſſembly, he urged, that the *Carthaginians* were of all others the moſt implacable enemies to the *Greek* nation; that they had then nothing leſs in view than the conqueſt of *Sicily*, and conſequently the ruin of all the *Greek* cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of *Syracuſe* before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a ſtate of inaction; that as they were then in a moſt deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itſelf to the *Syracuſians* of driving them out of the iſland than the preſent; and that laſtly, if this was let ſlip, upon their recovering themſelves, they would moſt certainly put their favourite ſcheme in execution, and deprive the *Syracuſians*, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable to them. The aſſembly, moved by ſo pathetic a ſpeech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates of juſtice, readily concurred in his opinion. The antient hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, their rage againſt them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding ſome opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their ſuffrages, and war was unanimouſly reſolved on. If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worſted, the tyrant would be ſo much afraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his ſubjects at home with more moderation. In ſhort, as they fancied themſelves to have a proſpect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were for puſhing matters to extremity without delay[y].

He acquaints the Syracuſians *with his deſign,*

Who approve of it.

He falls upon the Carthaginians *in* Sicily, *without any previous declaration of war.*

UPON the breaking up of the aſſembly, *Dionyſius*, in conformity to the diſpoſition of the *Syracuſians*, gave up to the fury of the populace the perſons and poſſeſſions of the *Carthaginians*, who then reſided in *Syracuſe*, and there traded on the faith of treaties. As there were many of their ſhips at that time in the harbour, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not contented with this, ranſacked all their houſes in a moſt outrageous manner: and this horrid example of perfidiouſneſs and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole iſland of *Sicily*; nay, the *Greeks* inhabiting the

[y] Idem ibid.

cities

cities under the juriſdiction of the *Carthaginians*, not ſatisfied with ſtripping them of their effects, thought themſelves ſufficiently authoriſed to treat the bodies of thoſe miſerable wretches with the utmoſt ignominy and barbarity, to inflict every kind of puniſhment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exerciſed on the natives of the country. This was the bloody ſignal of the war that *Dionyſius* now entered into with the *Carthaginians* [c].

Great numbers of foreign mercenaries take on in his ſervice.

IT has been above obſerved, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to *Dionyſius* from *Greece*, *Italy*, and ſeveral other countries. The great pay he offered, drew them over in crouds; but no foreign power contributed ſo much to his ſupport as the *Lacedæmonians*. From *Sparta* he received as many recruits as were neceſſary for the completing of his troops, which, becauſe he apprehended the war with *Carthage* would be long and bloody, he reſolved ſhould be very numerous. That he might be intirely at liberty to act againſt the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the *Rhegians* and *Meſſanians*. To engage the latter the more firmly in his intereſts, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged not ill beſtowed at ſuch a critical juncture; for the *Meſſanians*, being a ſea-faring people, and pretty powerful, would have given no ſmall diverſion to his arms, had they joined with the *Carthaginians* [a].

He concludes a peace with the Rhegians *and* Meſſanians.

Dionyſius, thus backed by his ſubjects, mercenaries, and confederates, and finding the vaſt project he had formed now ripe for execution, diſpatched a herald to *Carthage*, with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their gariſons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuſe* would treat them as enemies. this letter, being read firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miſerable condition. However, though in want of all neceſſaries, they were not diſmayed, but ſent officers into *Europe*, with conſiderable ſums, to raiſe troops with the utmoſt diligence. In the mean time, they diſpatched orders to their gariſons in *Sicily*, to obſerve the motions of the *Syracuſian* army, and appointed *Himilco* commander in chief of all their forces [b].

The Carthaginians *levy forces to oppoſe* Dionyſius.

Dionyſius, without waiting for the anſwer of the *Carthaginians*, agreeably to the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards mount *Eryx*, near which ſtood the city of *Motya*, a *Carthaginian* colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of great ſtrength, and might be juſtly

[c] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

looked upon as the key of *Sicily*. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a considerable blow given the *Carthaginians*. He was joined on his march by the *Grecks* of *Gela*, *Camarina*, *Agrigentum*, *Himera*, and *Selinus*, out of the ardent desire they had to recover their liberties, and shake off the *Carthaginian* yoke. With this accession of strength, his army amounted to eighty thousand foot and above three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long galleys, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines and all sorts of provisions. The *Motyans*, by reason of their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, expected the storm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from *Carthage*, they were resolved to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. The city stood on a small island, about half a league from shore, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the *Motyans* cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. In it the *Carthaginians* kept all their stores and provisions. *Dionysius* therefore opened the campaign with the siege of this place; and, after having taken a view of it with his engineers, commanded the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his galleys to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given these orders, he left his brother *Leptines*, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he with the land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, which, terrified at the approach of so formidable an army, all submitted, except five, *viz.* *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egesta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*. The territories of the *Solantines*, *Panormitans*, and *Ancyreans*, he destroyed with fire and sword, and cut down all their trees. *Egesta* and *Entella* he besieged, endeavouring by repeated attacks, to take them both by storm; but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, not doubting, but all other places would fall of course, as soon as he had made himself master of this.

Dionysius *invests* Motya.

In the mean time, *Himilco* (F), who was busy in raising men and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered

(F) This general we have constantly called *Imilcar* in the history of *Syracuse*, through mistake; for we are now convinced, that his true name was *Himilco*. This appears not only from *Diodorus Siculus*, but likewise from *Livy*, *Polyænus*, *Frontinus*, and *Orosius*. In some editions of *Justin* he is called *Amilco*; in others *Imilco*; but that author is certainly guilty of a mistake, when he makes him the son of *Hamilcar*, who was killed by *Gelon*, and skips over a long interval of time, when he will have the destruction of this general's army

dered his admiral to set sail from *Carthage* with ten galleys, and making straight to *Syracuse*, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige *Dionysius* to send part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuse*. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being discerned by the enemy; and having sunk most of the ships he found there, returned to *Carthage* without the loss of a single man [c] (G).

Himilco *sends ten galleys from* Carthage, *to destroy the vessels in the harbour of* Syracuse.

Dionysius, on his return to *Motya*, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stones and rubbish, so that he could make his approaches as on dry land. He then perfected the rampart, brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers six stories high, rolled upon wheels, of equal height with their houses, and from thence galled the besieged with continual vollies of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults (H), an engine

[c] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

army by the plague immediately to have succeeded the death of *Hamilcar* above-mentioned. Besides, that this was not the same *Imilcar* who commanded in the preceding war, is probable from hence, that *Imilcar* there imagined his collegue *Hannibal* to have brought the plague into the *Carthaginian* army, by demolishing the tombs and monuments of the dead, which he considered as an impious action, and therefore discontinued that demolition; whereas we find, that this *Himilco* beat down the tombs which stood round the city, in order to fortify his camp, and facilitate his approaches. They were therefore probably different persons from this circumstance; but the authorities produced, without this, put the point beyond dispute (1).

(G) *Polyænus* tells us, that the admiral ordered the lights to be placed abaft, or in the sterns of the ships, that no suspicion might be given of their approach; by which means he entered the port in the night undiscovered by the enemy, and easily destroyed the vessels he found there (2).

(H) To what has been lately observed of the *catapultæ* and *balistæ* may be added, that from the latter stones of a prodigious size were generally thrown; that the *Greek* word πέλτη, of which, with the preposition κατὰ, the word καταπέλτης or *catapulta* is composed, signifies, according to *Hesychius*, a dart, a spear, or javelin; and consequently gives us to understand, that these were the missive weapons discharged most frequently out of that machine. This is

(1) *Liv. l.* xxiv. *c.* 35. *Polyæn. stratag. l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 2. *Frontin. strat l.* i. *c.* 1. *ex.* 2. *Oros. l.* iv. *Justin. c.* xix. (2) *Polyæn. ubi sup.*

confirmed

engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmoſt vigour. The *Motyans*, though deſpairing of any relief, reſolved to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſible, knowing they had no quarter to expect from ſo incenſed an enemy; and therefore oppoſed the beſiegers, notwithſtanding the imminent danger they were in, with incredible bravery. They poſted ſoldiers armed in coats of mail upon the maſts of their ſhips, who hoiſting up their main-yards, threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch, upon the engines, which immediately ſet them on fire; but the *Sicilians*, preſently advancing, not only extinguiſhed the flames, but opened ſeveral large breaches in the walls, and made a general aſſault upon the town with ſuch fury, that they bore down all before them. The conteſt now was extremely bloody; for the beſiegers, thinking themſelves ſure of carrying the place, and being vaſtly deſirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received from them, fought like lions; and, on the other hand, the beſieged, knowing they muſt fall a victim to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by ſtorm, reſolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in deſperation. At laſt, however, the *Sicilians* prevailed, and entered the city ſword in hand, thinking they ſhould now ſpeedily accompliſh their deſign; but herein they found themſelves deceived, for the *Motyans* had finiſhed a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal ſtrength with the walls themſelves, which there was a neceſſity of carrying, before *Dionyſius* could make himſelf maſter of the place. The beſieged therefore, after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themſelves to the defence of this, and gave the *Sicilians* a warmer reception here than they had met with before, deſtroying vaſt numbers of them from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the houſes adjoining to it. However, the *Sicilian* towers being of a vaſt height, by their aſſiſtance the beſiegers advanced their ſcaling

Dionyſius *attempts to ſtorm* Motya,

confirmed by an alluſion to be found in *Plautus*. Both the *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ* were of *Syrian* or *Phœnician* invention, and from thoſe nations the *Jews* had them, as may be learned from *Pliny*, in conjunction with ſcripture. The *Sicilians* introduced them into *Greece*, in the time of *Ageſilaus*. Upon the firſt ſight of the *telum catapultarium*, *Archidamus*, the ſon of that prince, is ſaid to have cried out, O *ye gods*, *all valour is now deſtroyed* (3).

(3) *Heſych. in voc.* πάλτη *Plaut. curcul.* 5. 3. 11. *Lipſ. poliorc.* 3. 2. *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 56. 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 15. *Plutarch. in apophth. Vid & Jac. Perizonii comment. in Ælian, var. hiſt. l.* vi. *c.* 12. *ed. Lugd. Bat.* 1701.

ladders

ladders to the neighbouring houſes, and by this means fought hand to hand with the beſieged. The diſpute was now extremely ſharp and obſtinate; for the *Motyans* having new life and vigour infuſed into them by the ſight of their wives and children, who, in caſe of any diſaſter, they knew would be treated in the ſame barbarous manner, as their countrymen taken priſoners by the *Greeks* had already been, reſolved either to conquer or die. They ruſhed therefore with a fury little inferior to madneſs into the midſt of their enemies, threw infinite numbers of them headlong from the ſcaffolds they had erected, and, in fine, repulſed *Dionyſius* with ſuch ſlaughter, that he was at laſt obliged to ſound the retreat [d].

But is vigorouſly repulſed,

THE attack was repeated for ſeveral days ſucceſſively in the ſame manner, but without any effect; for the *Motyans*, being accuſtomed to this way of fighting, conſtantly repulſed *Dionyſius*, obliging him every evening to draw off. At laſt *Archylus* the *Thurian*, at the head of a choice detachment, in the dead of the night, getting over the ſhattered houſes without noiſe, poſſeſſed himſelf of a very commodious poſt, where he made a lodgment, till *Dionyſius* ſent another ſtrong body of troops to ſupport him. The *Motyans*, ſeeing themſelves ſurpriſed, made their utmoſt efforts to diſlodge the enemy, ſo that a fierce encounter enſued. But at laſt the *Sicilians*, overpowering them with numbers, gave *Dionyſius* an opportunity of breaking into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a moment covered with dead bodies; for the *Sicilians*, enraged at the obſtinate defence of the beſieged, and to retaliate the former cruelties of the *Carthaginians*, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, thoſe only excepted who took ſanctuary in the *Greek* temples. For *Dionyſius*, being deſirous of ſelling them for ſlaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to reſtrain the violence of the ſoldiery, ordered the public crier by proclamation to declare, that he would have the *Motyans* fly for refuge thither. This put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; however, the army thoroughly plundered the town, carrying off from thence an immenſe quantity of wealth and treaſure. This *Dionyſius* thought proper to permit, that he might ingratiate himſelf with the troops, and that they might hereby be the more readily induced to ſignalize themſelves on all future occaſions.

But at laſt takes the town,

And plunders it.

As many therefore of the *Motyans* as were left alive, he ſold for ſlaves, but commanded *Daimenes*, and all the *Greeks*, who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. As for *Archylus*, to whoſe bravery and conduct the taking of the place was in a great meaſure owing, he rewarded him with an hundred *minas*,

[d] *Idem ibid.*

and

Leaves a garison there, and returns to Syracuse.

and all the reſt in proportion to their merit. Having thus reduced the ſtrongeſt city in *Sicily* ſubject to *Carthage*, he placed a numerous gariſon in it, under the command of one *Bito*, a *Syracuſian*. Afterwards ordering *Leptines*, with an hundred and twenty galleys, to watch the *Carthaginians* at ſea, and to make incurſions into the territories of *Entella* and *Egeſta*, which it was his intention to have done himſelf, would the ſeaſon and the exigence of his affairs have permitted, ſummer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to *Syracuſe* [c].

The *Carthaginians* having been ſurpriſed by *Dionyſius*, in contempt of the faith of treaties, as above related, found it impoſſible to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege of *Motya*; however, they were willing to attempt, not only this, but even to carry the war to *Syracuſe*. In order to which, *Himilco*, receiving advice, that *Dionyſius* with his fleet was entered into the harbour, gave orders to have an hundred of his beſt galleys manned without delay; with which, as the *Syracuſians* had no ſquadron out at ſea to obſtruct his deſign, he entertained hopes either of deſtroying or making himſelf maſter of the tyrant's whole naval force by ſurpriſe at one ſingle blow. Could this have been effected, he would not only have relieved the place, but likewiſe changed the ſeat of the war.

Himilco *makes an attempt to ſurpriſe* Dionyſius's *ſquadron in the harbour of* Syracuſe,

Setting ſail therefore from *Carthage*, after a ſhort paſſage, he arrived in the night on the coaſt of *Selinus*, and the next morning by break of day, at the port of *Motya*, where the *Syracuſian* galleys were then riding at anchor. Theſe he immediately attacked, burning and ſinking ſeveral of them. *Dionyſius*, not a little alarmed at this unexpected viſit of the enemy, and ſeeing, by the diſpoſitions they were making, his whole fleet in danger of being deſtroyed, advanced with his army to the mouth of the harbour; but finding the *Carthaginians* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the paſſage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to bring his ſhips out of port, becauſe the mouth being ſtrait and narrow, a few galleys there might engage a much ſuperior number with great advantage. Commanding his land-forces therefore to draw them over land into the ſea, at a farther diſtance from the harbour, he by this means preſerved them.

In the mean time, *Himilco*, preſſing upon thoſe galleys that lay next to him, made all poſſible efforts to take or deſtroy them; but was vigorouſly repulſed, and loſt many of his men by ſhowers of darts thrown from the decks. The *Syracuſian* army likewiſe greatly annoyed him by repeated vollies of arrows from their engines of battery; which being a new kind of weapon,

[c] Idem ibid.

and

and doing conſiderable execution, ſtruck a great terror into the enemy. *Himilco* therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterpriſe to bear, as judging it by no means adviſeable to venture an engagement with a ſquadron ſo much ſuperior to him in ſtrength, left the *Motyans* (I) to themſelves, and returned to *Africa* [f]. *But is obliged to ſheer off.*

THE following ſpring, *Dionyſius*, drawing his forces out of *Syracuſe*, made an inroad into the *Carthaginian* provinces, ravaging and deſtroying the country in a dreadful manner. The *Halicyæans*, terrified by this irruption, ſent embaſſadors to his camp to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of *Egeſta*, remaining firm in their fidelity to *Carthage*, ſet him at defiance. Upon this, advancing with his army, he laid ſiege to the place; but the *Egeſtines*, making a vigorous and unexpected ſally upon the beſiegers, put the advanced guards in diſorder, and ſet fire to their tents, which occaſioned a great conſternation throughout the whole camp. Several ſoldiers, in endeavouring to quench the flames, loſt their lives, and many horſes were burnt. *Dionyſius*, ſoon after, raiſing the ſiege, roved about the country in the ſame hoſtile manner as before, and, whilſt *Leptines* was obſerving the motions of the enemy by ſea, continued his depredations without oppoſition. Dionyſius *makes an inroad into the* Carthaginian *territories.*

SOON after the reduction of *Motya*, the news of that melancholy event arrived at *Carthage*; and the year following *Himilco* was appointed one of the ſuffetes there. The progreſs of *Dionyſius* alarming the ſenate, they reſolved to ſurpaſs him in numbers both of men and ſhips; to which end they diſpatched officers into all parts of *Africa* and *Spain* to raiſe forces. When the preparations were completed, the *Carthaginian* army amounted to above three hundred thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and four hundred armed chariots. The fleet, under the

[f] Idem ibid. & POLYÆN. ſtrat l. v. c. 2. ex. 6.

(I) *Polyænus* intimates, that, upon the approach of the *Carthaginian* fleet, *Dionyſius* drew off his forces from before the town, and advanced at the head of them to the ſhore, as near the enemy's veſſels as poſſible. By this motion he endeavoured to encourage his ſoldiers and mariners. Under the promontory that formed the port, there was a tract of twenty ſtadia in breadth, perfectly level, and full of mud. Over this his ſoldiers and mariners drew eighty triremes in one day, which threw the *Carthaginians* into a great conſternation. The admiral therefore, fearing the *Syracuſians* would firſt block up his fleet in the mouth of the harbour, and then deſtroy it, immediately ſet ſail, and left the *Motyans* to the mercy of the enemy (4).

(4) *Polyæn. ſtrat l. v. c 2 ex. 6.*

command of *Mago*, consisted of three hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. This is the account given by *Ephorus*; but *Timæus Siculus* affirms, that not above a hundred thousand men were transported from *Africa* into *Sicily*, who, upon their landing there, were joined by three thousand *Sicilians*. The troops being imbarqued, and the fleet ready to set sail, *Himilco* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, injoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they should make strait to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. The transports, getting out into the open sea, outsailed the galleys, which kept close to the coast of *Africa*; but being destitute of a convoy, were attacked off of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, whom *Dionysius* had sent out with thirty sail against them. After a short dispute, he sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots were lost; the rest, tacking about, had the good luck to escape. As soon as the galleys appeared, *Leptines* retired; and *Himilco*, having landed his troops at *Panormus*, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery; and hastening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that important place, before *Dionysius*, who was then besieging *Egesta*, could send any forces to its relief [g].

Leptines *defeats the enemy by sea.*

The Carthaginians *retake* Motya.

The *Sicilian* troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the *Carthaginians*, in order to decide the fate of *Sicily* as soon as possible; but *Dionysius* thought it more adviseable to abandon the open country to the enemy; because he was at a great distance from his confederates, and began to be in want of provisions. He exhorted the *Sicani* to leave their cities, and join the army, promising them, after the conclusion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own, and to permit as many of them as would chuse it, to return to their former habitations. Some few, for fear of being plundered, listened to this proposal; but the greatest part of them deserted to the enemy, together with the *Halicyæans*, who sent embassadors to *Carthage*, to renew their antient alliance with that state. *Dionysius*, not meeting with a sufficient reinforcement, and in consequence of the resolution he had taken, marched with great

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi sup Polyæn. strat. l. v. c. 10. ex 2. Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 2.

precipitation

precipitation to *Syracuſe*, plundering and laying waſte the country all along as he paſſed. *Himilco*, flushed with his ſucceſs, advanced towards *Meſſana*, of which city he was very deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf, on account of its ſituation; for being once maſter of it, he could eaſily intercept all ſuccours ſent to the enemy, either from *Italy* or *Greece*; and beſides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which conſiſted of ſix hundred ſail and upwards. Before he inveſted the city, he concluded a treaty with the people of *Himera* and *Cephalædium*, and reduced the city of *Lipara* (K), the capital of the iſland of that

(K) *Lipara* was the principal of the *Æolian* iſlands, in number ſeven, not far from the north coaſt of *Sicily*. The names of theſe iſlands were *Strongyle*, *Evonymos*, *Didyme*, *Phœnicuſa*, *Hiera*, *Vulcania*, and *Lipara* (1). According to *Diodorus*, both the iſland *Lipara* and its capital city received their name from *Liparus*, the ſon of *Auſon* (2), king of theſe iſlands, who built the city *Lipara*, and cultivated all of them. The *Liparеſe* were antiently formidable, had a good fleet, and grew very rich, by reaſon of the great revenue brought them in by allum, with which mineral their iſland (3) abounded. Their capital city, according to *Diodorus*, was beautified with large and fair harbours, and famous for the baths in its neighbourhood, which were medicinal, and of ſingular ſervice to the people of *Sicily*, when ſeized with any ſtrange and unuſual diſeaſe. *Pliny* makes *Æolus* to have preceded *Liparus* in this iſland; but *Diodorus* tells us, that *Æolus* married *Cyane*, the daughter of *Liparus*, and, in right of his wife, ſucceeded that prince. About the fiftieth olympiad, a colony of *Cnidians* (4), under their captains *Gorgus*, *Theſtor*, and *Epitherſides*, entered into a league with the antient inhabitants, and incorporated themſelves with them. *Lipara* was noted amongſt the antients for the great quantity of delicious fruit it produced, and is at this day remarkable for the excellent raiſins it ſupplies ſeveral parts of *Europe* with, particularly *England*. That the inhabitants were pretty opulent in the times we are now ſpeaking of, is evident from the contributions which *Dionyſius* exacted of them, amounting to about five thouſand four hundred pounds ſterling. It muſt be obſerved, that *Diodorus*, not only here, but in other paſſages, where he mentions a talent, means the *Attic* talent, which was worth about an hundred and eighty pounds (5) of our money, and not the *Sicilian*, amounting not to above three *Roman denarii*, or a two thouſandth part of the *Attic*. The iſland is now called *Lipari* (6), and has its capital ſo fortified, that it

(1) *Strab. l.* vi. *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *c.* 1. *Pomp. Mel. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *Strab. l.* vi. *& alib. Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 9. (2) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.* (3) *Strab. Plin. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.* (4) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.* (5) *Feſt. ſub voc.* Talentum. (6) *Ariſtot. apud Jul. Pol. l.* ix *c.* 6. *& Feſt. ubi ſup. See Univ. hiſt. vol.* vii. *p.* 86.

that name, putting it under contribution, by which he exacted from the inhabitants thirty talents. From thence moving with his forces towards *Messana*, his fleet at the same time attending him, he encamped upon the promontory of *Pelorus*, now the *capo di Faro*, about an hundred stadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themselves about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the *Carthaginians*, seeing themselves deserted by their confederates, as well as in great want of their horse, which were then at *Syracuse*, and knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, and that they had not time then to make the necessary preparations for their defence, were for submitting to the enemy. Others were resolved to hold out to the last, and chearfully sacrifice their lives in the maintenance of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an antient prophesy, whereby it was foretold, *That the* Carthaginians *should be one day carriers of water in that city.* This they interpreted, as if the *Carthaginians* should be slaves in *Messina*; and being thereby greatly animated, were determined to undergo all extremities, rather than surrender themselves to the common enemy. Their wives and children, with all their treasures, they sent to the neighbouring towns, before the place was invested [h].

And advance afterwards to Messana.

Which place Himilco *invests.*

In order to prevent any incursions of the enemy, they sent a strong detachment of the flower of their troops towards the promontory of *Pelorus*, who for some time defended the frontiers. But *Himilco*, rightly concluding, that the garison must be greatly weakened by the absence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby left so very much exposed on the sea-side, that it would be no difficult matter for his fleet to enter, commanded two hundred galleys to advance towards the town. His orders were instantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing fresh, they were carried with a full gale directly into the harbour. The *Messanians*, being now sensible of their mistake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late, for the fleet had already entered, and having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that side, upon which the inhabitants hastened in crouds thither to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Himilco*

[h] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

stood a short siege in the year 1719, when it was taken by an imperial detachment under the command of general *Seckendorf*; as was likewise the castle, whose garison of four hundred men thought proper to surrender the next day at discretion.

took

took advantage of this confuſion, and attacking the city on the land-ſide, entered it without oppoſition. All thoſe who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the ſpot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or, getting into narrow creeks about the harbour, threw themſelves into the ſea, imagining they could reach the oppoſite ſhore; of which, however, not above a fourth part made their eſcape to the coaſt of *Italy*. *Himilco* entered *Meſſana* with his whole army, and, in order to render his conqueſt complete, propoſed reducing all the forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely ſtrong, he altered his meaſures, and returned back to *Meſſana*. Here he halted a ſhort time to refreſh and recruit his army, and then marched at the head of all his forces againſt *Syracuſe*. *And takes it.*

Himilco, conſidering that *Meſſana* was very remote from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, and the moſt commodious port in *Sicily* on account of its ſituation, had, before his departure, ordered it to be razed, that it might be of no advantage to the enemy. His orders were executed with the utmoſt ſeverity, inſomuch, that there was not left one houſe ſtanding in the whole city; nay, *Diodorus* tells us, that ſcarce any traces of it remained, the very rubbiſh being carried away, and thrown into the ſea; which ſufficiently diſcovered the implacable hatred *Himilco*, as well as the whole *Carthaginian* nation, bore to the *Greeks*[i]. *He orders it to be razed.*

THE *Siculi* having *Dionyſius* in perfect deteſtation, and a fair opportunity now offering of ſhaking off their allegiance to him, all of them, except the *Aſſarines*, revolted to the *Carthaginians*. *Dionyſius*, being hereby deprived of the means of raiſing recruits, was obliged to preſent all the ſlaves and ſervants of the *Syracuſians* with their liberty, and with them he manned ſixty galleys. He received likewiſe a ſupply of a thouſand men from the *Lacedæmonians*, his antient and faithful allies. Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he took care to fortify the caſtles and forts of the *Syracuſians*, and the cities in their dependence, and to ſtore them with proviſions. Thoſe of the *Leontini*, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely ſtrong, and perſuaded the *Campanians* to leave *Catana*, the place he had given them to reſide in, and remove to the city of *Ætna*, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, for their farther ſecurity[k]. *Moſt of the Siculi revolt from Dionyſius.*

Dionyſius, upon a review of his land-forces, found them to amount to thirty thouſand foot, and above three thouſand horſe.

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

With

Notwithstanding which he advances towards the Carthaginians.

With these he took the field, and encamped near a place called *Taurus* (L), about an hundred and sixty stadia from *Syracuse*. His

(L) This *Taurus* was undoubtedly the mountain of that name, upon the declivity of which stood the famous city of *Tauromenium*. According to *Diodorus* (1), a great number of *Sicilians* had fixed their habitations here before the time of this war. *Dionysius* had given the country of the *Naxians* to these *Sicilians*; but they, induced by the promises of *Himilco*, now dwelt upon this hill, which was naturally fortified. The same author adds, that, as they had settled here in times antecedent to this war, so they continued there after it, and inhabited the city called *Tauromenium*, from its situation upon mount *Taurus*. We learn farther from this historian (2), that *Andromachus*, the father of *Timæus Siculus*, about forty years after the commencement of this war, assembled all the fugitives of *Naxos*, a city which *Dionysius* the tyrant had destroyed, and settled them on this hill, and that this was the origin of *Tauromenium*. These two accounts seem to clash, since the first makes the foundation of *Tauromenium* to have happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth olympiad, whereas the latter fixes it in the third of the hundred and sixth. The learned Dr. *Bentley* (3) takes the former to be nearer the truth, though he endeavours to make them both consistent with one another. *Cluverius* indeed prefers the latter, but in this he seems to have *Diodorus* against him; for that author calls the place *Tauromenium* three several times, before he makes the least mention of *Andromachus*, *viz.* at *olymp.* XCVI. *an.* 1. (4) *olymp.* XCVI. *an.* 3. (5) and *olymp.* XCVII. *an.* 1. (6). However this may be, that the *Tauromenites* were descended from the *Naxians*, cannot be disputed. *Pliny* and *Solinus* say expressly, that *Tauromenium* was the city which was formerly called *Naxos*. The medals of the *Tauromenites* clearly evince the same thing; for there are five several pieces in *Patusa*, that have on one side ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, and on the reverse *Apollo*'s head with this inscription, ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ, and that *Apollo* Ἀρχαγέτας was a deity of the *Naxians*, we are informed by the *Thucydides* (7) and *Appian* (8). To conclude, our author *Diodorus* himself, in the place we are now upon, just after mentioning the city *Tauromenium*, observes that "*Himilco* marched with "great expedition to the aforesaid place of *Naxia*." Probably *Naxia* here is a corruption of *Naxos*, since, if we remember right, *Naxia*, as the name of a place, is not to be met with in any other author, nor any-where else in *Diodorus* but here. This passage seems fully to prove, not only that the *Naxians* were the progenitors of the *Tauromenites*, but likewise that, in the first year of the ninety-sixth *Olympiad*, the city, or spot where it afterwards stood, was

(1) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. (2) *Idem, l.* xvi *c.* 2. (3) *Dr. Bentley in his dissert. upon the epist. of Phal. p.* 182, 183. (4) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. (5) *Idem ibid. c.* 10. (6) *Idem ibid. c.* 11. (7) *Thucyd. c.* 6 (8) *Appian. de bel. civil.*

called

His fleet, by the acceſſion of the ſixty galleys above-mentioned, conſiſted of an hundred and eighty galleys. *Himilco*, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him, his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coaſt. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the ſea-ſide, but were obliged to take a long compaſs round mount *Ætna*, which, by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning aſhes, and rendered the roads impaſſable by its flaming inundations. *Himilco* therefore ordered *Mago* to ſail to *Catana*, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, ſhould rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionyſius*, appriſed of this, haſtened with all ſpeed to *Catana*, with a deſign to attack *Mago*, before *Himilco*'s army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the ſhore would greatly encourage his own mariners, and diſcourage the enemy's: beſides, if his fleet were worſted, both ſhips and men had a place of ſafety to retire to. This was what *Himilco* had foreſeen, when, for the reaſon above-mentioned, his fleet and land-forces were obliged to ſeparate [1].

His fleet, under the command of Leptines, *engages that of the* Carthaginians.

Dionyſius, having therefore drawn up his army on the ſhore, ſent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet againſt the enemy, commanding him to engage in cloſe order, and not to break his line upon any account whatſoever. And indeed ſuch a ſalutary order could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of *Mago*'s great ſuperiority; for his fleet was compoſed of no leſs than five hundred ſhips of burden, beſides a vaſt number of galleys with brazen beaks. The *Carthaginians*, ſeeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the ſhore, and the navy

[1] Idem ibid.

called *Naxos* or *Naxia*. As therefore it appears from another place (9) in *Diodorus*, that the city was but juſt built in the third year of the ſame olympiad, it ſeems clearly to follow, that *Tauromínium* was founded in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in favour of what Dr. *Bentley* has advanced, and, to all appearance, intirely fixes the point. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Tauromínium* ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance from the antient *Naxos*, the one being ſituated either on the declivity or top of the hill, and the other much lower towards the ſouthern foot of it (10). 'Tis likely there might have been a town of the ſame name with the hill, either upon it, or ſomewhere near the foot of it, as we find *Ætna* was the name both of a mountain and a town in its neighbourhood. If *Dionyſius* did not aſcend any part of the mountain, we may ſuppoſe him to have encamped near this town.

(9) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv *c* 10. (10) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvi. *c.* 2. *l.* xiv. *c.* 10. *& Cellar. Geogr. ant. l.* 1.

advancing

advancing in good order againſt them, were ſtruck with terror, and tacking about, began to make to the ſhore, with a deſign to ſave themſelves over land, and join *Himilco*; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they reſolved to try their fortune by ſea; and accordingly drawing themſelves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. *Leptines*, inconſiderately advancing with thirty of his beſt galleys, contrary to the expreſs command of *Dionyſius*, fell upon *Mago*'s firſt ſquadron, and, after a briſk action, ſunk ſeveral of the ſhips of which it was compoſed; but *Mago*, coming up with the whole fleet, immediately ſurrounded him, upon which, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, a moſt ſharp and bloody engagement enſued.

And is defeated.

The *Carthaginian* and *Syracuſian* galleys grappling with one another (for they were ſo cloſe together, that there was no room for them to ſtrike with their beaks), the forces on board fought hand to hand, as if in a battle on land. On both ſides they made the utmoſt efforts to board their enemies, and conſequently on both ſides many were thrown over-board and ſlain. In fine, *Leptines*, though for ſeveral hours he defended himſelf perfectly well, being at laſt overpowered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The flight of the admiral diſheartened the *Syracuſians*, and gave the enemy freſh courage; the former therefore fled to the ſhore, where their land-forces were drawn up, but were cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*. Many, abandoning their ſhips, threw themſelves into the ſea, hoping to ſave their lives by ſwimming to the ſhore; but the *Carthaginian* tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance; ſo that the land army ſaw them periſh, without being able to give them the leaſt relief. The *Carthaginians* ſuſtained great loſs in this action; but above an hundred of the *Syracuſian* galleys were either ſunk or taken, and more than twenty thouſand of their men killed in the battle or purſuit. After the action was over, the *Carthaginian* fleet anchored at *Catana*, where they refitted the *Syracuſian* ſhips they had taken. This was done to regale the eyes and ears of the *Carthaginians* and their confederates, who could not but be highly delighted with ſuch a trophy, as it enabled them to form ſome ſort of an idea of the great victory they had obtained [m].

Upon this misfortune, the *Sicilians*, apprehending they ſhould be reduced to great ſtraights by returning to *Syracuſe* and there ſuſtaining a ſiege, ſolicited *Dionyſius* to fight *Himilco*,

[m] Diod. Sic ubi ſup.

alledging

alledging that an unexpected attack at the present juncture would strike terror into the *Carthaginians*, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loss. This project seemed the more feasible, as the enemy could not but be extremely fatigued with their long and hasty march; and therefore *Dionysius* at first not only listened to it, but ordered his forces to be ready to march at a minute's warning. But when he was just upon the point of putting it in execution, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that *Mago* in the mean time with his victorious fleet might possess himself of *Syracuse*, he altered his resolution, and hastened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. To this he was likewise strongly induced by the fate of *Messana*, which had lately been lost by such a point of false conduct as the *Sicilians* proposed to him. However, many of these, being displeased at his not falling into their measures, deserted, and either retired to the neigbouring garrisons of the *Carthaginians*, or withdrew to their respective homes [n].

Dionysius *returns with his army to* Syracuse.

Himilco, in two days march arriving at *Catana*, ordered the ships there to be drawn into the harbour, that they might be sheltered from the weather, which was then very boisterous and stormy. Here he halted some time to refresh his troops, and sent embassadors to the *Campanians* at *Ætna* to excite them to a revolt, promising them large possessions, and that they should be equal sharers in all the spoils taken from the *Sicilians*. That his promises might make the deeper impression, he took care to inform them, that the *Campanians* of *Entella* had declared for the *Carthaginians*, and joined them with a considerable body of forces. In fine, he desired them to consider, that the *Greeks* of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatsoever. The *Campanians* were not a little moved by these promises and suggestions; but as they had given hostages to *Dionysius*, and sent the flower of their troops to *Syracuse*, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination, to adhere to the treaty concluded with him [o].

Himilco *endeavours to excite the* Campanians *of* Ætna *to a revolt.*

THE *Carthaginian* general, animated with the good success that attended his arms, marched strait to *Syracuse*, with a design to besiege it; while his fleet, under the command of *Mago*, sailed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for the subsistence of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmost consternation. Two hundred and eighty galleys laden, and richly adorned, with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a sort of triumph the great haven of *Syracuse*, and were followed by above a thousand transports with more than five hundred sol-

He invests Syracuse, *and takes up his quarters in the temple of* Jupiter.

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid.

diers on board; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain so great a navy, consisting in the whole of near two thousand sail. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other side, amounting, according to some authors, to three hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides an additional squadron, of two hundred long ships, attending them. *Himilco* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the rest of the army encamped round it, about twelve stadia from the city [p].

BEFORE he directly formed the siege, he advanced with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, and offered the *Syracusians* battle. But finding they were prudent enough to decline accepting the challenge, he returned to his camp, well satisfied at his having extorted from them a tacit confession of their own weakness, and his superiority. At the same time he ordered an hundred of his best galleys to enter the two other harbours, *viz. the little port* and that of *Trogilus*, to strike more terror into the enemy, and convince them that the *Carthaginians* were likewise masters at sea. In order to gain the affection of his troops, as well as to distress the enemy, he ravaged and laid waste the country many miles round for thirty days together, cutting down their groves, and doing infinite damage to the inhabitants. He took by assault the quarter, or suburb, of the town called *Acradina*, where he plundered the rich temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, and, in short, succeeded in every measure he pursued for straitening the besieged. Elated with this run of good-fortune, he looked upon himself in effect as master of the place, though he was apprehensive, that the intire reduction of it would be the work of a considerable time. He erected therefore three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other, one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*, in which he laid up vast stores of provision, and all other necessaries, that might enable him to push on the siege. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the most commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs, which stood round the city, to be demolished, and amongst others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Damarcia*, which was a monument of great magnificence. Being very intent on the preservation of his troops, he took care they should want nothing that was proper for their subsistence, and therefore sent transports to *Sardinia* and *Africa* for a fresh supply of corn and other provisions. In the mean time, the *Syracusians*, though greatly dejected by their late misfor-

He takes by assault the suburb of Acradina.

[p] Idem ibid.

tunes,

tunes, did not deſpond, *Dionyſius* being in daily expectation of receiving a conſiderable reinforcement from his foreign allies [q].

The Carthaginians are worſted in an action by ſea.

BEFORE the ſtorm fell upon *Syracuſe*, *Dionyſius* had ſent his (M) kinſman *Polyxenus* to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Italians*, *Corinthians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, againſt the power of *Carthage*, which alone he found himſelf unable to withſtand. He likewiſe had diſpatched ſeveral officers with large ſums to *Peloponneſus*, to raiſe a body of mercenaries there. All theſe, returning ſome time after *Himilco* had ſat down before *Syracuſe*, brought with them, beſides ſome land-forces, a ſupply of thirty galleys under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. Soon after *Dionyſius* and *Leptines* went out upon a cruiſe, intending, if poſſible, to intercept ſome of the *Carthaginian* tranſports laden with proviſions, of which the city then ſtood in great need. They were ſcarce out of port, when the *Syracuſians* from the city ſpied one of the tranſports coming up to *Himilco*'s camp, upon which venturing out with five galleys they took it. As they were ſailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chaſe with forty ſail, againſt which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them with great reſolution, took the admiral galley, beſides ſeveral others, and ſunk or damaged twenty more. The reſt they purſued to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a ſecond time. The *Carthaginians*, terrified with this unexpected diſaſter, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them.

[q] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

(M) The *Greek* word κηδεστὴς, which *Rhodomanus* has falſly tranſlated *ſocer* or *father-in-law*. It is a general term, and denotes any perſon who is related to another by marriage. Sometimes, however, it is equivalent to the *Latin ſocer*, and ſometimes to *gener*, as we learn from *Stephanus* and *Budæus*, who produce inſtances of both thoſe ſignifications. But that it is to be uſed in a general ſenſe here, is evident from *Diodorus* himſelf, who tells us, elſe-where, that *Polyxenus* was uncle to *Dionyſius*'s wife, and that that tyrant gave him his own ſiſter in marriage. Such a complex relation as this cannot be expreſſed by any one particular word in our language, and therefore we have rendered it by the general term kinſman. We mention this only to have an opportunity of ſuggeſting to our readers, that many faults and inaccuracies are to be found in *Rhodomanus*'s edition of *Diodorus Siculus*, which yet is the beſt we at preſent have: ſo that it were to be wiſhed ſome able hand would give us a new edition of that uſeful and entertaining hiſtorian (1).

(1) *Steph. in theſaur. ling. Græc. Bud. in lex. ed. Baſ.* 1572. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *See alſo Univ. hiſt. vol.* vii. *p.* 165, *&c. ſeq.*

The *Syracusians*, fastening the galleys they had taken to the poops of their ships, brought them off triumphantly to the town [r].

WHAT happened now to the *Carthaginians* verified the observation, that *misfortunes seldom come alone*. *Himilco*, who, from his first arrival in the island to this time, had been successful in every measure, and the constant favourite of fortune in all his undertakings, was soon to be reduced to the lowest degree of ignominy and disgrace, and his people to the extremest misery. All the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and served only to enhance his future misfortunes. This, according to the judicious reflection of our historian, may serve as a lively lesson to mankind, to teach them, that the proudest mortal, how great soever he may be, is but an inconsiderable creature, and may be blasted in an instant by a superior power. Here we may behold the *Carthaginians* from the summit of human felicity hurled down into the abyss of calamity and woe; from the most potent and formidable state in all the western parts of the world, become the most weak and contemptible of all nations, and that, as it were, in an instant. However, Providence did not so far favour the perfidious *Syracusians*, but that their enemies, though treacherous and cruel in many respects, recovered themselves, and came off with reputation at the conclusion of this war [s].

The plague breaks out in the Carthaginian *army, and makes dreadful havock there.*

Himilco, now master of almost the whole island of *Sicily*, and expecting with great impatience to crown his other conquests with the reduction of *Syracuse*, was obliged to desist from all further operations against that city by the plague, which, breaking out in the camp, made great havock amongst his soldiers. This infection was looked upon as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, particularly those of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* above-mentioned, and demolishing the tombs round the city, which was considered as a violence offered to the dead. But, without having recourse to the extraordinary interposition of the gods, they might have ascribed it, as *Diodorus* insinuates, to natural causes; for the heats that summer, in the midst of which this pestilential distemper first broke out, were more excessive than they had ever been known in the memory of man; and the adjacent country abounded with fens and marshes, whose unwholsome exhalations, especially at that hot season, which of itself was almost sufficient to have occasioned the plague, must have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where such an infinite number of people were crouded together: and that these in fact were the two principal concurring causes of that dire malady, is apparent

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

from

from hence, that the *Athenians*, who ſpared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the ſame calamity. It began among the *Africans*, and ſoon ſpread through the whole army. As this plague was attended with ſome uncommon ſymptons, carried off above an hundred and fifty thouſand men in a very ſhort time, and may be looked upon as one of the moſt malignant diſtempers to be met with in hiſtory, we ſhall beg leave here to give a brief account of it, believing that ſuch a ſhort digreſſion will not be unacceptable to our curious readers [c].

A deſcription of this moſt malignant peſtilence.

BEFORE ſun-riſing, the patients were ſeized with a convulſive ſhuddering, pretty nearly reſembling that attending the *rigor* or cold fit in agues, which happens in the beginning of the paroxyſm. This was in part occaſioned by the freſh breezes coming off from the ſea, which at that time of the morning were very piercing. As the ſun advanced nearer the meridian, the cold remitted and the heat grew more intenſe; ſo that by noon they found themſelves almoſt ſuffocated with heat; which made them exceſſively weak and faint, but gave freſh force and malignity to the diſeaſe. The ſouth wind moreover greatly increaſing the infection, they died in ſuch numbers, that, after ſome time, it was impoſſible to inter them; nay, the perſons attending the ſick were cut off in ſuch a manner, that no one durſt approach the infected. In the firſt ſtage of the diſtemper, they were afflicted with catarrhs, ſwellings of the throat, *&c.* Theſe were ſucceeded by violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, loathſome ulcers, *&c.* Some were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the phyſician (A), this terrible malady eluding

[c] Idem ibid.

(A) It appears from the antient hiſtorians, that the plague raged pretty frequently amongſt the *Carthaginians*, eſpecially in their *African* dominions: and it is worthy obſervation, that thoſe parts are ſtill often-viſited by that terrible malady, particularly *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. It is probable, that the *Carthaginians* brought the ſeeds of the diſtemper with them out of *Africa*, ſince the peſtilence had made great havock there juſt before the breaking out of this war; which *Dionyſius* (1) urged as a reaſon to the *Syracuſians* for his attacking the *Carthaginians*, whom he ſuppoſed to have been thereby extremely weakened. It may be inferred from this paſſage, that the *Carthaginians* had phyſicians with them in their camps, and conſequently that the art of phyſic was not unknown to that people.

(1) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 7.

This

eluding all his art; so that those infected with it expired the fifth or sixth day in exquisite torture. *Justin* seems to intimate, that almost the whole *Carthaginian* army perished by it, and that in a manner all at once, as it were in an instant; which may serve to give us an idea of the great malignity of it. *Diodorus*, however, informs us, that a considerable body of *Africans* and *Iberians* survived this dreadful calamity; though he at the same time affirms, that an hundred and fifty thousand carcases of those who perished did not meet with any interment, and consequently insinuates, that a greater number died, since, according to the same author, the dead were buried for some time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy observation, that not a single person of those who attended the sick escaped [u].

Dionysius *attacks the enemy, and defeats them.*

Dionysius, being apprised of the deplorable condition to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking them. Having therefore manned eighty galleys, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view, having assembled his troops before the moon was up, he advanced to the temple of *Cyane*, and setting out from thence about midnight, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp by the time appointed. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp, which lay at the greatest distance, pretending, that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real design was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having a great aversion to him, and being ready to mutiny on all occasions. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to retire as soon as the infantry was engaged. His orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off to a man. *Dionysius*, upon the return of the cavalry, at the same time attacked the enemy's camp, and the forts in their possession. The suddenness of the attack so surprised the *Carthaginians*, that they were some time before they could put themselves into a posture of defence, which gave

[u] JUSTIN. l. xix. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. OROS. l. iv.

This likewise in some measure appears from the worship of *Æsculapius* (2), which prevailed in the territories subject to the state of *Carthage*, though at what degree of perfection herein the students arrived, we cannot pretend to say.

(2) *Appian. in Libyc. Died. Sic. Serv. aliique multi.*

him

him an opportunity of taking the fort called *Polichna* by ſtorm; and the horſe at the ſame time advancing in good order, with ſome galleys, to that near *Daſcon*, likewiſe carried it. By the reduction of theſe forts, the *Syracuſians* were enabled to enter the great haven with all their fleet, and to fall furiouſly on the enemy's galleys anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp for ſome time defended themſelves with great bravery; but ſeeing their navy now in imminent danger of being utterly deſtroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, haſtened to the ſhore, to the relief of their companions on board the veſſels. But all their endeavours were ineffectual; for the *Carthaginian* ſhips, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock of the *Syracuſian* galleys, many of them were ſunk at the firſt attack, others quite diſabled, and a great number burnt and taken. The ſlaughter on this occaſion was ſo dreadful, that the ſhore was covered with dead bodies; which afforded a melancholy ſpectacle to *Himilco*, and filled all the *Carthaginians* with great horror, who, bewailing their unhappy fate, were now reduced to a ſtate of deſperation. In the mean time, the camp, being deſerted by the body of troops above-mentioned, was left very much expoſed; which *Dionyſius* taking advantage of, redoubled his efforts, and finding but a feeble reſiſtance, ſoon broke into it, putting all to the ſword who oppoſed him. After this, he moved with his forces towards the gulf of *Daſcon*, where finding forty *Carthaginian* ſhips of fifty oars a-piece, with a great number of tranſports, and ſome galleys, he immediately ſet fire to them. This completed the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet; for the wind being at that time very high, and the cables of many of the ſhips burnt, they were all, excepting a few that were afterwards taken, either conſumed by the violence of the flames, or, falling foul one upon another, broken to pieces. *Diodorus* ſays, that when the ſhips were all in a blaze, and the flames aſcending above the maſts, a moſt dreadful ſcene was exhibited, the gods themſelves ſeeming to deſtroy the enemy with lightning from heaven; which puniſhment, he inſinuates, they deſerved, on account of their great impiety. Such a ſpirit of joy and gladneſs diffuſed itſelf over the whole city on this happy occaſion, that old and young, women and children, in fine almoſt all the inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, poſted to the walls and eminencies in the greateſt hurry, to be ſpectators of ſo glorious a victory: at the ſight of which, lifting up their hands to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in ſo ſignal a manner the many ſacrileges, which the *Carthaginians* had committed ſince their arrival in *Sicily*. Night putting an end to this action, *Dionyſius*, with his troops, retired, and encamped

camped near the enemy at the temple of *Jupiter*, with a design to renew the fight early the next morning [w] (B).

Himilco *with great difficulty makes his escape to* Africa.

THOUGH *Dionysius* penetrated into the *Carthaginian* camp, put great numbers of the enemy there to the sword, and even intirely ruined their fleet, yet he could not, by this last effort, oblige them absolutely to raise the siege: this he reserved to the day following. But *Himilco*, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent embassadors privately to him, offering him three hundred talents (C), all the ready cash he had then with him, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to return to *Africa*. *Dionysius* was unwilling utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*, left the *Syracusians*, when free from the apprehensions of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their antient liberty, and thereby give him fresh disturbance; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the *Syracusians*, nor their confederates, would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms: he therefore replied, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow *Himilco*, with all the citizens of *Carthage*, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed to, *Dionysius* retired with his forces into the city, whither *Himilco* privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

(B) *Polyænus* seems to intimate, that *Dionysius* amused the *Carthaginians* with some proposals for an accommodation, and at the same time offered to deliver into their hands a great number of castles and fortresses, if they would put garisons into them. The *Carthaginians*, closing with this offer, posted great numbers of their troops, according to our author, in those places; but hereby so weakened their army, that *Dionysius* found himself strong enough to attack them; which he did, and gained a complete victory. If we admit this story to be true, which perhaps our readers may scruple doing, since *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, and *Orosius*, have passed it over in silence, it is probable the stratagem was made use of after the plague had made great havock in the *Carthaginian* camp; for *Himilco*'s forces were at first so vastly superior in strength to *Dionysius*'s army, even according to *Polyænus* himself, that he might have garisoned all the fortresses belonging to the *Syracusians*, and yet have been much more than a match for *Dionysius* (1).

(C) According to what we have lately observed, this was about fifty-four thousand pounds sterling; which was no extraordinary sum for the military chest, considering what a numerous army *Himilco* commanded.

(1) *Polyæn. strat. l.* v. *c.* 2. *ex.* 9. *Vide etiam Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat. l.* i. *c.* 8. *ex.* 11.

necessary

neceſſary preparations for his departure. The fourth night after the agreement, *Himilco*, with forty galleys full of the citizens of *Carthage*, was ready to ſet ſail, leaving the reſt of the army behind him. But the *Corinthians*, who ſerved under *Dionyſius*, diſcovering, from the noiſe and motion of the veſſels, that *Himilco* and his friends were making off, ſent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered ſome galleys to be manned, as if he deſigned to prevent their retreat; but as his orders were but ſlowly executed, they grew impatient, and, without his permiſſion, gave them chace; and coming up with the rear, by peircing them with the beaks of their veſſels, ſunk ſeveral of them. Upon the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, the *Siculi*, who joined them, diſperſed, and, flying through the heart of the country, retired to their reſpective homes. In the mean time, *Dionyſius* poſted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none of thoſe left behind might make their eſcape; and marching by night with his forces, took poſſeſſion of it. This he met with no oppoſition in doing; for the *Africans*, finding themſelves betrayed by *Himilco* and the *Carthaginians*, and that the *Sicilians* had deſerted them, were thrown into ſuch a conſternation, that they immediately diſperſed, taking a great variety of routes. Being therefore incapable of making any reſiſtance, they either fell into the hands of the above-mentioned detachments, or ſurrendered to *Dionyſius* himſelf at diſcretion. But the *Iberians*, keeping together in a body, ſent a herald to capitulate with *Dionyſius*, who took them into his ſervice. All the enemy's baggage and valuable effects left in the camp were delivered up as plunder to the ſoldiery [x].

THIS victory was the more extraordinary, inaſmuch as, before the plague broke out in the *Carthaginian* camp, *Dionyſius* found himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, and actually conſulted with his friends about the moſt proper method of making his eſcape. In this melancholy ſituation, his friend *Ellopides* adviſed him to reſume his courage, and by no means to renounce his ſovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greateſt ornament of his ſepulchre. The tyrant cloſed with this advice, and, notwithſtanding the *Siculi* had joined the enemy, by the incident above-mentioned, became victorious. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* both omit this circumſtance, though the former of thoſe hiſtorians mentions ſomething of this nature to have happened to the tyrant upon the revolt of the *Syracuſian* army, when he was ſhut up in his capital city. However, *Iſocrates*, an author of undoubted credit, who lived at the time

[x] Idem ibid. c. 7.

of the tranſaction, has furniſhed us with this fragment of hiſtory, which has likewiſe been tranſcribed by *Ælian*; ſo that we ſhall make no ſcruple to inſert it here.

THUS ended this campaign, one of the moſt remarkable, for the variety of incidents and viciſſitudes of fortune obſervable in it, to be met with in hiſtory. A large field for reflections here opens itſelf; but as theſe have been already in ſome meaſure anticipated, and as our province is chiefly confined to facts, we ſhall be obliged at preſent to ſuperſede them. In general, however, we may remark, that all human grandeur is vanity; that Providence frequently makes uſe of ſome wicked men as its inſtruments in ſcourging of others, and conſequently that villainy muſt be frequently triumphant; and laſtly, that a ſtrict attachment to the dictates of juſtice and humanity is not only laudable, but politic, in all ſtates, how elevated ſoever, ſince a deviation from theſe cannot be ſecured by the moſt formidable and extenſive power from a retaliation.

The Carthaginians are in the utmoſt conſternation upon receiving the melancholy news of the total ruin of both their land and ſea-forces.

ADVICE being brought to *Carthage* of the terrible fate that both the land and ſea-forces of the republic had met with in *Sicily*, the whole city was overwhelmed with ſorrow. Every part of it was filled with outcries and lamentations, and the people were under the ſame diſmal apprehenſions, as if the enemy had actually made themſelves maſters of the town. All the houſes in the city, as well as the temples, being ſhut up, an intire ſtop was put to every kind of buſineſs, and even to their religious worſhip. This happened when the *Carthaginians* were ſeized with the firſt impreſſions of terror; for ſoon after, recovering themſelves, they began to entertain hopes, that, upon the general's arrival, things might poſſibly turn out better than they had been repreſented. They did not, however, continue long in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe; for in a little time the poor remains of their ſhattered troops landed near *Carthage*, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themſelves intirely to deſpair, and, giving a full vent to their grief, made the ſhore ring with their groans and lamentations. In ſhort, a greater ſcene of horror, except the ſpot of ground where the *Carthaginian* army encamped before *Syracuſe*, than *Carthage* now was, cannot well be conceived [y].

Himilco, *not being able to ſurvive his misfortunes, kills himſelf.*

Himilco in the mean time, landing at *Carthage*, appeared in mean and ſordid attire. He was immediately met by a vaſt concourſe of people, bemoaning their ſad and inauſpicious fortune. Joining with theſe forlorn wretches, and lifting up his hands

[y] ISOCRAT. in Archidam. ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. iv. c. 8. JUST. l. xix. ſub fin. OROS. l. iv.

to

to heaven, he bitterly bewailed his own hard fate, but moſt of all that of his country. Afterwards impiouſly taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the ſole authors of his miſfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to eſteem it as a ſingular happineſs, that their preſent calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could aſſume to themſelves no merit from it: "The "enemy, ſaid he, may indeed rejoice at our miſery, but have "no reaſon to glory in it. The troops we have loſt did not "fall by their valour, nor did they oblige thoſe that are now "arrived ſafe here to abandon their iſland by force. We re"turn victorious over the *Syracuſians*, and are only defeated by "the plague. As for the baggage found in our camp, this "ought not to be looked upon, as the ſpoils of a conquered "enemy, but as moveables, which the caſual death of the "owners has left the *Syracuſians* in poſſeſſion of. No part "of the diſaſter, continued he, touches me ſo much, as "my ſurviving ſo many gallant men, and my being reſerved, "not for the comforts of life, but to be the ſport of ſo dire a "calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to *Carthage* "the remaining part of the army under my conduct, I ſhall "ſpeedily follow thoſe brave men, who periſhed in *Sicily*, and "thereby demonſtrate to my country, that it was not out of a "fondneſs for life, but merely to preſerve the troops, which "had eſcaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which, "by my more early death, they would have been expoſed, that "I ſurvived them." After this, going directly to his houſe, and ſhutting the doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himſelf the fatal ſtroke. This violent death *Diodorus* interprets as a ſignal puniſhment inflicted upon him, for his having ſo frequently violated the ſanctity of temples and tombs at *Syracuſe*, which, according to our author, was a crime of a moſt flagrant and enormous nature [z].

THE fame of *Dionyſius*'s ſucceſs being ſpread all over the *Carthaginian* dominions, and thoſe of their confederates in *Africa*, the affairs of this ſtate there were ſoon almoſt in as bad a ſituation as in *Sicily*. The *Africans* bore a natural hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in *Africa*, that *Himilco* had ſaved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy. Incenſed therefore to the laſt degree, and moved with a thorough contempt of the *Carthaginians*, who now were become deſpicable to all their neighbours, the cities and ſtates, which had ſent them auxiliaries, took up arms, in-

The Africans revolt from the Carthaginians.

[z] JUSTIN. OROS. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

tending to take ſignal vengeance of them, for the late affront offered them in the perſons of their countrymen. They diſpatched expreſſes into all parts, notifying the ill uſage they had met with in the moſt agravating terms; by which means, ſupplies coming from every quarter, they ſoon aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. And now their deſign being publicly known, and that they had forces likewiſe to put it in execution, the whole country roſe; ſo that their army in a ſhort time amounted to above two hundred thouſand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took their route towards *Carthage* [a].

They take Tunis, *and advance into the neighbourhood of* Carthage.

On their march, they took *Tunis*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. This gave a dreadful alarm to the citizens of *Carthage*, who now gave up every thing for loſt. However, upon the approach of the enemy, they engaged them; but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to retire within their walls. As the *Carthaginians*, in all public calamities, carried their ſuperſtition to a very great exceſs, their firſt care was to appeaſe the offended gods, particularly *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe temples they had violated at *Syracuſe*, and therefore conſidered this freſh melancholy incident as the effect of their reſentment. Before, theſe deities had never been heard of in *Africa*; but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent ſtatues were erected in their honour; prieſts ſelected from amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city for their ſervice; and all their ſacrifices ordered to be offered after the *Greek* manner, thoſe *Greeks* amongſt them, who were verſed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worſhip of theſe goddeſſes, being appointed to officiate in this ſervice. Having by this means ſufficientiy, as they apprehended, atoned for paſt offences to theſe deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all neceſſary preparations to reduce the rebels, and thoſe who ſupported them, to reaſon [b].

But are obliged at laſt to diſperſe.

Though the *African* forces were very numerous, yet, happily for the *Carthaginians*, they wanted a general, as well as ſubordinate officers, of experience, and had neither warlike engines to carry on a ſiege, nor proviſions to ſupport ſo vaſt a multitude; whereas the *Carthaginians*, being maſters of the ſea, were ſupplied with every thing in great plenty from *Sardinia*. Such an army as this was like a body uniformed with a ſoul. As there was no diſcipline or ſubordination in it, every perſon might ſet himſelf up for a general, and claim an independence on the reſt; which would ſoon cauſe numberleſs factions

[a] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [b] Idem ibid.

and

and diviſions amongſt them, and conſequently ſoon diſſolve the whole. Thus in fact it happened with this rabble of an army; for diſſenſions ariſing therein, the famine daily increaſing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the *Carthaginians* to deſert, the individuals of it withdrew to their reſpective homes, and by this means delivered *Carthage* from one of the moſt imminent dangers that had ever threatened it [c].

AFTER the late diſaſter in *Sicily*, *Himilco* had left *Mago* to take care of the *Carthaginian* intereſt there, and ſettle their broken affairs in the beſt manner poſſible. In order to this, he treated all the *Sicilians* ſubject to *Carthage* with great mildneſs and humanity, and granted his protection to all thoſe who were perſecuted by *Dionyſius*. He alſo entered into alliances with ſeveral *Sicilian* cities, which had an averſion to that tyrant. Strengthened by theſe alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from *Carthage*, he formed an army, and made an incurſion into the territory of *Meſſana*. Having ravaged this in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, and retired to *Abacænum*, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. *Dionyſius*, advancing to *Abacænum* with his army, offered him battle; which challenge *Mago* accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loſs of above eight hundred men. Upon this defeat, the *Carthaginian* general, with his broken troops, entered *Abacænum*; and *Dionyſius* returned to *Syracuſe* [d].

Dionyſius routs Mago at Abacænum.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great loſſes the *Carthaginians* had ſuſtained in the courſe of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the iſland of *Sicily*. Their officers were therefore ſent, as uſual, to levy forces in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and ſome of thoſe parts of *Italy* not inhabited by *Greeks*. As they had hitherto had ſuch bad ſucceſs with their fleet, they propoſed determining the fate of *Sicily* by a deciſive battle in the field; for which reaſon they fitted out a much weaker ſquadron of long ſhips, than in any of the former expeditions. The *Carthaginians* armed all their troops on this occaſion in the completeſt manner, and appointed *Mago*, who was defeated the year before at *Abacænum*, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in the iſland above-mentioned would ſoon receive a very conſiderable alteration.

The Carthaginians, notwithſtanding their loſſes, meditate a freſh attempt upon the iſland of Sicily.

Mago, aſſembling his land-forces, found them to amount to eighty thouſand fighting men, with which he landed in *Sicily*. On his march through the territories of the *Siculi*, many cities fell to him; which gave him great encouragement. At laſt he encamped on the river *Chryſas* in the country of the *Agyrinæans*, and attempted to bring over that people to his party; but his

[c] Idem ibid. c. 10. [d] DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 10.

endeavours

endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that *Dionyſius* was advancing againſt him at the head of twenty thouſand men, he thought proper to continue ſome time in his camp, and put himſelf there into a poſture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, the tyrant, being arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Carthaginian* camp, ſent to *Agyris*, prince of the *Agyrinæans*, to join him with all his forces, and ſupply his troops with ſome proviſions. This tyrant was next to *Dionyſius* in power of all others in the iſland, his city containing no leſs than twenty thouſand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treaſure; for he had lately put to death ſome of his principal ſubjects, and confiſcated their eſtates. *Dionyſius* therefore making him a viſit, with ſome of his particular friends, prevailed upon *Agyris* to come into his meaſures; in conſequence of which he received a ſupply of proviſions and a ſtrong reinforcement of troops. What induced *Agyris* to fall in ſo readily with the *Syracuſian* tyrant's views was, the promiſe of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in caſe their arms were attended with ſucceſs in this war [e].

Dionyſius *wins* Agyris, *tyrant of the* Agyrinæans, *over to his intereſt;*

In the mean time, *Mago*, finding himſelf in an enemy's country, and reduced to great ſtraights for want of proviſions, began to be very uneaſy. The *Syracuſians* were for coming to a battle immediately with him; but this *Dionyſius* oppoſed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without ſtriking a ſtroke, by ſtarving them to a ſurrender. And indeed he had good reaſon for what he advanced; for the *Agyrinæans*, being well acquainted with all the paſſes and by-ways of the country, every day ſurpriſed the *Carthaginian* parties, and, after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the proviſions they were carrying to their camp. However, the *Syracuſians*, being diſguſted at *Dionyſius*'s refuſal to comply with their motion, directly quitted his camp. This threw the tyrant into a great conſternation, and obliged him to manumit all the ſlaves, as he had done once before. Soon after, the *Carthaginians*, moved at the dreadful proſpect of a famine, thought proper to ſend embaſſadors to him, to propoſe an accommodation. This being as neceſſary for *Dionyſius* in his preſent circumſtances as the *Carthaginians*, a peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties, without any further effuſion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all particulars with the former; only by an additional article the city of *Tauromínium* was given up to *Dionyſius*, who driving from thence the *Siculi*, placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, as ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in

And concludes a peace with Mago.

[e] Idem ibid. c. 11.

Sicily

Sicily to ſhift for themſelves. Thus this war ended, notwithſtanding the terrible blow they received before *Syracuſe*, very little to the diſadvantage of the *Carthaginians* [f].

FROM this time, for nine years, the *Carthaginians* enjoyed an uninterrupted repoſe, at leaſt hiſtory is ſilent as to any military tranſactions they were concerned in during that interval. But, in the ſecond year of the ninety-ninth olympiad, *Dionyſius*, meditating a war againſt them, formed a project of putting his finances upon (A) ſuch a footing, as might enable him to carry

[f] Idem ibid.

(A) *Ariſtotle* and *Polyænus* affirm, that *Dionyſius*, in his expedition to *Etruria*, had an hundred galleys, as likewiſe a large ſhip with a body of horſe on board, with which making a deſcent, he plundered the temple of *Leucothea*, from whence carrying off ſeventy talents in money, beſides other valuable effects, he immediately put to ſea again. The ſame authors relate, that, upon his re-imbarquing, he was informed, that the ſoldiers and ſeamen had privately conveyed on board the fleet a thouſand talents of ſilver; whereupon he iſſued out an order before he landed in *Sicily*, requiring every perſon to bring to him half of his treaſure, upon pain of death, promiſing each of them the other half for his own uſe, in caſe of a compliance herewith. When the landmen and mariners brought him in their reſpective halves, he knew what riches remained ſtill in their poſſeſſion, and obliged them to refund thoſe likewiſe (1). *Ælian* takes notice of this expedition, telling us (2), that *Dionyſius* impiouſly carried off all the treaſures of *Apollo* and *Leucothea*, and amongſt other valuable moveables a ſilver table, placed near the ſtatue of *Apollo*; and that the men who took it out of the temple, at the ſame time drank, or offered, to the god, the cup of the *good Genius*; which they did by way of joke or ridicule, that cup or health going round the company amongſt the antients, after the concluſion of their meals, when the tables were taken away. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the learned *Perizonius* imagines *Ariſtotle*'s text here to have been corrupted, and thinks it may be corrected by *Ælian*, viz. by inſerting Τροιζηνίδα or Τροιζηνίαν inſtead of Τυρρηνίαν, and this in contradiction to the manuſcripts. But we muſt beg leave to diſſent from that great man in this particular; for that this very paſſage of *Ælian* is corrupted, he himſelf allows; nay, ſo corrupted, that it has embarraſſed moſt, if not all, of thoſe learned men, who have endeavoured to tranſlate and explain that author, particularly *Geſner*, *Scheffer*, and *Juſtus Vulteius*, none of whom have been able to come at his meaning. Beſides, all the manuſcripts of *Polyænus*, an author who did not occur to *Perizonius*, and who lived within a

(1) *Ariſtot. œconom. l.* ii. *Polyæn ſtrat. l.* v. *c.* 2. *ex.* 21. (2) *Ælian. var. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 20. *& Jac. Perizon. com. in loc. Vide & Athen. in deipnoſoph. l.* xv. *ſub fin.*

very

carry it on with a proſpect of ſucceſs. This, by the aſſiſtance of that good fortune, which had always attended him through the different ſcenes of his life to that time, he eaſily put in execution. Having fitted out ſixty galleys, under colour of clearing the ſeas of pyrates, he made a deſcent in *Etruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the ſuburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away, beſides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thouſand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raiſed by the ſale of the ſpoils, and, with this money, ſet on foot a numerous army. He now wanted nothing but a plauſible pretence to break with the *Carthaginians*, for which he was not long at a loſs. Obſerving, that the *Carthaginian* ſubjects in *Sicily* were inclined to a revolt, he took as many of them under his protection as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the conſequence of which was an admiſſion of his troops into their cities. The *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of this, firſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch a proceeding, as a manifeſt infraction of the treaties then ſubſiſting between them, by miniſters ſent to the tyrant for that purpoſe; but this not availing, they declared war againſt him [g].

Dionyſius plunders a rich temple in Etruria, *And breaks again with the* Carthaginians.

The people of *Carthage*, ſuſpecting his deſign againſt their ſtate, upon the firſt notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had ſtrengthened themſelves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other neceſſary meaſures to ſecure themſelves againſt the impending ſtorm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was joined by a ſtrong body of foreign mercenaries they had engaged in their ſervice. To give a greater diverſion to the tyrant, they divided their army into two bodies, one of which they ſent to *Italy*, and the other to *Sicily*; and this obliged *Dionyſius* likewiſe to divide his forces. The main army, however, was to act in *Sicily*, under the command of *Mago*, who, ſoon after his arrival, was attacked by *Dionyſius* at a place called *Cabala*. The encounter was rude and bloody; but at laſt the *Carthaginians* were overthrown, and forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, that was indeed ſtrong by its ſituation, but deſtitute of water. In the battle they had ten thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, together

And defeats them at Cabala *in* Sicily.

[g] Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 2.

very few years of *Ælian*, if he was not cotemporary with him, in the paſſage referred to, which was moſt certainly taken from *Ariſtotle*, have Τεῤῥηνίαν. This authority is of much greater weight than the teſtimony of *Pauſanias*, in proof of there having been in antient times a temple ſacred to *Apollo* at *Træzene*; which, we cannot help thinking, is little, if any thing at all, to the purpoſe.

with

with *Mago* their general, who behaved with great bravery and reſolution, and five thouſand taken priſoners. The *Carthaginians*, terrified by this defeat, and finding themſelves blocked up by *Dionyſius* on the hill, where they were like to die of thirſt, were forced to ſue for a peace. *Dionyſius* anſwered the embaſſadors they ſent him with great haughtineſs, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate *Sicily*, and to defray all the expences of the war. Theſe hard terms they pretended to comply with; but at the ſame time repreſenting, that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they poſſeſſed in *Sicily* (B), without the expreſs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to laſt till the return of an expreſs ſent to *Carthage*. In the mean time, they buried *Mago*, who, at the time of his death, was one of their ſuffetes, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the preſent melancholy ſituation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his ſon *Mago* to command in his room [h].

Dionyſius, much elated with his good ſucceſs, now looked upon himſelf as ſovereign of all *Sicily*, not doubting but he ſhould ſoon be in a capacity of giving laws to all his neighbours. But in this he was greatly miſtaken; for the *Carthaginians* intended nothing leſs than in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occaſion was calculated only to amuſe the tyrant, till they had an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, in the time of the truce *Mago* their new general raiſed and diſciplined freſh troops, and improved that ſhort interval allowed him ſo well, that, at the return of the expreſs ſent to *Carthage*, he took the field with a powerful army. As *Mago*, though young, had, on many occaſions, given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his conduct ſhewed great impatience to come to blows with the enemy. Obſerving therefore their ardour, immediately upon the expiration of the truce, he gave *Dionyſius*

[h] Idem ibid. & Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c 16. ex 1.

(B) *Polyænus* relates this in a manner ſomething different from *Diodorus*. He ſays, that the *Carthaginians* pretended they had not the power of concluding a peace with *Dionyſius*, without the conſent of their admiral; and therefore begged they might be permitted to remove their camp into the neighbourhood of their fleet, which would enable them to comply with the conditionsprefcribed them. The tyrant granted this requeſt, though againſt the advice of *Leptines*; which brought upon him the diſaſter here mentioned (3).

(3) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l* vi. *c.* 16. *ex.* 1.

But is overthrown at Cronion.

battle not far from *Cronion*, and intirely defeated him (C), killing fourteen thouſand *Syracuſians* on the ſpot, and among the reſt *Leptines* (D) his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly regretted, even by thoſe who hated the tyrant. In the beginning of the engagement, *Dionyſius* had the advantage, repulſing thoſe that charged him with great bravery; but when he heard of the death of *Leptines*, and that the body he commanded was broken and diſperſed, he immediately betook himſelf to flight, and was hotly purſued by the *Carthaginians*. A dreadful ſlaughter was made of the run-aways in the purſuit; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the reſt muſt all have been cut off to a man, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to eſcape. This made the *Carthaginians* ample amends for the blow they received at *Cabala*, and left them in full poſſeſſion, not only of their own towns, but alſo of a good part of the *Syracuſian* territories. *Dionyſius*, with the remains of his ſhattered army, fled to *Syracuſe*, where he expected ſoon to be beſieged by the victorious enemy. But the *Carthaginian* general uſed his victory with great moderation, and, inſtead of purſuing the routed enemy, retired to *Panormus*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Dionyſius*, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, *viz.* that both parties ſhould keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, ſave only that *Dionyſius* ſhould deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory

(C) According to *Polyænus*, the *Carthaginians* had a ſtrong party in the city of *Cronion*, who were deſirous of opening the gates to them. The *Carthaginian* general, being appriſed of this, when the wind favoured his project, ſet a wood on fire, which grew cloſe by the town, the ſmoke of which being driven by the wind into the face of the enemy, who lay encamped over-againſt him, prevented them from diſcovering any motion he might make. Taking advantage of this, he approached the place, and was admitted by the *Cronians* in his intereſt into the town (4).

(D) *Frontinus* relates, that this *Leptines* was the author of the following ſtratagem: he ordered a detachment of his troops to lay waſte his own lands, and burn ſeveral *Syracuſian* caſtles and villages in the neighbourhood of the *Carthaginian* camp in the night-time. The *Carthaginians*, imagining this to have been done by their own men, ſent a ſtrong body of troops out of the camp to ſupport them; but theſe falling into an ambuſcade, which *Leptines* had laid for them, were intirely defeated, and driven back to their camp with great ſlaughter (5).

(4) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 5. (5) *Sex. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* ii. *c.* 5 *ex.* 11.

of

of *Selinus*, and that part of the territory of *Agrigentum* adjoining to it, which extended as far as the river *Halycus*, and beſides pay a thouſand talents, to defray the expences of the war. In other reſpects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to ſubſiſt in their fulleſt extent [i].

ABOUT three years after the concluſion of this laſt war, the *Carthaginians* landed an army in *Italy*, and reſtored the inhabitants of *Hippo*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Hipponium*, to their city, from whence they had for ſome time been expelled. This city was very antient, as being mentioned by *Scylax*, and was, according to *Strabo*, built by the people of *Locri*. The *Romans* called it *Vibo*, *Valentia*, and *Vibo Valentia*; but *Ptolemy* made uſe of the old name, following herein *Scylax* and *Strabo*. If the laſt author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and and wore them in honour of *Proſerpina*, who, according to an antient tradition prevailing amongſt the natives, came thither on purpoſe to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who made this expedition purely with a deſign to reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating them with great kindneſs, they returned to *Africa*.

The Carthaginians *make an expedition to* Italy, *in favour of the people of* Hippo, *who are their confederates.*

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of the troops from *Italy*, *Carthage* had a moſt terrible calamity to ſtruggle with: the plague broke out afreſh there, and ſwept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This ſeems to have raged with greater violence than any diſtemper the city was ever viſited with before; for ſuch vaſt multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The *Africans* and *Sardi*, encouraged by the extreme weakneſs to which that ſtate was hereby reduced, attempted to ſhake off the *Carthaginian* yoke; but were at laſt, not without ſome effuſion of blood, reduced to their obedience. The peſtilence, we are now ſpeaking of, was of a very ſingular nature; for panic terrors and violent fits of frenzy ſeized on a ſudden the heads of thoſe afflicted with it, who ſallying ſword in hand out of their houſes, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. *Juſtin* ſeems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* laboured under ſuch a grievous ſickneſs as this ſeveral years, with little or no intermiſſion; for it appears from

The Africans *and* Sardi *rebel; but are at laſt reduced to their former obedience.*

[i] Idem ibid.

a hint he has given us, that they were delivered from the plague not long before the death of *Dionyſius* [k].

TOWARDS the beginning of the hundred and third olympiad, *Dionyſius*, aſſembling a great number of forces, reſolved to fall upon the *Carthaginians*, who were then in a very bad ſituation, on account of the ravages the plague had made, and the war with the *Africans* and *Sardi*, which had not been long finiſhed. As he had not the leaſt colour or pretext for ſuch an open violation of treaties, he was obliged to have recourſe to a downright falſity, *viz.* that the *Carthaginians* made incurſions into his dominions. Without putting himſelf to the trouble therefore of making a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the *Carthaginian* territories, with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, attended by a navy of three hundred ſail. With this formidable force he ſoon reduced the cities of *Selinus* and *Entella*, plundering and laying waſte all the adjacent country. Then he made himſelf maſter of *Eryx*, and laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*; which, being defended by a numerous gariſon, baffled his efforts in ſuch a manner, that he was obliged to riſe from before it. Being informed, that the arſenal at *Carthage* was conſumed by fire, he concluded, that this ſtate would find it impoſſible to equip a fleet, and therefore laid up thirty of his beſt galleys in the haven at *Eryx*, and ſent back all the reſt to *Syracuſe*. The *Carthaginians*, being appriſed how little the tyrant was upon his guard, immediately manned two hundred galleys, and unexpectedly entering the port of *Eryx*, ſurpriſed that part of his fleet laid up there, and carried moſt of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. *Dionyſius* did not long ſurvive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was ſucceeded by a ſon of the ſame name in the government of *Syracuſe* [l].

Dionyſius takes Eryx *from the* Carthaginians; *but has part of his fleet ſurpriſed by them in the port of that city.*

THOUGH *Diodorus* does not ſay expreſly, that the *Carthaginians*, upon the laſt rupture, ſent a body of troops to *Sicily*, yet *Juſtin* gives us ſome reaſon to believe, that they either did, or deſigned it, and that the commander's name was *Hanno*. The ſame author farther informs us, that *Suniator*, or *Suniates*, a perſon of great authority in the city, bore an implacable hatred to *Hanno*, and, in order to do him a prejudice, endeavoured to give the enemy intelligence of his motions. This he did by writing in *Greek* to *Dionyſius*; but his letter, wherein he made very free with *Hanno*'s character, was intercepted, and he there-

The Greek *language is expelled* Carthage, *on account of a treaſonable correſpondence carried on in it between a* Carthaginian *and* Dionyſius.

[k] Idem ibid. c. 3. JUST. l. xx. ſubfin. SCYLAX & STRAB. l. vi. Inſcript. vet. apud GRUTER. p. 99. n. 1. & p. 150. n. 7. CIC. pro Planc. c. 40. & ad Attic. iii. ep. 3. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. [l] DIOD. SIC. l. xv. c. 8.

upon

upon found guilty of treaſon by the ſenate. This occaſioned the paſſing of a law at *Carthage*, whereby all the inhabitants were forbid learning either to write or ſpeak the *Greek* language, that they might be deprived of all means of correſponding with the enemy [m].

Oroſius *miſtaken.*

WE are told by *Oroſius*, that the *Carthaginians* concluded their firſt treaty with the *Romans* in the four hundred and ſecond year of *Rome*, which was not far from the time we are now ſpeaking of. But this we muſt by no means give credit to, becauſe it is contradicted by *Polybius*, an author infinitely ſuperior in point of authority to *Oroſius*, who affirms, that the firſt treaty the *Carthaginians* entered into with the *Romans* happened in the year after the regifuge; and that this was the ſecond. And here we cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurpriſe at M. *Rollin*, who quotes *Oroſius* as affirming this to have been the ſecond treaty concluded between the two republics; whereas that author expreſsly aſſerts it to have been the firſt. The articles of this treaty may be ſeen in a former part of this work, and therefore we ſhall not here repeat them. However, it may be proper to obſerve, that the people of *Utica* and *Tyre*, according to *Polybius*, were compriſed in the treaty, and that the *Romans* were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country, in any part beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Maſtia*, and *Tarſeium*. The *Carthaginians*, being at this time in full poſſeſſion of *Sardinia* and a great part of *Africa*, thought it conſiſtent with juſtice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourſe betwixt the *Romans* and theſe countries. From the treaty here mentioned it farther appears, that both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* applied themſelves with great diligence at this time to commerce. Soon after this event, the *Romans* gained a ſignal victory over the *Samnites*; upon which the *Carthaginians* ſent to compliment the republic on her ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown (E) of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by

[m] JUSTIN. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 5. MEL. l. ii. c. 4. LIV. l. xxxv. c. 40, &c.

(E) This muſt have been a mere compliment, proceeding from ſome political motive to us unknown; for it was by no means the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*, that the *Samnites* ſhould be ſubdued by the *Romans*. The latter, at this time, began to rival the *Carthaginians* in trade; whereas the former ſeem to have been their good and faithful allies; at leaſt it is certain they ſometimes ſupplied them with bodies of auxiliary or mercenary troops, as we ſhall find towards the cloſe of this ſection. This paſſage ſeems to intimate, that *Jupiter* was a deity well known at *Carthage*, and that his image

by way of thanksgiving for so glorious an action [n]. But to return to the affairs of *Sicily*.

Dionysius the second comes to an accommodation with the Carthaginians.

THE prince now upon the throne was of quite a different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising; but this mildness and moderation being rather the effect of a slothful and indolent disposition, than of a wise and judicious understanding, his subjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himself the government of *Syracuse*, he changed the truce with the *Carthaginians* into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with that neighbouring state. As *Diodorus* ascribes this peace to his indolence and sloth, and consequently, in some measure, seems to upbraid him for it, we have some reason from hence to believe, that the terms of it were not very advantageous to the *Syracusians* [o].

A war commences between the Syracusians *and the* Corinthians *on the one hand, and* Dionysius *and the* Carthaginians *on the other.*

SOME years after, the people of *Syracuse*, being agitated by civil dissensions, were involved in the greatest miseries (F). *Dionysius* was obliged to quit his throne, and continued an exile for ten years; but at last, the city being rent into parties and factions upon the death of *Dion*, he found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. His past misfortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very savage and brutal. In short, the better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, implored the aid of *Icetas*, who was by descent a *Syracusian*, and at that time tyrant of the *Leontini*; they created

[n] OROS. l. i. ad A. U. C. CDII. M. ROLLIN in hist. anc. des Carthag. p. 223. à Amsterdam, 1733. POLYB. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. LIV. l. vii. Univers. hist. vol. xi. p. 488, 489. [o] DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. c. 2.

image there was adorned with a crown of gold, agreeably to what has been before observed of *Baal* in the *Phœnician* history (6).

(F) It appears from *Diodorus*, that the *Carthaginians* were at the bottom of these civil dissensions at *Syracuse*; for *Dionysius* had never been dethroned by *Dion*, had not *Paralus*, the *Carthaginian* governor of *Minoa*, a city in the territory of *Agrigentum*, supposed to have been built by *Minos*, given the latter a kind reception there, permitted him to land five thousand arms, and supplied him with carriages to convey them to *Syracuse*. This was certainly good policy in the *Carthaginians*, whose interest it was to endeavour rending the city of *Syracuse* into as many factions as possible, that the inhabitants might destroy one another, and thereby become a more easy prey to the state of *Carthage* (7).

(6) *Univers. hist. vol.* ii. *p.* 307. *not.* (E). (7) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvi. *c.* 3.

him

him general of all their forces, abandoning themſelves to his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but becauſe they had no other reſource. Beſides, they entertained ſome hopes of his being both able and willing to protect them, as he was in ſome reſpect their countryman, and had an army able to cope with that of *Dionyſius*. The *Carthaginians*, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themſelves abſolute maſters of *Sicily*, fitted out a great fleet, and for ſome time hovered about the coaſts of that iſland, not being at firſt determined where to make a deſcent. This ſo alarmed the *Syracuſians*, that they apprehended themſelves upon the brink of ruin, and in this extremity reſolved to have recourſe to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were originally deſcended, and whoſe aſſiſtance had ſeveral times extricated them out of great difficulties. The *Corinthians*, being the moſt famed of all the *Greek* nations for their profeſſed averſion to tyranny in every ſhape, readily granted their requeſt, and gave their embaſſadors a moſt kind reception. *Icetas*, whoſe only view was to make himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, in the mean time ſeemed to concur with theſe meaſures, though he had actually entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*. He was in hopes ſome domeſtic broils or other would prevent the *Corinthians* from aſſiſting their relations, and then, by his complying with this motion, he doubted not he ſhould win over to his intereſt thoſe very perſons who made it, which would enable him the more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign. He therefore diſpatched deputies himſelf along with the *Syracuſian* miniſters; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from ſending any forces into the iſland, which, according to his laſt treaty with the *Carthaginians*, was, after the expulſion of *Dionyſius*, to be divided between him and them. However, the *Corinthians*, then enjoying a profound tranquility, were at leiſure to ſend a body of troops to *Syracuſe*, which, in a general aſſembly, it was reſolved ſhould be done. As the *Syracuſians* in particular deſired they would ſend them an able and experienced general, they appointed *Timoleon*, the ſon of *Timodemus* and *Demariſte*, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, to take upon him the command of the *Syracuſian* army, in conjunction with their forces, and with theſe he was to act againſt *Dionyſius* and the *Carthaginians* [p].

THE *Syracuſian* embaſſadors were ſcarce ſet out for *Corinth*, when *Icetas* took off the maſk, and openly joined the *Carthaginians*, intending, by their aſſiſtance, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, and that under colour of aſſiſting the inhabitants againſt *Dionyſius*. But being apprehenſive, that a body of forces from *Corinth*, Syracuſe.

Icetas endeavours to diſſuade the Corinthians *from ſending any forces to*

[p] PLUT. in Timol. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 10.

Corinth, under the conduct of a skilful general, would defeat his measures, he dispatched an express to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, that the *Carthaginians*, appriſed of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron with a strong fleet; and that their slowness in sending him succours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any further levies, or exhausting their treasures by great, but useless, expences, since he could, with the assistance of his allies the *Carthaginians*, drive out *Dionysius*, and restore *Syracuse* to its antient liberty. The *Corinthians*, hereby plainly discovering, that the tyrant aspired to the sovereignty of *Syracuse*, and being justly at that time celebrated for the generous notions they entertained in behalf of liberty, were incensed to the last degree at such a perfidious conduct; and therefore those who had before either opposed the expedition, or been cold and languid in promoting it, now readily concurred with the rest, and all the necessary dispositions were made for *Timoleon*'s sudden departure [q].

Timoleon, encouraged by several goodomens, sets sail for Sicily.

Plutarch tells us, that when the troops were ready to imbarque, the goddess *Proserpina*, attended by her mother *Ceres*, both in travelling habits, appeared to her female priests in a dream or vision; and that both these deities declared they would sail with *Timoleon* to *Sicily*, an island in a peculiar manner sacred to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who, consecrating the best trireme of his squadron to the goddesses, called it the sacred ship of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The same author likewise relates, that *Timoleon* going to *Delphi*, in order to sacrifice there to *Apollo*, and descending into the place where the responses of the oracle were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with crowns and trophies, slipping from among the consecrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly upon his head, which he interpreted as a happy omen, *Apollo* thereby seeming to crown him with success, and to assure him of a triumph over *Icetas* and the *Carthaginians*. He set sail from *Corinth* with seven galleys of his own nation, two of *Corcyra*, and a tenth, which was sent him by the *Leucadians*, with only a thousand soldiers on board; a very small force, considering the enterprise he was going upon. Our author farther informs us, that *Timoleon*, getting out of port by night, was carried by a prosperous gale into the ocean, and preceded in the night by a flame, resembling those torches that were used in the sacred mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, which conducted him to that part of *Italy* where he intended to land; and that this being interpreted by his soothsayers as a confirmation of what

[q] Diod. Sic. & Plut. ubi sup.

those

those two goddesses had before declared, he looked upon it as a sure token of victory. Pursuing his voyage therefore over the *Ionian* sea with great alacrity, he soon arrived safe with his small fleet at *Metapontum*, now *Torre di Mare*, on the coast of *Italy* [r].

Upon his arrival on the coast of Italy, he amuses Icetas *and the* Carthaginians.

THE first advice he received here was, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionysius*, and having made himself master of the greatest part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel. At the same time he was informed, that the *Carthaginians* had, by the treaty with *Icetas*, engaged themselves to hinder the *Corinthian* squadron from putting in at any of the *Sicilian* ports, that being by this means obliged to return home, they might from thence meet with no farther obstruction in dividing the island between them. This gave him great uneasiness; however, he advanced with his small fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found embassadors from *Icetas*, who were charged to acquaint him, that, if he thought proper, he might come to *Syracuse*, and assist him with his advice; and that he should meet with a kind reception there, and even be a partaker of his good fortune, provided he would dismiss his troops; but otherwise the *Syracusians*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into the city. These ministers were convoyed to *Rhegium* by twenty *Carthaginian* galleys, who had orders to block up the road, and oppose *Timoleon*, if he offered to approach *Syracuse*. That general, finding himself unable to force his way, by reason of the superior strength of the enemy, and that, even provided he could land at *Syracuse*, his handful of troops would not be able to engage those of *Icetas*, flushed with victory and supported by a numerous *Carthaginian* army, was resolved to have recourse to artifice at this critical conjuncture. He therefore demanded a conference with the embassadors and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian* squadron, in the presence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to listen to the proposal offered him; but insisted, that as the *Rhegians* were *Greeks*, and common friends to both parties, he ought first to hear what they had to say, and act, if possible, by their advice, that he might, on his return to *Corinth*, have wherewithal to justify his conduct; alledging further, that the *Carthaginians* themselves would more scrupulously observe the articles of a treaty they had signed before so many witnesses. The *Rhegians* were privy to the design, and dreaded nothing more than the consequence of having so formidable a nation in their neighbourhood as the *Carthaginians*. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of pre-

[r] DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. c. 11. & PLUT. ubi sup.

venting the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themſelves ſolely to the affair in hand. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, being amuſed, and verily believing, that *Timoleon* would be perſuaded to return home, had not made the leaſt preparation to attack him, in caſe he ſhould attempt ſteering his courſe towards the coaſt of *Sicily*.

And lands his forces in Sicily *by a ſtratagem.*

Timoleon, that he might not give the *Carthaginians* the leaſt room to ſuſpect his deſign, did not offer for a conſiderable time to ſtir out of the aſſembly, which being met, long ſpeeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, though without coming to a point, on purpoſe to gain time; nay, *Timoleon*, farther to prevent any ground for ſuſpicion, frequently made ſigns, as though he was going to begin a ſpeech in ſupport of the reſolution he had ſeemingly formed. But while the *Carthaginian* commanders were buſy in the council, nine *Corinthian* galleys, according to the orders they had received from *Timoleon*, ſet ſail, and paſſed in ſight of the *Carthaginian* fleet, unable at that time to act, by reaſon of the abſence of its captains, and moreover believing, that their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who, it was ſuppoſed, were then in the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed, that his galleys were at ſea, by the aſſiſtance of the *Rhegians* about his chair, he ſlipped through the crowd, and making to the galley that was left, embarqued and rejoined the reſt of his ſquadron. The *Carthaginians*, being thus deluded, were extremely chagrined, making bitter complaints of the *Rhegian* perfidiouſneſs and fraud. The *Rhegians*, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to ſee the *Carthaginians* overcome at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them thereupon. The aſſembly not having broke up till it was dark, the *Carthaginians* could not come up with *Timoleon*, ſo far was he got before them, though they gave him chaſe for ſome time. He arrived therefore ſafe with his whole fleet at *Taurominium* [1].

The Carthaginians *threaten* Andromachus *with their reſentment, if he continued to harbour* Timoleon.

The *Carthaginian* general, appriſed of *Timoleon*'s landing at *Taurominium*, diſpatched an expreſs on board one of his galleys thither, threatening *Andromachus*, tyrant of that city, with his reſentment, if he did not immediately drive away the *Corinthians* from thence. The form of the menace, according to *Plutarch*, was this: The barbarian ſtretching out his hand with the inſide upward, and then turning it down again, threatened to turn the city topſy-turvy juſt ſo, in as little time, and with as much eaſe. *Andromachus*, laughing, made no other reply to this inſolence, than by repeating the ſame motion with an air

[1] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

cf

of contempt, and ordering him to be gone immediately, upon pain of having that trial of dexterity exerciſed firſt upon the veſſel which brought him thither. This ſingle circumſtance, ſlight as it is, ſeems clearly to point out the *Carthaginian* original, ſuch kind of inſolent denunciations having been common in the eaſt, as may be learned from ſcripture, to omit what may be collected on this head from profane authors [t].

Timoleon *defeats* Icetas *at* Adranum.

Icetas no ſooner received intelligence of *Timoleon*'s arrival in *Sicily*, than he was thrown into a great conſternation, and deſired the *Carthaginians* to ſend a ſquadron of galleys with all poſſible expedition to guard the coaſts. Soon after, he put the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty galleys, in poſſeſſion of the harbour of *Syracuſe*, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, preſſing him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time, *Timoleon*, drawing his forces out of *Taurominium*, which in the whole did not amount to above a thouſand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the duſk of the evening, and arrived the next day at *Adranum*, a place to which *Icetas* had advanced a little before at the head of a *Carthaginian* detachment of five thouſand men. Theſe he ſurpriſed at ſupper, and therefore meeting with but a faint reſiſtance, eaſily made himſelf maſter of their camp, putting three hundred of them to the ſword, and taking ſix hundred priſoners. In order to follow his blow, and ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he flew like lightning to *Syracuſe*, and even broke into one part of the town, before any thing of his march was known. Here he immediately took poſt with his troops, and defended himſelf with that intrepid reſolution, that the whole united power of *Icetas* and the *Carthaginians* found it impoſſible to diſlodge him [u].

The ſituation of affairs in Sicily, *when* Timoleon *broke into* Syracuſe.

THE *Carthaginians*, being informed, ſome time before this war broke out, that the whole iſland of *Sicily* was ſoon like to be in a flame, greatly careſſed all thoſe cities with whom they were in alliance, to which many other neighbouring ſtates were invited to accede, particularly *Icetas*, tyrant of the *Leontini*, the *Syracuſian* general, with whom a treaty offenſive and defenſive was concluded, as above-mentioned. In order therefore to make good their engagements, and ſupport their confederates, eſpecially *Icetas*, they raiſed a great number of forces both by ſea and land, and tranſported them to *Sicily*, under the command of *Hanno* their general. Upon a general muſter here, the army was found to conſiſt of fifty thouſand men, and three hundred chariots. Theſe were attended with two thouſand

[t] 1 King. xx. 10. & alib. paſſ. [u] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi ſup.

carriages drawn by two horſes a-piece, an immenſe quantity of proviſions, beſides a prodigious number of arms, engines of battery, and all ſorts of warlike ſtores. The fleet, deſtined to concur with theſe land-forces in the operations of the campaign, was compoſed of an hundred and fifty long ſhips or galleys, as related above. *Hanno*, with his forces, moved firſt towards *Entella*; which city he cauſed to be blocked up, having before ravaged and deſtroyed the country all round it. The *Campanians*, however, then in gariſon, found means to notify their diſtreſs to the neighbouring cities, and to deſire their aſſiſtance; but none of them durſt ſtir, except *Galeria*, which ſent them a reinforcement of a thouſand men, who, being intercepted by the *Carthaginians*, were all cut to pieces. The *Campanians* indeed, who inhabited *Ætna*, ſeemed at firſt, on account of their conſanguinity, diſpoſed to aſſiſt them; but receiving advice of the terrible fate the *Galerians* had met with, they judged it more convenient to lie ſtill. In the mean time, *Icetas*, moving from *Leontium* with his army, encamped at *Olympus*, fortifying his camp with a trench and a parapet, that he might be the better enabled to receive *Dionyſius*, in caſe he ſhould think proper to attack him. Proviſions failing him, he was obliged to return to *Leontium* for a freſh ſupply. This *Dionyſius* interpreting as a flight, fell directly upon his rear; which brought on a general engagement. But, after a ſharp conflict, *Icetas* routed him, killing three thouſand of his men upon the ſpot, and purſuing the reſt with ſo much ardour, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town of *Syracuſe*; by which means he poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole city, except the iſland on which the citadel ſtood. This was the ſituation of affairs in *Syracuſe*, when *Timoleon* broke into the city, and gave *Icetas* the defeat above-mentioned [w].

The Sicilians *at firſt not diſpoſed to join* Timoleon.

Before the action at *Adranum*, the *Sicilians* in general were ſo far from being diſpoſed to join *Timoleon*, that they were prejudiced againſt him as a foreign commander; which was chiefly owing to the calamities they had formerly ſuffered by the treachery of *Calippus* an *Athenian*, and *Pharax* a *Lacedæmonian* general; for theſe perſons, under the ſpecious pretext of delivering them from tyranny, had treated them in a more rigorous and oppreſſive manner than the worſt and moſt deſpotic of their own tyrants. The people of *Adranum* only were divided in their ſentiments, ſome preferring the *Carthaginians* and *Icetas*, and others the *Corinthians*. Hence it came to paſs, that both parties were ſolicited for ſuccours by their reſpective confederates; and both ſides accordingly advancing to the re-

[w] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

lief

lief of their friends, much about the ſame time, engaged in the manner above-related. The *Corinthians*, being victorious, intirely through the valour and conduct of *Timoleon*, according to *Plutarch*, were received with open arms by the people of *Adranum*, and, after their example, other cities opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. In the mean time *Dionyſius*, as we have already obſerved, poſſeſſed the iſland of *Ortygia*, *Icetas Neapolis* and *Acradina*, *Timoleon* all the reſt of the city, and the *Carthaginians* the port, having moreover their army encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the town. This deplorable ſituation threw *Timoleon* into great perplexities, ſo that he was at a loſs what courſe to take. Whilſt he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, he was reinforced by a body of the *Adranitæ* and *Tynderitæ*; *Marcus* or *Mamercus* alſo, prince of *Catana*, an able warrior, and maſter of an immenſe treaſure, advanced at the head of a powerful army to his relief. Upon ſuch an unexpected flow of ſucceſs, many forts and caſtles ſurrendered to him; and laſtly, to crown all, he received advice, that the *Corinthians* had ſent him a farther ſupply of ſoldiers on board ten galleys, which were happily arrived at *Thurium*, together with money to pay all their troops at *Syracuſe* [x].

Dionyſius hopes of relief, ſurrenders the citadel, of Syracuſe to Timoleon.

Dionyſius, ſeeing himſelf beſieged on all ſides, without any hopes of relief, ſent privately embaſſadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would ſuffer him to retire unmoleſted. *Timoleon*, immediately cloſing with ſo advantageous an offer, readily agreed to what the tyrant deſired, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, two *Corinthian* officers, with four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of that important place. As the *Carthaginians* had a ſtrong guard upon the haven, and conſequently were maſters of that part of the town adjoining to it, where *Icetas* was poſted, the *Corinthians* could not march in a body to the citadel, and therefore they entered it in ſmall parties. *Dionyſius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike ſtores and proviſions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with a vaſt number of horſes, darts, military engines, all the old magazine, containing ſeventy thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and two thouſand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his own. After this, *Dionyſius* was ſent to *Corinth* by *Timoleon* in a ſingle galley, without any convoy, where he arrived ſafe, notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of his departure, had laid ſeveral veſſels in wait for him. The *Carthaginians* were ſo diſheartened at theſe misfortunes, coming as it were one upon

[x] Iidem ibid.

the

the neck of another (for *Plutarch* tells us they happened all in the ſpace of fifty days), that they did not offer to make the leaſt movement, either with their fleet or land-forces, tho' the latter were above ten times as numerous as the *Corinthians* [y].

According to *Diodorus*, the firſt treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* was ſigned this year, which was the firſt of the hundred and ninth olympiad. As this correſponded with the four hundred and fourth or four hundred and fifth year of *Rome* (if with *Fabius Pictor* we place the foundation of that city in the firſt year of the eighth olympiad), it is not improbable, that *Oroſius*, in the paſſage above-cited, followed *Diodorus Siculus*. But neither of them, in the point before us, deſerves any conſideration; for though we do not pretend to deny, that there might have been a treaty concluded this year between the two republics aforeſaid, yet, that it was the firſt, we can by no means allow; ſince *Polybius*, who undoubtedly conſulted both the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* archives, does not only aſſure us, that they entered into a treaty above an hundred and ſixty years before this time, but likewiſe gives us the expreſs words of that treaty. His authority therefore, in this caſe, as well as in all others relating to the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* affairs, as interwoven, muſt be looked upon as inconteſtable [z].

The Corinthian garriſon in the citadel defends itſelf againſt the united forces of Icetas and the Carthaginians.

But to return to the *Carthaginian* tranſactions in *Sicily*: Towards the concluſion of this, and the beginning of the following, year, the *Carthaginian* forces, that were to act in favour of *Icetas*, received a ſtrong reinforcement, and *Mago* was appointed to command them. Upon the retreat of *Dionyſius*, *Icetas* laid ſiege to the citadel of *Syracuſe*, which was defended only by four hundred *Corinthians*, left there by *Timoleon*, under the conduct of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, ſent the gariſon frequent ſupplies of proviſions; but they were for the moſt part intercepted by *Icetas*, who kept the place cloſely blocked up on all ſides. When they were reduced to the laſt extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in ſpite of all oppoſition, a great quantity of corn. This he did by the aſſiſtance of ſmall fiſher-boats and ſkiffs, which got a paſſage through the *Carthaginian* fleet in the moſt tempeſtuous weather, ſliding over the waves and billows up to the citadel, when the enemy's galleys were either beat one againſt another, or diſperſed by the violence of the wind. Whilſt theſe things happened, *Icetas* formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate *Timoleon* at *Adranum*, to which place he had for a ſhort time re-

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Oros. l. iv. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, 246, &c. edit. Gronov.

tired,

tired, and employed two foreigners, probably *Carthaginians*, for that purpoſe; but they were prevented from executing their execrable deſign in a very providential manner, a full and minute account of which remarkable event may be ſeen in *Plutarch*. *Timoleon*, after his eſcape, returned to *Catana*, and continued ſupplying his troops in the citadel with proviſions, as often as an opportunity offered. The beſieged were, however, greatly fatigued, by being obliged to be continually under arms, in order to repel the enemy's aſſaults, which were frequent and vigorous, and to repair the breaches made by their battering engines. Nevertheleſs they defended themſelves with incredible bravery, and, having their renowned general himſelf ſo near at hand, deſpiſed all the efforts of the enemy [a].

Icetas, being much chagrined at his late diſappointment, and finding his ſoldiers deſert in great numbers to the enemy, diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, deſiring him to advance with his troops to the gates of the city. As ſoon as he arrived, *Icetas*, without any ſcruple, admitted him at the head of the whole *Punic* army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men, into the town; which was a point the *Carthaginians*, in all their ſtruggles with the *Siculo-Greeks*, could never gain before. As *Mago*'s fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail at the ſame time rode in the harbour, the city ſeemed to be intirely in the enemy's hands. *Timoleon*, being informed of this, kept his troops together, but for the preſent remained at *Catana*, that he might be at hand to encourage and ſuccour the *Corinthian* troops in the citadel, which he did ſo effectually, by continuing to ſupply them with corn and other proviſions, in the manner above related, as well as by giving them hopes of obliging the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, that they were not under the leaſt apprehenſion for the ſafety of the place [b].

Icetas *introduces the* Carthaginian *army into* Syracuſe.

Mago and *Icetas*, finding it impoſſible to reduce the citadel, as long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, reſolved to leave part of the army in *Syracuſe*, and with the reſt either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. Tho' they knew his forces were very inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe with which they intended to attack him, yet, having a great opinion of the abilities of that general, they picked out the very flower of their troops on this occaſion. They were ſcarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, obſerving that thoſe who were left to continue the ſiege were very remiſs in their duty, made a ſudden ſally, killed a great number of them, put the reſt to flight, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and, by works

The Corinthian *garriſon in the citadel in a ſally take* Acradina.

[a] PLUT. ubi ſup. [b] Idem ibid.

of

of communication, joined it to the citadel. As *Acradina* was the beſt and moſt opulent part of *Syracuſe*, conſiſting, as it were, of ſeveral towns united, *Leon* found vaſt ſums of ready money and great plenty of proviſions in it; which, at that time, were of ſignal ſervice to him. A courier was immediately ſent away with this melancholy news to *Mago* and *Icetas*, who, upon receiving it, returned in great haſte to *Syracuſe*, though they were then but a ſmall diſtance from *Catana*; but could not, upon their arrival, diſlodge the enemy from the poſt they had gained. In the mean time, a ſupply of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe from *Corinth* landed ſafe in *Sicily*, having been detained a conſiderable time at *Thurium* by tempeſtuous weather, and found means to elude the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron under *Hanno*, poſted to intercept them. That commander, not imagining the *Corinthians* would attempt a paſſage to *Sicily* in ſuch a ſtormy ſeaſon, left his ſtation at *Thurium*, and, ordering his ſeamen to crown themſelves with garlands, and adorn their veſſels with bucklers of both the *Greek* and *Carthaginian* form, ſailed to *Syracuſe* in a triumphant manner, where he gave the troops in the citadel to underſtand, that he had taken the ſuccours *Timoleon* expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them to a ſurrender. But whilſt he ſpent his time in ſuch trifling amuſements, the *Corinthians* marched with great expedition through the territories of the *Brutii* to *Rhegium*, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were eaſily wafted over to *Sicily*. This capital error in *Hanno* proved the total ruin of *Icetas*, and, in its conſequences, was of infinite prejudice to the *Carthaginians* [c].

Timoleon receives a freſh ſupply of troops from Corinth;

Timoleon, greatly animated by this new reinforcement, marched againſt *Meſſana*, which he ſoon made himſelf maſter of, and then advanced in good order to *Syracuſe*. *Mago* was ſeized with a panic upon the news of his approach, inſomuch that he ſeemed only to want a pretence to quit the iſland, tho' the new *Corinthian* ſuccours, in conjunction with all *Timoleon's* other troops, did not form a corps of above four thouſand men. Soon after, ſome of *Icetas* and *Timoleon's Greek* mercenaries mixing together in converſation, whilſt they were fiſhing for eels in the marſhes about *Syracuſe*, one of the *Corinthian* party addreſſed himſelf to thoſe of the other ſide in the following terms: "Is it poſſible for *Greeks* to attempt reducing ſo noble "a city as this to the obedience of barbarians, nay, of the moſt "cruel and bloody barbarians breathing? Is it not much more "for their intereſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould be removed "at the greateſt diſtance from *Greece*, than that they ſhould be

And reduces Meſſana.

[c] Idem ibid.

"put

" put into poſſeſſion of a moſt rich and fertile iſland in its neigh-
" bourhood? Can any perſon be ſo ſtupid as to imagine, that
" they have drawn their forces from the ſtraights of *Hercules*
" and the *Atlantic* ocean, purely to ſupport *Icetas*, who, if he
" had acted like an able general, would never have introduced
" his country's implacable enemies into its bowels? Was it po-
" litic conduct in him to treat his anceſtors and natural friends,
" as the bittereſt enemies, which had he not done, he might
" have enjoyed his high dignity, without giving the leaſt offence
" to *Timoleon* and the *Corinthians*." Theſe diſcourſes being ſpread through the whole camp, and even reaching *Mago*'s ears, whoſe army was moſtly compoſed of mercenary *Greeks*, he pretended to be afraid of a general defection of his troops; and therefore, without hearkening to the intreaties and warm remonſtrances of *Icetas*, who plainly demonſtrated to him the weakneſs of the enemy, he weighed anchor and ſet ſail for *Africa*, ſhamefully abandoning the conqueſt of *Sicily*. No other reaſon can be aſſigned for this unaccountable conduct, but the timorous diſpoſition of that general, who, conſcious of his guilt, on his arrival at *Carthage*, laid violent hands on himſelf, to prevent the puniſhment his cowardice deſerved. His body was hung upon a gallows or croſs, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people, in order to deter ſucceeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and ſacrificing their country, in ſo flagrant a manner. Perhaps a more daſtardly action is not to be met with in the whole courſe of hiſtory [d].

He takes by ſtorm that part of Syracuſe *poſſeſſed by* Icetas.

THE next day, *Timoleon* appeared before the city with his army drawn up in order of battle; when being informed of *Mago*'s precipitate flight, and ſeeing the haven quite clear of *Carthaginian* veſſels, he was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed, but could ſcarce believe his own eyes and ears. He could not forbear ridiculing the cowardice of *Mago* on this occaſion, and therefore, in a pleaſant humour, by proclamation, offered a great reward to any perſon who could bring him intelligence into what corner of the world the *Carthaginian* ſquadron was retired, to make its eſcape from his formidable fleet. *Icetas* being determined to defend that part of the town in which he was poſted, *Timoleon* made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault. This he divided into three attacks; the firſt he commanded in perſon, with a body of choſen troops, againſt that part of the town ſituated upon the river *Anapus*, which was the ſtrongeſt and moſt difficult of acceſs; the ſecond he committed to the conduct of *Iſias*, a *Corinthian* captain, who was to advance from the quarter of *Acradina*; and the third

[d] PLUT. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

was to be formed againſt the poſt *Epipolæ* by *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus*, who brought the laſt ſupply of troops from *Corinth*. In conformity to this plan, the aſſault was made; and the troops of *Icetas* being every-where driven from the walls, that part of the city which they held was taken by ſtorm. That *Icetas* ſhould loſe many men in this action, is eaſy to be believed; but that the *Corinthian* forces ſhould not have ſo much as a ſingle man wounded, ſavours ſo much of fable and rhodomontade, that *Plutarch* muſt excuſe us, if we are inclined to be of a contrary opinion [e].

Timoleon *drives ſeveral tyrants out of* Sicily.

Timoleon, after the junction of his forces with thoſe of *Mamercus* and the cities above-mentioned, and the reduction of *Syracuſe*, having left a body of troops to defend that capital, marched ſtraight to *Leontium*, *Icetas*'s metropolis, with an intention to beſiege it. In conſequence of this deſign, he ſat down before the place; but finding the gariſon very numerous, and being repulſed with loſs in ſeveral attacks that he made, he was obliged to draw off. He next advanced to *Engyon*, a city that groaned under the tyranny of *Leptines*, and ſo terrified the tyrant by his repeated aſſaults, that he thought proper to capitulate, and was conducted to *Peloponneſus*. *Apollonia*, a neighbouring city under the power of *Leptines*, upon this, applied to *Timoleon* for his protection, and obtained it, ſo that this general now began to be looked upon as the ſcourge of tyrants, and conſequently to be in high eſteem amongſt the *Sicilians*; but being in great diſtreſs for money to ſatisfy the demands of his ſoldiers, he detached a thouſand men to make an incurſion into the *Carthaginian* territories. This detachment laying all the enemy's country waſte, and pillaging it thoroughly, carried off an immenſe booty, which they brought to *Timoleon*, who expoſing every thing to public ſale, by this means raiſed a vaſt ſum, and not only paid his army all their paſt arrears, but likewiſe advanced them their pay for a conſiderable time to come. Soon after, he made himſelf maſter of *Entella*, where he put to death fifteen of the citizens, who perſiſted in their adherence to the *Carthaginians*, and reſtored the reſt to their liberty. Upon this the *Greek* cities every-where ſubmitted to him, and were by him reſtored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewiſe of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring to be admitted among his confederates. *Icetas*, in the mean time, in conjunction with ſome *Carthaginian* auxiliaries, formed the ſiege of *Syracuſe*. This, in the beginning, he puſhed on with vigour; but as *Timoleon*'s gariſon behaved with incredible reſo-

[e] Plut. ubi ſup.

lution,

lution, cutting off a great part of his army by their frequent fallies, and as *Timoleon* himself was now advancing a second time towards *Leontium*, he was at laft forced to abandon the fiege [f].

Icetas, having thus loft the beft part of his troops in this fruitlefs expedition, marched back with great precipitation to *Leontium*, in order to cover that important fortrefs from all attempts of the enemy, who, as he received intelligence, were advancing towards it. In this he was not mifinformed; for *Timoleon*, judging it of the higheft confequence to his affairs to reduce *Icetas*, before the *Carthaginians* returned into the ifland, which they threatened to do in a fhort time, moved directly towards his frontiers, and appeared before *Leontium*, without giving him time to recruit his fhattered troops, and re-eftablifh his affairs. The tyrant, terrified at this fudden approach, and finding himfelf incapable of refifting an army fo animated by fuccefs, was glad to come to a compofition with the *Corinthian* general; the terms of which were, that he fhould renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; that his forts fhould all be demolifhed; and laftly, that the *Leontini* fhould be governed by laws of their own, he refiding amongft them as a private perfon. Having thus detached *Icetas* from the *Carthaginian* intereft, and extirpated tyranny out of the *Greek* part of *Sicily*, he returned to *Syracufe*, defigning to carry the war into the *Carthaginian* dominions without delay [g].

And reduces Leontium.

THE fenate and people of *Carthage*, being highly offended at the conduct of their general officers the laft campaign, deprived moft of them of their commiffions; and, refolving, to new-model the army, filled the vacant pofts with perfons of known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in *Sicily* with all poffible vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took befides into their fervice a numerous body of mercenaries, raifed in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*. Their naval preparations were in all refpects proportioned to thofe made by land; both which being completed, they fent *Afdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders, over to *Sicily* with an army of feventy thoufand men, two hundred fhips of war, and a thoufand tranfports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horfes, and all forts of provifions. In the mean time, *Timoleon*, having juft concluded the war with *Icetas*, and, by the acceffion of his troops, confiderably reinforced his army, advanced againft them with great intrepidity upon the firft news of their landing at *Lilybæum*, though his forces did not amount to above feven thoufand effec-

The Carthaginians *make great preparations for carrying on the war with* Timoleon.

[f] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi fup. [g] DIOD. SIC. ubi fup. c 12.

tive men. He had, before the arrival of the *Carthaginians*, detached *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus* with a body of choice troops to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they did not only live for a conſiderable time at diſcretion, but likewiſe obliged ſeveral of their cities to ſide with the *Greeks*, and at their departure carried off a vaſt ſum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they had laid under contribution. By this means *Timoleon* was enabled to ſettle a military cheſt, and eſtabliſh a fund ſufficient for the preſent exigencies of the war. The *Carthaginian* generals had no ſooner landed their forces, but they were appriſed of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their whole army towards *Timoleon*, they at laſt encamped upon the banks of the river *Crimeſus* or *Crimeſſus*. The *Corinthian* commander was by no means tardy in his approaches to their camp; but on his march one of his mercenaries, by name *Thracius*, a profligate fellow, who had ſome time before been concerned in plundering the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right ſenſes, otherwiſe he would never propoſe with ſuch a handful of men to attack the *Carthaginian* army. He farther urged, that as the general was leading them to inevitable deſtruction, if he was not diſtracted, he muſt certainly have a deſign to ſacrifice them, perhaps becauſe he was not able to pay them their arrears. In fine, therefore, he adviſed them to go and demand their pay at *Syracuſe*, and not think of attending *Timoleon* in ſuch a deſperate expedition [h].

Timoleon, by his addreſs, prevents a mutiny from breaking out in his camp.

The mercenaries, naturally prone to mutiny and ſedition, received the harangue of this hot-headed incendiary with applauſe, and were all of them upon the point of deſerting their ſtandards. But at length *Timoleon*, by his intreaties, large promiſes, and ſingular addreſs, brought them back to a ſenſe of their duty, excepting a thouſand, who were determined at all events to follow the deſperate fortunes of *Thracius*. After this he wrote to his friends at *Syracuſe*, informing them of what had happened, but at the ſame time injoined them to treat the deſerters with moderation and humanity, and order the mercenaries their pay. By this means having extinguiſhed all the ſparks of ſedition, and regained the affection of his troops, he advanced to attack the *Carthaginian* forces with great ardour and celerity [i].

He engages and defeats the Carthaginian *army.*

It happened that, as he was aſcending an eminence to take a view of the enemy's army, he met ſome mules loaded with parſley, an herb with which the ſepulchres of the dead were uſually adorned by the antients. This trifling event threw the ſoldiers

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 13. [i] Idem ibid.

into

into a great panic, as taking it for an omen of very bad ſignification. *Timoleon*, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring that, as the victors at the *Iſthmian* games were crowned with this herb, particularly the *Corinthians*, it ought to be eſteemed as a ſymbol of victory, and therefore intreated them to baniſh all gloomy apprehenſions. To remove intirely all impreſſions of terror from their minds, he made himſelf a crown of parſley, and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With theſe, round their heads, they approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been ſure of a triumph, and thereby inſpired the troops with as much reſolution as *Timoleon* had done, before the laſt occurrence happened, by a pathetic ſpeech, wherein he put them in mind of *Gelon*'s ſignal victory over the barbarians with an inconſiderable force, and exhorted them to enable him to follow ſo great an example. *Plutarch*, an author, not a little tinctured with credulity and ſuperſtition, adds, that the ſoothſayers diſcovered two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial ſort of noiſe (A). Theſe they ſhewed to the ſoldiers, and interpreted them as a token of certain ſucceſs, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auſpicious day. *Timoleon* therefore, taking advantage of their preſent diſpoſition, and of the confuſion the *Carthaginians* were in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the *Crimeſus*, attacked them with great vigour and reſolution. Ten thouſand of the enemy's forces, who had already paſſed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the reſt could come up to their aſſiſtance. Great numbers of the enemy periſhed in this firſt action;

(A) *Plutarch* ſays, that juſt before the beginning of the engagement there aſcended ſo thick a fog out of the river, that neither the enemy's camp, nor any part of the plain, nor even the river itſelf, was viſible, the *Greeks* only hearing a confuſed noiſe of a vaſt multitude advancing towards them. But the ſun-beams at length diſſipating the vapours, they obſerved the *Carthaginian* army approaching them in the following order: Firſt, the armed chariots, which appeared very terrible; ſecondly, a body of ten thouſand infantry, with white targets on their arms, whom, from the brightneſs of their armour, and their ſlow regular march, they took to be native *Carthaginians*; and laſtly, the groſs of their army, compoſed of different nations, who followed the reſt in ſuch a diſorderly manner, as gave *Timoleon* great encouragement to attack them. By this it ſeems to appear, that the national troops in the *Carthaginian* armies were diſtinguiſhed in a particular manner from the mercenaries, as well as thoſe of the provinces ſubject to *Carthage* (1).

(1) *Plutarch. ubi ſup.*

for

for *Timoleon* himself being at the head of the particular body of troops engaged, they performed wonders. But in the mean time the whole *Carthaginian* army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful. The *Sicilian* horse, under the conduct of *Demaretus*, charged the enemy in front, before they could form themselves; but could make no impression, the armed chariots (B) posted

(B) The custom of fighting in armed chariots was undoubtedly of great antiquity. That it prevailed amongst the *Greeks*, *Phrygians*, and neighbouring nations, at the time of the *Trojan* war, is evident from *Homer*. *Herodotus* assures us, that the *Greeks* learned this method of fighting from the *Libyans* or *Africans*; and *Xenophon* intimates, that it was particularly in use amongst the people of *Cyrenaica*. In the earliest ages the *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. fought in chariots, but especially the *Libyans* and *Ethiopians*, as we are informed by *scripture*. The sacred writings farther speak of two sorts of chariots, one for princes and generals to ride in, the other designed to break the enemies battalions, by being let loose against them. These last were armed with iron, which made terrible havock in the troops that opposed them (2).

The most antient chariots of war mentioned in history are *Pharaoh*'s, which were overwhelmed in the *Red-sea*. The *Canaanites*, to whom *Joshua* gave battle at the waters of *Merom*, had cavalry, and a multitude of chariots; *Sisera*, *Jabin* the king of *Hazor*'s general, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army; the tribe of *Judah* could not take possession of all the lands allotted to them, because some of the antient inhabitants were strong in chariots of iron; the *Philistines*, in the war carried on by them against *Saul*, had thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen; *David*, having taken a thousand chariots of war from *Hadadezer*, king of *Syria*, ham-strung the horses, and burnt nine hundred chariots, preserving only an hundred to himself. These, with many more passages that might be produced, plainly evince, that armed chariots were used amongst the *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, in very remote times (3).

Erectheus or *Erichthonius*, king of *Attica*, is said first to have introduced these armed (4) chariots into *Greece*, though he, in all probability, received them from the *Barbarians*, amongst whom they were in use long before his time, as is intimated by *Eusebius*. At the *Trojan* war the *Greek* chariots had for the most part only a pair of horses, to which, however, sometimes a third was added,

(2) *Hom. in Il. & Odyss. pass. Herodot. in Melpom. Xenoph. in Cyropæd. l.* 6. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 8. *Calmet. in dict. bibl.* (3) *Exod.* xiv. 7, 9, 17, *&c. Josh.* xi. 4. *Jud.* iv. 3. *Jud.* i. 19. 1 *Sam.* xiii. 5. 2 *Chron.* xviii. 30. 2 *Sam.* viii. 4. (4) *Euseb. in chron. p.* 99 *& Erasm. Stuking. in Hel. apud. Grævium in thes. ant. Græc. t.* xi. *p.* 188.

called

posted there keeping them at a distance, and pushing them with such vigour, that they found it difficult to maintain their ranks. *Timoleon*,

called by *Homer* παρήορος, which was tied to them in a more lax manner, according to *Eustathius*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, that in his time this sort of chariots was used among the *Romans*, but left off by the *Greeks*. Sometimes also the most antient *Grecks* had two pair of horses to their warlike chariots, as may be inferred from *Homer*. The drivers were frequently persons of the highest distinction, as *Pandarus* the son of *Lycaon*, and *Hector* the son of *Priamus*. The person armed in the chariot directed the charioteer which way to drive, and was likewise frequently a person of prime quality, as *Æneas*, *Nestor*, and one of *Priamus*'s sons. He generally leaped out of the chariot to engage his enemy, as *Paris*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules*, and *Cygnus*, &c. did. Princes and generals had their chariots adorned with gold and silver, and much curious workmanship, as that of *Rhesus* in *Homer*, and even sometimes covered with plates of gold and tin, as that of *Diomedes* in the same author. The kings of *Persia* were forbidden by the royal law so much as to touch the bridles or reins of horses fastened to a chariot, it being looked upon as inconsistent with the high dignity they enjoyed (5).

The *Rhodians* consecrated horses and chariots to the sun annually, in conformity to the practice of their *Phœnician* ancestors, as we learn from *Festus*; and *Pausanias*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo*, assure us, that the *Spartans*, *Massagetæ*, and *Ethiopians* antiently did the same thing. The *scripture* observes, that some of the kings of *Judah* preceding *Josiah* did offer chariots to the sun; which superstitious custom was in imitation of the pagan nations, principally of the *Persians*, as father *Calmet* thinks, who had horses and chariots consecrated in honour of that luminary. The reason the *Rhodians* gave for throwing a chariot every year into the sea, in honour of the sun, was, because they believed that every day he travelled round the earth riding in a chariot (6).

The description of the scythed chariots, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as the antients have given it us, is as follows. The beam to which the horses were fastened, was armed with pikes having iron points to them, which projected forward; the yokes of the horses had likewise two long points of three cubits. To the axle-tree also were fixed iron spits, armed at their extremities with scythes; between the spokes of the wheels were placed javelins, and the very felloes of the wheels were furnished with scythes, which tore every thing they met with in pieces. The axle-tree was longer than usual, and the wheels stronger, that they might be able to re-

(5) *Hom. Il.* 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, & *alib. pass. Odyss.* 13, & *alib. pass. Everard. Fritbius. in antiquit. Homer. l.* iv. *c.* 11. *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii. *Hesiod. in Scut. Herc.* &c. (6) *Fest. voce October. Pausan. in Laconic. Strab. l.* xi. *Heliodor. in Æthiopic. l.* x. *Vid.* & *Dan. Clasenium. in theol. gent. l.* iii. *c.* 4. 2 *King.* xxiii. 11.

sist

Timoleon, obſerving this, ordered them inſtantly to wheel about, and attack the enemy in flank, whilſt with the foot he formed a fort

fiſt the ſhock of the motion, and the chariot be leſs ſubject to overturn. The driver's ſeat was a kind of little tower made of very ſolid wood, and raiſed breaſt-high. The charioteer was armed all over, and covered with iron. Sometimes ſeveral men well armed were put in the chariots, who fought with darts and arrows (7).

Such chariots as theſe the *Romans* found amongſt the antient inhabitants of this iſland when they firſt landed here, which very much galled them in their engagements with that people. They were likewiſe common in the neighbouring parts of *Gaul*, which is a plain proof, that both theſe countries were known to the antient *Phœnicians*, except it be admitted, that theſe machines were invented before the progenitors of the *Gauls* and *Britons* firſt came out of *Aſia*. *Diodorus* affirms, that the military chariots of theſe remote nations were of the ſame kind with thoſe uſed by the antient *Greek* heroes at the ſiege of *Troy*. It appears from different authors, that the *Britons* had ſeveral ſorts of chariots, *viz.* the *benna*, the *carrus* or *carrum*, the *covinus*, the *eſſedum*, and the *rheda*, all of which, from their names, appear to have been of *Phœnician* extraction. The *eſſeda* ſeem to have been of the ſame kind as the *Carthaginian* armed chariots, from the deſcription *Cæſar* gives us of them; for he tells us, that the charioteers drove through every part of the armies engaged, and threw their darts upon the enemy; that, with the terrible appearance of their horſes, and the noiſe of their wheels, they uſually broke the enemy's ranks; that, when they had intermixed themſelves with the cavalry, the armed men in the chariots flung themſelves out, and fought on foot; and, that the drivers, in the mean time retiring out of the battle, poſted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that, if their party was overpowered, they might enable them to make good their retreat. For a full account of their incredible dexterity and agility on theſe occaſions, as well as their particular manner of engaging, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Cæſar* and *Dio*, or to a future part of this hiſtory, to which it will more properly belong (8).

According to father *Calmet* it does not appear, that the *Hebrew* kings ever made uſe of chariots in war. For though the *ſcripture* ſays, *Solomon* had fourteen hundred chariots, it does not appear, that they were ever employed by him in any military expedition. Perhaps, as the territories of theſe princes were very mountainous, chariots, being only fit for the plains, could not be of any great uſe there. This ſeems to be confirmed by an obſervation in *ſcripture*, *viz.* that the tribe of *Judah* could not diſpoſſeſs the antient inhabitants of the valleys in their diſtrict, becauſe they had chariots of

(7) 2 *Macc.* xiii. 2. *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii. *Q Curt. l.* iv. *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l* 6 (8) *Cæſ. de bell. Gal. l* iv. *Dio. Caſſ. l.* lxii. *p.* 706. *in Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov.* 1606. *Diod. Sic. l.* iv. *p.* 209.

iron.

a ſort of *phalanx*, joining man to man, and ſhield to ſhield, by which the van being rendered firm, he bore down with great fury upon the *Carthaginians*. Theſe ſuſtained the ſhock of the *Sicilian* foot with great intrepidity, and repelling the enemies javelins with their iron and brazen armour, ſoon came to a cloſe engagement. The *Carthaginians* had now apparently the advantage, becauſe in ſuch actions as theſe ſtrength contributes as much to victory as diſcipline and military ſkill. But whilſt the enemy were fighting with great courage in this manner, and endeavouring to hem in and ſurround on all ſides *Timoleon*'s ſmall army, there aroſe on a ſudden a violent ſtorm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians*, put them into ſuch confuſion, that they were not able to ſtand their ground any longer. At the ſame time, the *Crimeſus* overflowing its banks, occaſioned ſuch an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embarraſſed by it, which heightened their conſternation and confuſion, and forced them to retire in diſorder. The *Greeks* then, encouraging one another with ſhouts of joy, preſſed them ſo vigorouſly, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. The ſacred cohort or brigade, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great reſolution, and ſtood their ground till they were all cut off to a man. *Plutarch* relates, that, of ten thouſand men, who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thouſand were native *Carthaginians* of the beſt families in *Carthage*, and that, according to the *Punic* records, ſuch a number of perſons of diſtinction never fell in any battle before, the *Carthaginian* armies being for the moſt part made up of *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Numidians*, &c. ſo that when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expence of other nations. Beſides the ſlain, there were above fifteen thouſand taken priſoners; all their baggage and proviſions, with two hundred chariots, a thouſand coats of mail, and ten thouſand ſhields, fell into *Timoleon*'s hands, iron. The *Carthaginians*, who were deſcended from the old *Phœnicians* or *Canaanites*, imitated their anceſtors in this particular. They generally poſted their chariots in front, and intermixed them with the horſe, that when the former had made an impreſſion upon any part of the enemies troops, the latter might be able to charge with the greater vigour, and cut off all thoſe who were put into diſorder and confuſion (9).

(9) 1 *Kings* x. 26. *Jud.* i. 19. *Chriſt. Hendr. in republ. Carthag. l* ii. *c.* 2 *p.* 515, 516.

and were either sent to *Corinth*, and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples of *Syracuse*. The spoil, which consisted chiefly of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to *Plutarch*, so immense, that the whole *Sicilian* army was three days in collecting it, and stripping the slain. In fine, after *Timoleon*'s troops had passed the river, and taken possession of the enemy's camp, they found there such an incredible quantity of gold and silver in different forms, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded; for the commander in chief divided the whole among the soldiers, reserving nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory. It must not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-seventh day of the month *Thargelion*, which was *Timoleon*'s birth-day, nor that all the other engagements of note he was concerned in, if *Cornelius Nepos* may be credited, happened on the same day. The wonderful success it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of superstition; for, next to the violent storm above-mentioned, this unparallelled victory was owing to the happy turn *Timoleon* gave to a frivolous accident considered as a fatal omen. This certainly shewed him to have been a man of genius, and perfectly well acquainted with the dispositions of his countrymen, as well as with the general bent of mankind at that time; and *Polyænus* takes notice of it as an instance of the great military capacity of that general [k].

Which occasions great joy at Corinth *and* Syracuse.

THE news of so signal a victory, obtained over the professed enemies of the *Greek* name, could not but be highly agreeable to the people both at *Corinth* and *Syracuse*, especially as it was like to be attended with such happy consequences. The *Corinthians* adorned their temples with the *Carthaginian* spoils, which they hung up there with inscriptions upon them, importing, that the people of *Corinth*, and *Timoleon*, their general, offered them to the gods as an acknowledgment for their having made them the instruments of delivering *Sicily* from *Carthaginian* servitude. *Timoleon* having left his mercenaries upon the enemy's frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole country, returned to *Syracuse* with the rest of his army, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. 'Tis worthy observation, that all the punishment he inflicted upon the thousand mercenaries, who were accomplices of *Thrasius*, for their infamous desertion above-mentioned, was only banish-

[k] PLUT & DIODOR ubi sup. CORN. NEP. in vit. Timol c. 5. ed Augusti Van Staveren. Lugd. Bat. 1734. Vid & HOLTEM in loc POLYÆN. strat l. v. c. 12 ex l. DION. PETAV. ration. temp. p. 1. l. iii. c. 10. ed. Par. 1641.

ment from *Syracuſe*; however, he ordered them all to be gone before ſun-ſet [1].

Icetas, according to *Plutarch*, after this, being tired with his private ſtation, ſhewed an inclination to reinſtate himſelf, if poſſible, in his dominions; and, in order thereto, found means, in conjunction with *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, to ſtrike up another treaty with the *Carthaginians*. In conſequence of this freſh alliance, that nation equipped a fleet of ſeventy ſail, and took a ſtrong body of *Greeks*, of whoſe valour they had now a great opinion, for the firſt time, into their ſervice, intending to try their fortune once more in *Sicily*. *Giſco*, the brother of *Hanno*, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from baniſhment to command the troops deſtined for the new expedition. This news ſoon reaching *Sicily*, occaſioned freſh commotions there. The inhabitants of *Meſſana*, entering into an aſſociation againſt *Timoleon*, put four hundred of his men, left as a gariſon in that place, to the ſword; a detachment of mercenaries under the command of *Euthymus* the *Leucadian*, being drawn into an ambuſcade by the *Carthaginian* troops at *Hicræ*, were all cut off to a man; and whilſt *Timoleon* was on his march to *Calauria*, *Icetas*, being reinforced by a *Carthaginian* party, made an incurſion into the territories of *Syracuſe*, carrying off a conſiderable booty, and, in contempt of *Timoleon*, paſſing by *Calauria* itſelf, the place where that general was then poſted. However, he purſued the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with ſome of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. This *Icetas* perceiving, paſſed the river *Damyrias* with ſome precipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other ſide, put himſelf into a poſture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a diſpute ariſing amongſt *Timoleon*'s officers, who could not agree which of them ſhould paſs the river firſt to attack *Icetas*, the general ordered them to caſt lots, upon which every one of them threw a ring into *Timoleon*'s robe, and the firſt that was taken out, and expoſed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a ſeal upon it. This greatly encouraging the troops, they fell with incredible fury upon *Icetas*, who, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock, was put to flight, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, and purſued to the city of *Leontium*. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himſelf, his ſon *Eupolemus*, and *Euthymus*, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own ſoldiers to *Timoleon*. The two firſt were immediately executed, as tyrants and traytors, and the laſt murdered in cold blood. *Icetas*'s wives and daughters likewiſe ſuffered death, after a pub-

Icetas *concludes another treaty with the* Carthaginians.

And is overthrown by Timoleon.

[1] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi ſup.

lic trial. *Plutarch* blames *Timoleon* (C) for not preventing this laſt execution, which, he inſinuates, that general might have done, had he interpoſed in the affair, and cenſures it as the only blot in his character; though we think his conniving at the murder of *Euthymus*, a brave man, who was put to the ſword by

(C) We have already obſerved, that *Timæus Siculus* exalted *Timoleon* to a ſuperiority above the higheſt divinities, and that he was greatly cenſured for this by *Suidas*. The laſt author's words are to this effect: "If *Calliſthenes* deſervedly ſuffered death for deſigning "to deify *Alexander*, a prince infinitely more *illuſtrious* than *Timo-* "*leon*, what did *Timæus* deſerve? *&c.*" This paſſage ſeems to contradict moſt, if not all, of thoſe writers who have given us any account of *Alexander*'s atchievements, *viz. Juſtin*, *Q. Curtius*, *Plutarch*, &c. who repreſent *Calliſthenes* as inflexibly determined not to deify *Alexander*, nor even to allow him that kind of adoration which the *Perſians* paid their king; when many of his ſycophants, particularly *Anaxarchus*, would have made him that high compliment. Nay, theſe writers ſeem unanimouſly to agree, that he loſt *Alexander*'s favour by his obſtinacy in this particular, and even at laſt was put to death by him. Now, in otder to reconcile *Suidas* with theſe authors, it muſt be obſerved, that *Timæus* extolled *Timoleon* in his hiſtory; and therefore *Suidas* muſt intimate, that *Calliſthenes* had an intention to deify *Alexander* in his hiſtory of that prince, otherwiſe the compariſon is impertinent and abſurd. Admit this, and the paſſage in *Suidas* does not at all claſh with what the authors above-mentioned have obſerved of *Calliſthenes*, becauſe it bears no relation to them as taking notice of that philoſopher's refuſal to adore *Alexander*, whilſt at the head of his army in *Aſia*. *Arrian* aſſures us, that *Calliſthenes*, out of a vanity peculiar to himſelf, declared, that *Alexander* ſhould in future ages be eſteemed as a god from the hiſtory he would write of him, and not from thoſe idle ſtories his mother *Olympias* impoſed upon the world. This comes up to the point, and ſeems to be what *Suidas* had particularly in view. As for that author's affirming, that *Calliſthenes* ſuffered death for his intention to deify *Alexander* in his hiſtory, no more can be meant by it than this, *viz.* he was put to death by that very prince whom in this hiſtory he intended to deify, which was a juſt puniſhment inflicted upon him by the gods for his great impiety. That this reconciliation is juſt, will appear from a peruſal of the paſſages referred to in *Suidas* and *Arrian*, as likewiſe from the drift and ſcope of *Suidas*'s obſervations: we cannot therefore help expreſſing our ſurpſrie, that M. *Bayle* ſhould not have been able to diſcover the conſiſtency betwixt *Suidas* and the above-mentioned hiſtorians (10).

(10) *Suid. in* Τίμαιος. *Juſtin. l.* xii. *c.* 7. *Q. Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 5. *Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. Plutarch. in Alex. & Arrian. l.* iv. *p.* 165. *Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat.* 1704.

the

the *Corinthian* ſoldiers for ſpeaking with ſome contempt of them, ought to be looked upon as another of the ſame kind. After this, he moved with his forces towards *Catana*; and meeting *Mamercus*, gave him battle in the plains of the river *Abolus*. The diſpute was for ſome time warm and bloody; but at laſt the tyrant was overthrown, his army intirely diſperſed, and above two thouſand men left dead upon the field of battle. As the greateſt part of theſe laſt were auxiliaries ſent to *Mamercus* by *Giſco*, the *Carthaginians* themſelves ſuffered conſiderably in this action [m].

A peace concluded between Timoleon *and the* Carthaginians.

NOTWITHSTANDING the warlike preparations they were making at *Carthage* for the invaſion of *Sicily*, the ſenate had ſent embaſſadors to *Timoleon* to attempt ſtriking up a peace with him, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he ſaw them in a condition to continue the war. The two laſt blows given their confederates diſpoſed them ſtill more ſtrongly to an accommodation, to which they found *Timoleon* not averſe, as he was apprehenſive of freſh troubles from *Mamercus* and others, againſt whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly ſettled on the following terms: That all the *Greek* cities ſhould be ſet free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* both call it, the *Lycus*, ſhould be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities ſubject to the *Carthaginians* ſhould be allowed to withdraw, if they pleaſed, to *Syracuſe*, or its dependences, with their families and effects; and laſtly, that *Carthage* ſhould not for the future give any aſſiſtance to the remaining tyrants againſt the *Syracuſians* [n].

Hanno *endeavours to make himſelf abſolute at* Carthage.

ABOUT this time, one *Hanno*, who, according to *Juſtin*'s account of him, was the moſt opulent and powerful citizen in *Carthage*, formed a deſign of ſubverting the conſtitution there, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accompliſh this, he propoſed to invite the ſenators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage; and there, by mixing poiſon with his wine, to deſtroy them all, not doubting, but ſuch a tragical event would at once make him maſter of the republic. Though the ſcheme was carried on with great ſecrecy, yet it came to be diſcovered by ſome of his ſervants; but his intereſt in the city was ſo great, that the government did not dare to puniſh ſo execrable a crime. The magiſtrates therefore contented themſelves with only preventing it, which they did by paſſing a law prohibiting too great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on ſuch occaſions. *Hanno*, ſeeing his ſtratagem defeated, was reſolved to have recourſe to

[m] Idem ibid. [n] PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid.

arms,

arms, and for that purpose assembled all his slaves, and fixed upon a day a second time to put his design in execution. However, he was again discovered; but, to avoid punishment, he retired with twenty thousand armed slaves to a castle, that was very strongly fortified, and from thence applied to the *Africans*, and the king of the *Mauritani*, for assistance, but without success. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and carried to *Carthage*, where being severely whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, that punishment might be inflicted on every part; and at last he was executed in the presence of all the people, to deter others from such flagitious attempts; after which his body was hung on a cross or gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. *Plutarch* mentions one *Hanno* as admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet, in the beginning of the late war between *Icetas* and *Timoleon*, who, in all probability, was the very person *Justin* represents as so infatuated with ambition, especially as he was, if that author may be credited, very fond of show and parade. However this may be, since *Justin* makes him cotemporary with the younger *Dionysius*, and *Orosius* affirms this conspiracy to have happened in the time of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, we think from hence we are sufficiently authorized to place that event here [o].

Q. Curtius guilty of a mistake.

WE must likewise observe here, that *Diodorus Siculus* places *Alexander*'s reduction of *Tyre* in the first year of the 112th olympiad, and *Agathocles*'s descent on *Africa* in the third of the 117th; and consequently that *Q. Curtius* must have been out in his chronology, when he makes these two events to have happened about the same time, as anticipating the latter full twenty-two years by this synchronism. What the last of these authors relates of the arrival of certain *Tyrian* embassadors at *Carthage*, to implore the assistance of that potent republic against *Alexander*, has a greater appearance of truth, since not only a good understanding, but a most cordial friendship, always subsisted between *Carthage* and *Tyre*, and even at this time most of the inhabitants of the latter were transported to the former of these cities. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so these two states always called one another) were reduced, touched the *Carthaginians* in a most sensible manner, though, by reason of some domestic troubles, they were then incapable of sending them any succours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty

[o] JUSTIN. l. xxi. PLUT. & OROS. ubi sup.

to

to comfort them on this melancholy occaſion, and therefore diſpatched to *Tyre* thirty of their principal citizens to expreſs their grief, that the bad ſituation of their own affairs would not permit them to ſpare any troops. The *Tyrians*, tho' fruſtrated of their hopes, did not deſpond, but took all the neceſſary meaſures for a vigorous defence. Their wives and children they put on board ſome veſſels, in order to ſend them to *Carthage*; by which being delivered from all apprehenſions of danger, with regard to what was the deareſt to them of any thing in nature, they were prepared againſt all events, and thought of nothing but making the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to repel the enemy. *Curtius* intimates, that the *Carthaginians* offered annually a ſacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Tyre*, conſidering them as their protectors; and that when their embaſſadors came to *Tyre* on this occaſion, they perſuaded the *Tyrians* to ſtand it out to the laſt, promiſing powerfully to ſupport them. As this very hiſtorian obſerves, that the ſeas at that time were blocked up by the *Carthaginian* fleets, and that by the hopes of mighty ſuccours they ſpirited up the *Tyrians* to oppoſe *Alexander*'s whole force, 'tis not very probable, that they ſhould be then engaged in ſo dangerous a war as that with *Agathocles* was, or be reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as they muſt have been in, when that general, after giving them a notable defeat, advanced to the very walls of *Carthage*. He therefore ſeems not to be intirely conſiſtent with himſelf in this particular; for which reaſon, as well as upon account of *Diodorus*'s ſuperior authority in the point before us, we muſt beg leave to diſſent from him, and look upon the arrival of the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors at *Tyre*, as coincident with the tranſactions of the period we are now upon [P].

The Carthaginians find Hamilcar Rhodanus to Alexander, in order to diſcover that prince's intentions.

THE *Carthaginians*, hearing of the reduction of *Tyre*, and the great progreſs *Alexander* made in the eaſt, began to be under ſome apprehenſions for their own ſafety, as fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundleſs as his ambition. But they were much more alarmed, when they received advice, that he had made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*, was advancing towards the weſt, and had built *Alexandria* upon the confines of *Egypt* and *Africa*, in order to rival them. They imagined now he might in reality have an intention to unite *Africa* and *Aſia* under his dominion, and aſpire to univerſal monarchy. They therefore choſe one *Hamilcar* (or, as *Gellius* intimates, *Aſdrubal*), ſurnamed *Rhodanus*, to ſound the inclinations of that prince, and endeavour to pry into his counſels. Being a perſon of wonderful addreſs, as well as great eloquence, though at the

[P] DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 3.

ſame

same time of great subtilty and art, he made it his utmost endeavour to insinuate himself into *Alexander*'s favour. Having obtained an audience by means of *Parmenio*, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, banished *Carthage*, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which being granted, he did his country signal service by communicating many important discoveries relating to *Alexander*'s schemes. The manner of this communication being somewhat singular, we shall give it our readers from *Gellius*. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epistle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the custom of that age, without any characters upon it, sent them away as blanks. This the people at *Carthage* being before apprised of, decyphered the contents; which could not have been easily done by others, had the dispatches been intercepted, because the manner of writing then was upon the wax itself, and consequently the whole must have been looked upon as a blank. We do not find, that *Alexander* ever discovered the treachery of this *Carthaginian*, or even entertained the least suspicion of him; which is a further proof of the refined genius of that nation for all works of intrigue. Upon his return home, notwithstanding his eminent services, he was considered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at *Carthage*, by a sentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful [q].

In the second year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, *Thimbro*, after he had assassinated his friend *Harpalus* in *Crete*, sailed with a body of mercenaries to *Cyrenaica*, and being joined by some exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the by-ways and passes there, endeavoured to make himself master of that country. Having given the natives a defeat, they were obliged to apply to the *Carthaginians*, whose dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that state, in point of good policy, could not well refuse them. This we learn from *Diodorus*; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by *Ophellas*, and delivered into the hands of *Ptolemy*, 'tis very probable the *Carthaginians* were not then at leisure to assist them.

The Syracusians elect Agathocles their general against Sosistratus.

A few years afterwards, *Sosistratus*, who had usurped the supreme power at *Syracuse*, having been forced by *Agathocles* to raise the siege of *Rhegium*, returned with his shattered troops to *Sicily*. But soon after this unsuccessful expedition, he was

[q] Justin. l. xxi. c. 6 Frontin. strat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 3. Aul. Gell. noct. At. l. xvii. c. 9. Oros. l. iv. c. 6 Vid & Æne. in Poliorcet. c. 31.

obliged

obliged to abdicate the ſovereignty and quit *Syracuſe*. With him were expelled above ſix hundred of the principal citizens, who were ſuſpected by the populace to have formed a deſign of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*. As *Soſiſtratus* and the exiles thought themſelves ill treated, they had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, who readily eſpouſed their cauſe. Hereupon the *Syracuſians* recalling *Agathocles*, who had before been baniſhed by *Soſiſtratus*, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, principally on account of the known averſion he bore to that tyrant. The *Carthaginians* ſupplying *Soſiſtratus* with troops, he immediately aſſembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himſelf, and his ſix hundred adherents, juſtice. After the two armies approached one another, ſeveral marches and counter-marches, and even ſome ſkirmiſhes, happened, each ſide ſtriving to gain ſome notable advantage. *Agathocles*, in all theſe military movements and falſifications, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy. He frequently contrived ſome ſtratagem or other, which turned out much to the advantage of the *Syracuſians*; of which the following was one of the moſt remarkable [r].

THE *Syracuſian* army having encamped near *Gela*, *Agathocles*, with a detachment of a thouſand men, found an opportunity of entering the city in the dead time of the night; but being inſtantly charged by *Soſiſtratus* with a ſtrong body of troops, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of three hundred men. All the reſt now looked upon themſelves as loſt, though *Agathocles* behaved with great intrepidity and reſolution. However, having received ſeven wounds, being ready to faint for loſs of blood, and hearing the enemy advancing from all parts to ſurround him, he ordered his trumpets to ſound a charge at both parts of the walls. This greatly alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who now imagined, that another party of the *Syracuſians* had forced their way into the town to relieve their companions. As the darkneſs of the night did not permit them to diſcover the truth, they thought proper to put an end to the purſuit; and dividing their forces, poſted away to the places from whence the trumpets ſounded, in order to defend the walls. In the mean time, *Agathocles*, at the head of his detachment, arrived ſafe in his own camp. By this artifice, he not only preſerved the ſeven hundred men that firſt entered, but ſeven hundred more that were ſent afterwards to his aſſiſtance [s].

Agathocles *makes an attempt to ſurpriſe* Gela, *but is repulſed.*

THIS war did not continue long; for *Soſiſtratus* and the exiles being ſoon received again into the city, a treaty of peace

[r] DIOD. SIC. l. xix. c. 1. [s] Idem ibid.

Agathocles swears to do nothing at Syracuse, to the prejudice of the democracy there.

was concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* now finding, that *Agathocles* began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed, that he aimed at monarchy, had recourse anew to *Corinth* for a general to command their forces. Accordingly one *Acestorides* was sent them to fill this post, who, upon his arrival, found that *Syracuse* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity as long as *Agathocles* was alive; and therefore formed a design of dispatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner already related in the seventh volume of this work. But *Agathocles* by a stratagem eluded that attempt; and making his escape, raised a body of forces in the heart of the island, with which he prepared to attack *Syracuse*. The *Carthaginians* being apprised of this, were struck with terror as well as the people of *Syracuse*; and therefore, at the instigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal consequences of a civil war; however, he was obliged to swear in a solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy [t] (D).

But breaks this oath, makes himself master of Syracuse, *and concludes a treaty with the* Messanians *by the mediation of the* Carthaginians.

Notwithstanding the solemn oath he had taken, *Agathocles* still pursued the point he had before in view, and, by a general massacre of the principal citizens, at last raised himself to the throne of *Syracuse*. Not content with this, he proposed to turn his arms against the other cities of *Sicily*, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. Beginning therefore with *Messana*, he seized upon a fort in the territory of that city; and being informed, that the walls were in a ruinous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horse to surprise *Messana* itself. But missing his aim, he laid siege to the castle of *Mylæ*, which surrendered to him. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon *Messana*; but the citizens, knowing

[t] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Justin. l. xxii. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 4. Univ. hist. vol. vii. p. 218.

(D) It appears from *Diodorus* and *Justin*, as this last author's text is emended by *Sebisius*, that these solemn oaths were usually taken in the temple of *Ceres*, and that at taking them the persons generally put their hands on the altar of that goddess. *Juvenal* and *Virgil* illustrate this point to satisfaction; *Scheffer*, *Tanaquil Faber*, and *Gronovius*, agree with *Sebisius*, but *Vorstius* differs from him; though the passage this last author produces from *Plutarch*, equally supports both opinions (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. l* xix. *c.* 1. *Justin. l* xxii *c.* 2. *Juvenal. sat* xiv. 238. *Virg. Æn.* xii. 102. *T. Liv. l.* xx. *Plaut. in rudent.* 5, 2, 49. *Plut. in Dio. Fid. & Brisson formul. l.* viii.

what treatment they were to expect, if the city fell into his hands, defended themſelves with great bravery, and repulſed him in ſeveral attacks. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, being applied to, ſent embaſſadors to him, complaining of ſuch a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not caring to draw upon himſelf the whole power of *Carthage*, ſubmitted to the terms preſcribed him; and, in conſequence of his peace with the people of *Meſſana*, concluded by the mediation of *Carthage*, he not only drew off his army from before their city, but reſtored likewiſe the caſtle of *Mylæ* to them. Upon which the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors having happily executed their commiſſion, returned to *Africa* [u].

Several Sicilian cities enter into a confederacy againſt him, but at laſt make a peace with him by the mediation of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general.

BUT the reſtleſs ſpirit of *Agathocles* would not ſuffer him to be quiet. The cities therefore of *Gela*, *Meſſana*, and *Agrigentum*, entered into a confederacy againſt him, and ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* for a general, not daring to truſt any of their own principal citizens, as ſuſpecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But obſerving that *Acrotatus*, who came from *Sparta* to command their forces, was more cruel and bloody than even *Agathocles* himſelf, they not only refuſed to act under his conduct, but even attempted to ſtone him. *Hamilcar* therefore, the *Carthaginian* general, judging this a favourable juncture to accommodate matters between *Agathocles* and the confederated cities, propoſed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at laſt made upon the following conditions: Firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Heraclea*, *Selinus*, and *Himera*; and ſecondly, that all the other cities dependent on the *Syracuſians*, ſhould be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it ſeems to appear, that the cities above-mentioned were at that time greatly in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians* [v].

Agathocles *breaks this treaty, and prepares for a war with* Carthage;

Agathocles, finding his ſubjects diſpoſed to ſecond his ambitious views, ſhewed as little regard to this laſt treaty as he had before done to his oath; and therefore, in violation of the ſecond article of it, he firſt made war on the neighbouring ſtates, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the iſland. He was attended in theſe expeditions with extraordinary ſucceſs, inſomuch, that in the ſpace of two years he brought intirely under ſubjection all the *Greek* part of *Sicily*. This rapid progreſs alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who ſaw their territories there threatened with the ſame fate; eſpecially as the tyrant had ſtrengthened himſelf by many alliances, and, beſides a potent army, made up of his own forces and thoſe of his allies, had a body of mercenaries, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot and above

[u] DIOD. SIC, ubi ſup. c. 4. [v] Idem ibid. c. 5.

three thousand horse, all excellent troops. On the other hand, *Agathocles*, being sensible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, and that they were very angry with *Hamilcar* for being instrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the necessary preparations, not only to put himself into a good posture of defence, but even to act offensively, in case of a war with *Carthage*. Things being in this situation, it was morally impossible but that a rupture must soon commence [x].

And commits great depredations in the territories of the Carthaginians.

It is intimated by *Justin*, that *Agathocles* was at first supported by the *Carthaginians*, or rather by *Hamilcar*, their general in *Sicily*, nay, he assures us, that the tyrant effected the massacre above-mentioned by the assistance of five thousand *Africans* sent him by *Hamilcar*. After the reduction of the other parts of *Sicily*, he made incursions into the *Carthaginian* territories and those of their allies, where he committed great depredations, *Hamilcar* not offering to give him the least disturbance. This highly incensed the people of those districts, who looked upon themselves as betrayed by *Hamilcar*; and therefore sent letters to *Carthage*, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct and *Agathocles*'s tyranny; adding moreover, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with *Carthage* had been sacrificed and delivered up into the tyrant's hands. This greatly exasperated the senate; but as *Hamilcar* was invested with great power in *Sicily*, they judged it prudent to suspend their resentment till the arrival of *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous resolution concerning him; but, for the reason just hinted, did not think proper to declare this openly, but threw all the suffrages that passed it into an urn, which they sealed up, till the other *Hamilcar* came from *Sicily*. But the general, being surprised by death, escaped thereby the punishment prepared for him at *Carthage*; and *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the forces. This incident hastened the rupture between *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians* [y].

He enters into a second treaty with the Messanians, *and infringes it.*

The last place that held out against *Agathocles* was *Messana*, whither all the *Syracusian* exiles had retired. His general *Pasiphilus* at first marched against it with an army; but having before received instructions from *Agathocles* to act as he should think fit for the good of his service, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, he cajoled the inhabitants into a treaty. This *Agathocles* likewise infringed when in possession of the town, cutting off all such as had formerly opposed his government; for, as he intended to prosecute the war against *Carthage*

[x] Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi sup. [y] Justin. ubi sup.

with

with the utmoſt vigour, he thought it a point of good policy to deſtroy, if poſſible, all his enemies in *Sicily* [z] (E).

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians* arrived with a fleet of ſixty ſail at *Agrigentum*, and obliged *Agathocles* to deſiſt from an attempt upon that place, which a little before he had projected. But as they had not brought a ſufficient body of land-forces, he ravaged all the adjacent country, plundered the ſubjects of the *Carthaginians*, and took ſeveral of their forts by ſtorm. Whilſt he was thus employed, another *Carthaginian* ſquadron of fifty ſhips entered the great harbour of *Syracuſe*, and ſunk two tranſports, one of them an *Athenian*, which were all the veſſels then in port. The *Carthaginians*, according to their uſual cruelty, cut off the hands of all thoſe they found on board, though they had not offered them the leaſt injury, it being impoſſible for them to make any reſiſtance. This barbarity was ſoon retaliated by *Agathocles* upon the *Carthaginians*; for ſeveral of their galleys, having been ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet upon the coaſt of *Italy*, fell into his hands, when he ſerved all the priſoners taken therein in the ſame manner [a].

The Carthaginians *prevent his taking* Agrigentum; *notwithſtanding which, he ravages all the adjacent country, and takes ſeveral* Carthaginian *forts by ſtorm.*

THE *Carthaginians*, being informed that *Agathocles* had pillaged their territories in *Sicily*, and that his forces grew very numerous upon the frontiers, reſolved to aſſemble an army without delay, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they had received advice, that he had offered battle to a conſiderable body of their troops poſted upon the hill *Ecnomos*, who were obliged to decline his challenge, they were determined to purſue the war with more vigour than they hitherto had done. Having therefore reinforced the troops intended for the *Sicilian* expedition

The Carthaginians *aſſemble a powerful army to oppoſe him, and encamp near* Himera.

[z] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 6. [a] Idem ibid.

(E) In the midſt of theſe troubles, *Dinocrates* aſſembled a large body of troops, which conſiſted chiefly of *Syracuſian* and *Meſſanian* exiles. Having a great antipathy to *Agathocles*, he ſent a conſiderable detachment under the command of *Nymphodorus*, one of his captains, to reduce the city of *Centuripe*, which was then gariſoned by that tyrant's troops; but *Nymphodorus* was killed in this attempt, and his men forced to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. *Dinocrates* ſent to the *Carthaginians* for aſſiſtance in this expedition; but whether or no he received any from them, *Diodorus* tells us not. However, *Agathocles* took from hence an occaſion of accuſing the *Centuripians* of having formed a conſpiracy againſt him, which gave him an opportunity of cutting off all thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be diſaffected to his government (2).

(z) *Diod. Sic. l.* xix. *c.* 6.

with

with two thouſand native *Carthaginians*, among whom were many perſons of quality, a thouſand *Etruſcan* mercenaries, as many ſlingers from the *Balearic* iſlands, and two hundred chariots, they tranſported them to that iſland, under the command of *Hamilcar*, as above-mentioned, to put a ſtop to the tyrant's conqueſts. The fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and thirty long ſhips, in the paſſage was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, in which *Hamilcar* loſt ſixty ſhips of war and two hundred tranſports, with a great number of men. Many perſons of the beſt families of *Carthage* were loſt by this diſaſter, which cauſed a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with black, as uſual on ſuch melancholy occaſions. *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding his loſs, being joined on his arrival by ſuch of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, found, upon a muſter, that his army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, deſigning to come to blows with the enemy as ſoon as a fair opportunity offered [b].

Agathocles *defeated by the* Carthaginians *near* Himera.

In the mean time, *Agathocles*, finding the *Carthaginians* much ſuperior to him, concluded, that many cities would join them, particularly that of *Gela*. What confirmed him in this opinion was, a blow he had lately received, twenty of his galleys, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. To prevent the inhabitants of *Gela* from declaring againſt him, he found means gradually to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thouſand of the citizens to the ſword, threatening to uſe all others in the ſame manner, who did not immediately produce their treaſure. Having thus filled his coffers with wealth, and left a ſtrong gariſon in the place, he moved with his forces towards the *Carthaginians*; and poſſeſſing himſelf of an eminence oppoſite to the enemy, there encamped. The *Carthaginians* had poſted themſelves upon the hill *Ecnomos*, on which *Phalaris*'s caſtle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly ſtood; and *Agathocles* took poſt in another of that tyrant's caſtles, which from him was called *Phalerios*, upon the oppoſite height, being ſeparated from *Hamilcar* by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed there, that a great battle ſhould be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vaſt carnage ſhould be made, neither ſide for a long time ſhewed any diſpoſition to begin the attack, both armies having a ſuperſtitious dread upon them. At laſt a party of *Africans*, by way of bravado, paſſed the river, and another of *Agathocles*'s troops,

[b] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 7.

to

to return the compliment, did the same; and this brought on a general engagement. For the *Sicilians*, driving off some cattle and beasts of burden belonging to the enemy, were pursued by a *Carthaginian* detachment, which immediately upon its arrival on the opposite bank, fell into an ambuscade, that *Agathocles*, foreseeing what would happen, had laid there to intercept it; and not having time to form itself, was easily routed. This first instance of success greatly encouraged *Agathocles*, who hereupon moving out of his camp, attacked *Hamilcar* with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he sustained great loss from the slingers of the *Balearic* islands, who (F) with stones of a large size broke to pieces the shields and armour of his soldiers, and destroyed him abundance of men. But at this critical juncture a strong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from *Carthage*, which intirely changed the face of affairs; for the *Sicilians*, having before made their utmost efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of these succours, and, almost as soon as the enemy rallied, took to their heels, and were so hotly pursued, that all the plains of the *Himera* were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then excessive, great numbers that were ready to perish with thirst, drank too copiously of the river-water, which was salt and brackish, and thereby lost their lives. The *Carthaginians* had five hundred men killed in this battle, but *Agathocles* at least seven thousand [c].

AFTER this defeat, *Agathocles*, collecting the shattered remains of his army, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to *Gela*. He had not been there long, before some of his troops, by chicane, deluded three hundred *African* horse into the place, all of whom to a man he caused to be cut off. The tyrant remained some time in *Gela*, that he might draw the enemy thither, and thereby prevent the siege of *Syracuse*, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harvest. *Hamilcar*, *Upon which the people of* Catana, Leontium, Tauromi-nium, Abacœ-num, *and* Messana, *submit to them.*

[c] Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. l. xxii.

(F) *Diodorus* tells us, that all these *Balearic* slingers had been trained up in the art of slinging from their infancy, and consequently were very expert in that art; that they frequently attacked the enemy with stones of three pounds weight, which did great execution; and that in fine the *Carthaginians* wrested many victories out of the enemy's hands almost intirely by their efforts. Our readers may expect a further account of them from *Lycophron*, *Diodorus*, *Vegetius*, and others, when we come to the history of *Spain* (3).

(3) *Diod Sic. l.* v. *c.* 1. & *l.* xix. *c.* 7.

being

being informed, that *Gela* was defended by a ſtrong gariſon, ſupplied abundantly with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, did not think fit to make an attempt upon it, but contented himſelf with reducing the forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of that place, all of which ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of *Camarina*, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Taurominium*, ſent embaſſadors to him to implore his protection; as did ſoon after thoſe of *Meſſana* and *Abacænum*, though they were before at variance amongſt themſelves. In ſuch perfect abhorrence did the people over the whole iſland hold the tyrant and all his adherents [d] (G).

And Agathocles *ſhuts himſelf up within the walls of* Syracuſe.

Agathocles, finding the *Carthaginian* general not diſpoſed immediately to undertake either the ſiege of *Gela* or *Syracuſe*, repaired to the latter of theſe places; and having filled his magazines, reinforced the gariſon, and perfected all the works, he ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the *Carthaginians* followed him, and laid cloſe ſiege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would ſoon have put them in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland [e].

The Carthaginians *puſh on the ſiege of that metropolis, and* Agathocles, *with a body of troops, ſets ſail for* Africa.

THE *Carthaginians* having cut off a great part of *Agathocles*'s army, ſtripped him of his confederates, and got all *Sicily*, except *Syracuſe*, into their hands, the tyrant now found himſelf driven to a ſtate of deſperation. Being therefore abandoned by his allies from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, he formed a deſign of ſo bold, and, in appearance, ſo impracticable, a nature, that nothing but the ſucceſs, with which it was attended, could juſtify the undertaking of it. This deſign was to tranſfer the war into *Africa*, and beſiege *Carthage* at a time when he himſelf was beſieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. His project he communicated to no perſon whatſoever, but only told the *Syracuſians* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the loſſes they had ſuſtained to that day. He then choſe the moſt daring and intrepid among the ſoldiers and citizens of *Syracuſe*, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the firſt call, and the horſe-

[d] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [e] Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup.

(G) *Juſtin* intimates, that there was a ſecond action between *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*, and *Agathocles*, before the *Carthaginians*, laid ſiege to *Syracuſe*, wherein the latter was totally routed, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his metropolis (4).

(4) *Juſtin. l.* xxii. *c.* 3.

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men to carry each along with him, beſides his arms, a ſaddle and a bridle. Before his departure he gave free permiſſion to all perſons, who were not willing to go through the fatigues of a ſiege, to (H) retire out of the town, which many of the principal citizens, *Juſtin* ſays ſixteen hundred, accepted of; but were ſcarce got out of the place, when they were cut off by parties poſted upon the roads for that purpoſe. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves who were able to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, incorporated them among his troops. Having ſeized upon the eſtates and effects of thoſe perſons who left the city, he raiſed a conſiderable ſum, which was intended in ſome meaſure to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon; however, he carried with him only fifty talents to ſupply his preſent wants, well aſſured that he ſhould find in the enemy's country whatever was neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. His forces being all embarqued, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuſe* in his abſence, with forces and proviſions ſufficient to hold out a long ſiege; and taking with him his two ſons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*, he went on board laſt himſelf, where he waited ſome time for a fair wind. All people were at a loſs to conjecture, what deſign he was going upon: ſome imagined his intention was to ſail to the coaſt of *Italy* or *Sardinia*, to plunder thoſe countries; others, that he propoſed ravaging that part of *Sicily* belonging to the *Carthaginians*; but moſt perſons agreed, that it was a deſperate project he had in view. As the *Carthaginians* had a much ſuperior fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to watch ſeveral days for an opportunity to ſet ſail. At laſt a large fleet of tranſports appeared laden with corn and other proviſions for *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* put to ſea, and *Agathocles* no ſooner ſaw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewiſe hoiſted ſail, and, by the great activity of his rowers, ſoon got out into the main ocean [f].

THE *Carthaginians*, ſeeing a ſquadron of ſixty galleys (for ſo many did this of *Agathocles* contain), at firſt imagined, that

[f] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. c. 1. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. OROS. l. iv. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.

(H) *Polyænus* relates, that vaſt numbers of *Syracuſians* having crowded on board the ſixty veſſels, of which *Agathocles*'s fleet conſiſted, the tyrant gave free liberty to all who were not willing to be engaged in a deſperate expedition, to retire with their effects. Many, embracing this offer, withdrew into the town, all of whom *Agathocles*, who looked upon them as cowards, ordered to be put to the ſword (5).

(5) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.*

And, after a slight engagement with the Carthaginian *fleet, makes a descent there.*

the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared for an engagement. But observing that this squadron continued its course straight forward, and was far before them, they immediately gave it chace, crowding all the sail possible. However, *Agathocles* so bestirred himself, that, night coming on, they lost sight of him; and, in the mean time, the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn and all other provisions. The next day a most remarkable (I) eclipse of the sun happened, when the stars appeared every-where in the firmament, and the day seemed to be turned into night. As the *Sicilians* were not a little superstitious, this event struck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a presage of their approaching destruction. But *Agathocles* revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by telling them, that if they had seen this before their departure from *Sicily*, it would have portended a disappointment to them; but that as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of disasters to the *Carthaginians*, whose dominions they were going to invade. He further remarked, that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that therefore happiness was taking its leave of the enemy, and coming over to them. The *Carthaginian* admiral, finding that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights steering his course towards *Africa*, he at last came up with the *Sicilian* fleet, then upon the point of landing the forces on board. As both squadrons had the coast of *Africa* in view, the *Carthaginians* made the utmost efforts to attack *Agathocles* before he could reach the shore; and on the other hand the tyrant, knowing what his fate would be, if he fell into the hands of so cruel an enemy, was no less active in his endeavours to land, before the *Carthaginians* could engage him. In fine, he had just begun to exe-

(I) *Diodorus* and *Justin* both affirm this to have been a solar eclipse; but *Frontinus* makes it a lunar one. The last author has, however, been corrupted in the passage referred to, so that the critics can scarce make sense of it. From the two former writers, as well as many others, that might be produced, it appears, that the antients believed the eclipses of the luminaries to have portended great revolutions in human affairs; and it must be owned, thas this notion, as well as some other points in judicial astrology, is of a very high antiquity (6).

(6) *Diod. Sic. Justin. & Frontin. in loc. citat. Vide & Peucerum de divinat. p.* 661.

cute his design, when part of the *Carthaginian* squadron coming up with his rear, a slight engagement ensued. The weapons chiefly made use of on this occasion were bows and slings, the vessels not being close enough to grapple. As but a small part of the *Carthaginian* fleet found it possible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, *Agathocles* gained the advantage; whereupon the *Carthaginians*, tacking about, stood off a little above the cast of a dart. This gave him an opportunity of landing his troops at a place called the *quarries*, without any farther opposition [g].

Soon after his landing, he burns his ships.

Agathocles, having landed his forces in the enemy's country, and secured for the present his shipping by a breast-work or parapet, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, the guardians of *Sicily*. After this he summoned a council of war, composed of such officers as were intirely at his devotion; where, appearing in his royal robes, he acquainted them, that when they were so closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*, he had applied himself to the two goddesses, promising, upon his arrival in *Africa*, to consecrate all the vessels of the squadron to them, by reducing them to so many burning lamps; and that, since they were now delivered from the enemy, his intention was to perform his vow by burning the whole fleet. He exhorted them to distinguish themselves on the present occasion, declaring, that by the sacrifices the gods promised great success. He likewise observed, that the only way to draw the enemy out of *Sicily* was, to carry the war into their own country; that the *Carthaginians* were softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the *Africans* under their subjection, as well as the neighbouring states, being highly incensed at the *Carthaginian* insolence, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the cities of *Africa* were not fortified and built on mountains, as in *Sicily*, and therefore could not make any defence; that the boldness only of their attempt would quite disconcert the *Carthaginians*, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their own gates; that no enterprise could redound more to their honour and advantage, since this would, if attended with success, make them masters of all the wealth of *Carthage*, and transmit their names and fame to the latest posterity. In fine, he desired them not to be dismayed at the loss of their ships, since the two goddesses, above-mentioned, would hereafter return them a far greater number. Having uttered these words, a servant brought him a torch, which he eagerly catching hold of, went on board his own ship, and set it on fire.

[g] DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 12. ex. 9.

All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. As the flames mounted up, the trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and, after a joint prayer to the gods to grant the army a ſafe return home, the whole ſhore echoed with joyful ſhouts and loud acclamations. In ſhort, the ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of *Africa*; and, not having been allowed time to reflect on the propoſal made them, the whole fleet was in a moment conſumed. This ſeems to have been one of the moſt deſperate actions to be met with in hiſtory [h] (K).

The motives for this conduct.

The motives for this aſtoniſhing point of conduct were various: Firſt, *Agathocles* was deſirous of putting his troops under a neceſſity of conquering, which he imagined might be done by the deſtruction of his fleet, ſince this would leave them no other refuge but victory. Secondly, he conſidered, that he had not one good harbour in *Africa*, where his ſhips could lie with ſafety; wherefore, as the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, they would infallibly poſſeſs themſelves of all his ſhipping, which was no-ways in a condition to cope with theirs. Thirdly, in caſe he had left as many troops as were neceſſary to defend the fleet, he would have thereby ſo weakened his army, which was at beſt but inconſiderable, that he could not have ventured a battle with the enemy, and of courſe would have rendered himſelf incapable of drawing any advantage from this unexpected diverſion. Theſe, with other reaſons, determined him to act in the manner above-mentioned, and exert that prodigious courage, neceſſary to work up his troops to ſuch an unparallelled reſolution. As they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, when they began to cool, things appeared in another light. They now conſidered themſelves as in the midſt of an enemy's country, ſeparated from their own by the vaſt ocean, without the leaſt hopes or means of eſcaping. Upon this a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceeded that tranſport of joy, which but a moment before had been ſo general in the army [i].

[h] Diod. Sic. Justin. Frontin. Polyæn. & Oros. ubi ſup.
[i] Diod. Sic. Justin. &c. ubi ſup. Vid. & Polyb. l. xxii. & Athen. deipnoſoph. l. iii.

(K) This conduct of *Agathocles*, how wild and extravagant ſoever it may appear to us at this diſtance of time, who are not ſo well acquainted with the ſprings and motives to it, nor the circumſtances of his and the *Carthaginian* affairs, was highly approved of by *Scipio*, as we learn from *Polybius*. That great general looked upon *Agathocles* as a very able commander, and took hints from ſome points of his conduct, which much facilitated the conqueſt of *Carthage* (7).

(7) *Polyb. l.* xv. *Liv. l.* xxviii. *n.* 43.

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BUT to diſſipate all gloomy apprehenſions, *Agathocles* marched inſtantly at the head of his troops againſt a place in the territories of *Carthage*, called the *Great city*, leaving the ſoldiers here again no time for reflection. The whole country, through which he paſſed, afforded the moſt delicious and agreeable proſpect imaginable. On each ſide were ſpacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houſes built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all ſorts of fruit-trees, charming gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all poſſible care and elegance, &c. The whole tract was likewiſe watered by beautiful ſtreams, and full of towns adorned with ſtately palaces belonging to the nobility of *Carthage*, many of whom inhabited this particular province. As they had enjoyed a long peace, nothing but a face of plenty and abundance here appeared, and an immenſe quantity of wealth was amaſſed in every part. This inchanting ſcene raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the ſoldiery, who thought the poſſeſſion of ſo fine a country would make full amends for all the toils and fatigues that could be undergone. They advanced therefore with intrepidity to the *Great City*, which, after a feeble reſiſtance, they took by ſtorm. As *Agathocles* was deſirous of inſpiring his troops with freſh courage, he abandoned the plunder of the place, which was very conſiderable, to them. That this was a town of importance, and called in the *Punic* language *Samath*, *Sumeth*, or *Samatho*, is in ſome degree probable from *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, *Stephanus*, and others [k].

He advances towards Carthage, *takes a place called the* Great City, *and gives the plunder of it to his ſoldiers.*

FROM hence the tyrant moved with his army to *Tunes*, a city of eminence in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which, being intimidated by ſo unexpected a viſit, ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons. The troops would willingly have gariſoned both theſe places, and laid up in them the plunder they had got; but *Agathocles* would by no means liſten to ſuch a motion. He, with ſome difficulty, convinced them, that this was not conſiſtent with the plan he had laid down, nor at all expedient in their preſent circumſtances. Being therefore determined, that his men ſhould have no place to retire to in caſe of any misfortune, that they might place all hopes of ſafety in victory, he cauſed both the cities lately reduced to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields [l].

He likewiſe takes Tunes, *and levels this, as well as the above-mentioned city, with the ground.*

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians* on board the galleys, that came up with *Agathocles*, juſt before he made his deſcent, expreſſed great joy upon ſeeing the *Sicilian* ſhips all on a blaze,

The Carthaginians *are greatly alarmed at this motion.*

[k] DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. ALEXAND. POLYHIST. in Libyc. l. iii. apud STEPH. de urb. & BOCHART. Chan. l. ii. c. 12.
[l] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

imagining

imagining this to be the effect of fear. But they changed their note, when they obſerved the enemy marching in good order up into the country, being then convinced, that a puſh was intended to be made at *Carthage* itſelf. Hereupon they immediately ſpread a great number of hides upon the fore-caſtles of their ſhips, which was with them a conſtant ſignal of ſome impending public calamity. They alſo carried on board their own veſſels the iron beaks belonging to the *Sicilian* ſhips that had been deſtroyed, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Carthage* to give the ſenate a particular account of every thing that had happened. But the whole country was ſo alarmed upon the firſt appearance of the enemy's ſquadron on the *African* coaſt, that, before his arrival, the news of their unexpected deſcent had reached *Carthage*, and thrown the whole city into the utmoſt terror and confuſion. They all concluded, that their army before *Syracuſe* had been defeated, and their fleet loſt; for that, in any other ſituation of affairs, it was poſſible for *Agathocles* to leave *Syracuſe*, and paſs over into *Africa*, they could not believe. The people haſtened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the ſenate aſſembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might ſave the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to beſiege. They had no army in readineſs to make head againſt the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore were for ſending embaſſadors to *Agathocles* to propoſe an accommodation, and at the ſame time to diſcover the poſture of the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true ſtate of affairs, before any public ſtep was taken; and this opinion prevailed [m].

Who, however, make preparations to give the enemy a warm reception.

WHILST the city was in this ferment, the courier ſent by the *Carthaginian* admiral arrived, and informed the ſenate of the deſtruction of the *Sicilian* fleet, and that *Agathocles* was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However, he gave them to underſtand, that their troops in *Sicily* were all ſafe and in good condition; that they puſhed on the ſiege of *Syracuſe* with the utmoſt vigour; that the body of forces under *Agathocles* was not very conſiderable; and that the advantage he had lately gained by ſea was attended with no other conſequence in his favour, than that it enabled him barely to land his troops. This pacified the minds of the people, ſo that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the ſenate ſeverely reprimanded the ſea-officers for their negligence, in ſuffering the enemy to make a

[m] Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup.

deſcent,

deſcent, when they were maſters at ſea. It was now reſolved, that the citizens ſhould be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thouſand infantry, and a thouſand cavalry, with two thouſand armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to command the forces, notwithſtanding the grudges that had long ſubſiſted between their reſpective families, hoping that, laying aſide all private animoſities, they would jointly exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this, however, they were deceived; for *Bomilcar*, having long thirſted after arbitrary power, paſſionately wiſhed for an opportunity of ſubverting the republican form of government at *Carthage*; which believing the poſt above-mentioned would enable him to do, he readily accepted of it with that view only. As the *Carthaginians* frequently brought falſe accuſations againſt their generals after the concluſion of a peace, and through envy put many of them moſt unjuſtly to death, 'tis not to be wondered at, that ſometimes, in order to avoid ſuch perfidious treatment, they either reſigned their commiſſions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power. Of this *Bomilcar* was an inſtance, as will more fully appear by-and-by [n].

IN the mean time *Agathocles* committed great ravages, razing ſeveral caſtles, and burning many villages, on his march, tho' his army did not conſiſt at moſt of above fourteen thouſand men. The *Carthaginian* generals, to find him other employ, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, at laſt poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence in ſight of his camp, and drew up their forces in battle-array. *Hanno* commanded the right-wing, ſupported by the (L) ſacred

Agathocles commits great ravages in Africa, and prepares to engage the Carthaginians.

[n] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

(L) The ſacred cohort conſiſted of the ſons of ſenators, and the prime nobility, who ſeem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. His aids de camp were taken out of this body, and the officers of it were his principal companions. The preciſe number of this corps cannot be determined; but from *Appian* we may conclude, that it conſiſted of about four thouſand men. It was known to the *Romans* by the appellations *ſacra cohors*, *ſtipatores*, *prætoriani*, *delecta cohors*, and anſwered to the *evocati* and *ablecti* of that nation. In ſhort, it was a body compoſed of voluntiers of diſtinction, who might be looked upon as the general's guard and particular friends. *Curtius* intimates, that *Amyntas* had a guard of *Macedonian* youths ſomething reſembling theſe. For a further account of them, we muſt refer our readers to the authors cited in the margin (8).

(8) *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *Appian. in Libyc. Q. Curt l.* v. *& Chriſt. Hendr. de rep. Carthag. l.* ii. §. 2. *m.* 1. *c.* 7 *p.* 424, 425.

cohort;

cohort; *Bomilcar* the left, making his phalanx very deep, ſince the nature of the place would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed, as uſual, in the van. *Agathocles*, on the other hand, made a proper diſpoſition of his forces, which were compoſed of *Syracuſians*, *Samnites*, *Etruſcans*, *Celtes*, and *Greek* mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his ſon *Archagathus*; the other at the head of the troops of the houſhold and a thouſand cuiraſſiers, oppoſite to the *Carthaginian* ſacred cohort, he commanded himſelf; and laſtly, the ſlingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were diſtributed in both wings to the beſt advantage. Finding ſeveral of his ſoldiers unarmed, he obliged them to draw the covers and caſes of ſhields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpoſe, and to carry thoſe before them, as if they had been real. By this ſtratagem, though none of the moſt refined, he impoſed upon the enemy, who were at ſome diſtance from him, and prevented the nakedneſs of his troops from being expoſed to their view [o].

And by a ſtratagem, together with Bomilcar's *treachery, intirely overthrows them.*

Agathocles was in no ſmall conſternation, when he ſaw ſo numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he diſſembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite diſpirited, and under great apprehenſions of the enemy's horſe and chariots, he let out ſeveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe flying about the camp, and lighting on the ſoldiers ſhields, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy, not doubting, but by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was ſacred, and therefore looked upon by the whole army as a good omen, they ſhould gain a complete victory. The firſt charge was made by the enemy's chariots, and the cavalry intermixed with them; but the body of *Sicilian* troops oppoſed to them did not only withſtand their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced ſome of them through with darts and arrows, and drove the reſt back into the midſt of their own foot. This naturally threw the foot into confuſion, and occaſioned the defeat of the horſe; for theſe, finding themſelves deprived of their chief ſupport, were eaſily broken, and never afterwards made the leaſt attempt to rally. However, *Hanno*, with the ſacred cohort, which conſiſted of the flower of the troops, ſuſtained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them into diſorder; but being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the laſt. His death obliging the right wing to give ground, inſpired *Agathocles* and his troops with ſuch ardour, that they bore down all

[o] Idem ibid.

before

before them, though for ſome time they were moſt vigorouſly oppoſed by the enemy. *Bomilcar*, underſtanding that his colleague was ſlain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, to which he had long aſpired. Though therefore it was in his power to have changed the face of things, yet being ſenſible, that he could not accompliſh the deſign he had in view, if the army of *Agathocles* were deſtroyed, but might eaſily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he reſolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he ſhould be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleaſed. Accordingly, acquainting his men with *Hanno*'s death, he injoined them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to eſcape the fury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was ſo precipitate, that it looked like a downright flight, the *Africans* in their rear imagined, that all the reſt of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into diſorder; which being obſerved by *Agathocles*, he took advantage of this confuſion, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to take to their heels, as their companions before had done, whereby he gained a complete victory. The ſacred cohort, however, fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and courageouſly advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-ſoldiers, till they ſaw themſelves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy. Then indeed they thought it proper to have ſome regard to their own ſafety, and therefore retiring in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head againſt thoſe who purſued them; but not being ſupported by *Bomilcar*, they were either cut off, or forced to ſave themſelves by flight, after having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to *Carthage*, not having been purſued far by *Agathocles*, who returned back with great expedition to take poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his ſoldiers to plunder for their further encouragement; where, among other rich ſpoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanſhip, that carried twenty thouſand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the *Sicilian* priſoners, not doubting but they ſhould fill all the dungeons in *Carthage* with them. Of the *Sicilians*, according to *Diodorus*, not above two hundred were ſlain, and about a thouſand *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, ſix thouſand. *Juſtin* makes the loſs to be pretty equal on both ſides; for he tells us, that two thouſand *Sicilians*, and three thouſand *Carthaginians*, fell in this battle. As *Bomilcar*

quitted the field of battle without fighting, and *Agathocles* did not long continue the purſuit, it is probable, that the ſlaughter was not very conſiderable, and that both ſides ſuffered pretty much alike, eſpecially ſince the ſacred cohort behaved to the laſt with ſuch unparallelled reſolution. *Juſtin* likewiſe differs from *Diodorus* in his account of the ſtrength of the *Carthaginian* forces in this action; for whereas the former will have that hoſt to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it conſiſted only of thirty thouſand men. Be this as it will, the *Carthaginians* received a notable defeat, when they thought themſelves in a manner certain of victory; God, as our hiſtorian here obſerves, being pleaſed, by this inſtance, to let them know, that He is the ſupreme diſpoſer and arbiter of events [p].

The Carthaginians endeavour to appeaſe ſome deities, whom they imagined they had offended.

Though the *Carthaginians* had ſuſtained no very conſiderable loſs in the late engagement, they were extremely diſheartened, believing the gods fought againſt them. They could not imagine it poſſible for *Agathocles*, after his whole army had been totally routed in *Sicily*, and he reduced almoſt to the neceſſity of ſurrendering his metropolis, to land in *Africa*, in ſpite of a powerful fleet, with the ſhattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interpoſition of ſome ſuperior being. Under the influence of this perſuaſion, they made it their firſt endeavour to appeaſe the offended deities, particularly *Hercules* and *Saturn*, whom they conſidered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had ſent the tenth part of all their revenues annually to *Tyre*, as an offering to *Hercules*, the patron and protector both of *Carthage* and its mother city. This cuſtom for many ages had been religiouſly obſerved; but their revenues at laſt growing immenſely large, they not only had omitted to raiſe the tenths ſacred to *Hercules* in proportion, but even diſcontinued their antient acknowledgment to that deity. For this ſacrilegious avarice they now imagined themſelves puniſhed; and, therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confeſſion of their inſincerity, and ſent the golden ſhrines of their other deities to *Hercules* at *Tyre*, having a notion, that ſuch ſacred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. As for *Saturn*, in antient times it was uſual to ſacrifice children of the moſt noble families to him, as has been above obſerved; but for ſome years paſt in theſe ſacrifices they had ſubſtituted children of mean extraction, ſecretly bought and bred up for that purpoſe, in the room of thoſe nobly born. This they now conſidered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honour due

[p] Diod. Sic. & Justin. ubi ſup.

to

to him, and conſequently were conſcious of having given him juſt cauſe of offence. To expiate the guilt of ſo horrid an impiety, a ſacrifice of two hundred children of the firſt rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other perſons, in a ſenſe of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themſelves as victims, to pacify, by the effuſion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the ſentiments of the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, and ſuch the method, they apprehended, would prove the moſt effectual in reconciling the offended deities to them, whom they imagined the immediate authors of the bad ſucceſs that attended their arms; though it is probable, that ſoon after, upon the diſcovery of *Bomilcar's* perfidious conduct, they admitted at leaſt of the concurrence of an inferior cauſe [q].

And recal Hamilcar from Sicily.

AFTER theſe expiations, the *Carthaginians* thought it not improper likewiſe to make uſe of human means for their preſervation; they therefore diſpatched meſſengers to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with advice of what had happened in *Africa*, and expreſs orders to haſten over to the relief of his country. When the meſſengers arrived, *Hamilcar* commanded them not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*; but, on the contrary, to give out amongſt the troops, that he had been intirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*. The ſenate of *Carthage* had ſent to *Hamilcar* by the meſſengers all the beaks of the *Syracuſian* ſhips, that this report might more eaſily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he had cauſed it to be propagated. *Hamilcar* therefore, in conſequence of theſe orders, immediately ſent the perſons newly arrived from *Carthage* to *Syracuſe*, to publiſh this melancholy news there, and at the ſame time, in confirmation of it, to produce the iron beaks of the ſhips pretended to be taken from the enemy. This they did, ſummoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, ſince they could expect no ſuccours, their army and fleet in *Africa* being utterly ruined. At firſt this ſad account was generally believed, and greatly affected the whole city; but the leading men, to prevent all commotions, diſmiſſed the meſſengers without any anſwer, and ſoon after expelled eight thouſand of their citizens, who ſeemed diſpoſed to an inſurrection. This threw every part of the city into the utmoſt confuſion, the women running about the ſtreets in a diſtracted manner, and every houſe being filled with outcries and lamentations. Some bewailed the death of *Agathocles* and his ſons; others the loſs of their friends, who were ſuppoſed to be

[q] POLYB. p. 944. Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 2, 3. FASCEN. FEST. apud LACTANT. divin. inſtit. l. c. xxi. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra, &c.

cut off in *Africa*; and great numbers their own hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children, into the hands of the enemy. But *Hamilcar* entertained the exiles with great kindness; and being informed by them of the deplorable condition the city was in, he resolved to make a general assault on all quarters at once. Tho' he expected easily to carry the place, as believing it to be almost destitute of troops to defend it, yet he first sent new deputies to *Antandrus* the governor, promising to spare him and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, at which all the principal officers were invited to assist; when, after much debate, *Antandrus*, being a man of a mean spirit and very unlike his brother, declared himself for a capitulation; but *Eurymnon* the *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. *Hamilcar*, being apprised of the resolution the garison had taken, prepared his battering-engines to play afresh upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions to storm the town without delay [r].

Who, upon this, raises the siege of Syracuse, *and sends a detachment of five thousand men to* Africa.

Whilst matters remained in this situation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in the harbour of *Syracuse*, whose rowers, crowned with garlands, and singing the *Io Pæan*, made directly to the city. This vessel *Agathocles* caused to be built immediately after the battle; and having manned it with some of his best rowers, under the conduct of his intimate friend *Nearchus*, dispatched it to *Syracuse*, to carry thither the agreeable news of his late victory. The *Carthaginian* guard-ships, discovering it, gave it chace so briskly, that it narrowly escaped falling into their hands; which it must infallibly have done, had not the *Syracusians* advanced to its relief, when it was within a dart's cast of the shore. *Hamilcar*, observing that the garison flocked down to the port on this occasion, and believing that he should find the walls unguarded, ordered his soldiers to rear up scaling ladders, and begin the intended assault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite exposed, the *Carthaginians* mounted them without being discerned, and had almost possessed themselves of an intire part lying between two towers, when the patrol discovered them. Upon this a warm dispute ensued; but at last the *Carthaginians* were repulsed with considerable loss. *Hamilcar* therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege, after such glad tidings had restored life and resolution to the *Syracusians*, drew off his forces from before the place, and sent a detachment of five thousand men to reinforce the troops in *Africa* [s].

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

Agathocles,

Agathocles, *after his victory, reduces moſt of the places of note in the proper territory of* Carthage.

Agathocles, after his victory over the *Carthaginians*, finding no enemy to oppoſe him, reduced many forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. Many cities likewiſe, either out of fear, or averſion to the *Carthaginians*, joined him, by which his army being conſiderably reinforced, he moved towards the maritime towns, having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at *Tunes*. The firſt place he attacked was the *New City*; which he carried ſword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to *Adrumetum*, and laid ſiege to it. The *Carthaginians*, by degrees recovering from the conſternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progreſs *Agathocles* made, as alſo of his being ſupported by *Elymas* king of *Libya*, immediately aſſembled another army, and marched againſt *Tunes*. After a ſtout reſiſtance, they made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, and by their repeated attacks ſo preſſed the town, that it was ſoon reduced to great extremity. *Agathocles*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's ſucceſs, left the greateſt part of his army to carry on the ſiege of *Adrumetum*, and, with a ſmall body of troops, privately poſted himſelf on the top of a mountain between *Adrumetum* and *Tunes* (M), from whence he could take a view both of his own camp and that of the *Carthaginians*. Here he ordered his ſoldiers in the night to make large fires, that the *Carthaginians* might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of *Tunes*; and, on the other hand, the gariſon of *Adrumetum* might be induced to believe, that a ſtrong reinforcement was coming to his camp before that place. The ſtratagem anſwered both theſe views; for the *Carthaginians* raiſed the ſiege of *Tunes* hereupon with ſo much precipitation, that they left all their battering engines behind them; and the *Adrumetines* were ſo intimidated, that they immediately capitulated. *Thapſus* he afterwards took by ſtorm, and reduced in that tract above two hundred cities and towns, partly by force, and partly by compoſition. *Juſtin* intimates, that he put a great number of peo-

(M) The learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* ſuppoſes mount *Zowan*, or *Zag-wan*, a conſpicuous mountain in the inland part of the ſummer circuit of the *Tuniſeens*, to have been the place from whence *Agathocles* was entertained with a view both of the country of the *Adrumetines* and *Carthaginians*. *Solinus* intimates, that the foot of this mountain was one of the limits of *Africa Propria*; which, in conjunction with the name, renders it ſomething probable, that the *Regio Zeugitana* received its denomination from it (9).

(9) *Dr. Shaw's geograph. obſervat relating to the kingdom of Tun. c. 3. p. 184, 185. Solin. c. 27. Vide & Strab. l. x p 326.*

ple

ple to the ſword in this expedition; but as the contrary ſeems to appear from *Diodorus*, we muſt ſuſpend our belief of this particular. Perhaps the author above-mentioned took this article from *Timæus Siculus*, who painted all the expeditions of *Agathocles*, and his whole life, in the blackeſt colours. Be that as it will, he made himſelf maſter of the whole territory of *Carthage*; but hearing that *Elymas*, king of *Libya*, in violation of the late treaty, had declared againſt him, he immediately entered *Libya Superior*, and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the ſword a good part of his troops, and the general that commanded them. This blow obliged the *Libyan* monarch to recal the body of auxiliaries he had ſent to aid the *Carthaginians*, and enabled *Agathocles* to march againſt that nation, who, he was acquainted, had formed the ſiege of *Tunes* a ſecond time. Advancing with great expedition, he at length encamped within two hundred ſtadia of the enemy, and commanded his ſoldiers not to make any fires at all. This prevented the *Carthaginians* from having any ſuſpicion of his approach; ſo that marching all night with wonderful celerity, he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their camp; where meeting with a body of their forces, that had been plundering and laying waſte the adjacent country, he charged them with ſuch vigour, that two thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, many taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. The *Carthaginians*, being extremely mortified at this diſaſter, and receiving advice, that *Elymas* had been obliged to recal the troops ſent to their aſſiſtance, without waiting for *Agathocles*, abandoned the ſiege [t].

Hamilcar *intirely defeated by the* Syracuſians, *and his head ſent to* Agathocles *in* Africa.

It has been before obſerved, that *Hamilcar* ſent only a detachment of five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country: keeping therefore the main body of his forces together, he ſtill entertained hopes of obliging *Agathocles* to quit *Africa*, and return to the defence of his own dominions. He ſpent ſome time in making himſelf maſter of ſuch cities as ſided with the *Syracuſians*; and after having brought all their allies under ſubjection, returned again to *Syracuſe*, hoping to ſurpriſe the city, by attacking it in the night. The *Syracuſians* were, before the approach of the *Carthaginian* army, reduced to ſome ſtraights; for *Hamilcar* had not only cut off all ſupplies of proviſions, that might have come to their relief by ſea, but likewiſe deſtroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could meet with in their territory, and had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the caſtle of *Olympia* or *Olympicum*, lying before the town. However, they were not diſcouraged, but took all the neceſſary

[t] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra.

meaſures

measures for a vigorous defence; and ſuſpecting *Hamilcar* to have formed a deſign of ſurpriſing the city, they, by way of precaution, ordered a body of three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe to take poſt in *Euryalus*, the citadel of *Epipolæ* (N). About midnight, *Hamilcar* advanced, at the head of a ſtrong party, to begin the attack, and was ſupported by *Dinocrates*, general of the horſe. His army was divided into two phalanxes, one formed of the *Carthaginian* forces, the other of the *Greek* mercenaries, which were followed by a confuſed multitude, compoſed of various nations (O), who attended the army for the ſake of plunder. The paſſes being then rough and narrow, this unwieldly rabble for ſome time found it impoſſible to move forwards; and therefore the barbarians, of which it conſiſted, quarrelling for the way, came at laſt to downright blows; which put the whole army into confuſion. The *Syracuſians* poſted at *Euryalus*, taking advantage of this, made a ſally, and after having terribly galled the *Carthaginians* with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked them in form. *Hamilcar* at firſt received the enemy with great reſolution, crying out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to ſuſtain the ſhock of the enemy; but the *Syracuſians* having ſeized upon the paſſes, and there not being room for ſo numerous an army as *Hamilcar*'s to act, great numbers of the *Carthaginian* foot were trod to death by their own horſe; and the confuſion they were at firſt thrown into being heightened by the darkneſs of the night, one part of their army engaged the

(N) *Diodorus* here makes a fine reflection on the uncertainty of war, and inſinuates, that neither valour nor conduct has the greateſt ſhare in bringing it to a happy concluſion. *Agathocles*, one of the greateſt captains of his age, at the head of a numerous army, was routed by *Hamilcar* at the battle of *Himera*; and yet ſoon after, this very victorious army, weakened only by an inconſiderable detachment ſent to *Africa*, and conſiſting then of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, was intirely defeated by a ſmall party of the routed enemy, ſupported only by the advantageous ſituation of the poſt they were ordered to defend (10).

(O) From this paſſage it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* armies were attended by a numerous rabble in all remarkable expeditions. This will enable us to account for the prodigious carnage made of their troops when the enemy was victorious; for ſuch an undiſciplined number of people muſt firſt greatly contribute towards throwing the regular troops into confuſion; and then, not being able either to reſiſt or eſcape, be totally cut off. The *Turks* labour under the ſame inconvenience at this day, or at leaſt have done ſo till of late.

(10) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

other;

other; so that the rout became general, and the slaughter dreadful. *Hamilcar* therefore, being deserted by all his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was taken prisoner, and carried into *Syracuse*. *Diodorus* relates, that an *haruspex*, or sooth-sayer, before the beginning of the action, predicted, that *Hamilcar* should sup the next night in *Syracuse*; which though it proved true, yet the entertainment he there met with was not much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city, and, after having vented their rage on their miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head, and sent it into *Africa*, a welcome present to *Agathocles*, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders with the utmost difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to *Carthage* [u].

The Agrigentines *take several places from the* Carthaginians *and* Syracusians.

THE day after this defeat, the *Carthaginians* rallied their shattered troops at some distance from *Syracuse*; but having lost their general, they could not agree amongst themselves about the choice of his successor: the exiles and *Greek* mercenaries therefore pitched upon *Dinocrates* for their commander, and the *Carthaginians* vested with the supreme command of the national troops the *Carthaginian* officer who was next in dignity to the late general. The *Agrigentines*, finding the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* had extremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that the latter were in great distress for want of provisions, judged this a favourable opportunity of seizing upon the sovereignty of the whole island themselves; and therefore set on foot a considerable army for that purpose, appointing *Xenodicus*, one of their countrymen, general. This army was soon reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the city of *Gela*, which *Xenodicus* had found means to engage in the *Agrigentine* interest. He first made himself master of *Enna*, and then marched to *Herbessus* (P), that was defended by a *Carthaginian*

[u] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xxii. c. 7. sub. init. & OROS. l. iv. c. 6.

(P) That the cities of *Enna* and *Herbessus* were of *Phœnician* or *Carthaginian* extraction is apparent from the names themselves. The former is undoubtedly a *Greek* corruption of *Ennaim* or *Ennam*, which, in *Punic* or *Phœnician*, imports, *the fountain of pleasure*, or *the pleasant fountain*. The *Greeks*, having no words ending in M, frequently expunged that letter from *Oriental* proper names, in order to accommodate them to their own language, of which *Maria*, *Gebenna*,

Carthaginian garison. Upon his arrival there, he immediately caused it to be attacked. For some time the garison made a vigorous defence; but at last the inhabitants declaring in favour of the besiegers, the town after a brisk action, was taken; on which occasion a great number of *Carthaginians* were killed, and above five hundred taken prisoners. In fine, the *Agrigentines* prosecuted this war with such success, that in a short time they wrested many places of note both out of the hands of *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians* [w].

THE *Syracusians*, in the mean time, being threatened with a famine, and, understanding that some vessels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty galleys to intercept them. As the *Carthaginians* had entertained no suspicion of such an attempt, the *Syracusians* found an opportunity of slipping by them, and for some time pursued their course, in quest of the transports above-mentioned. But the *Carthaginians*, being apprised of what had happened, pursued them with thirty galleys; and coming up with them off of *Hybla*, immediately attacked them. At first the *Syracusians* seemed to prepare themselves for a warm engagement; but being soon driven on shore, they abandoned their ships, and taking shelter in the temple of *Juno*, endeavoured there to defend them against the *Carthaginians*. After a sharp dispute, the latter, by means of their grappling-irons, carried ten of them off; but the rest were drawn on shore by the assistance of the garison of *Hybla*, who, upon the first news of the action, advanced to the relief of the *Syracusians* [x].

The Carthaginians gain an advantage over the Syracusians by sea.

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 2. [x] Idem ibid.

henna, &c. are sufficient instances (11). The authors referred to in the margin evince this etymon (12). The latter signifies in *Punic* or *Phœnician*, *the mountain of the cave*, or *the hollow mountain*; and that the town of *Herbessus* stood upon such a mountain, appears from several authors (13). We must not omit observing, that the word begins with an H, since *Pliny* (14) enumerates the *Herbessenses* amongst the inhabitants of those cities, whose names begin with that letter; nor that, in confirmation of what has been advanced, the place at this day is called *Le Grotte*, or *caverns*. From *Polyænus* we may infer, that the *Greeks* sometimes pronounced only one of the words of which this town's name was composed, *viz. Bessa* or *Vessa*, which greatly strengthens *Bochart's* conjecture (15).

(11) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 28. (12) *Ovid. fast. l.* iv. *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *c.* 1. *Cic. ad Ver.* 4. *Claud. l.* ii (13) *Bochart. ubi supra. Vide & Polyb. l.* i. *Diodor. Sic. l.* xx. *Thucyd. l.* iv. *c.* 6. & *Strab. l.* vi. (14) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 8. (15) *Cluver. & Fazel. de reb. Sic. Vide & Bochart. ubi sup. ut & Polyæn. l.* v. *c.* 1. *ex.* 4.

The Carthaginians greatly dejected at the defeat of their army, and death of their general, in Sicily.

Agathocles, having forced the *Carthaginians* to raise a second time the siege of *Tunes*, and reduced all the places subject to them, prepared now to besiege *Carthage* itself; and, in order thereto, advanced with his army to a post within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the great losses they had sustained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when *Agathocles* received advice of the defeat of the *Carthaginian* forces before *Syracuse*, and the head of *Hamilcar* their general, who being taken prisoner in the action, had been put to death in *Syracuse*, as above-related. Upon receiving this agreeable news, *Agathocles* rode up to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head, gave them an account of the total destruction of their army in *Sicily*. This threw the whole army into the utmost consternation, and filled every part of the camp with outcries and lamentations. The barbarians, according to the custom of their country, prostrated themselves before the head of their prince; for *Hamilcar*, at the time of his death, according to *Diodorus*, was one of the *Carthaginian* suffetes. In short, they were so dejected at the first publication of this melancholy account, that, in all human probability, *Agathocles* would soon have made himself master of *Carthage*, and put a glorious end to the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, which had like to have proved fatal to the tyrant himself, and thrown the game once more into the hands of the *Carthaginians* [y].

A mutiny in Agathocles's camp.

Lyciscus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by *Agathocles* to supper, and heated with wine, reflected upon the tyrant's conduct in the most opprobrious terms, uttering at the same time against him the most bitter imprecations. *Agathocles*, having a personal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his insolence and scurrility into a jest; but his son *Archagathus*, highly resenting such infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, *Lyciscus* charged *Archagathus* with incest, he being suspected of an illicit commerce with *Alcia*, his father's wife. This incensed *Archagathus* to fury and madness; so that losing all moderation, he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guard, and immediately piercing *Lyciscus* with it, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceased, and many other soldiers, enraged at the fact, filled the whole camp by break of day with tumult and confusion. To these many officers who

[y] Idem ibid. Vide & Christ. Hendr. in Carthag. l. ii. sect. 1. p. 168.

were juſtly obnoxious to the tyrant's diſpleaſure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themſelves from all future apprehenſions of puniſhment, joined in exciting the troops to revolt. The whole army was ſoon in motion, and determined to take vengeance either of *Archagathus* or *Agathocles*, if he refuſed to deliver up his ſon into their hands. The troops therefore, electing new officers to command them, ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls of *Tunes*, to which place the tyrant returned after the arrival of the laſt expreſs, and ſurrounded him, and his ſon, with their whole body of guards. The *Carthaginians*, appriſed of what had happened, diſpatched meſſengers to the *Sicilian* forces, promiſing them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and take on in their ſervice. Hereupon *Agathocles*, ſeeing himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, eſpecially as many of his officers had already cloſed with the enemy's propoſal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own ſoldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel and inſulting enemy, diveſted himſelf of his royal robes, and, in the habit of a poor peaſant, appeared in the midſt of his troops. This ſtrange ſight ſo confounded them, that there was a deep ſilence all over the camp; which *Agathocles* taking advantage of, made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, wherein he gave a particular detail of the moſt memorable events of his paſt life, and the great actions in which he had been concerned, concluding, that he was determined never to forfeit his honour for the ſake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to put a period to his days immediately, if they, his fellow-ſoldiers, deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his ſword, as though his intention was to have killed himſelf upon the ſpot; but when in all appearance he was upon the point of thruſting it into his body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear; and deſiring him to reſume his purple robe, and other enſigns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This greatly diſappointed the *Carthaginians*, who were in continual expectation of being joined by the moſt conſiderable part at leaſt of the tyrant's army, not dreaming of what was really in agitation at that time in the *Sicilian* camp. *Agathocles* therefore ſurpriſed a ſtrong body of the enemy, who had poſted themſelves cloſe by his troops, that they might be at hand to join them, in caſe the propoſal abovementioned was liſtened to; and having put them to the rout, forced them back to their camp with great ſlaughter. Thus *Agathocles* not only extricated himſelf out of a ſtrange difficulty, in which his ſon's imprudence had involved him, but likewiſe defeated the enemy, when they looked upon his ſituation as deſperate. However, the ring-leaders of the mutiny, and two

hundred others, who bore *Archagathus* a grudge, went over in a body to the *Carthaginians* [z].

Which had a bad effect upon his affairs.

But notwithstanding the tyrant's affairs took so happy a turn at this critical juncture, when he seemed to be upon the very brink of destruction, yet the effects of the late mutiny might, in some measure, have been esteemed as fatal to him, since it gave the *Carthaginians* an opportunity of recovering from the consternation, into which the deplorable news of the total ruin of their army in *Sicily*, and the death of their general there, had thrown them. Could *Agathocles* have attacked the *Carthaginian* forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would, in all human probability, have easily defeated them, and made himself master of *Carthage*, had he directly followed his blow, without any resistance; but this unfortunate incident gave them time to shake off their panic, and make such preparations for their defence, as, in concurrence with other unforeseen events, baffled all the tyrant's future efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances with the *African* princes, to whom he sent embassadors, inviting them to join in the common cause, and assist him in overturning that imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. This, together with the fame of his victories, had such an effect upon the *Numidians*, that, immediately declaring in his favour, they renounced all allegiance to the *Carthaginians* [a].

A drawn battle betwixt Agathocles *and the* Carthaginians.

The next year the people of *Carthage*, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, sent an army into *Numidia*, to reduce the revolters; which, in conjunction with the (Q) *Zuphons*, a nation of that country, brought back many of them to their duty. *Agathocles* being informed of this, and fearing to lose the benefit of so seasonable a diversion, left his son *Archagathus* with part of his forces at *Tunes*, and with the rest, con-

[z] Diod. Sic. ubi supra. [a] Idem ibid.

(Q) The *Zuphons* were a hord or canton of those *Numidians*, who either always persisted in their fidelity to the *Carthaginians*, or were the first who returned to their duty. It seems probable, that their capital city, if they had any, must have been named *Zuphon*, or *Zupho*, and situate not far from the frontiers of *Africa Propria*. It is impossible, however, to determine this situation with any tolerable degree of precision, especially as none of the antient writers, except *Diodorus* in this place, if our memory fails us not, have taken any notice of them. *Cellarius*, though an accurate author, has passed them over in silence (16).

(16) *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2.

sisting

sisting of eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, all chosen men, together with fifty *African* carriages, for the sake of the greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the *Numidians*. The *Carthaginians*, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the opposite bank of a deep, and seemingly impassable, river, in order to prevent a surprise; from whence they detached a body of light *Numidian* horse, to obstruct his march, and harrass him by continual alarms. To keep these in play, *Agathocles* sent out parties of his slingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up in battalia ready to receive him. Upon his first attempting to pass the river, he was charged by a body of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and lost a considerable number of men; but his troops, notwithstanding the great resistance they met with, at last carried the opposite bank, where they warmly attacked the enemy. Most of the *Carthaginian* troops were, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of *Greek* auxiliaries, under the command of *Clinon*, for a considerable time sustained the shock of the whole *Sicilian* army, where they did great execution, though at last they thought proper to retire. *Agathocles*, not judging it expedient to pursue such resolute fellows, fell upon the *Carthaginian* camp in two places at once, but, by reason of its being strongly fortified, was vigorously repulsed. Notwithstanding this, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his *Numidian* allies; but these during the heat of the engagement kept themselves perfectly neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the *Carthaginians*, they durst not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of *Agathocles*, which was at some distance, and defended but by a small guard. This they plundered, after having put to the sword, or taken prisoners, all that defended it; of which *Agathocles* being apprised, he hastened thither, and recovered part of the spoil. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, not only preserved themselves by this defection of the *Numidians* from *Agathocles*, but put their affairs in *Numidia* upon the antient footing [b].

Though the tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding himself unable to carry on the war alone, he endeavoured to gain *Ophellas*, one of *Alexander*'s captains, then possessed of *Cyrenaica*, over to his interest. In order to this, he sent *Orthon*, a *Syracusian*, one of his intimate friends, as embassador to that prince. *Ophellas* had at this time a consider- Agathocles *gains over* Ophellas, *prince of the* Cyreneans, *to his interest.*

[b] Idem ibid.

able

able army on foot, and was forming a project to inlarge his dominions. *Agathocles* therefore thought proper to flatter his ambition, by promiſing him the ſovereignty of *Africa*, if, by his aſſiſtance, he would enable him to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*. He ſuggeſted, that could he get rid of ſo troubleſome a rival, he ſhould eaſily reduce the whole iſland of *Sicily*, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that, had he more extenſive views, *Italy* was near at hand, where he could make farther conqueſts; that being ſeparated from *Africa* by a large ſea, he had no intention to ſettle there; and that his laſt expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but neceſſity. *Ophellas* was intirely brought over by theſe ſuggeſtions, and, to ſuccour his new ally the more effectually, ſent to *Athens* for a body of troops. As he had married *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Miltiades*, who commanded the *Greeks* at the battle of *Marathon*, and was made free of the city, he obtained his requeſt, the *Athenians* not doubting but they ſhould ſhare with him and *Agathocles* all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*. The low condition to which that people, as well as the other ſtates of *Greece*, were then reduced by civil diſſenſions, and the immediate proſpect they had of conſiderable gain, made them exert themſelves on this occaſion with the greater alacrity [c]. *

And cuts him off by treachery.

Ophellas, having finiſhed his military preparations, found his army to conſiſt of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, all regular troops, beſides an hundred chariots, and a body of ten thouſand men, attended by their wives and children, as though they had been going to plant a new colony. At the head of theſe forces he continued his march towards *Agathocles* for eighteen days, and then encamped at *Automolæ* (R), a city about

[c] Idem ibid. Justin. & Oros. ubi ſup.

* The battle of *Marathon* was fought in the 490th year before Chriſt, *Ophellas* joined *Agathocles* the 320th year before Chriſt: So that it ſeems improbable *Ophellas* could have married the daughter of *Miltiades*, who died ſoon after that battle. There ſeems to be ſome miſtake or overſight in the authors, there being no leſs than 170 years between the death of *Miltiades* and this battle.

(R) This city ſeems to be the *Automalax* of *Ptolemy*, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of *Cyrenaica*. *Apollodorus* and *Strabo* call it *Automala*, *Diodorus* here *Automolæ*, and *Stephanus Automalaca*. It was ſituate, according to *Strabo*, at the bottom of the *Greater Syrtis*, now called the gulf of *Sydra*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Philænorum aræ*, the *Carthaginian* frontier. None of the antients, except *Diodorus*, have told us how far it was from *Cyrene*, the capital of *Cyrenaica*. This laſt author here gives us to underſtand, that it ſtood on the borders

about three thouſand ſtadia diſtant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the *Regio Syrtica*, but found himſelf reduced to ſuch extremities, that his army was in danger of periſhing, for want of water, bread, and other proviſions. Beſides, they were greatly annoyed by ſerpents and wild beaſts, with which that deſolate region abounded. The ſerpents made the greateſt havock amongſt the troops; for being of the ſame colour with the earth (S), and extremely venomous,

ders of the *Regio Syrtica*, which agrees with the ſite aſſigned it by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and that it was three thouſand ſtadia, or about three hundred and ſeventy-five miles from *Cyrene*; which ſeems greatly to exceed the truth (17).

(S) One remarkable circumſtance may be obſerved in the ſhort deſcription *Diodorus* here gives us of theſe ſerpents, or rather of the miſchiefs ariſing from thence to *Ophellas*'s army, *viz.* that they were ſo exactly of the colour of that barren (18) ſoil, that the ſoldiers could not diſtinguiſh them from it. This certainly is a ſtrong preſumptive proof, that their whole ſubſtance muſt in a manner have conſiſted of that ſoil, and conſequently that they muſt have fed intirely upon it. The argument will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the nature of the region itſelf, which *Diodorus* ſeems to inſinuate, was void of every other kind of ſuſtenance. Further, it may be remarked, that theſe ſerpents were of a moſt malignant ſpecies of that animal; ſince *Diodorus* (19) here intimates, that they were extremely venomous, and deſtroyed a vaſt number of men; which ſeems to point particularly at the *cherſydrus*, one of the moſt noxious ſpecies of ſerpents, ſubſiſting, according to *Nicander* (20), upon duſt, and found, if *Cicero* and *Ælian* (21) may be credited, in vaſt numbers in the deſerts of *Libya*. *Bochart* has likewiſe proved by irrefragable (22) arguments, that the *ſaraph*, or, according to ſeveral authors, the ſerpent in which the devil beguiled *Eve*, was of this particular ſpecies; and that *Arabia*, as well as the adjacent countries, abounded with them (23); which is alſo evinced by *Herodotus*, *Mela*, *Lucan*, *Solinus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, together with ſcripture. Let all theſe particulars be admitted, and the literal ſenſe of a paſſage in the *Moſaic* hiſtory, which has been hitherto, for the moſt part, either allegorically taken, or not fully underſtood,

(17) *Ptol. geogr. l.* iv. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2. *Apollodor. apud Steph. & Steph. Byzant. de urb.* (18) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Nicand. in Theriac. v.* 372. *Vide & Talmudic. in tract. de ſabbat. & Phil. c.* 50. (21) *Cic. de natur. deor. l.* i. *Joſeph. antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *Ælian. de animal. l.* ii. *c.* 38. *ſub. fin.* (22) *Bochart. in hierozoic. part. poſt. l.* iii. *c.* 13. *p.* 422, 423. (23) *Herodot. l.* ii. & *l.* iii. *c.* 109 *Mel. l.* iii *c.* 9. *Lucan. l* vi. *Solin. c.* 32. *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxii. *Num. c.* 21. *v.* 6. *Deut. c.* 8. *v.* 5.

will

mous, many of the ſoldiers trod upon them without ſeeing them, and were ſtung to death. At laſt, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached *Agathocles*, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from him, to the great terror of the *Carthaginians*, who apprehended the moſt fatal conſequences from this junction. *Agathocles* at firſt highly careſſed him, and adviſed him to take all poſſible care of his troops, that had undergone ſo many fatigues (T); but making no ſcruple to commit the

will be thereby rendered moſt apparent and inconteſtable, *viz.* (24) *And the LORD GOD ſaid unto the ſerpent, Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattle, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go,* AND DUST SHALT THOU EAT ALL THE DAYS OF THY LIFE. This (25) ſeems alſo to be confirmed in the ſtrongeſt manner by the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Micah*. To what has been ſaid, we may add, if any thing is requiſite to be added to ſo clear a point, that ſeveral ſorts of animals live upon duſt, when they can meet with nothing elſe to eat, as we learn from (26) *Ariſtotle*, *Bardeſanes* in *Euſebius*, and others: and that though other ſerpents feed upon fiſh, frogs, herbs, &c. the *cherſydrus*, or *ſaraph*, lives only in ſuch places as the deſerts of *Libya*, *Arabia*, &c. where there is ſcarce a poſſibility of finding any other food than duſt or ſand to live upon (27).

(T) *Diodorus* (28) relates, that upon *Ophellas*'s approaching the *Regio Syrtica*, he came to a double ridge of mountains, with a valley betwixt them, in which was a cave, wherein queen *Lamia*, a lady celebrated for her beauty, formerly had her reſidence. It is pretended, that this lady, being bereaved of all her children, out of an invidious and vindictive principle, cauſed all thoſe of her ſubjects to be deſtroyed. This gave all the neighbouring *Africans* ſuch a frightful idea of her, that they made uſe of her name as a bugbear to frighten their children with. Being extremely addicted to drunkenneſs, according to our author, ſhe never made an inquiry into any of her ſubjects conduct, but permitted them all to do what they pleaſed. For this reaſon ſhe was feigned to be blind, and for her cruelty above-mentioned had the face of a monſter aſſigned her. That ſhe was an *African* (29), *Euripides* likewiſe aſſerts; we may therefore take further notice of her, when we come to treat of the proper *African* nations.

(24) *Gen. c. 3. ver. 4. Iſai. c. 65. v. 25. Mic. c. 7. v. 17.* (25) *Phil. c. 59. Plaut. in Caſin. act. 1. Bardeſan. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. vi. Plin. l. x. Porta Cæli. fol. 22. c. Cardan. de varict. l. vii. c. 35.* (26) *Ariſtot. de animal. l. viii. c. 5. Piſid. in hexaëm. & Bochart. in hierozoic. part. prim. l. i. c. 4. p. 27.* (27) *Bochart. hierozoic. part. poſt. l. iii. c. 13. p. 422, 433.* (28) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (29) *Eurip. apud Diod. Sic. ibid.*

moſt

most enormous crimes, in order to promote his own intereſt, he reſolved upon his deſtruction. Obſerving therefore, that one day the greateſt part of *Ophellas*'s (U) troops were gone out to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his deſign in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that *Ophellas* was guilty of the blackeſt perfidy, ſince under the pretext of aſſiſting him as an ally, he had formed a ſcheme to deliver (X) him up to the enemy. Incenſed at this, the army fell with great ardour upon *Ophellas*, who, being at that juncture too weak to oppoſe them, was killed upon the ſpot; Upon which *Agathocles*, by fair words and large promiſes, prevailed upon the *Cyreneans*, now deſtitute of a leader, to ſerve under him, and be intirely at his devotion. *Polyænus* relates this event in a diffe-

(U) According to *Diodorus*, *Polyænus*, *Theophraſtus*, and others, this prince's name was *Ophelas*, or *Ophellas*; but *Juſtin* calls him *Aphellas*, and others *Opheltas*. With theſe laſt *Tanaquil Faber* agrees, though the reaſon he aſſigns for this agreement ſeems to us not to have any great force in it, *viz.* becauſe *Opheltas* is a *Lacedæmonian* name, and conſequently more likely than *Ophellas* to be the name of a *Cyrenean*, ſince the *Cyreneans* were a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. Now, this ſuppoſes *Ophellas* to have been a *Cyrenean*, and that *Opheltas* was a proper name peculiar to the *Lacedæmonians*; neither of which ſuppoſitions can be proved, but are both improbable; ſince the *Lacedæmonians* had few, if any, names, that we know of peculiar to themſelves; and *Ophellas* was one of *Alexander*'s captains, and therefore undoubtedly a native of *Greece* (30), probably of *Macedon*.

(X) *Juſtin* relates, that *Agathocles* endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with *Ophellas*, who frequently ſupped with him, by the moſt fawning addreſs, and the loweſt adulation; that *Ophellas* adopted the *Syracuſian* tyrant's ſon; and that this *Cyrenean* prince was cut off by treachery, not having taken the precaution to guard himſelf againſt a ſurpriſe. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that, after this baſe and infamous action, *Agathocles* cajoled the *Cyrenean* army into his ſervice, and overthrew the *Carthaginians* in a pitched battle, with incredible ſlaughter, though at the ſame time he himſelf ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs. This laſt article, however, not agreeing ſo well with *Diodorus*, will hardly engage our aſſent to the truth of it (31).

(30) *Plut. in Demet. Pauſan. in Corinth. Theophraſt. de plant. l* iv. *c.* 4. *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* iii. *c.* 3. *ex.* 4. *Juſtin. l.* xx. *c.* 7. *Vide etiam. Bongarſium, & Tan. Fab. in Juſtin. loc. citat.* (31) *Conf. Juſtin. ubi ſup. cum Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2, 3.

rent manner from *Diodorus*; for he tells us, that *Agathocles*, being informed, that *Ophellas* was addicted to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, decoyed him by means of his ſon *Heraclides*, who yet preſerved himſelf inviolate, and put both him, and the greateſt part of his army, to the ſword [d].

[d] Diod. Sic. Justin. & Oros. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 4. Vide & Theophrast. de plant. l. iv. c. 4. Plut. in Demet. & Pausan. in Corinth.

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Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

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SECT. V.

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A great revolution like to have happened at Carthage.

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting, a great revolution had like to have happened at *Carthage*: *Bomilcar*, then poſſeſſed of the firſt employment in the ſtate, thought this a favourable juncture to obtain the ſovereignty of that city, to which he had long aſpired. In order to facilitate the execution of this his darling deſign, he had ſent away all the moſt eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obſtruction, to ſerve in the *Numidian* expedition. At the head therefore of five hundred of his aſſociates, ſupported by a body of a thouſand mercenaries, he advanced from *Neapolis* to *Carthage*, and entered the city without oppoſition. As many citizens as he met with, he cut off, without regard to ſex or age; which ſtruck the whole city with incredible terror, every one imagining, that the town was betrayed to the enemy. Dividing his forces into five bodies, he made five different attacks, carrying every thing before him, till at laſt his troops all met in the forum. However, when it was known that *Bomilcar* had been the occaſion of this diſturbance, and had moreover cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Carthage*, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and

from the tops of the houſes diſcharged whole vollies of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. The traitor, finding himſelf not able to carry the city, forced his way through the defiles, and retired to *Neapolis*; but being cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*, who by this time had aſſembled a ſufficient force, he retired with his troops to an eminence, there intending to make a vigorous defence, and ſell his life at as dear a rate as poſſible. To ſpare the blood of the citizens, a general amneſty was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. The rebels ſurrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, except *Bomilcar* their chief; but he, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed on oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a croſs in the middle of the forum, where he ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments. From the croſs, as from the roſtra, he harangued the people, reproaching them for their injuſtice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he demonſtrated in an hiſtorical deduction of many illuſtrious generals, whoſe ſervices they had rewarded with an ignominious death. Having thus inſulted both his tortures and the authors of them, he expired, by his death delivering the *Carthaginians* from the moſt dangerous domeſtic enemy their ſtate had ever produced [e].

It is worthy obſervation, that *Agathocles* cauſed *Ophellas* to be murdered, and *Bomilcar* made the laſt flagrant attempt upon the liberties of his country, at the ſame inſtant of time, though neither of them was privy to the other's deſign. Had *Agathocles* been appriſed of *Bomilcar*'s ambition, or of the diſorder and confuſion then in the town of *Carthage*, he might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of it; for if the latter could have been ſupported by the former in the critical moment, he would undoubtedly have joined him, in order to avoid falling a victim to the fury of his enraged fellow-citizens. On the other hand, had the *Carthaginians* entertained any ſuſpicion of *Ophellas*'s impending danger, by joining him, or at leaſt ſending him a ſtrong reinforcement, they might, without much difficulty, have overthrown *Agathocles*, as in ſome meaſure appeared from the future courſe of this war; but the generals on both ſides being chiefly intent on gratifying their own ambition, which they at that time imagined incompatible with the public welfare, their armies were content not to obſerve one another's motions, and by this means undeſignedly contributed to each other's preſervation.

[e] Diod. Sic. & Justin, ubi ſup.

Agathocles

Agathocles, now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, in imitation of *Alexander*'s captains, who took upon them the dignity of crowned heads, assumed the title of king of *Africa*, intending soon to complete his conquests in that country, by the reduction of *Carthage*. However, for the present, his arms received a considerable diversion from the *Uticans*; which prevented him from putting his design in execution. Having received intelligence of their revolt, he advanced with such expedition to their city, that he surprised three hundred of them in the adjacent fields, and made them all prisoners. These he placed alive in a warlike engine, which he brought to the walls of the town, and exposed them in such a manner to the darts and arrows of the besieged, that they could not repel his assaults, without destroying their own citizens, among whom were some of the prime nobility. He then summoned the garison to surrender, imagining they would be induced to this by the sight of their friends and relations; but finding they valued their liberty more than these, he began the siege, and discharged such vollies of stones and missive weapons from the engine abovementioned, that the besieged were thrown into a great consternation. At first they refused to defend themselves for fear of destroying their countrymen; but finding the enemy to push on the siege with incredible fury, and that without a vigorous resistance they must soon fall into their hands, they betook themselves to their arms, and in several assaults bravely repulled them. At last *Agathocles*, summoning all his courage, made a general assault upon the weakest part of the wall, and carried it; notwithstanding which the *Uticans* for some time kept their posts; but the tyrant's whole army forcing itself like a torrent into the town, and soon driving them, partly into the temples, and partly into their own houses, they were all, either put to the sword, or taken prisoners [f].

Agathocles *assumes the title of king of* Africa, *and takes* Utica *by storm.*

THE tyrant, having hanged all the prisoners, plundered the town, and left a sufficient garison in it, marched with his army to *Hippoacra*, or *Hippo Diarrhytus*, the *Bizerta* of the moderns, a place naturally fortified by the lake upon which it stood. Before he could reduce this city, he was obliged to engage the inhabitants upon the water with his galleys; but having defeated them on that element, and followed his attacks closely for some days, he at last took it by storm. Most of the people bordering upon the sea-coasts, and even those inhabiting the inland part of the country, after this submitted to him. The *Numidians* he found himself not able

As likewise Hippo Diarrhytus.

[f] Diod. Sic ubi sup.

to subdue; however, many of their hords or cantons thought proper to conclude a treaty of peace with him [g].

Xenodochus *defeated by* Demophilus *and* Leptines.

In the mean time *Xenodochus*, general of the *Agrigentines*, having restored many of the cities in *Sicily* to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, the subjects both of the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* entertained hopes of a revolution throughout the island in favour of liberty. Animated by these hopes, great numbers of them took up arms, and entered into an association, in order to extirpate tyranny. *Agathocles*, receiving advice of this from *Demophilus* and *Leptines*, the commanders of his troops in *Sicily*, was (Y) greatly alarmed, and therefore resolved to return home; which, he thought, he might safely do for a while, as his affairs on the continent were in a very flourishing condition. Having therefore built some open vessels, with fifty oars a-piece, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for *Sicily*, leaving his son *Archagathus* governor of the conquests in *Africa*, and commander in chief of the forces there. Upon his arrival at *Selinus* he found, that *Demophilus* and *Leptines* had not only assembled a powerful army, but likewise defeated *Xenodochus* in a pitched battle, and forced him to fly to *Agrigentum*, with the loss of fifteen hundred men. After this victory *Agathocles* advanced to *Therma*, a city possessed by a *Carthaginian* garison; which immediately submitted to him. *Cephalœdium*, *Heraclea*, and other places, that had regained their liberty, he likewise reduced; but could not make himself master of the principal cities belonging to the *Carthaginians* [h].

Agathocles *returns to* Sicily.

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi sup. c. 8.

(Y) *Justin* affirms, that not *Xenodochus*, but the *Carthaginians*, obliged *Agathocles* to return to *Sicily*; and that the latter, after the death of *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco* above mentioned, sent another army to that island; nay, he farther seems to hint, that they had laid siege to that metropolis, before *Agathocles*'s arrival there; and that this was the immediate cause of the tyrant's abandoning *Africa* in so precipitate a manner. But as this fragment of history is not taken the least notice of by *Diodorus*, and even inconsistent with what *Justin* had himself before related, we are not disposed to give over-much credit to it [32].

The same author likewise tells us, that *Agathocles*, after his arrival in *Sicily*, expelled the *Carthaginians* from thence, and made himself master of the whole island. But as this directly contradicts *Diodorus Siculus*, we have not thought proper to insert it in the body of the history [33].

(32) *Justin. l.* xxii *c.* 8. *sub init. cum Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2, 3.

(33) *Conf. Just. ubi sup.*

Archagathus,

Archagathus, after his father's departure, greatly extended the conquests in *Africa*. He sent *Eumachus*, at the head of a large detachment, to invade some of the neighbouring provinces, whilst he himself, with the gross of his army, observed the motions of the *Carthaginians*. *Eumachus*, falling into *Numidia*, first took the great city of *Tocas*, and conquered several of the *Numidian* cantons, that would not come into a state of amity with *Agathocles*. Afterwards he laid siege to *Phellina*, and carried it; which was attended with the submission of the *Asphodelodians*, a nation, according to *Diodorus*, as black as the *Ethiopians*. From hence he marched to *Maschala*, a city of great importance, built by the *Greeks* in their return from *Troy*, and inhabited by their posterity for several succeeding ages, which opened its gates to him. Then he moved to *Hippouacra*, which, since its surrender to *Agathocles*, had revolted to the enemy, and made himself master of it. Lastly, he possessed himself of *Acris* (Z), a free city, of great opulence, which he gave up to the soldiers to be plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; after which he returned to the camp, loaden with the immense booty he had got in this successful expedition [1].

Archagathus *meets with great success in* Africa.

ELATED with such a run of good fortune, *Eumachus* resolved next to penetrate into the more remote parts of *Africa* on the side of *Numidia*; in order to which, having traversed the countries invaded last, and continuing his march, he arrived

His general Eumachus *penetrates into the more remote parts of* Africa; *but is soon obliged to retire with precipitation.*

[1] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. xxii.

(Z) Neither the city of *Tocas*, nor those of *Phellina*, *Maschala*, *Acris*, nor yet the nation of the *Asphodelodians*, though, according to our author, a very remarkable people, have been mentioned by *Cellarius*, whose work is yet held in the highest repute. They all seem to have had their situation in that part of *Numidia* contiguous to *Africa Propria*, and not far from *Hippo Diarrhytus*. It is probable those auxiliary troops taken prisoners by *Gelon* in his engagement with the *Carthaginians*, which *Frontinus* calls *Nigerrimi*, were of this nation, the *Melanogætuli*, and even of the *Nigritæ* themselves; for that they all were not only known to, but likewise had an intercourse with, the *Carthaginians*, cannot well be doubted. As not only the cities above-mentioned, but a vast number of others, taken notice of by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Pausanias*, *Appian*, &c, have been omitted by *Cellarius*, it were to be wished some learned man would give us a new edition of that author, which he might easily do, with very large additions (34).

(34) *Diod Sic. in loc. citat. c* 3. *S. Jul. Frontin Strat. l.* i *c.* 11. *ex.* 18.

at

at a city called *Miltine*, and, at the first attempt, forced his way into it. But notwithstanding this first instance of success, the barbarians, immediately collecting their whole force, attacked him in the streets with such fury, that they obliged him to retire out of the town in great confusion, after he had lost a vast number of men. From hence he advanced to a high mountain, above two hundred stadia over, full of wild cats, but destitute of all kinds of birds, on account of the rapaciousness of those animals. Having passed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called in the *Greek* language *Pithecusæ*, from the apes (A), with which all the adjacent country abounded. One of these he took by assault, and levelled it with the ground; which so terrified the other two that they immediately surrendered; but receiving intelligence, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conquests, and retreated with the utmost precipitation towards the sea-coasts [k].

The dispositions of Archagathus *and the* Carthaginians.

Hitherto *Archagathus* had been the favourite of fortune; but this last unhappy expedition of *Eumachus* occasioned a very considerable alteration in the face of affairs. The *Carthaginians*, being informed of that general's ill success, took

[k] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(A) *Diodorus* tells us, that the inhabitants of this tract had customs far different from those of the *Greeks*; that the apes here mentioned were very familiar with them, had admission into their houses, and received divine honours from them, in the same manner that dogs did from the *Egyptians*. He adds, that when these creatures were hungry, they took meat out of the cellars, butteries, &c. without any disturbance; that parents named their children after them, as the *Greeks* did after the gods; that whoever killed one of them, was sure to suffer death, as a notorious atheist; and that for this reason, when any person behaved himself amongst them with unusual haughtiness and insolence, it was a proverbial expression, *Thou hast drunk the blood of an ape.* This proverb *Erasmus* applies to those who die a violent death. Two things may be inferred from *Diodorus*'s relation: first, that the *Africans* gave these apes names, probably terms of honour and distinction, such as the *Egyptians* and other nations conferred upon their gods; and secondly, that the *Greeks* applied the names of their gods to themselves, particularly, as there is reason to believe, to their kings and heroes, as the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, &c. did. We shall treat more amply of this people, and their customs, in a proper place [35].

[35] *Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Erasm. in adag. p.* 492.

courage,

courage, and reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner to recover their former loſſes. In order to this, they divided their forces into three bodies: one of theſe they ſent to the ſea-coaſts, to keep the towns there in awe; another they diſpatched into the *Mediterranean* parts, to preſerve the inhabitants there in their allegiance; and the laſt body they ordered to the *Upper Africa*, to ſupport their confederates in that country. They had other motives likewiſe for this conduct: by ſending ſuch a number of mouths out of the city, they ſuppoſed they ſhould, in ſome meaſure, reſtore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of proviſions: the city was ſo ſtrongly fortified, and lay ſo near the ſea, that it was in no danger of being taken by force; and therefore all ſuperfluous hands were rather troubleſome than uſeful: by ſending a powerful army to the relief of their allies, they believed they ſhould not only confirm them in their fidelity, and prevent their joining the enemy, but likewiſe encourage the neighbouring neutral princes to declare in their favour; and laſtly, they had reaſon to imagine, that, by ſuch a various diverſion, they ſhould draw the enemy's forces at a greater diſtance from the city, and conſequently give themſelves a little time to breathe. They were not deceived in their views; for upon the departure of thirty thouſand ſoldiers out of the city, proviſions returned to their former price; their confederates abandoned the ſide, through compulſion they had been obliged to take; and the enemy were obliged to draw their troops off from the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. *Archagathus*, being appriſed of the motions of the *Carthaginians*, divided his forces likewiſe into three bodies: one of theſe he ſent to obſerve the *Carthaginian* troops on the ſea-coaſts, with orders afterwards to advance into the *Upper Africa*; another, under the command of *Æſchrion*, one of his generals, he poſted at a proper diſtance in the heart of the country, to have an eye both upon the enemy there and the barbarous nations; and with the laſt, which he led in perſon, he kept nearer *Carthage*, preſerving a communication with the other two, in order to ſend them ſuccours, or recal them, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require. Things being in this ſituation, *Archagathus* kept himſelf quiet in his camp, well pleaſed with the diſpoſitions he had made, and with great impatience expecting the event [1].

THE *Carthaginian* troops ſent into the heart of the country were commanded by *Hanno* a general of great experience, who, being informed of *Æſchrion*'s approach that way, laid

The Syracuſians *defeated by the* Carthaginians.

[1] Idem ibid.

laid an ambuſcade for him, into which being drawn, he was cut off himſelf, with four thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. The reſt were either taken priſoners, or fled to *Archagathus*, who lay incamped about five hundred ſtadia from the place where this action happened. *Himilco*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* forces in the *Upper Africa*, having advice of *Eumachus*'s march, immediately put himſelf in motion, and at laſt took poſt in a town near that general's camp, with a reſolution to engage him. The *Greeks*, tho' much incommoded by the ſpoils taken out of ſeveral cities, which they carried with them, drew up their army in battalia, and prepared to attack the enemy. *Himilco* left part of his army in the town, with orders to ſally out upon the *Greeks*, as ſoon as they ſaw them purſue him. Advancing then at the head of his other forces, he fell upon them with great fury: but ſoon after his men betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, as tho' they were in the utmoſt conſternation. *Eumachus*, puff'd up with this ſuppoſed advantage, permitted his troops to purſue them with ſo much eagerneſs, that they fell into diſorder; which being obſerved by the forces in the place, they ruſhed out in an inſtant upon them, and at the ſame time the other body facing about, the *Greeks* were ſo diſheartened, that they endeavoured to retire to their camp; but finding their retreat cut off by the body that iſſued out of the town, they fled to a neighbouring eminence. Here being ſurrounded by the *Carthaginians*, and in great want of water, they were almoſt totally deſtroyed; for of eight thouſand foot only thirty, and of eight hundred horſe only forty, had the good fortune to eſcape, the reſt either periſhing of thirſt, or being put to the ſword [m].

Agathocles, *upon receiving this bad news, leaves* Sicily.

Archagathus, receiving the melancholy advice of theſe two defeats, and being rejoined by the remains of *Æſchrion*'s army, ordered the detachments he had ſent out to haraſs the enemy, to return with all ſpeed to the camp. This was a very neceſſary precaution; for, after the defeat of *Eumachus*, *Himilco* moved with great expedition towards *Archagathus*, blocking up the paſſes, and ſecuring the country, all along as he advanced, from the enemy's incurſions; ſo that had not the above mentioned detachments retired in time, purſuant to the order received, they muſt undoubtedly have been all cut to pieces. *Himilco* therefore cutting off all communication betwixt the *Syracuſian* army and the fruitful country of *Africa* on one ſide, and *Ataibas*, another *Carthaginian* commander, who lay encamped within forty ſtadia of *Tunis*, preventing any ſupplies

[m] Idem ibid.

coming

coming to them by ſea, on the other, the *Greeks* in a ſhort time were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. Many of their confederates, being ſtruck with terror at ſo diſmal a proſpect, deſerted them and went over to the enemy, who now hemmed them in on all ſides, and ſeemed ready to ſwallow them up every moment. Whilſt things remained in this melancholy ſituation, *Agathocles* received an expreſs from *Archagathus*, acquainting him with the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, and the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions the troops laboured under. Upon which *Agathocles* leaving the management of the war in *Sicily* to *Leptines*, by a ſtratagem got eighteen ſail of *Etruſcan* ſhips, that came to his aſſiſtance, out of the harbour of *Syracuſe*; and then engaging the *Carthaginian* ſquadron lying off that harbour, took five of their ſhips, and made all the men therein priſoners. By this action he became maſter of the port, and ſecured the paſſage into it for the merchants of all nations; which ſoon produced a plenty of all things in *Syracuſe*, where famine before began to make great havock. Supplying himſelf therefore with a ſufficient quantity of neceſſaries for the voyage he was going to undertake, he immediately looſed from *Syracuſe*, and ſet ſail for *Africa* [n].

UPON his arrival here, he took a review of his forces (B), and found them to conſiſt of ſix thouſand *Greeks*, as many *Celtes*, *Samnites*, and *Etruſcans* (C), beſides ten thouſand *Africans*, who had perſevered

[n] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

(B) *Juſtin* relates, that *Agathocles*, upon his arrival in *Africa*, found a mutiny in the army, which aroſe from a want of payment of the arrears due to the troops. In order to bring them back to their duty, he made them a florid ſpeech, wherein he told them, *That they ought to ſeek their pay from the enemy; that as they would all of them have a hand in obtaining the victory, ſo they ſhould all partake of the ſpoil; that if they would but exert themſelves vigorouſly for a ſhort time, the war might be brought to a happy concluſion, and* Carthage *reduced; in which caſe there would be riches enough to ſatisfy their moſt avaricious deſires.* The ſame author adds, that by this ſpeech having appeaſed all commotions, and calmed the minds of the ſoldiery, he ſoon after gave the enemy battle; but being defeated, the troops again grew very clamorous for their pay; which, together with the bad ſtate of his affairs, obliged him, and his ſon *Archagathus*, by night to abandon *Africa* (36).

(C) From this paſſage, as well as from many more that might be produced, it appears, that the *Etruſcans* at this time made ſome figure

(36) *Juſtin. l.* xxii. *c.* 8.

perſevered in their fidelity to him, notwithſtanding the diſaſters that had befallen him, and fifteen hundred horſe. As he found his troops reduced almoſt to a ſtate of deſperation, and conſequently prepared for any attempt, he thought this a proper juncture to offer the enemy battle; which he did accordingly.

And, upon his arrival in Africa, offers the enemy battle.

The *Carthaginians*, though they had the advantage of numbers, having collected all their forces into one body, and were encamped upon an eminence that was almoſt inacceſſible, thought proper to decline the challenge, not being willing to put all to the iſſue of a battle with men who were grown deſperate, but believing, that by lying ſtill in their camp, where they had plenty of every thing, and protracting the time, they could ſtarve the enemy to a ſurrender, and conſequently make themſelves maſters of their camp without ſtriking a ſtroke [o].

He attacks the Carthaginian *camp, but is intirely defeated.*

Agathocles, perceiving the enemy's deſign, and finding he could not long continue in that camp, reſolved at all events to force them to a battle. Moving therefore at the head of his forces to their camp, he attacked it with ſuch bravery, that he made a conſiderable impreſſion upon it, and might poſſibly have carried it, had not his mercenaries baſely deſerted him, and taken to their heels almoſt upon the firſt onſet. The *Carthaginians*, as much animated by this cowardice as the *Greeks* were diſmayed, redoubling their efforts, ſoon forced the tyrant to retreat with great precipitation to his camp, whither they purſued him very cloſely, doing great execution in the purſuit. The *Carthaginians* ſpared the *Africans* in this action, in order to win the affections of that people; but bearing an implacable hatred to the *Greeks*, beſides the priſoners they took, they put above three thouſand of them to the ſword [p].

A diſaſter happens in the Carthaginian *camp.*

THE next night, the *Carthaginians* ſacrificed all the priſoners of diſtinction, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods for the victory they had given them. Whilſt they were in the midſt of this ſolemnity, the wind, ſuddenly riſing, carried the flames to the ſacred tabernacle, near the altar, which they entirely conſumed, as well as the general's tent, and thoſe of the principal officers adjoining to it. This occaſioned a dreadful alarm throughout the whole camp, which was

[o] Idem, ibid. & JUSTIN. l. xxii. c. 8. [p] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

by ſea; and that they, as well as many other nations of *Italy*, were afraid of the *Carthaginian* power, which induced them frequently to aſſiſt the *Greeks* of *Sicily* againſt that nation, both by ſea and land.

heightened

heightened by the great progreſs the fire made; for the ſoldiers tents conſiſting of very combuſtible materials, and the wind blowing in a moſt violent manner, the whole camp was almoſt intirely laid in aſhes; and many of the ſoldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms and the rich baggage of their officers, were burnt to death. Some of thoſe who made their eſcape out of the flames met with as unhappy a fate; for after *Agathocles* had received the laſt blow, the *Africans*, as in all reverſes of fortune that people cloſed with the ſtrongeſt ſide, deſerted him, and were at that very inſtant coming over in a body to the *Carthaginians*. Theſe the perſons above-mentioned took to be the whole *Syracuſian* army advancing in order of battle to attack their camp; which being ſoon noiſed through the *Carthaginian* army, a dreadful confuſion enſued: ſome betook themſelves to their heels; others fell down in heaps one upon another, imagining the enemy was at that inſtant coming upon them; and laſtly, others engaged their comrades, miſtaking them for the enemy. In fine, five thouſand men loſt their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the reſt thought proper to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of *Carthage*; neither could the appearance of the day itſelf, for ſome time, diſſipate thoſe terrible apprehenſions they were under [q].

AT the ſame time an accident, ſomething reſembling this, happened in the *Greek* camp. The *African* deſerters, obſerving the great confuſion the *Carthaginians* were in, and not underſtanding the meaning of it, were ſo terrified, that they thought proper to return to the place from whence they came. The *Syracuſians*, ſeeing a body of troops advancing towards them in good order, immediately concluded, that the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore in an inſtant cried out, *To arms.* The flames aſcending out of the *Carthaginian* camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding from thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly contributed towards heightening their confuſion. The conſequence of this panic was much the ſame with that abovementioned; for coming to blows one with another inſtead of the enemy, they ſcarce recovered their ſenſes upon the return of the light. This inteſtine fray was ſo bloody, that it coſt *Agathocles* four thouſand men [r].

And another in that of Agathocles.

THE laſt diſaſter, though of no advantage to the enemy, who had themſelves ſuffered more than the *Syracuſians* on the like occaſion, quite diſheartened *Agathocles*. His mind being now filled with melancholy reflections, he conſidered Afri-

Who ſoon after a baniſh-

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid.

himself as deserted by the *Africans*; as not having a sufficient number of troops to contend with the *Carthaginians*; and lastly, as in danger of being assassinated by his own son, and therefore resolved to quit *Africa*. As he knew the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, and was persuaded they would never make peace with him upon any terms consistent with his safety, but take ample vengeance of him for the ravages he had made in their country, he concluded, it would be impossible for him to escape in a public manner, and therefore set his head to work to find out some method of slipping away privately. This he at last, though with great difficulty, effected. But as the manner of his escape, which more properly appertains to the history of *Sicily*, than that of *Carthage*, has been already related by us at large, we must refer our readers for farther satisfaction on this head to a former part of this history [r].

Agathocles's troops cut off his two sons, and conclude a peace with the Carthaginians

AFTER *Agathocles*'s departure, his two sons fell a sacrifice to the wild fury (D) of the soldiers, who immediately put them to death; and chusing leaders from amongst themselves, concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians* upon the following terms. First, that the *Greeks* should deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, receiving from them three hundred talents. Secondly, that such of them as were willing to serve under the *Carthaginians*, should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay. And thirdly, that the rest should be transported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. These articles were agreed to, and punctually observed by the *Carthaginians*; in consequence of which, all those troops that adhered to the treaty they had concluded,

[r] DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi sup. Vide & Univers. Hist. Vol. vii. p. 227, & seq.

(D) *Justin* says, that the *Syracusian* troops, being apprised of *Agathocles*'s flight, were in as great a consternation as if they had all been actually surprised by the enemy; that *Archagathus*, being separated from his father, and losing his way by the darkness of the night, was taken by a *Sicilian* party, and carried to the camp; that he was put to death by *Arcesilaus*, one of his father's intimate friends; and that, before the fatal stroke was given, *Archagathus* asked him, How he thought *Agathocles* would treat the children of *Arcesilaus*, who bereaved him of his children? To whom the other replied, that it was enough for him, that his children survived those of *Agathocles*. In other points, this author almost intirely agrees with *Diodorus Siculus* (37).

(37) *Justin. l.* xxviii. *c.* 8. *sub. fin.*

met

met with a moſt kind reception; but the cities, which, in hopes of relief from *Agathocles*, refuſed to ſubmit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the gariſons obliged to cultivate thoſe parts of the country they had before laid waſte and deſtroyed. This war, after various turns and revolutions, ended to the advantage of the *Carthaginians*, who, by the laſt treaty, ſettled their affairs upon the antient footing, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, and notwithſtanding the *Syracuſian* army had brought them to the very brink of deſtruction [t].

OUR hiſtorian here finely obſerves, that ſeveral moſt remarkable traces of a divine providence appeared through the whole courſe, and at the concluſion, of this war: *Agathocles* was routed in *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians*, and loſt the greateſt part of his army; his affairs there were almoſt deſperate, and his capital upon the point of ſurrendering to the enemy: notwithſtanding which, with a very inconſiderable body of men, he, at this perilous juncture, invaded *Africa*, defeated the *Carthaginians*, and reduced them almoſt to the ſame unhappy circumſtances his own troops laboured under at *Syracuſe*. In *Sicily* he loſt every thing, but his metropolis, which the enemy thought themſelves ſure of; but in *Africa* he poſſeſſed himſelf of all places, except *Carthage*, which, for ſome time, he cloſely beſieged. By which remarkable ſteps Providence made it apparent, that it is equally eaſy for the Supreme Being in a moment to elevate the moſt afflicted ſtates, and depreſs the moſt powerful. After the tyrant, in the height of his proſperity, had murdered *Ophellas*, in violation of all the laws of friendſhip and hoſpitality, Providence diſtinguiſhed itſelf likewiſe in a moſt extraordinary manner: his affairs in *Africa* from that inſtant began to decline; the very month, and day of the month, on which he treacherouſly murdered *Ophellas*, and brought over his army, he loſt both his ſons and his army; and laſtly, as he had moſt perfidiouſly aſſaſſinated his friend, the very troops this friend commanded afterwards cut off his two ſons. As *Diodorus* made theſe obſervations for the ſake of thoſe perſons, who are too apt to ſlight, or not duly attend to, ſuch uncommon inſtances of an over-ruling power, we thought we could not properly omit them [u].

NOTWITHSTANDING peace was concluded betwixt the *Syracuſian* troops in *Africa* and the *Carthaginians*, yet the treaty was not ratified by *Agathocles* till the year following. *Which is ratified by Agathocles.*

[t] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. c 3. JUST. l. xxii. c 8. ſub. fin Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. vii, p. 228, & ſeq.

[u] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup

That

That prince, being reduced to great ſtraits, by *Dinocrates*, who began to aſpire to the ſovereignty of *Syracuſe*, found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. This obliged him to purchaſe a peace with them at a very dear rate; for he not only ratified the former treaty, but conſented to have an additional article inſerted in it, much to the advantage of the *Carthaginians*, *viz.* that all the cities they formerly poſſeſſed in *Sicily* ſhould be reſtored to them; which being immediately executed, the *Carthaginians* left him at liberty to purſue his deſigns in *Sicily*; and, to facilitate the accompliſhment of them, ſent him three hundred, or, as *Timæus Siculus* will have it, an hundred and fifty, talents of gold, beſides two hundred thouſand *medimni*, or five hundred thouſand buſhels, of wheat [w].

Agathocles *meditates another war with* Carthage.

Agathocles, having defeated *Dinocrates*, and re-eſtabliſhed his affairs at *Syracuſe*, paſſed over into *Italy*, where he ſubdued the *Brutii*, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From hence he paſſed over into the *Lipari* iſlands, in order to raiſe contributions; which he did to the value of an hundred talents of gold, plundered the ſacred treaſure, ſtripped the temples, and then ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, with eleven ſhips laden with the gold and ſpoils of the temples. *Diodorus* ſeems to intimate, that *Sicily*, for a conſiderable time after this, enjoyed the ſweets of peace, but that at laſt the implacable hatred *Agathocles* bore the *Carthaginians* prevailed upon him to make preparations for a new war with that nation. As the *Carthaginians*, by the laſt war, had made themſelves maſters of the ſea, they were abundantly ſupplied with all the neceſſaries and elegancies of life, and eaſily ſecured their country from all foreign invaſions. *Agathocles* therefore fitted out a ſquadron of two hundred galleys, in order firſt to prevent the exportation of corn and other proviſions from *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Africa*, and afterwards to tranſport a large body of forces into that country, to attempt a ſecond time the conqueſt of it. But this, as well as the other pro-

And dies.

jects he had formed, fell to the ground by his death, an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe* [x].

AFTER the death of *Agathocles*, *Mænon*, who had poiſoned him, uſurped the ſupreme authority at *Syracuſe*. This he did by murdering *Archagathus*, and bringing over the army to his intereſt. The *Syracuſians*, however, reſolved to have a

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 4. [x] *Univ.* hiſt. ubi ſup. DIOD. SIC. l. xxi. in excerptis Rhodomani. ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. ii. OROS. l. *vii.* c. 6.

ſtruggle

ſtruggle for their liberty, and therefore raiſed another army, giving the command of it to *Icetas*, with orders to attack *Mænon*. In the mean time, *Mænon*, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to engage *Icetas*, induſtriouſly avoided fighting, and applied to the *Carthaginians* for aſſiſtance. That people, always intent upon fomenting diviſions in *Sicily*, in order to inlarge their own acquiſitions there, readily granted his requeſt; and joining him with a ſtrong body of troops, obliged the *Syracuſians* to conclude a peace with them upon their own terms, to recal the exiles, and, as a ſecurity for their punctual obſervation of the treaty, to deliver them four hundred hoſtages. Soon after, *Icetas* ſeized upon the government at *Syracuſe*, and ruled there with an abſolute ſway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of prætor. In the mean time, the rebels and *Syracuſian* exiles, in conjunction with the *Agrigentines*, who, in the ninth year of his command, revolted from him, advanced under the conduct of *Phintias*, to *Hybla*, where they were attacked and defeated by *Icetas*. That general, greatly puffed up with this victory, engaged the *Carthaginian* army upon the banks of the river *Teria*, but was overthrown with incredible ſlaughter, and forced to fly to *Syracuſe*. In *Icetas*'s abſence, one *Thynion* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power there; but being oppoſed by *Soſiſtratus*, who had the ſame aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. *Thynion* maintained himſelf in the iſland with a body of ten thouſand men, and his rival held the other quarters of the city with the like number of forces; ſo that for ſome time *Syracuſe* was nothing but a ſcene of blood and ſlaughter. The *Carthaginians*, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, reduced moſt of the cities ſubject to *Syracuſe*, and inveſted the capital itſelf with a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of fifty thouſand men. *Thynion* and *Soſiſtratus*, finding the *Carthaginians* to puſh on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that, in all probability they would ſoon make themſelves maſters of the city, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, united their forces againſt the common enemy, and diſpatched meſſengers to *Pyrrhus*, then at *Tarentum*, intreating him to come over to *Sicily*, and deliver the *Greeks* there from the barbarians, who threatened them with utter deſtruction. That prince received theſe meſſengers very favourably, and, ſending *Cyneas* (E) before-hand to conclude a treaty with *Thynion*

The Syracuſians, *being much agitated by civil diſſenſions, and invaded by the* Carthaginians, *call* Pyrrhus, *king of* Epirus, *to their aſſiſtance.*

(E) *Cyneas* was a famous orator, and a hearer of *Demoſthenes*. According to *Plutarch*, *Pyrrhus* looked upon himſelf as more obliged to

Thynion and *Sosistratus*, after having left a strong garison in *Tarentum*, under the conduct of *Milo*, embarqued with his army for *Sicily*. He took with him a considerable number of elephants, and a vast quantity of provisions, and the tenth day after he had loosed from *Tarentum*, arrived at *Locri*; from whence steering his course for *Sicily*, he in a few days landed at *Taurominium*, and, upon his arrival, was joined by *Tyndarion*, tyrant of that city. With this reinforcement he advanced to *Catana*, and from thence marched to *Syracuse* at the head of thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, all his own troops, besides the *Sicilian* auxiliaries that joined him, attended by a fleet of two hundred sail. The *Carthaginians*, then carrying on the siege of *Syracuse*, having detached thirty of their best vessels to bring in a fresh supply of provisions, did not think themselves strong enough to venture an engagement with *Pyrrhus*'s fleet, and therefore judged it not proper to wait his approach; so that he entered *Syracuse* without opposition. Soon after he had possessed himself of that important place, embassadors arrived from the *Leontini*, who had joined with *Thynion* and *Sosistratus* in pressing the king of *Epirus* to come and take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to deliver up their city into his hands, and to join his forces with a body of four thousand foot and five hundred horse. Many other cities followed the example of *Syracuse* and *Leontium*. In short, *Pyrrhus*, partly by the terror of his name, and partly by his insinuating and affable behaviour, made such an impression upon the minds of the *Sicilians* in general, that he doubted not soon having them all intirely at his devotion, and consequently flattered himself with the hopes of speedily divesting the *Carthaginians* of all their acquisitions in *Sicily*[y].

[y] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. & l. xxii. apud Laur. Rhodoman. Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. Justin. l. xviii. Dionys. Halicar. ant. Rom. l. xii. in excerptis Valesii.

to *Cyneas*'s eloquence for many of his conquests, than to the force of his arms. The author last-mentioned calls him *Cineas*; but we chuse rather to follow *Justin*, who calls him *Cyneas*. *Pausanias* countenances us herein; for he takes notice of one *Philabrus*, an *Eretrian* traitor, the son of *Cyneas*. This, together with the word κύνεη, an *helmet*, from whence the proper name itself is apparently derived, seems to put the point beyond dispute. *Tanaquil Faber* himself was of our opinion (*).

(*) *Plut. in Pyrrh. c.* 28. *Liv. l.* xxxiv. *Pausan. Achaie. p.* 415. *Bern. & Tan. Fab. in Just. l.* xviii. *c.* 2.

We

WE muſt not omit obſerving, that before *Pyrrhus* landed in *Italy*, the *Romans* were not unacquainted with the deſigns of that ambitious prince. In order therefore to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt any attempts he might make, or at leaſt to deter him from making any ſuch attempts, they renewed their treaties with the *Carthaginians*, who, on their ſide likewiſe, were under ſome apprehenſions of his invading *Sicily*. To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, which contained an engagement of mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either of the contracting powers ſhould be attacked by *Pyrrhus*. As it was particularly ſpecified therein, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſend a ſufficient naval force to the relief of the *Romans*, upon the firſt notice of a rupture with the king of *Epirus*, as ſoon as they heard he had made a deſcent in *Italy*, they ordered for that purpoſe a fleet (F) of an hundred and twenty ſail, under the command of *Mago*. That officer, in an audience he had of the ſenate, upon his arrival at *Rome*, told the conſcript fathers, that his principals had heard with great concern of the hoſtilities *Pyrrhus* committed in *Italy*; adding, that he was ſent by his republic to offer them a foreign force, to enable them to repel this foreign invader. The ſenate, after receiving him with proper marks of diſtinction, returned thanks for this obliging offer of the *Carthaginians*, but at the ſame time thought proper to decline accepting it. *Diodorus* tells us, that, notwithſtanding this, the *Carthaginian* fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, ſailed to *Rhegium*; which place they battered for ſome time with incredible fury; but were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. They deſtroyed, according to this author, a vaſt quantity of timber, and other materials for ſhipping, in that port, and then put to ſea with their ſquadron, to obſerve the motions of *Pyrrhus*. *Mago*, ſome days after his departure from *Rome*, repaired to *Pyrrhus*'s camp, under pretence of offering the mediation of *Carthage* for accommodating all differences betwixt him and the *Romans*, but in reality to ſound him, and diſcover, if poſſible, his deſigns with regard to *Sicily*, which common fame reported he was going to invade.

The Carthaginians offer the Romans aſſiſtance, when attacked by Pyrrhus, in conſequence of a treaty juſt concluded between them; which the Romans decline accepting of. They afterwards offer their mediation for accommodating all differences between the two powers.

(F) *Valerius Maximus*, in the place cited, makes this ſquadron to have conſiſted of an hundred and thirty ſail. Poſſibly the particular number of ſhips, with which the *Carthaginians* were to aſſiſt the *Romans*, might be ſpecified in a ſubſequent treaty, ſince the epitomizer of *Livy* mentions a fourth treaty concluded between the two republics after the battle of *Aſculum* (38).

(38) *Val. Max. in loc. citat. Liv. epit. l.* xiii.

The *Carthaginians* at that time were afraid, leſt either *Pyrrhus*, or the *Romans*, ſhould concern themſelves with the affairs of that iſland, and tranſport forces thither for the conqueſt of it. And indeed this ſeems to have been the real motive for their ſending a fleet to aſſiſt the *Romans*, rather than a deſire to be punctual in the obſervance of their engagements, which they were never famous for, this being inconſiſtent with that ſubtle and intriguing genius, which diſcovered itſelf in every remarkable point of conduct of the *African* republic [z].

Pyrrhus's *great progreſs in* Sicily.

As ſoon as *Pyrrhus* had ſettled his affairs at *Syracuſe*, *Leontium*, and the other places that had ſubmitted to him, he began to move with his army towards *Agrigentum*, which was then poſſeſſed by a *Carthaginian* gariſon, under the command of *Phintias*. Upon his march he received intelligence, that the inhabitants had expelled the *Carthaginians*, and were come to a reſolution to admit him into their city, and join him with a good body of troops. Accordingly, upon his arrival on the frontiers, he was met by *Soſiſtratus*, at the head of eight thouſand *Agrigentine* foot, and eight hundred horſe, nothing at all inferior in military ſkill and bravery to the *Epirots* themſelves. *Soſiſtratus* likewiſe prevailed upon him to take thirty towns of the neighbouring country under his protection. Being abundantly ſupplied with darts, arrows, all other kinds of arms, and engines of battery, from *Syracuſe*, he advanced into the *Carthaginian* territories, and reduced *Heraclea*, which was for ſome time defended by a party of *Carthaginians*. After this, the *Azones*, *Selinuntines*, *Halicyæans*, *Egeſtines*, and others, made their ſubmiſſion to him; in fine, the *Carthaginians* found, that this conqueror ſoon deprived them of all their allies, made himſelf maſter of many of their towns without the leaſt oppoſition, and was determined to make the *Libyan* ſea, on the ſide of *Greece*, the boundary of their dominions [a].

Takes Eryx *by ſtorm, and lays ſiege to* Lilybæum.

Pyrrhus, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, advanced to *Eryx*, a fortreſs defended by a numerous *Carthaginian* gariſon, and of ſuch natural ſtrength, that it was almoſt inacceſſible. This place, with ſome difficulty, he inveſted, and, after bringing his battering rams to the walls, formed the ſiege of it. The gariſon for ſome time made a vigorous defence; but at laſt *Pyrrhus*, making a general aſſault, en-

[z] JUSTIN. ubi ſup. c. 2. POLYB. l iii. c 25. DIOD. SIC. l. xxii. fragment. Rhodoman. & Hæſchelii. VALER. MAX. l. ii. vii.
[a] DIOD. SIC. PLUT. DION. HAL. JUSTIN. ubi ſup. & Univerſ. hiſt vol. vii p. 232, & ſeq

tered

tered the breach his arms had opened, and bore down all before him. In order to render his name famous to all poſterity, after the example of *Hercules*, he was the firſt who mounted the walls, after having killed many of the *Africans* with his own hand. However, he met with ſuch a reſiſtance, that his ſucceſs was dubious, till a freſh reinforcement of his troops ſupported him in the attack, and then he eaſily carried the town. *Panormus*, *Erĕta*, and moſt other places of note, were either taken by ſtorm, or opened their gates to the victor upon the firſt ſummons, ſo that now the *Carthaginians* had no town left in *Sicily* but *Lilybæum*, to which *Pyrrhus* laid ſiege with all his forces [b].

But is obliged to raiſe it.

Lilybæum was a maritime city of great ſtrength, eſteemed by the *Carthaginians* as one of the keys of *Sicily*. They had therefore raiſed many outworks for its defence, drawn a trench to prevent any approaches on the land-ſide, and fortified it in the beſt manner poſſible. The *Carthaginians*, being maſters of the ſea, landed a ſtrong body of troops here, juſt as *Pyrrhus* was going to form the ſiege of the place; but being greatly alarmed at the rapidity of his conqueſts, they ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms, offering him either a large ſum of money, or to abandon all their conqueſts in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. But he, puffed up with his great ſucceſs, and ſpirited up by the *Sicilians*, who were ſenſible, that they could enjoy no tranquility, as long as the *Carthaginians* had any footing in the iſland, anſwered them that the only means to obtain what they deſired, was to leave *Sicily* intirely to the *Greeks*. Upon this the *Carthaginians* broke off the negotiation, and *Pyrrhus* repeated his aſſaults with the utmoſt fury; but the town being well furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, ſituated upon a rock, and defended by a numerous gariſon, the *Carthaginians* repulſed him in every attack, and at the end of two months, obliged him ſhamefully to raiſe the ſiege [c].

Notwithſtanding a diſgraceful repulſe, he entertained thoughts of invading Africa, but is obliged to drop that deſign

NOTWITHSTANDING this repulſe, *Pyrrhus* began to entertain thoughts of attacking the *Carthaginians* in the very heart of their dominions, and therefore made all the neceſſary preparations to tranſfer the war into *Africa*. As he wanted ſeamen for this expedition, he obliged the maritime cities in his intereſt to furniſh him with ſailors and mariners, and even forced into the ſervice perſons of rank, who had any experience in naval affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. This, with ſome

[b] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [c] Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Pyrrh.

other arbitrary proceedings, so disgusted the *Sicilians*, that they began to look upon him as a tyrant, and the cities in general conceived such an aversion to him, that some of them entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines*, his avowed enemies. In consequence of this, there was such a general desertion among the *Sicilian* troops in his service, most of whom went over to the *Carthaginians*, that he soon found himself attended only by his *Epirot* phalanx; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of any farther military operations, either in *Sicily* or *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, being informed of this sudden revolution, sent a strong reinforcement to their army in *Sicily*, in order to recover their ancient conquests there, whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his escape [d] (G).

He returns to Italy.

THAT prince therefore, meditating a return to *Italy*, embarqued with the remains of his troops on the vessels he brought to *Sicily*, being attended by a large additional number of *Sicilian* transports, with a considerable treasure on board, according to *Appian*. With his fleet he set sail for *Rhegium*, but was met at sea by the *Carthaginian* squadron, and obliged to venture an engagement; wherein being defeated, he had seventy of his ships sunk, and most of the rest so shattered, that they were rendered intirely unfit for service; so that he arrived at *Locri*, with only ten vessels, and from thence with great difficulty marched to *Tarentum*. The *Carthaginians* after this reduced the *Sicilian* towns before in their possession with as much celerity as *Pyrrhus* had conquered them, and settled their affairs in *Sicily* upon a firmer footing than ever. It is said, that *Pyrrhus*, when he was on the point of setting sail, cried out to his men, at the sight of that wealthy country he was going to abandon, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the* Carthaginians *and* Romans! a prediction which was soon afterwards verified. What happened to this prince after his arrival in *Italy*, it is unnecessary to touch upon here, since

[d] Idem ibid. & DION. HAL. apud Vales. Vide & LIV. epit. l. xiii.

(G) *Justin* will have it, that *Pyrrhus* defeated the *Carthaginians* in several pitched battles whilst in *Sicily*, and gave them a notable overthrow just before his departure out of the island; but as *Diodorus* seems to clash with this account, no great stress is to be laid upon it (39).

(39) *Justin. l.* xxiii. *c.* 3.

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[a]n ample relation of this has been already given in other parts of our history [e].

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Carthaginians* so easily dislodged the *Epirots* from their part of *Sicily*, yet they had two powerful enemies still to contend with in that island, the *Syracusians* and the *Mamertines*. After *Pyrrhus*'s departure, the former, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. Whilst their army lay encamped near *Mergana*, a quarrel arose between the soldiers and the citizens, which had like to have been attended with fatal effects. Upon this, the soldiers elected *Artemidorus* and *Hiero* for their leaders, and vested them with an almost absolute authority. *Hiero*, tho' then very young, had all the good qualities to be wished for in any prince; and having, by the address and management of his friends, got possession of the city, soon suppressed the contrary faction. Far from being elated with his good fortune, he held the reins of government in so gentle and slack a manner, that he gained the hearts of all men; insomuch, that the *Syracusians*, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of chusing their own generals, received him as prætor, without the least contest; nay, according to *Justin*, they unanimously confirmed him in the command the army had conferred upon him, investing him with all the civil and military power during the inter-regnum. He is represented by the antient historians as a consummate hero, and most amiable prince; as one who, by the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood or hurting one single citizen, calmed the minds of the people of *Syracuse*, and reconciled the different factions, which then miserably distracted that unhappy state. He made his first campaign under *Pyrrhus*, and so improved in the art of war by the direction of that great general, that he was looked upon as the best commander in his army. The *Syracusian* forces under his command, destined to act against the *Carthaginians*, after the departure of *Pyrrhus*, being most excellently disciplined, obtained several considerable advantages over them, and even in a short time grew formidable to them [f].

Hiero *declared general of the* Syracusian *army, and prætor of* Syracuse.

[e] APPIAN. Samnit. in excerptis Valesii. PLUT. in Pyrrh. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c 3. Univer. hist. vol. vii. p. 234, & seq & Vol. ix p. 417, & seq. Vide. & FLOR. l. i, c. 18. & in eum. SALMAS. atq; FRIENSHEM, EUTROP. Rom. hist. brev. l. ii. LUCIUM AMPELIUM in lib mem. c. 28. aliosq; plur. [f] POLYB. l. i. JUSTIN. ubi sup c. 4.

A brief account of the Mamertines.

As for the *Mamertines* (H), the other enemy the *Carthaginians* had to deal with in *Sicily*, they were originally a body of *Campanian* mercenaries, that *Agathocles* took into his service. Being tempted with the beauty and opulence of *Messana*, they formed a design to make themselves masters of it by surprise, which took effect in the following manner: These troops, being denied by the *Syracusians* the right of giving their votes at the election of magistrates, immediately had recourse to arms; which threw the city into great confusion; but some persons of distinction interposing, it was at last agreed, that the *Campanians* should evacuate *Sicily* within a limited time, and carry off all their effects along with them. Upon the expiration of this term they retired to *Messana*, in order to embark for their native country. Here they met with a most friendly and kind reception from the citizens; in return for which favour, they in the night either expelled or assassinated all the men, took the women to their own use,

(H) *Alsius* gives us the following short history of the *Mamertines*; The whole country of the *Samnites* having been visited with a terrible pestilence, *Sthenius Mettius*, prince of that people, assembled all his subjects, and told them, that *Apollo* in a dream had assured him, that they should be delivered from the plague, provided they would make a vow to offer up to him all the produce of the next spring; which they immediately complying with, the plague ceased. Some time after it broke out again amongst them, and made great havock; upon which consulting *Apollo*, they were informed by him, that the return of the pestilence was owing to the non-observance of their vow, since they had not sacrificed to him the children born in the spring abovementioned; but that if they would banish all of them that were then living, and grown up, they should be delivered a second time from that dreadful evil. They immediately followed this advice of the god; and the men thus banished, retiring to *Sicily*, came into that part of the island called *Taurominitana*, or *Regio Taurominitana*. The *Messanians*, being at that time engaged in a bloody war, desired their assistance; which having obtained, they overcame all their enemies, and, as a grateful acknowledgment for the service done them, made them free of their city. As the republic of *Messana* was now grown more powerful by the coalition of two different nations, the *Messanians* proposed assuming a new name, and, in order to this, cast the names of twelve of the gods into an urn, by way of lots, resolving to take that which came out first. This happened to be *Mamers*; so that they were from that time called *Mamertines* (40).

(40) *Alsius in lib. de prim. bel. Pun. apud Sext. Pomp. Fest. in voce* Mamertini. *Strab. l. vi. Vide & Jos. Scalig. castigat. in Sext. Pomp. Fest. p.* 82. *edit. Par.* 1593.

and

and ſeized upon the city. After they had divided the lands and riches of the unhappy *Meſſanians* among themſelves, they called the city *Mamertina*, and aſſumed to themſelves the name of *Mamertini*, that is, martial or warlike people, from *Mamers*, a word, which in their language, being a dialect of the *Oſcan*, ſignified *Mars*, the (I) god of war. As they were a bold and reſolute nation, they in a ſhort time reduced many of the neighbouring ſtates, and extended their conqueſts to the middle of the iſland. By the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* garriſon at *Rhegium*, which, under the command of one *Decius* a *Campanian*, had ſeized upon that city in the ſame infamous manner that the *Mamertines* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Meſſana*, they ſoon became very powerful, and made frequent incurſions both into the *Syracuſian* and *Carthaginian* territories, plundering the country, and laying moſt of the towns and villages under contribution. The *Romans*, thinking their honour concerned in making an example of *Decius* and his accomplices, for the flagrant violation of public faith they had been guilty of, attacked the city of *Rhegium*, took it by ſtorm, and put to the ſword all the garriſon, except three hundred men, whom they carried to *Rome*; and after having ſcourged them with rods, in conformity to the *Roman* cuſtom, beheaded them publicly in the forum. The *Mamertines*, being thus deprived of their main ſupport, could not long defend themſelves againſt the attacks of *Hiero*, who, on account of their repeated depredations, and for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, declared war againſt them. As that prince's troops were always ready to enter upon action, he immediately advanced to the frontiers, and cutting off all communication betwixt the *Mamertines* and the neighbouring ſtates, encamped on (K) the river *Longanus*, where he

(I) We are informed by *Feſtus*, that, in the *Oſcan* tongue, *Mamers* ſignified *Mars*, the god of war. *Scaliger* obſerves, that *Mamers*, *Mavors*, and *Mars*, amongſt that people, denoted valiant. It has likewiſe been ſuppoſed, that the word *Mars* comes from *amarus*, or the *Hebrew* מָרַר *amaritudo*; and this notion is countenanced by the epithets πικρὸς, δεινὸς, ἄγριος, βλοσυρὸς, δῃὸς, σχέτλιος, λυγρὸς, ἀμείλιχος, *durus*, *torvus*, *rigidus*, &c. which are frequently applied to him. *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Varro*, thinks, that *Mars*, by reduplication, becomes *Mamers* (41).

(K) *Diodorus Siculus* calls this river *Loitanus*; but we apprehend

(41) *Sext. Pomp. Feſt in voce* Mamers. *Joſ. Scalig de cauſ ling. Lat. c.* 69. *Idem in not. ad Var. de ling. Lat. Vide & Iſidor. Hiſpalenſ orig. l. viii.*

this

he put himself in a posture to receive the enemy, in case they should think proper to venture an engagement with him [g].

They are attacked and defeated by Hiero, *who, after this action, is proclaimed king of* Syracuse.

THE *Mamertines*, finding all the avenues leading to their capital city guarded by the enemy's detachments, and themselves reduced to great straits by *Hiero*'s possessing himself of so commodious a camp, were obliged to run the risque of a battle; and therefore drawing their forces, which consisted of eight thousand foot and some horse, out of *Messana*, under the command of *Cios*, they encamped on the opposite bank, and made the necessary dispositions to pass the river. In the mean time, *Hiero* sent a choice detachment, consisting of two hundred *Messanians* and four hundred picked soldiers of his own troops, with orders to take post on the hill *Thorax*, and then wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear, whilst he himself, with the gross of his army, charged them in front. The action for some time was sharp and bloody, both sides behaving with undaunted resolution; but at last *Hiero* having gained an eminence near the river, which being a very advantageous post, enabled him terribly to gall the enemy, the detachment posted upon the hill falling with great fury upon their rear, and they having with much difficulty already sustained the first shock of the *Syracusian* army, the *Mamertines* immediately gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The *Syracusians* pursued them so closely, that they put every man of them to the sword, except *Cios* (L), who having received many wounds in the engagement, fainted

[g] POLYB. l. i. APPIAN. Samnit. & DIOD. SIC. l. xxii, in excerptis Valesii.

this to be a corruption of *Longanus*, the name given it by *Polybius*. We own, the generality of MSS of the former author have ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ; but this cannot stand in competition with the great authority of *Polybius*. Besides, upon viewing the words of ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ and ΛΟΓΓΑΝΟΣ together, we shall find, that nothing can be conceived more easy than such a corruption; for ΓΓ ΙΓ in the middle of these words, the letters on which the true reading depends, resemble one another so nearly, that it is the easiest thing in nature to mistake the former for the latter. *Cellarius*, by taking notice only of *Polybius*'s name, seems to have been entirely of our opinion (42).

(L) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Cios* assembled his soothsayers, and consulted them, before he joined battle with *Hiero*. Upon viewing the sacrifices narrowly, they unanimously declared, that he should

(42) *Polyb. l. i. Vide & Cellar. in Sicil.*

lodge

fainted through loſs of blood, and being taken priſoner, was brought half-dead into *Hiero*'s camp. *Hiero*, being a prince of ſingular humanity, ordered all poſſible care to be taken of that general, and his wounds to be dreſſed by the moſt ſkilful ſurgeons in his army; but *Cios*, ſoon after ſeeing his ſon's horſe brought into the camp by a party of *Syracuſians*, immediately concluded he was killed, which threw him into ſuch an exceſs of grief, that he refuſed all comfort, tore in pieces the ligatures of his wounds, and choſe rather to fall by his own hand, than ſurvive a perſon ſo dear to him. This defeat, which *Hiero* gave the *Mamertines* in the plains of *Mylæ*, was the greateſt blow that people ever received, neither did they ever afterwards find it poſſible to re-eſtabliſh their broken affairs. The troops were ſo highly pleaſed with *Hiero*'s conduct in this battle, that they proclaimed him king of *Syracuſe* upon his arrival at that metropolis [h].

And is overreached by the Carthaginians

THE *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of the great victory *Hiero* had gained over the *Mamertines*, began to be uneaſy at the progreſs of that prince's arms; but their uneaſineſs was much heightened, upon receiving intelligence, that the *Mamertines* had made ſome overtures to him for an accommodation, the principal of which was, that they ſhould put the city of *Meſſana* into his hands, provided he would engage to maintain the inhabitants in poſſeſſion of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them againſt any foreign invaſion. The *Carthaginians* endeavoured to traverſe this negotiation; but finding themſelves unable to prevent its taking effect, they formed a ſcheme to keep *Meſſana* out of the hands of the *Syracuſians*. In order to this, *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* forces in *Sicily*, amuſed *Hiero*, till ſome troops, which he had kept concealed in the *Lipari*

[h] DIOD. SIC. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. POLYB. ubi ſup.

lodge that night in the enemy's camp. This prediction of the entrails he took as an infallible token of victory, and therefore engaged the *Syracuſian* army with great alacrity and courage, but had the misfortune to meet with the fate here mentioned. However, being brought a priſoner into *Hiero*'s camp, the prediction was undoubtedly looked upon as fulfilled, though not in the ſenſe in which he underſtood it. By ſuch ambiguous anſwers both the oracles and aruſpices frequently impoſed upon thoſe who conſulted them (43).

(43) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

iſlands, drew near *Meſſana*. The cunning *African* came to *Hiero*, advancing to take poſſeſſion of the place, as it were to congratulate him on his late victory, but in reality with an intention to retard the march of his troops to *Meſſana*. In the mean time, an officer being ſent, at the head of a detachment, into the town, aſſured the *Mamertines*, that he came as a friend, and that his only deſign was to aſſiſt them againſt the *Syracuſians*, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The *Mamertines*, being greatly weakened by the late overthrow, readily admitted the *Carthaginian* detachment, and by that means preſerved themſelves ſtill independent both of the *Syracuſians* and *Carthaginians*. Theſe two laſt powers, finding they had purſued wrong meaſures, afterwards entered into an alliance, and aſſembled their joint forces to form the ſiege of *Meſſana*. This obliged the *Mamertines* to call in the *Romans* to their aid; which gave riſe to the firſt *Punic* war, a particular account of which will be found in the following ſection [1].

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, *from the firſt to the ſecond* Punic *war*.

The Carthaginians *advance with a powerful fleet to* Tarentum *when beſieged by the* Romans; *which gives great umbrage to that nation.*

THOUGH the *Carthaginians* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans* a little before *Pyrrhus* landed in *Italy*, and offered them powerful ſuccours againſt that prince, yet, even at this time, there reigned a mutual jealouſy and diffidence betwen the two ſtates. As their power was very extenſive, their political views and intereſts diametrically oppoſite, and both of them ſeemed acted by the ſame ſpirit of ambition, it was morally impoſſible but that, ſooner or later, a bloody quarrel muſt commence betwixt them. The *Romans* proving ſuperior to *Pyrrhus*, as has been related, obliged him to abandon his *Italian* allies, whom, ſoon after his departure, they eaſily reduced [2]. The *Samnites* received ſo terrible an overthrow from the conſuls *L. Papirius Curſor*, and *Sp. Corvilius*, ſurnamed *Maximus*, that, from this time, they ceaſed to be a nation [3]. The *Bruttians* and *Lucanians* were next obliged to ſubmit; ſo that only *Tarentum* remained to be chaſtiſed for incurring the diſpleaſure of the *Romans*. As that city had not only embroiled the

[1] Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 581. Polyb. l. i. [2] Flor. l. i. c. 18. [3] Flor. ubi ſup. Zonar. in annal. l. xiii. c. 6. p. 377, 378, 379.

Romans

Romans with their neighbours, but likewiſe deſtroyed one of their fleets, inſulted their embaſſadors, invited *Pyrrhus* over into *Italy*, and greatly exerted itſelf in aſſiſting him to execute the project he had formed againſt the *Roman* republic, they were reſolved to make it feel the effects of their reſentment; and therefore the conſuls, immediately after they had conquered the *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, cauſed it to be inveſted [c]. *Milo* at this time commanded the *Epirot* gariſon in the citadel, and the *Tarentines* had poſſeſſion of the town. Theſe two parties, being then at variance, inſtead of taking proper meaſures for the defence of the place, ſeemed to be underhand contriving how they might deliver it up to a foreign power [d]. As the *Carthaginians* lay at that time with a ſtrong ſquadron of galleys, and a body of land-forces on board, before the town, and affected to treat only the *Epirots* as enemies, it was ſuſpected, that the *Tarentines* had implored their aſſiſtance; and on the other hand *Milo* entered into a negotiation with the *Romans*, in order to put both the town and citadel into their hands; which at laſt he did, and that even by the conſent of the *Tarentines* themſelves [e]. The *Carthaginians*, being diſappointed of their aim, retired to their own coaſts; but the *Romans* were not a little chagrined at this ſtep, ſince they thereby diſcovered, not only that the *Carthaginians* intended to rob their republic of a city, which by right of conqueſt, belonged to it, but likewiſe that they meditated the conqueſt even of *Italy* itſelf. Beſides, could the deſign have been carried into execution, it would have been a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded between the two ſtates. This therefore convinced the *Romans*, that the *Carthaginians* paid little regard to the faith of treaties, and conſequently that they could not be too much upon their guard againſt the attempts of ſo perfidious, as well as enterpriſing, a nation. That the *Romans* drew ſuch a concluſion from the conduct of the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, ſeems not only probable from the nature of the thing itſelf, but likewiſe from an obſervation of *Cato* [f] and *Gellius*; and therefore we may look upon it as a remote or pretended cauſe at leaſt of the firſt *Punic* war; and indeed this is allowed by *Zonaras*, as well as *Lucius Ampelius*, one of their own later hiſtorians [g].

[c] Idem ibid. & LIV. epit. l. xii. xiv. xv. &c. OROS. l. iv. ZONAR. ubi ſup. [d] LIV. epit. & OROS. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xi. p. 583. ZONAR. ubi ſup. [e] Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup ZONAR. annal. l. viii. c. 6. p. 379. [f] CAT. in orig. quart apud Aul. Gel. in noct. Attic. l. x. c. 1. [g] LUCIUS AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Vide & ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 8. p. 382.

The Carthaginians *jealous of the growing power of the* Romans.

THE *Romans* soon after the reduction of *Tarentum*, made themselves masters of all the countries in *Italy* from the remotest part of *Etruria* to the *Ionian* sea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Adriatic*. This rapid progress of their arms gave a fresh alarm to the *Carthaginians*, who now considered, that the *Romans* had a very short passage over to *Sicily*, and that the continent of *Italy* could not limit their ambition. They therefore began to look upon all their possessions in that island as very precarious, unless they could speedily reduce the exorbitant power of their rival within narrower bounds. Such a consideration as this must undoubtedly have increased the jealousy, and heightened the disgust already conceived in the breasts, of the *Carthaginians*, and had most certainly its proper influence in pushing them on to a rupture with the *Romans* [h].

Decius Jubellius, *with a legion of* Campanians, *seizes on* Rhegium.

THE inhabitants of *Rhegium*, being exposed to the attempts of *Pyrrhus*, as well as the insults of the *Carthaginians*, who, soon after the arrival of that prince in *Italy*, infested all the *Ionian* sea, applied to the *Romans* for a garison to defend them from an invasion. In compliance with their request, a legion of *Campanians* was raised, the *Romans* at that time not being able to spare any of their own troops, on account of the war with *Pyrrhus*, and sent under the command of one *Decius Jubellius*, a native of *Campania*, to garison that city. These troops, for some time, did their duty perfectly well; but at last, in imitation of the *Mamertines*, who had possessed themselves of *Messana* in a most perfidious manner, and, being of the same nation, assisted these *Campanians* with a body of forces to accomplish their design, they began to entertain thoughts of rendering themselves independent at *Rhegium*. To this they were strongly excited by the beauty and opulence of the place, and the elegancies the citizens abounded with. As the *Romans* at that time had their hands full of the war with *Pyrrhus*, they thought this a favourable juncture to bring their project to bear, since nothing but the opposition which might be apprehended from that quarter could possibly obstruct the execution of it. *Decius* therefore, to colour his proceedings, pretended to have advice, that the *Rhegians* had entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the place to *Pyrrhus*, and betray the garison into his hands. In order to prevent this, he suggested there was a necessity of taking possession of the town, and making an example of the conspirators. To support what he advanced, forged letters were produced, which he pretended to have intercepted, wherein all the par-

[h] Liv. epit. Oros. Univers. hist. &c. ubi sup.

ticulars

ticulars of the conſpiracy were related at large. This, together with a ſet ſpeech on the occaſion, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the troops, that they were prepared for any attempt, and ready at an inſtant to execute their general's orders. In the mean time, a perſon, privy to the deſign, appearing, pretended to have certain news, that *Pyrrhus* had already made a deſcent on the territories of *Rhegium*, and was advancing towards the city, in order to have a conference with the principals of the conſpiracy. This ſerving as a ſignal to the *Campanians*, the train being already laid, they immediately took poſſeſſion of the city, divided amongſt themſelves all the plunder found therein, and put moſt of the men to the ſword [1].

The Romans *retake* Rhegium, *and either put to the ſword, or behead all the* Campanians; *which together with the defeat given the* Mamertines *by* Hiero, *obliges this laſt people to receive a* Carthaginian *detachment into* Meſſana.

NOT long after the perpetration of this horrid fact, *Decius* was expelled by the ſoldiery, and obliged to fly to *Meſſana*. There being ſeized by a violent pain in his eyes, he applied to a *Rhegian* phyſician for relief; who, reſenting the injuries offered his country, preſcribed him a plaiſter of *cantharides*, which totally deprived him of his ſight, and then made his eſcape. This we learn from *Diodorus*. But *Appian* intimates, that he was attacked by this diſorder at *Rhegium*, and ſent to *Meſſana* for a phyſician, not caring to truſt any of thoſe in the place where he reſided. The *Mamertines* ſent him one, eminent for his ſkill in the art of medicine, whom the laſt author inſinuates to have been a *Rhegian*; who, applying cauſtics to his eyes, adviſed him to keep them on till his return, which never happened; ſo that in a ſhort time he became ſtark blind. Neither *Polybius* nor *Dio* take notice of any of theſe circumſtances; and therefore give us reaſon to believe, which is likewiſe conſonant to the fragment of *Appian* juſt referred to, that he did not depart from *Rhegium*, as *Diodorus* ſuggeſts, but met with the fate he deſerved either in that place or *Rome*, with his accomplices and companions. Be this as it will, as ſoon as the *Roman* republic was in a condition to take vengeance of this perfidious legion, ſhe ordered *L. Genucius Clepſina* to beſiege *Rhegium* with a powerful army. The *Campanians*, being reinforced by a ſtrong body of *Mamertines*, whom they had likewiſe aſſiſted in their wars with the *Syracuſians* and *Carthaginians*, made a vigorous defence; but the conſul, redoubling his attacks, at laſt took the place, and put all the gariſon to the ſword, except three hundred men, who were carried to *Rome*, and there puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity. They were whipped

[1] POLYB. & VAL MAX. ubi ſup. DIOD. SIC. l. xxii. apud. Valeſ. LIV. epit. l. xii.

with

with rods in the middle of the forum, had their heads ſtruck off, and their bodies remained, by the ſenate's order, uninterred. *Appian* relates, that *Decius*, being detained in cloſe cuſtody, grew impatient of his confinement, and laid violent hands on himſelf; but whether this happened at *Rome* or *Rhegium*, he ſays not. In the mean time the *Mamertines*, having ſuſtained a prodigious loſs, not only by the ſlaughter of their troops ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Campanians*, but likewiſe by the deſtruction of their faithful ally, who had hitherto greatly contributed to ſupport them againſt all their enemies, and receiving about the ſame time the terrible defeat from *Hiero* above-mentioned, found themſelves upon the point of ſubmitting to the *Syracuſians*. Some of the principal citizens, to prevent this, applied to the *Romans* for ſuccours, who, for certain reaſons, not being diſpoſed to ſupport them at that conjuncture, the *Carthaginian* faction in *Meſſana* admitted a *Carthaginian* detachment into the town, which immediately took poſſeſſion of the citadel. The *Roman* party, highly incenſed at ſuch a point of conduct, hereupon reſolved to ſend a ſecond time to their friends for ſpeedy relief. This ſtep of the *Carthaginians* therefore muſt be allowed to have been the immediate cauſe of the firſt *Punic* war [k].

Some of the principal motives which induced both the Carthaginians *and* Romans *to undertake the firſt* Punic *war*

As for the motives which prompted the *Carthaginians* to this war, we have juſt hinted at them: a deſire of ſecuring and inlarging their acquiſitions in *Sicily*; the neceſſity of humbling a proud rival, whoſe intereſts in every reſpect claſhed with theirs; a reſolution to preſerve the dominion of the (A) ſea, and that extenſive trade they then enjoyed; theſe,

[k] DIOD. SIC. l. xxii. APPIAN. & DIO CASS. in excerptis Valeſ. Vide & DIOD SIC in excerpt. Rhodom. POLYB. ubi ſup. &c ZONAR. ubi ſup. p. 382, 383. OROS. l. ii. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) That the *Carthaginians* were, for ſeveral centuries, extremely powerful by ſea, cannot be diſputed; nay, if *John Tzetzes* may be credited, they came as far with their fleets as the *Thracian Boſporus*, where they carried on a naval war with the *Byzantines*. However, this we cannot believe, as being intirely unſupported by any other author. That ſcholiaſt's words are, Ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ καὶ Βυζάντιοι, διὰ πλοιαρίου σκαλμοῦ τινος διενεχθέντες, δεινῶς διεμάχησαν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ. *Tzetzes*, in the place referred to, obſerves how common a thing it is for neighbouring ſtates to quarrel, and that even about trifles; and, amongſt others, brings the diſpute betwixt the ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ and the Βυζάντιοι, in the paſſage before us, as an inſtance of it. As therefore the *Carthaginian*

theſe, we ſay, were undoubtedly the principal motives, which prevailed upon them to engage in this famous quarrel. The *Romans* likewiſe, in all probability, were influenced by reaſons of much the ſame kind: a thirſt after empire, an abhorrence of the *Carthaginian* genius, a fear that ſo falſe a friend would get a footing in *Italy*; in fine, a notion, that their political views were intirely repugnant to thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, diſpoſed them to a rupture with that people. That the poſſeſſion alſo of the fertile iſlands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which, they imagined, muſt of courſe fall to the victor, had great weight with the *Romans*, in determining them to enter upon a war with *Carthage*, is extremely probable, and even acknowledged by ſome of their own writers [1]. The

[1] FLOR. & LUCIUS AMPEL. ubi ſup. Vide etiam DION YS. HALICAR. ant. Rom. l. ii. & POLYB. ubi ſupra.

ans and *Byzantines* could never have been looked upon as neighbours, the paſſage under conſideration wants undoubtedly to be emended; which will be done to ſatisfaction, if for ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ we read ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ; ſince the people of *Chalcedon* or *Calchedon* were moſt certainly neighbours to the *Byzantines*, and ſometimes embroiled with them. That the people of *Chalcedon* were neighbours to the *Byzantines*, is evident from the ſituation aſſigned that city by *Stephanus*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*; ſince, according to theſe authors, it ſtood over-againſt *Byzantium*, on the oppoſite ſhore. In order to ſupport our emendation farther, it may not be improper to obſerve, that tho', in printed books, for the moſt part, we find the name of this city to be ΧΑΛΚΗΔΩΝ, yet, in ancient coins, which are of much greater authority, it is always exhibited ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ, and the people named ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ, or, in the *Doric* dialect, ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΟΙ. This is ſo ſtrong a proof of the error of the printed books, and many MSS. in this particular, that *Hardouin* has corrected the MSS. and printed editions of *Pliny*, and *Seguin* thoſe of *Strabo*, by the help of theſe coins. *Spanheim* likewiſe looks upon ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ to be indiſputably the true name; which, together with the authority of *Memnon* in *Photius*, *Juſtellus*, &c. fixes the point we are inſiſting on beyond contradiction (1).

(1) *Joh. Tzetz. ſchol. in Heſiod. ἔργ. καὶ ἡμέρ. a. p.* 83. *ed. Dan. Heinſii, ex officin. Plantin. Raphelengii*, 1603. *Plin. l. v. Steph. Byzant. d. urb. Tacit. l.* xii. *c.* 63. *Strab. l.* vii. *p.* 221. *& l.* xii. *p.* 387. *Appian. in bell. Mithrid p.* 367. *Eutrop. l* vi. *c* 5. *Claudian. ver.* 176. *Pet. Seguin p.* 145. *Jo. Hard. in Plin Ex. Spanhem de uſ & præſt. numiſm. ant. & in orb. Rom. exercit* ii. *c.* 18 *p.* 459, 460. *Memn apud Phot. in bibliothec cod* ccxxiv. *p* 381. *edit. Hæſchelii. Juſtel. in cod. can. eccleſ. Gr. Vide & Polyæn ſtrat. l.* vi. *c.* 25.

laſt

firſt *Punic* war, according to *Polybius*, laſted twenty-four years [m], and was carried on chiefly by ſea, both ſides ſtruggling hard for the dominion of that element. As *Sicily*, the object of this diſpute, was an iſland, ſuch a contention was very natural. We ſhall now proceed to give a brief account of the principal tranſactions of every campaign, in order of time as they happened [n].

The Roman *faction in* Meſſana *ſend to* Rome *for ſuccours againſt the* Carthaginians.

The *Roman* faction in *Meſſana*, upon the admiſſion of a *Carthaginian* gariſon into the citadel, diſpatched freſh deputies to *Rome*, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the republic. Upon their arrival, in the name of their principals, they offered the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana* to the *Romans*, and, in the moſt moving terms, implored their protection. The conſcript fathers, imagining that a compliance with this requeſt would deſtroy the uniformity of their conduct, and make them loſe the high character they had gained by the ſevere puniſhment lately inflicted upon the perfidious *Campanian* legion, were for ſome time in ſuſpenſe what courſe to take; but afterwards conſidering what vaſt territories the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed in *Africa* and *Spain*; that they were maſters of a great part of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other iſlands lying on the coaſt of *Italy*; that they had a deſign on *Italy* itſelf, which they would moſt certainly put in execution, if they could intirely reduce *Meſſana*, and ſeize upon the whole iſland of *Sicily*; they either really were, or pretended to be, under great apprehenſions for their own ſafety, and therefore appeared diſpoſed to ſupport the *Mamertines*. This diſpoſition was ſoon turned into a reſolution by the unanimous voice of the people, who, having been greatly impoveriſhed by the late wars, and propoſing to themſelves no ſmall advantages from an invaſion of *Sicily*, to which likewiſe they were ſtrongly excited by thoſe who expected the command of the armies deſtined for that ſervice, were very eager from the beginning for an attempt to deliver *Meſſana*. The ſenate therefore decreed, that this enterpriſe ſhould be undertaken; and in conſequence of this decree, which was likewiſe confirmed by an ordinance of the people, *Appius Claudius*, one of the conſuls, received orders to attempt a paſſage to *Sicily*, at the head of a powerful army.

[m] Polyb. ubi ſup. [n] Vide Zonar. ubi ſup. Liv. epit. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. August. de civ. Dei, 3, 18. Auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. 37, & ſeq. Polyb. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. l. vi. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Appian. in Libyc. Val. Max. paſſ. alioſq; ſcript. plurim.

The

THE conſul, being obliged to ſtay ſome time longer in *Rome*, where his preſence was then neceſſary, on account of ſome affairs of moment, commanded one *Caius Claudius*, a legionary tribune, and a perſon of great intrepidity and reſolution, to advance with a few (B) veſſels to *Rhegium*. *Claudius*, upon his arrival there, obſerving the *Carthaginian* ſquadron to be infinitely ſuperior to his own, and abſolute maſters of the ſtraights, thought it would be little inferior to madneſs to attempt at that time tranſporting any forces to *Sicily*; and therefore contented himſelf, for the preſent, with watching the enemy's motions. However, he ſoon after, in a ſmall boat, boldly croſſed the ſtraights himſelf, and had a conference with the *Mamertines*; but finding that people awed by the *Carthaginian* gariſon in the citadel, he returned to *Rhegium*, without having been able to prevail upon them to accept of the *Roman* protection. Notwithſtanding which, in a little time, he received advice, that the *Mamertines*, being deſirous of expelling the *Carthaginians*, and recovering their former abſolute independency, were in motion; upon which he ventured a ſecond time to *Meſſana*, and aſſured the *Mamertines*, that the ſole view of his republic was, to reſtore them to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and preſerve them in that ſituation. Then addreſſing himſelf to the *Carthaginian* officers there preſent, he with an air of dignity told them, that they either ought immediately to abandon the place, or aſſign a reaſon for their continuance

The conſul ſends C. Claudius, *a legionary tribune, to act in his ſtead.*

(B) *Zonaras* calls theſe veſſels *triremes*; but in this he not only contradicts *Polybius*, but himſelf. For *Polybius* aſſerts, that neither quinqueremes nor triremes were in uſe amongſt the *Italians* before the firſt *Punic* war; and as for *Zonaras* himſelf, he aſſures us, that the *Romans* were intirely ignorant of every thing relating to the building and equipping of fleets before the commencement of their firſt quarrel with *Carthage*. We are told by ſome writers, that a *Carthaginian* galley, venturing too near the ſhore, was ſtranded, and taken by the *Romans*; and that, after the model of this galley, the *Romans* built many of thoſe veſſels, of which their firſt fleet was compoſed. This muſt have been a trireme; ſince, according to *Polybius*, their firſt fleet conſiſted both of quinqueremes and triremes. And *Aurelius Victor* gives us to underſtand, that the firſt *Carthaginian* quinquereme, which fell into the hands of the *Romans*, was taken by *Appius Claudius*, in his paſſage from *Meſſana* to *Rhegium* (*a*).

(*a*) *Zonar in annal. l.* viii. *c.* 8. *p.* 381. *edit. car. du Freſne. Pariſ* 1686. *Polyb. l* i. *Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr* 37. *Univerſ hiſt. vol.* 12. *p.* 11.

in it. The *Mamertines*, being under ſome reſtraint, by reaſon of the *Carthaginian* troops, which had taken poſt amongſt them, were ſilent; and the *Carthaginians*, being, in effect, maſters of the place, would not vouchſafe him an anſwer. Directing himſelf therefore to the latter, he told them, they had reaſon to be ſilent, ſince the iniquity of their conduct would not admit of a vindication. And as for you, *Mamertines*, added he, your ſilence I take to be a full proof of your paſſion for liberty; ſince, if you were diſpoſed to be ſlaves to ſuch imperious maſters, nothing could hinder you from declaring for them. The *Mamertines*, animated by the tribune's boldneſs, applauded his ſpeech, and ſhewed their readineſs to receive the *Roman* ſuccours. *Claudius*, having thus happily gained his point, departed to the oppoſite ſhore, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to tranſport a body of forces to *Meſſana* without delay [o].

The Romans *land in* Sicily, *and poſſeſs themſelves of* Meſſana.

The *Carthaginians*, being informed of the reſolution taken at *Rome* to aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, ſent a body of forces and a ſtrong ſquadron of gallies, under the command of *Hanno*, to *Sicily*. That general, receiving intelligence, that *Claudius* had ſet ſail from *Rhegium* with a (C) ſmall *Roman* fleet, and was

[o] Polyb. l. i. Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vir. illuſtr. 37. Liv. epit. l. xvi Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 239, & ſeq. & vol. xii. p. 1, & ſeq. Zonar. l. viii. c. 8, 9. Oros. ubi. ſup. c. 7.

(C) That the *Romans* were not intirely unacquainted with the art of navigation before the time of the firſt *Punic* war, is apparent from hence, that they were contiguous to the *Etruſcans*, a nation very powerful by ſea many centuries before this war, from whom they muſt undoubtedly have received ſome knowledge of ſea affairs; nay, they had conquered *Etruria*, and conſequently made themſelves maſters of the *Etruſcan* power both by ſea and land, before the commencement of the firſt *Punic* war. It is true, the *Etruſcan* power, particularly by ſea, had been declining many years before the *Romans* reduced *Etruria*; but conſidering how celebrated the *Etruſcans* had been, (4) for the figure they made by ſea in former ages, we cannot ſuppoſe them intirely void of ſhipping, when con-

(3) *Diod. Sic. l. v. & l. xi. Palæphat. n. 21. Strab. l. v. Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. vii. p. 296. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Iſidor. l. xviii. c. 4 & l. xix. c. 1. Diocles Caryſtius & Menodatus Samius apud Athen. in Deipnoſoph. l. xv. Demſt. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. c. 81, 82, 83, 84. edit. Florent. 1723. Vide & Pitiſc. Bonarot. explic. & conject. ad mon. ant. Demſt. addit. p. 51. edit. Florent. 1726.* (4) *Herodot. l. i. Tuc. l. i. ſub init. & auctor jam citat.*

quered

was ſteering towards *Meſſana*, in order to throw a body of troops into that place, immediately went in queſt of him; and coming

quered by the *Romans*. Beſides, ſeveral very ancient *Roman* coins, prior to the firſt *Punic* war, if not as old as the regal government, plainly prove the *Romans* not to have been abſolute ſtrangers to the art of conſtructing ſhips in earlier ages, ſince different parts of ſhips are viſible on the reverſes of theſe, (5) coins. On the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that, till the period above-mentioned, the *Romans* were much more intent upon rendering themſelves formidable by land, than by ſea; neither is it at all natural to believe, that they ſhould have entertained any thoughts of building and equipping a fleet of any force, before they had formed a deſign of attacking the dominions of ſome rival ſtate, ſeparated from their own by the watry element; and ſo we find, in fact, it happened. After having premiſed this, we think we may venture to allow a poſſibility of reconciling *Polybius* with himſelf, in his relation of the manner and period, wherein the *Romans* firſt endeavoured to fit out a fleet. That the *Romans* applied themſelves to commerce long before the times we are now ſpeaking of, is evident from the two firſt treaties they concluded with the *Carthaginians*, and from ſeveral other incidents taken notice of in the *Roman* hiſtory, as we have elſewhere obſerved; but then it is probable, that, for the moſt part, at leaſt, they traded in *Italian* bottoms, making uſe of the ſhips of their allies, who are expreſly mentioned in thoſe treaties, on ſuch occaſions. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they generally, if not always, as we are inclined to believe they did, applied to their allies for ſhips of war and naval ſuccours, whenever they wanted them. This is evident from *Juſtin* and *Polybius*, to omit other authors, from whom it appears, that, in the treaty concluded with *Carthage* near the time of *Pyrrhus*'s coming to *Italy*, it was ſtipulated, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould aſſiſt the *Romans* with a ſquadron, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by that prince; and that, in the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war, *Claudius* could not paſs over to *Sicily*, till he was ſupplied with ſhips by the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, and *Neapolitans*. That the *Romans* never equipped a fleet of any conſequence before this war, or had even any quinqueremes or triremes amongſt them, likewiſe farther appears from their being totally ignorant of the art of rowing and navigating thoſe veſſels, which they found themſelves obliged to learn firſt upon land: nor indeed is it poſſible to conceive, that they ſhould have had any ſquadron of note before they had theſe galleys, ſince the chief ſtrength of fleets, in the age we are now upon at leaſt, conſiſted in

(5) *Plin nat. hiſt. l. xiii. c. 3 Anton. Auguſtin archiepiſc. Tarracon. antiquit. Roman. & Hiſpanar. in num. vet dial i p. 5. B. Latine edit. ab And. Schotto, Antwerp* 1617. *Vide. & Voluſium Metianum in lib. de aſſe.*

coming up with him near the coaſt of *Sicily*, attacked him, with great fury. He had ſcarce begun the attack, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which daſhed many of the *Roman* veſſels in pieces againſt the rocks, they not being ſo capable of riding out a ſtorm as the *Carthaginian*, and did their ſquadron infinite prejudice, inſomuch, that *Claudius*, finding himſelf engaged with two enemies at once, was forced to give way. He was therefore totally defeated, moſt of his ſhips taken, others deſtroyed, and he himſelf obliged to retire with great difficulty to *Rhegium*. *Hanno*, either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, or to divert them from ſending ſuccours to *Meſſana*, reſtored all the veſſels he had taken from *Claudius*, who, when the *Carthaginian* deputies arrived, was refitting his fleet. Theſe deputies, upon their arrival, propoſed a treaty of peace to the tribune; which being rejected, they had ſome warm expoſtulations with the *Romans*, whom they accuſed of a violation of former treaties, declaring, that the *Carthaginians* would never ſuffer the *Romans* to be maſters of the ſtraights betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, nor even to waſh their hands in them. This, for the preſent, cut off all hopes of a pacification, ſo that *Claudius* reſumed his military preparations with the utmoſt vigour; which having completed, and narrowly obſerved when the wind and tide favoured him, he weighed anchor a ſecond time, and, eluding the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron poſted to intercept them, got ſafe into the port of *Meſſana*. The *Mamertines* having ſurrendered the town to him, *Hanno* thought proper to retire into the citadel; but at the deſire of *Claudius*, and the heads of the *Mamertines*, he had a conference with them, when he was perfidiouſly arreſted by one of the legionaries, at the command of the *Roman* general, and detained a conſiderable time priſoner. This ſtep greatly intimidated the *Carthaginian* gariſon,

ſuch galleys. The *Romans* therefore might have had a few coaſting veſſels, and rude galleys or biremes, of their own, in the times preceding the firſt *Punic* war; but they never croſſed the ſeas with any ſquadron of quinqueremes or triremes till now, as appears from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Polybius* therefore, in his account of the firſt fleet the *Romans* fitted out, muſt be underſtood as ſpeaking of *theſe ſhips only*. And indeed that the *Romans* were totally ignorant of the conſtruction of *this ſort* of veſſels, and that *they* were not uſed in any part of *Italy* before the firſt rupture of the *Romans* with the *Carthaginians*, may be certainly inferred from the expreſs words of that excellent hiſtorian. (t).

(t) *Polyb. l. i & l. iii. Juſtin l. xviii. Liv. epit. l. xvi & Flor. l. ii. c. 2. &c.*

ſon, and, with ſome ſucceeding perſuaſions and menaces intermixed, induced them to ſurrender the citadel to *Claudius*. *Hanno*, being afterwards releaſed, went to *Carthage*, to juſtify his conduct; which having the misfortune not to do to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate, he was, by their order, immediately crucified. *Polybius* tells us, that his countrymen ſuſpected him guilty either of cowardice or treachery; but that he really deſerved ſuch an imputation, does not appear from any point of his conduct. On the contrary, the cowardice of the *Carthaginian* gariſon, when deprived of their commandant, and the perfidiouſneſs of *Claudius*, ſeem to have been the true cauſes of the loſs of the citadel. Nothing can be inferred to his prejudice from the cruel and ignominious death he met with, ſince that was a fate common to the moſt famous *Carthaginian* generals when unſucceſsful [P].

The Carthaginians and Syracuſians lay ſiege to Meſſana.

THE *Carthaginians*, being determined at all events to diſlodge the *Romans* from *Meſſana*, raiſed a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet, for that purpoſe, appointing another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hannibal*, commander in chief of theſe forces. This general, landing his troops at *Lilybæum*, invited *Hiero*, king of *Syracuſe*, to enter into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and then marched to *Selinus*, near which city he encamped; from whence at the head of a conſiderable detachment, he advanced to *Agrigentum*, and repaired the fortifications of the citadel there. The *Agrigentines* were eaſily prevailed upon to declare for the *Carthaginians*; and *Hanno* upon his return to the camp at *Selinus*, found embaſſadors from *Hiero*, who had orders to concert with him the proper meaſures for driving the *Romans* out of *Sicily*. Purſuant to the plan of operations *Hanno* and *Hiero* had laid down, thoſe two generals marched with their united forces to *Meſſana*, and immediately inveſted the town. Before they beſieged the place in form, they ſummoned the *Roman* gariſon to ſurrender; which they refuſing to do, *Hanno* put all the *Italian* ſoldiers in the *Carthaginian* ſervice to the ſword, and thereby rendered an accommodation with the *Romans*, on the part of his nation, impracticable. The *Carthaginians* pitched their tents at *Senes* (D), a town in the neighbourhood of

[P] POLYB. ubi ſupra. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 7. Vide & JUSTIN. atq; DIODOR. paſſ.

(D) The *Greek* name of this place in *Polybius* is ΣΗΝΕΙΣ, in *Diodorus* ΕΥΝΕΙΣ, which *Rhodomanus* tranſlates *cubilia*. Whether the word is a proper name, or an appellative emphatically uſed, cannot now be determined, ſince none of the old geographers have taken

of *Messana*, and posted their fleet near the promontory (E) *Pelorus*, to prevent any supplies coming by sea; whilst *Hiero* encamped on the hill *Chalcidicus*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt the besieged and the neighbouring country. The *Romans*, being apprised of these motions, dispatched the consul *Appius Claudius* himself, at the head of a powerful army to *Rhegium*; who, upon his arrival there, sent embassadors to *Hiero*, conjuring him, by the antient friendship betwixt the *Romans* and him, to desist from the siege he had undertaken, promising at the same time, that not the least damage should be offered to his territories. *Hiero* answered, that the *Mamertines* had possessed themselves of *Messana* in the most villainous manner; that they had razed the cities of *Gela* and *Camarina*, and treated the inhabitants with unheard-of cruelty; that therefore such a nest of banditti ought to be intirely extirpated; that the *Romans* could not, without a manifest deviation from their pretended equity, take them under their protection; and that in case, contrary to expectation, this should happen, the world

taken any notice of a place known by this name in the neighbourhood of *Messana*. However this may be, it is probable, that the words used by *Polybius* and *Diodorus* (7) were originally the same, though afterwards rendered different by the carelessness and inattention of transcribers. The great affinity betwixt the letters [ΣΗΝΕΙΣ ΕΥΝΕΙΣ] of which they consist, since H is often written in MSS ɴ, one side of which might be easily defaced by length of time, and the letter thereby mistaken for a Υ, and the two initial letters in many MSS being nearly the same, gives good ground for such a supposition.

(E) It is something surprising, that so learned a man as *Rhodomanus*, in his *Latin* version of *Diodorus*, should translate the word ΑΚΡΑ here *arx*, which signifies a fort or citadel; whereas it ought to have been rendered *promontorium*, a cape or promontory. It is true, ΑΚΡΑ answers to both the significations of *arx* and *promontorium*; but that, in this place, it should be confined to the latter, is evident from *Polybius*, who intimates, that the *Carthaginian* fleet lay near cape *Pelorus* or *Peloris*, and lined the coast. That this cape or promontory was called *Pelorias*, the name *Diodorus* here uses, appears from *Ovid* and *Solinus*; which proves *Diodorus* exactly to correspond with *Polybius*. It must therefore be allowed, that here is a second instance produced, to which many others might be added, of *Rhodomanus*'s inaccuracy in his above mentioned version (8).

(7) *Polyb. & Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (8) *Idem ibid. Solin. c.* 5. *Ovid. fast. ver.* 479. *See likewise volume xvi. p.* 619. *not.* (M).

would

would naturally conclude, that they were not influenced by the maxims of rigid probity and juſtice, as they would have mankind believe, but ſwayed by ambition, their aim being not to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, but to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of *Sicily* [q].

THE conſul, having received this anſwer, reſolved to paſs over into *Sicily* with all poſſible expedition; but, to conceal his deſign, gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterpriſe, before he had conſulted the ſenate. This ſtratagem was of ſignal ſervice to him, ſince the *Carthaginian* ſquadron poſted to oppoſe his paſſage would undoubtedly have been too ſtrong for him, had they been appriſed of his reſolution; but this report reaching their ears, they guarded the ſtraights with leſs care and vigilance. In the mean time, *Appius*, going on board a (F) galley, built unſkilfully and in great haſte, pretended to coaſt along the ſhore in his way to *Rome*; but, as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached, with ſome tranſports, the neareſt coaſts of *Sicily*, and landed his forces, without being perceived by the enemy. He had no ſooner landed, but he took a view of both the enemies armies and their fleet; and finding them vaſtly ſuperior to his own, that they puſhed on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, and that, in all probability, the town muſt ſoon capitulate, unleſs their camps could be forced, which could not be done without a great effuſion of blood, he reſolved to make another effort to bring about an accommodation between the contending par-

And are defeated by the conſul Appius Claudius.

[q] POLYB. ubi ſup. DIODOR. SIC. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchelii. GEORG. SYNCELL. in chronograph. p. 275. edit. Par. 1652.

(F) *Aurelius Victor* intimates, that this *Claudius*, who was ſurnamed *Caudex*, and the brother of *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, or *the blind*, croſſed the ſtraights firſt in a ſmall fiſher-boat, with a few tranſports attending him, in order to diſcover the diſpoſition of the *Mamertines*, and reconnoitre the enemy; which having done, he returned to *Rhegium* in the ſame veſſel, and had the good luck to take a *Carthaginian* quinquereme, with a body of foot, in his paſſage, on board of which he ſoon after tranſported a *Roman* legion to *Meſſana*, following himſelf with his whole fleet, and the reſt of the land-forces. This general likewiſe is ſaid by the ſame author to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the *Volſinians*; which doubtleſs induced the ſenate to give him the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians* and their allies in *Sicily* (9).

(9) *Aurel. Vict ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr.* 37.

ties.

ties. In order to this, he dispatched ministers a second time both to *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, with fresh proposals for a peace, purely, as it should seem, to amuse them, till he had received a reinforcement from *Rome*, and was able to attack them with a better prospect of success; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, and finding, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, that he must either conquer or die, he first attacked the *Syracusians*, and that with such intrepidity, that tho' for some time they defended themselves with great bravery, putting the *Roman* cavalry into disorder, he defeated them, and entered *Messana* in a triumphant manner, loaden with their spoils. Following his blow, he fell immediately upon the *Carthaginians*, whose camp was at some distance from that of the *Syracusians*, as has been before observed; who, being surprised by the suddenness of the attack, were put to the rout, and, for the most part, either cut to pieces, or dispersed. The *Romans*, however, in all probability, would not have bought these advantages at so cheap a rate, had *Hanno* and *Hiero* opposed them with their united forces, as in good policy they ought to have done; but *Hiero*, finding that the *Romans* landed their troops without any obstruction from the *Carthaginian* fleet, immediately concluded, that *Hanno* kept a secret correspondence with the enemy, and therefore was afraid of reposing too great a confidence in him; in consequence of which distrust, *Hiero* decamped hastily in the night after the late advantage *Claudius* had obtained over him, though he was not in the least obliged to it, since the *Romans* could not force his camp. The enemy had hereby thrown into their hands an opportunity of attacking the *Carthaginians* with their whole strength, and gaining a most signal victory over them. This is the account given us by *Polybius*; but *Zonaras* relates that event differently. According to him the *Carthaginian* camp was so secured by the sea and a morass, that it was accessible only by one avenue, which, being a narrow passage, and fortified by a strong wall, the *Romans* found it impossible to enter. After a furious assault, they were beaten off by a shower of darts, and forced to retire with great loss. The *Carthaginians*, thinking themselves now sure of victory, pushed the legionaries to the walls of the town; but the latter, having drawn the enemy out of their impregnable camp, faced about with great bravery, and in their turn repulsed them with such slaughter, that they never durst appear afterwards, as long as *Claudius* continued in *Messana*. *Claudius* afterwards, finding no enemy to make head against him in the field, ravaged the enemy's territories in a dreadful manner, making excursions to the very gates of *Syracuse*;

Syracuſe; nay, if *Zonaras* may be credited, he laid ſiege to that place, though the *Syracuſians* defended themſelves with ſuch valour, that he had no proſpect of reducing it. They cut off abundance of his men in the ſallies they made, and in one of them had taken him priſoner, had he not luckily juſt before propoſed ſome terms of peace to *Hiero*, which prevented the gariſon from puſhing matters to the laſt extremity. As *Hiero* was inwardly a well-wiſher to the *Romans*, he did not ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed at the conſul's overtures; but the campaign being almoſt at an end, and *Claudius* leaving the iſland ſoon after, the negotiation was ſuſpended till the following year. Thus the *Carthaginians* not only loſt *Meſſana*, but almoſt all poſſibility of recovering it. Thoſe of them that eſcaped the late carnage took ſhelter in the neighbouring fortified towns, expecting to be put into a condition of acting offenſively the following ſpring. As for *Claudius*, having left a ſtrong gariſon in *Meſſana*, the ſeaſon being far advanced, he paſſed over to *Rhegium*, and from thence purſued his journey to *Rome* [r].

The Romans deſtach Hiero from the Carthaginian intereſt, and enter into a negotiation with him.

AFTER the conſul's departure, *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, drawing together a body of regular troops, reduced many towns that had fallen to the enemy. But the ſucceeding conſuls, *Manius Octacilius Craſſus* and *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, tranſporting to *Sicily* two conſular armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand legionaries and ſix hundred horſe, with a great number of auxiliaries, upon their arrival recovered moſt of thoſe places. They firſt laid ſiege to *Adranum*, and took it by ſtorm. Afterwards they advanced to *Centuripe*, and encamped before it. Whilſt they were making preparations for an attack, there arrived embaſſadors in the camp from the *Alæſinians* (G), who deſired to be taken under the protection of the *Romans*; and about ſixty-ſeven other towns followed their example. The conſuls, animated by ſuch a rapid progreſs, moved with all their forces towards *Syracuſe*, the capital of the iſland, with an intention to form the ſiege of that city. Their approach

[r] POLYB. & DIODOR. ubi ſup. Auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. ex. 37, & ſeq. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. SEX. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat l. i. c. 4. ex. 11. Vide etiam EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. ubi ſup. & SIL. ITAL. l. vi.

(G) The *Greek* word, in all the printed and manuſcript copies of *Polybius*, is ΛΑΙΣΙΝΟΙ, in which, through the neglect or ignorance of tranſcribers, [A] has been omitted. This is ſo apparent, that we think it ſufficient juſt to have taken notice of it.

ſcattered terror throughout the iſland, and ſo intimidated *Hiero*, who now plainly diſcovered the great ſuperiority of the *Romans* in this war, that he began to entertain thoughts of renewing the negotiation, which *Claudius*'s ſudden departure out of *Sicily* had broken off towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. As the treaty concluded betwixt the *Romans* and *Hiero* did not a little contribute to the declenſion of the *Carthaginian* power, we ſhall beg leave here to touch upon a few particulars relating to that remarkable event, as well as to *Hiero* himſelf, which have been omitted in all former parts of this work [f].

Hiero *comes to an accommodation with the* Romans.

AFTER *Pyrrhus*'s precipitate retreat, the *Carthaginians* became on a ſudden ſo powerful in *Sicily*, that the *Greek* cities there thought themſelves in danger of being ſpeedily over-run by that nation; nay, *Polyænus* intimates, that there was an actual war betwixt theſe two powers, and that the *Carthaginian* admiral, by a ſtratagem, gained a conſiderable advantage over *Hiero*. This induced *Hiero* to court the friendſhip of the *Romans*, looking upon them as the only power that could give a check to the towering projects of the *Carthaginians*, and defeat their ambitious deſigns. He therefore ſent a ſupply of troops and proviſions to the *Roman* forces then employed in the ſiege of *Rhegium*, which enabled them to reduce that place, and conſequently rendered them more capable of ſupporting him, whenever he ſhould ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. This was the baſis of that good underſtanding, which ſubſiſted for ſo long a time between the two powers, though it at firſt met with a ſhort interruption. The *Carthaginians*, ever jealous of the neighbouring ſtates, and now particularly ſo of the *Romans*, took umbrage at this harmony, as plainly diſcovering the drift of it. In order therefore to traverſe it, they prevented *Hiero* from poſſeſſing himſelf of *Meſſana*, made it a pretext for a quarrel with the *Romans*, and pretended to take the *Mamertines* under their protection. *Hiero*, finding the *Romans* not willing to act in favour of the *Mamertines*, upon the firſt application of that people to them, and that the *Carthaginians*, at the ſame time they entered the citadel of *Meſſana*, expreſſed a deſire of being upon good terms with him, thought it agreeable to his intereſt to enter into an alliance with the latter; which he accordingly did, and, in conjunction with them, declared war againſt the *Romans*. This brought on the action

[f] ZONAR. annal. l. viii. c. 9. Flor. l ii. c. 2. POLYB. ubi. ſup. l. IV. epit. l xvi. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Rhodoman. l. xxiii. OROS. ubi ſup.

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above-mentioned between *Hiero* and *Claudius*, wherein the former being defeated, fled to *Syracuſe*, looking upon himſelf as betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, becauſe their fleet had not hindered *Claudius* from landing his troops in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* could never afterwards make a friend of that prince; ſo great an averſion did he, from this period, conceive to them. *Claudius*, purſuing *Hiero* to his capital city, beſieged him therein; which ſtill made him more deſirous of abandoning the *Carthaginians*, and which he undoubtedly then had done, ſince *Claudius* propoſed an accommodation to him, had not the plague broke out in the *Roman* army, which, together with the famine and the vigorous defence of the beſieged, obliged the conſul to draw off, and, as ſhould ſeem, precipitately to leave the iſland. However, the next year matters took another turn: the *Romans*, in the beginning of the campaign, conquered a good part of *Sicily* almoſt without oppoſition, advanced, at the head of their legions, to the gates of *Syracuſe*, and inveſted the town. At the ſame time, according to *Philinus* (H), they beſieged *Echetla*, a fortreſs in the dependency of *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſian* nobility, having now a proſpect of nothing but a long train of calamities, intreated their ſovereign to make overtures for a peace to the *Roman* generals, and thereby prevent the ruin that threatened them. Such a deſire falling in with *Hiero*'s natural ſentiments, he readily complied with it; ſo that diſpatching embaſſadors immediately to the *Roman* camp, a treaty of friendſhip and alliance was concluded to the ſatis-

(H) This *Philinus* we have already had occaſion to mention as a very partial hiſtorian; but *Polybius* likewiſe repreſents him as one abſolutely inconſiſtent with himſelf, and guilty of the greateſt abſurdities. A certain author, whom we have before taken notice of, thinks, from the corrupted proper name *Philænius*, that he was the ſame perſon *Cornelius Nepos* tells us wrote the hiſtory of *Hannibal*. From hence, and ſome MSS. of *Nepos*, it ſeems to follow, that he was called by *Cicero*, *Silenus*. But both theſe notions are overthrown by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in agreement with *Polybius*, calls him *Philinus*; and tells us, that he was an *Agrigentine*, and wrote the hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* war, without entering at all into his character. Had this been duly attended to, it might have prevented ſome miſtakes in *Hendreich*, *Voſſius* and others (10).

(10) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* xvi *p.* 515, & 517 *in not.* (N) *Gib. fin. Polyb l.* i *Diod. Sic.* xxiii. *in excerpt. Hæſch. Cic. de divin. l.* i. *Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. Hendr. in catal. auctor. Vide & Boſium, atq; not. ad. Corn. Nep. de Hannib p.* 604. *edit. Lugd Bat.* 1734.

faction of both parties. Many things concurred to diſpoſe the *Romans* to facilitate ſo ſalutary a work; but it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that by the concluſion of this treaty, they got, according to *Eutropius*, two hundred talents of ſilver, or, as *Diodorus* will have it, an hundred and forty thouſand drachmas, a plentiful ſupply of proviſions through the future courſe of this war, and found themſelves enabled to reduce their army in *Sicily* to two legions. For an account of the particular articles of this treaty, we muſt refer our readers to the hiſtory of *Syracuſe* [t] (I).

Which the Carthaginians endeavour to obſtruct but in vain.

THE intereſt both of *Hiero* and the *Romans* rendered an accommodation neceſſary: the *Romans* could not have carried on the war with any tolerable proſpect of ſucceſs for want of proviſions, ſince the *Carthaginians*, being maſters at ſea, could eaſily have intercepted their convoys, and cut off all ſupplies, that might have come from the coaſt of *Italy*, as they actually did the laſt year, which reduced the *Romans* to the extremities hinted at above. And, on the other hand, *Hiero* found the *Carthaginians* not able to protect his dominions, nor himſelf in a capacity to make head againſt the conſuls. If *Livy*, *Zonaras*, *Eutropius*, and *Syncellus*, may be credited, he received ſeveral overthrows from the *Romans* ſince the breaking out of this war, which, in all probability, muſt have intirely exhauſted him. The peace concluded at firſt was not perpetual, but only for a term of fourteen years. The *Carthaginians* endeavoured by all poſſible means to obſtruct the negotiation, but without any effect. With this view it was, that *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* general, advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to *Xiphonia*, giving *Hiero* to underſtand, that he was in a condition to ſupport him; but hearing that every thing was ſettled, he thought proper to retire [u].

[t] ZONAR. ubi. ſup. p. 379, 380. EUTROP. hiſt. Rom. l. ii. POLYÆN ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 4. LIV. FLOR. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. PHILINUS apud POLYB. l. i. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 247, &c. [u] LIV. EUTROP. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. GEOR. SYNCEL. in chronogr. p. 275. POLYB. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

(I) *Eutropius* intimates, that *Hiero* concluded a treaty of peace with the *Romans* in the third year of this war. But the other authors we have cited, or at leaſt the majority and beſt of them, have placed that treaty in the ſecond campaign, and therefore we have choſen to follow them (11).

(11) *Eutrop. l. ii.*

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THE *Carthaginians*, being thus deserted by their ally, found themselves obliged to bear the whole burden of the war, which yet they believed themselves capable of doing. They were so far from being dispirited on this occasion, that they resolved to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner, to drive the *Romans* out of *Sicily*, and even to oblige king *Hiero* to renounce his new alliance. They placed numerous garisons in all their frontiers, perfected the works of their fortified towns, and sent officers, with large sums of money, to make levies in *Liguria*, *Gaul*, and *Iberia*. The *Romans* in the mean time, marching into the *Carthaginian* territories, laid siege to *Adranon* and *Macella*, which they carried on with great vigour, but were repulsed in all their assaults, and at last forced to rise from before them. However, they met with better success at *Segesta* (K), which, having been founded by *Æneas*, or at least one of his *Trojan* companions, and consequently related to the *Romans*, opened its gates to the consul, after having massacred the *Carthaginian* garison. The people of *Alicna* did the like. *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Ascela*, were carried sword in hand. As for the *Tyndarites*, they proposed submitting upon the first appearance of the *Roman* army, had they not been prevented by the *Carthaginians*, who, upon the first intelligence of their design, carried off the principal citizens as hostages, and conveyed all the provisions and military stores in

The Romans *reduce several towns in* Sicily.

(K) According to *Servius*, this city received its name from one *Acestes*, a *Trojan*, whom *Æneas* left in possession of it at his departure from *Sicily*. *Ennius* calls this *Acestes Æneas*'s host, and consequently intimates him to have been one of the *Aborigines* of *Sicily*. The inhabitants of it, from their first acquaintance with the *Romans*, looked upon them as their kindred and relations, and always most heartily espoused their interest. Before that time, it is probable, they had an aversion to the *Greeks*, as being of *Trojan* extraction; and therefore might very naturally court the assistance of the *Carthaginians* on all occasions, as we find sometimes they did. Afterwards, when they became subject to *Carthage*, they undoubtedly were very faithful to that state; but, at the commencement of this war, preferred the *Romans* to that nation, for the reason above assigned. That cities frequently, in antient times, were denominated after great men, is a truth obvious to all persons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiquity (12).

(12) *Virg. Æn. v. ver.* 718. & *Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver. 4. de stat. c.* 33. *Ennius apud. Lactant. l.* i. *c.* 22. *Dio. l.* liv. *Vide & Velser. antiquit.. l.* v.

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the place to *Lilybæum*. After this, the consuls retired to *Rhegium*, where they took up their winter-quarters [w].

They defeat the Carthaginians *and take* Agrigentum.

The next campaign, the *Carthaginians* appointed *Hanno* commander in chief of all their forces, who made *Agrigentum*, as being the most commodious for that purpose by its situation, a place of arms, and fixed there his principal magazine. The consuls *L. Posthumius Megellus* and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*, being apprised of this, advanced with a powerful army into the neighbourhood of that city, and, after having blocked it up for some months, besieged it in form. As this siege happened in the middle of harvest, the *Carthaginian* garison, observing great numbers of the enemy dispersed in the fields, in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous sally, cut many of them to pieces, and had almost forced their intrenchments; but were at last beat back into the town. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, the son of *Gisco*, who commanded in the place, finding the *Romans* to push on the siege with such vigour, that he must be obliged to capitulate, unless speedily relieved, dispatched reiterated expresses to *Carthage*, with an account of his distress. Hereupon *Hanno* received orders to attempt raising the siege; in order to which, he first marched to *Heraclea*, within twenty miles of *Agrigentum*, and from thence to *Erbessa*, where posting himself, he so streightened the *Roman* army, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions, as having no prospect of any supply. Though that army at first, according to *Diodorus*, consisted of an hundred thousand men, most of whom were *Sicilians*, not a fourth part of them now remained fit for service; and the plague at the same time breaking out amongst them, they found themselves in a very melancholy situation. This induced the consuls now to think of attacking *Hanno*, though they had before declined an engagement, when that general had made a motion, as though he intended to offer them battle, and even defeated their cavalry. Having then plenty of provisions, and being strongly intrenched, they imagined themselves able to starve the garison to a surrender; and therefore, as their army, through the great fatigues they had undergone during the siege, was not near so numerous as the *Carthaginian*, they judged it prudent to avoid a battle; but being now reduced to great distress, they braved the enemy; who suspecting some ambuscade, did not shew the same disposition to fight. The *Romans*, however, reaped

[w] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oros & Zonar. ubi sup. Vide & Fulv. Fest. in voc. *Segesta*.

considerable

conſiderable advantage from this conduct; for *Hiero*, finding the *Carthaginians* ſuperior to his new allies, had delayed ſupporting them in the manner he was obliged to by the laſt treaty; whereas at this time, ſeeing the tables turned, he ſupplied them in great abundance with all kinds of proviſions. Many *Sicilian* cities likewiſe, animated by the ſame event, ſent deputations to the *Romans*, and joined them with a good body of forces. *Hanno*, obſerving this, and believing *Hannibal*, ſallying out of the town in the heat of the action, would fall upon the rear of the enemy, advanced ſome time after into a plain near the *Roman* camp, and drew up his army in order of battle. In the mean time, the *Roman* generals, by way of precaution, had poſted proper detachments to repulſe any ſally the beſieged might make, and, upon *Hanno*'s approach, ſent privately another body to attack the *Carthaginian* rear. As ſoon as this diſpoſition was made, the *Roman* army moving out of their trenches into the plain, faced the enemy, and towards evening a bloody engagement enſued. But the *Romans* behaved with ſuch bravery, that, notwithſtanding the obſtinate reſiſtance they met with, they carried the day, and intirely routed the *Carthaginians*, putting to the ſword vaſt numbers of their men, and killing ſome of their elephants. *Hannibal*, during the engagement, ſallied out with the beſt part of the gariſon; but being repulſed by the troops the conſuls had poſted at all the avenues to the city, he was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Immediately afterwards making his eſcape, he abandoned the place to the *Romans*; and *Hanno* fled, with the broken remains of his army, to *Heraclea*. The ſiege of *Agrigentum* continued ſeven months, the *Romans* loſing thirty thouſand foot and five hundred and forty horſe before the town *.

Proceedings of the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily the beginning of this campaign.

THE *Carthaginians*, greatly chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of their arms the preceding campaign, attributed it, as uſual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an immenſe ſum of money from *Hanno*, by way of fine, but likewiſe deprived him of his commiſſion, appointing *Himilcar* to command the forces in his room. *Hannibal*, an officer of good repute, took upon him the command of the fleet, and received orders from *Hamilcar* to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, that he might draw the conſuls that way, and by ſuch a diverſion, enable the land-forces to attack more ſucceſsfully the *Roman* conqueſts in *Sicily*. But the *Romans* had taken ſuch care to guard their coaſts, by poſting detachments in proper places to prevent the enemy from making a deſcent,

* ZONAR. ubi ſupra.

that

that this design was rendered abortive, and the consul *C. Duilius* landed two legions in *Sicily* without opposition. Upon his arrival there, he advanced to *Myttistratum* (L), and laid siege to that fortress; but, notwithstanding the large train of battering-engines he had with him, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with great loss. In the mean time, *Hamilcar*, suspecting a body of *Gallic* mercenaries in his army of a design to desert to the enemy, because they had lately mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to storm a town defended by a *Roman* garison, of which, by means of his spies, he gave the *Romans* private intelligence, that they might receive them in a proper manner. The *Romans*, thus informed of their approach, laid an ambuscade for the *Gauls*; into which falling, and not being supported by *Hamilcar*, they were all cut off to a man. *Frontinus* seems to relate this event differently, intimating, that the *Gauls*, amounting to four thousand men, were sent to pillage the country, and that they sold their lives at a dear rate. The consul, being ignorant of *Hamilcar*'s view in this point of conduct, looked upon the action as a signal advantage gained over the enemy, and, animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for a fresh attack upon the *Carthaginian* territories. But the *Romans* receiving now a blow by sea, he was recalled to command the fleet, and consequently, for some time, obliged to suspend the operations by land[y].

Boodes *takes a* Roman *squadron of galleys; and the* Romans, *in their turn, beat* Hannibal, *the* Carthaginian *admiral.*

The *Romans*, observing that the coasts of *Italy* lay exposed to the depredations of the *Carthaginian* fleets, which made frequent descents upon them, whilst *Africa* enjoyed all the sweets of peace, were resolved to attack the enemy in the most sensible part, and, in order to this, to equip a fleet capable of coping with any the *Carthaginians* could fit out against them.

[y] Dion. Sic. & Polyb. ubi. supra. Zonar. l. viii. c 10. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Liv. in epit. 17. Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 16. ex. 3.

(L) This town *Diodorus* calls *Mystratus*, *Polybius Myttistratum*, *Zonaras Mutistratus*, *Stephanus Byzantinus Amestratus*, and *Silius Italicus Amastra*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mutustratini*, which were undoubtedly the inhabitants of it. Both from the name and the situation assigned it by some of the above-mentioned authors, the *Sicilian* town at present called *Mistretta* seems to answer to it (13)

(13) *Diod Sic l. xxiii. in excerpt Rhodoman. Polyb. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. Steph Byzant. de urb. in. voc. Plin. l. iii. c. 8. Sil. Ital. l. xiv. ver. 267.*

This

This was a bold undertaking in a nation, who were almoſt totally ignorant of ſea-affairs, and ſuch a ſtrange phænomenon, that it induced *Polybius*, according to his own relation, to write the hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* war. We ſhall therefore make it our buſineſs here to touch upon all the moſt material circumſtances relative to ſuch an extraordinary attempt, that have hitherto eſcaped us. *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, being deſirous of deſtroying the *Roman* navy in its infancy, by his emiſſaries found means to decoy *Cneius*, or, as *Polybius* calls him, *Caius Cornelius Scipio*, with ſeventeen new-built galleys, to the port of *Lipara*. Upon his arrival there, the *Carthaginians*, who had ſent before a ſquadron into that harbour under the command of *Boodes*, begged for peace in the moſt ſuppliant manner, pretending to ſubmit to whatever conditions the *Romans* ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. At the ſame time they acquainted him, that the *Carthaginian* commodore was ſo extremely indiſpoſed, that he could not poſſibly come on board his galley, or that otherwiſe he would have waited upon him, and made the overture in perſon; and therefore intreated him to honour *Boodes* with his company, in order to ſettle a firm and laſting peace between the two nations. The credulous *Roman*, giving ear to this propoſal, was detained priſoner by the perfidious *Carthaginian*, and his whole ſquadron taken after a faint reſiſtance. This *Roman* ſquadron was ſent from the reſt of the ſhips to *Meſſana*, to reconnoitre the coaſts, and give directions there for the reception and ſecurity of the grand fleet; of which *Hannibal*, who was then at *Panormus*, receiving intelligence, immediately detached twenty galleys, under the command of *Boodes*, who made themſelves maſters of the *Roman* veſſels in the manner above-mentioned. *Zonaras* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* comodore at firſt made the proper diſpoſitions to attack the *Romans*; but finding them in a poſture to give him a warm reception, he judged it more convenient to have recourſe to the artifice already related. The ſame author adds, that the legionary tribunes on board the *Roman* fleet, attending the conſul, were likewiſe taken, and all of them ſent priſoners to *Carthage*; and that, after this, the ſeventeen galleys ſurrendered, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Soon after *Hannibal* himſelf committed great ravages on the coaſts of *Italy*, whither he had advanced at the head of fifty galleys, to take a view of the *Roman* naval forces there; but was attacked in his turn, loſt the beſt part of his ſhips, and with great difficulty made his eſcape. This ſomething raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the *Romans*, who

were not a little dejected at the loss they had before sustained [z].

Duilius *the consul gains another most signal victory over him.*

Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Carthaginians*, being one of the most powerful nations of the world by sea, entertained still a very contemptible opinion of the *Roman* fleet, which was but in its infancy. The *Romans*, on the other hand, dreaded the naval force of the *Carthaginians*, though they had gained an advantage over *Hannibal*, especially as they had lost one of their consuls, who was an able and brave commander. In order therefore to make head against the enemy upon the watery element, the senate ordered the remaining consul, *C. Duilius*, immediately to leave *Sicily*, and take upon him the command of the squadron then in the straights of *Rhegium*. This he did, and engaging the *Carthaginians*, by the help of the *corvus*, a machine which we have already described at large from *Polybius*, intirely defeated them [a]. Some authors intimate, that the *manus ferreæ*, or *harpagones*, a grappling instrument, were a machine different from the *corvi* [b] (M), and of great service to the *Romans* in this action. Others maintain, that they were the same or at least that the former appertained to the latter [c]. For our part, we think it evident from *Curtius*, *Pliny*, and others, that the *manus ferreæ* (N) were more antient than the *corvi*, and of *Tyrian*

[z] Diod. Sic. Liv. Polyb & Zonar. ubi sup. Polyæn. strat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 5. Vide & Ennium in annal. 6, 7. cum not. Hieron. Column. accurant. Hessel. Amst. 1707. [a] Polyb. Liv. & Flor. ubi sup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. Luc. Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Aurel. Vict. sive auct. vit. vir. illust. 38 Eutrop. l. ii. [b] Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Curt. l. iv. pass. Vide & Freinshem. in Flor. l. ii. c 2 atq ; Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. [c] Flor. & auct. vit. vir. illust. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. l. ii. c 3. ex. 24.

(M) To what has been already said of the *corvus*, we shall only add, that the chevalier *Folard* has obliged the world with a learned and curious dissertation upon it. *Dominicus Machanæus*, in his scholia upon *Cornelius Nepos*, likewise has given us a minute description of it, which is extracted chiefly from *Polybius*. This we mention purely for the sake of our curious and inquisitive readers.

(N) *Zonaras* intimates, that the *manus ferreæ*, or *harpagones*, were fixed to the ends of long poles, and that with them the *Romans* grappled and brought to the enemy's ships. *Livy* gives us much the same account of them, and tells us, that the *Carthaginians* likewise made use of them in their naval engagements with the *Romans* ; which seems a sufficient proof, that they were not the *corvi*,

Tyrian extraction, and consequently known to the [d] *Carthaginians* themselves; though at the same time we believe they were much improved by the *corvi*. As the *Roman* vessels were vastly inferior to the *Carthaginian* in lightness and activity, the *corvus* was invented to remedy that defect. *Hannibal*, though he performed the part of a gallant commander in this action, was obliged to abandon his septireme, or admiral galley, to the enemy, and got off in a small boat. The rest of the *Carthaginian* galleys soon after came up with the *Romans*, but met with the same fate the others had done before. The loss of the *Carthaginians* in this double engagement is variously related by the *Roman* historians; but the most authentic account of it is the inscription on the basis of the *columna rostrata* (O) of *Duilius*, still preserved at *Rome*, and which may be seen in a former part of this work. As for *Hannibal*, having before fled from *Agrigentum*, he would most certainly have been crucified upon his arrival at *Carthage*, had he not, by an instance of *Punic* subtilty, avoided the impending danger. However, the senate thought proper to re-

[d] LIV. ubi sup. Vide & SCHEFFER. in Mil. nav. l. xi. c. 7.

vus, since this was invented by *Duilius*. *Scheffer* thinks that these *manus ferreæ*, or *harpagones*, were iron hooks fixed in the heads of poles, which, by the assistance of a chain fastened to the mast, were thrown down with great force upon the enemies vessels; which they penetrated in such a manner, that nothing could disengage them; so that they hoisted them up into the air, and then dashed them upon the water with so great violence, that they were frequently sunk. The *Greeks* called this machine ἅρπαγη, according to *Hesychius* (14).

(O) The *naves rostratæ* from whence *Duilius*'s pillar was called *columna rostrata*, were vessels so denominated from the *Latin* word *rostra* signifying the beaks of ships. These beaks, in figure resembling those of birds, consisted of brass, and served not only to cut the water in sailing, but likewise to damage the enemys ships in an engagement. This is not only apparent from the figure of these vessels in the *columna rostrata* of *Duilius*, and on antient coins, but likewise from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*. The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* both made use of such vessels. It is likely they were of eastern extraction. The *Carthaginians*, as *Silius* seems to intimate, had them from their ancestors the *Tyrians* and they from the *Sidonians* (15).

(14) *Zonar. l.* viii. *c.* 10. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 10. *Scheffer. ubi sup. Hesych. in voc.* ἁρπάγη. (15) *Isidor. l.* xix. *c.* 1. *Diod Sic. l.* xiv. *Polyb. l.* i. *c.* 50. *Sil Italic. l.* xiv.

move him from the command of the ſea-forces. This we learn from *Oroſius* and *Zonaras*; but, according to *Polybius*, he was continued in that poſt, and the ſame campaign crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another diſgrace from the *Romans* [e].

Hamilcar ſurpriſes the Syracuſians, *and reduces ſeveral towns in* Sicily.

Fortune, however, did not intirely abandon the *Carthaginians*. Their arms in *Sicily* were attended with a good run of ſucceſs after the departure of *Duilius*; for though the *Romans*, in conſequence of their late victory, obliged the *Carthaginians* to raiſe the ſiege of *Segeſta*, which a body of their troops had formed, and carried the town of *Macella* by aſſault; yet *Hamilcar*, whoſe head-quarters were then at *Panormus*, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attack them. In the mean time, a diſpute aroſe in the *Roman* camp between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries, which came to ſuch a height, that a ſeparation ſeemed inevitable, the former having actually marked out a camp for themſelves between *Paropus* and *Thermæ* (P). A general, much leſs vigilant than *Hamilcar*, would naturally have taken advantage of ſuch a diſſenſion; the *Carthaginians* therefore, ſurpriſing them near the ſpot of ground they had choſen to encamp upon, before they could intrench themſelves, put four thouſand, according to *Polybius*, or, as *Diodorus* will have it, ſix thouſand, of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. After

[e] Aurel. Vict. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Polyb. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 16. not. (F). Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hœſchel.

(P) *Salmaſius*, depending upon the authority of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, places the city here mentioned by *Diodorus* in the ſouthern, or rather ſouth-weſtern, part of the iſland, in the neighbourhood of *Selinus*. Beſides this, there was another of the ſame name, founded by the *Carthaginians* upon the ruins of *Himeræ*, which we have already given a deſcription of. That the *Termini* of the modern *Sicilians* ſtands upon the ſame ſpot of ground, which the antient *Thermæ Himerenſes*, or, as *Diodorus* calls it, *Therma*, occupied, is evident from *Gruter* and *Marius Aretius*. *Cicero* likewiſe, and *Pindar*'s ſcholiaſt, both make notice of this laſt city; which we could not intirely paſs over in ſilence, as being of *Carthaginian* extraction (16).

(16) *Strab l.* vi. *p.* 189. *P. Mel l.* ii. *c.* 7. *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Salmaſ in Solin. c.* 5. *p.* 80. *Cic. in Ver.* ii. *c.* 35. *Scol. in Pind. Olymp* xvii. *ſub fin. Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *Marius Aretius in chorograph. Sicil. & inſcript. apud Gruter. p.* 433. *n.* 6. *Apollodor. apud Strab. ubi ſup. p.* 188. *Thucyd. l.* vi. *ſub init.*

this

this blow, *Hamilcar* made himſelf maſter of *Camarina* and *Enna*, and fortified *Drepanum*, ſurrounding it with a wall. Here he likewiſe depoſited the moſt valuable part of his baggage and other effects. Then advancing to *Eryx*, he almoſt razed that antient city, leaving only a ſmall part of it ſtanding to cover the famous temple of *Venus Erycina*, ſuppoſed to have been built by *Æneas*; and carried the inhabitants to *Drepanum*. This he did to prevent the *Romans* from taking poſt in that fortreſs, in caſe the citizens ſhould be diſpoſed to invite them thither. In ſhort, he reduced many cities, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and had made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, had not *Florus*, the *Roman* general, after *Duilius* was gone to *Rome*, behaved with great vigilance and bravery. However, this ſucceſs was not laſting, as we ſhall ſee immediately [f].

Hannibal *ſurpriſed by the* Romans, *and crucified by his own men.*

Hannibal, according to *Polybius*, after the defeat off of *Mylæ*, returned to *Carthage*; where being reinforced by a good number of galleys, and attended by many officers of great merit, he put to ſea again, ſteering his courſe for the coaſt of *Sardinia*. He had not been long in one of the harbours of that iſland, probably *Calaris*, now *Cagliari*, but he was ſurpriſed by the *Romans*, who carried off many of his ſhips, and took great numbers of his men priſoners. This ſo incenſed the reſt, that they ſeized their admiral, and crucified him; but who was his immediate ſucceſſor, does not appear. The *Romans*, however, reaped no other advantage from this action, than ſhewing their activity, encouraging their allies, and a little diminiſhing the naval power of their rival. Had *Hannibal* eſcaped death for the preſent, it is probable he would have met with it at *Carthage*; ſince it was looked upon there as the higheſt crime in a general to be unſucceſsful. Nothing further material happened either this campaign, or the following, if we will give credit to *Polybius* [g].

The progreſs of the Romans *in* Sicily.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the following campaign, *Hamilcar* put his troops into winter-quarters at *Panormus*, poſting proper detachments at the principal avenues to the city, to prevent a ſurpriſe. In the mean time, *C. Aquilius Florus*, the *Roman* general, having received a reinforcement, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, and offered the enemy battle; but finding that they would not ſtir out of the town, and that he was not ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of the place, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, he

[f] DIOD. SIC. & POLYB. ubi ſup. [g] POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi ſupra.

moved

moved with his army to *Hippana*, and took it by aſſault. From thence he marched to *Myttiſtratum*, a fortreſs which the *Romans* had twice ineffectually beſieged, and ſat down before it. *Florus* here made his approaches ſo ſlowly, either through the bad diſpoſition of the ground, or the bravery of the *Carthaginian* gariſon, that he could not reduce the city before the expiration of his office. However early the next ſpring, his ſucceſſor, *A. Attilius Collatinus*, or, as *Zonaras* calls him, *A. Attilius Latinus*, joining the army before *Myttiſtratum* with a ſtrong body of forces, puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the *Carthaginian* gariſon abandoned the town in the night, and the wives and children of the citizens, by their outcries and lamentations, obliged them to open the gates to the *Romans*. The ſoldiers, enraged at the obſtinate defence they had made, and their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, at firſt put all they met, without diſtinction, to the ſword; but the conſul cauſing a proclamation to be made, that every *Roman* ſoldier ſhould poſſeſs all the perſons and effects of thoſe he took priſoners, the ſlaughter ceaſed. However, the city itſelf was levelled with the ground, and the remaining part of the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves. The conſul next attacked *Camarina*, and, in his march thither, was near being cut off, with his whole army, by a ſtratagem of *Hamilcar*, as has been already related; but found it ſo ſtrong, and defended by ſo numerous a gariſon, that he could not make himſelf maſter of it, till he received a large train of battering engines and other ſupplies from king *Hiero*. After theſe arrived, the *Romans* ſoon carried the town, and treated the inhabitants in the ſame manner they had done thoſe of *Myttiſtratum*. The conſul afterwards ſeized upon *Enna* by treachery, and maſſacred the *Carthaginian* gariſon. *Sittana* he took by ſtorm; and *Camicus*, a caſtle belonging to the *Agrigentines*, was betrayed to him. Other places, of leſs importance, ſurrendered of courſe; ſo that the *Carthaginians* began to loſe ground conſiderably, notwithſtanding their late ſucceſſes. The *Romans*, looking upon *Camicus* as a poſt of conſequence, left a conſiderable party of men to defend it; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of *Erbeſſus*, which was deſerted by its inhabitants, made preparations to ſit down before *Lipara* with all their forces [h].

[h] Polyb. ubi ſup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. p. 387. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Aurel. Vict. ſive auct vit. vir. illuſtr. in Attil. Collatin. 38. Liv. epit. l. xvii. Eutrop. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 7.

In

IN the mean time *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *Florus*'s collegue, failed, with the ſquadron under his command, towards *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, two iſlands in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, ſubject to *Carthage*, and ſo near one another, that, at a great diſtance, they ſeemed to be but one iſland. The conſul firſt made a deſcent in *Corſica*, and took *Aleria*, or, as *Zonaras* calls it, *Valeria*, by ſtorm; upon (Q) which the other towns *As likewiſe in* Sardinia *and* Corſica.

(Q) About the year 1615, a ſtone was dug up near the *Porta Capena* in *Rome*, with the following inſcription upon it, commemorating the event here mentioned. This ſtone is five palms four inches long, and two palms ten inches broad.

HONCOINO. PLOIRVME.COSENTIONT. R
DVONORO: OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO
LVCIOM. SCIPIONE. FILIO.S. BARBATI
CONSOL.CENSOR.AIDILIS.HIC. FVET. A
HEC.CEPIT.CORSICA.ALERIAQVE.VRBE
DEDET. TEMPESTATEBVS.AIDE.MERETO

Hunc plurimi conſentiunt Romæ
Bonorum optimum fuiſſe virum
LUCIUM SCIPIONEM. Filius Barbati,
Conſul, cenſor, ædilis hic fuit.
Hic cepit Corſicam, Aleriamque urbem;
Dedit Tempeſtatibus ædem merito.

Moſt people agree, that of all the good men in Rome *this* LUCIUS SCIPIO *was the beſt. He was the ſon of* Scipio, *ſurnamed* Barbatus, *as likewiſe conſul, cenſor, and ædile He took the city of* Aleria, *and conquered* Corſica; *and built a temple for the* Tempeſts, *as he had great reaſon to do.*

From this moſt remarkable inſcription, which, in point of antiquity, is ſcarce inferior to that on the baſe of the *columna roſtrata* of *Duilius*, ſince the action here referred to happened in the year of *Rome* 494, the year after *Duillus* got his naval victory, may be drawn the following obſervations:

1. That the *L. Scipio* mentioned here was not the *L. Scipio* ſaid by *Livy* to have been made conſul in *Etruria*, but another, the ſon of *Barbatus*, who ſubdued *Corſica*, A. U. C. 494.

2. That he was the ſame perſon with him, who, according to the *Capitoline Tables*, triumphed over the *Corſi*, *Sardi*, and *Carthaginians*.

3. That either the MSS. of *Livy*, or the *Faſti Capitolini*, muſt be out, when the firſt affirm, that *Scipio Barbatus*'s prænomen was *Publius*, and the laſt, that *Lucius Scipio*, who triumphed over the *Corſi*

towns ſubmitted, that being the only place of ſtrength in the whole iſland. As the *Carthaginians* had a ſtrong fleet of galleys

Corſi, *Sardi*, and *Carthaginians*, at the time afore-ſaid, was the ſon of *L. Scipio*.

4. That a vacancy or *hiatus* in the *Capitoline Tables* may be from hence ſupplied; ſince from the inſcription it appears, that this *L. Scipio* muſt have been, in all probability, *Duilius*'s collegue in the cenſorſhip A. U. C. 495. From whence it follows, that *Onuphrius Panvinius* is guilty of a miſtake, when he makes *Cn. Scipio Aſina* to have been *Duilius*'s collegue in the cenſorſhip the year above-mentioned.

5. That a paſſage in *Ovid* may be hereby explained, which, before the diſcovery of this inſcription, was not underſtood:

Te quoque; Tempeſtas, *meritam delubra fatemur*,
Cum pæne eſt Corſis *obruta claſſis aquis*.

Some authors imagined this to point at the tempeſt *Claudius Nero* the conſul met with in the year of *Rome* 551, in which, according to *Livy*, his fleet was near being deſtroyed; others, to one that attacked *Marcellus*; and laſtly, others, to one in which *Metellus*'s ſquadron was almoſt loſt; whereas it undoubtedly alludes to one, that *L. Scipio*, at the time we are ſpeaking of, met with on the coaſt of *Corſica*, wherein he very narrowly eſcaped deſtruction.

6. That of courſe *L. Scipio* was attacked by ſuch a tempeſt on the coaſt of *Corſica*, in which his whole fleet was in the moſt imminent danger of being loſt; and that, upon account of his deliverance therefrom, he built a temple, which he dedicated to the *Tempeſts*, i. e. to the deities preſiding over them.

7. That the *Romans* looked upon tempeſts as deities, or at leaſt imagined they had deities preſiding over them, and therefore paid them divine honours.

8. That the name of the principal fortreſs in *Corſica*, was *Aleria*, and not *Valeria*, as we find it in all the MSS. of *Zonaras*; and that therefore theſe MSS. may be emended by this inſcription.

9. That many obſervations relating to the antient language of the *Romans* and *Latins*, laid down by *Feſtus*, *Quintilian*, and others, are confirmed by the words it contains.

10. That, in antient times, ſome letters of the *Roman* and *Latin* alphabet, at leaſt, were borrowed from the *Etruſcans*, ſince Ⅎ and Ⴝ apparently belong to that nation; at leaſt, that the *Etruſcans* had letters in their alphabet, which, in figure, correſponded with ſome of the *Roman* and *Latin* letters. This is confirmed by the legends on ſeveral conſular coins.

Many other concluſions might be drawn from hence, which we have not time at preſent to touch upon. It is not improbable, that the ſtone, on which this inſcription was found, belonged to *Scipio*'s tomb,

leys on the coaſt of *Sardinia*, they were in no great pain for that iſland. Upon *Scipio*'s moving that way, they detached one part of it to reconnoitre him; which immediately retired upon his approach. But, upon his entering the port of *Olbia*, the appearance of the whole *Carthaginian* ſquadron, then riding at anchor there, was ſo terrible, that he thought proper to ſheer off, without putting his deſign in execution. A further inducement to him not to undertake the conqueſt of *Sardinia* at this preſent juncture, was his not having a ſufficient body of legionaries on board to attack the *Carthaginians* by land. As he had not received proper intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength on that ſide, he had not taken the neceſſary meaſures to render that expedition ſucceſsful, and therefore found himſelf obliged to retreat in a precipitate manner; but ſome authors give us to underſtand, that ſoon after, having been furniſhed with a larger body of land-forces, he returned, and (R) reduced *Olbia*. Other places of leſs note, upon the reduction of that town, fell to him; but he could not make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. However, according to *Eutropius*, he carried off with him a vaſt number both of the *Corſi* and *Sardi* priſoners [i].

Hamilcar being informed, the year following, that the *Romans* had a deſign upon *Lipara*, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the conſul. This was done in ſo private and unexpected a manner, that the citizens, though ſtrongly inclined to the *Romans*, found themſelves in- *The* Romans, *by a ſtratagem, give the* Carthaginians *a blow in* Sardinia.

[i] POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. ubi ſup. FLOR. l. ii. c. 2. OROS. l. iv. c. 7. EUTROP. l ii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p 17.

omb, and that he was buried not far from the *Porta Capena* (17).

(R)[f] *Hanno*, who had behaved with ſo [g]much bravery in *Sicily*, commanded [h]in [i]*Olbia*, and was killed in one of the attacks.

(17) *Liv. l.* x. *l.* xxx. *& alib. paſſ. Ovid. faſt. l.* vi. *Feſt. Pomp. in voc.* Duonum, *& voc.* Topper, *ut & Carm. Saliar. in qu. videre eſt* Duonus Ceruſus, *i. e.* Bonus Creator. *M. Fab. Quintil. l* i *c.* 4. *&* 7. *l.* ix. *c.* 4. *& alib. Vide & Joſ. Scalig. in Sext. Pomp. Feſt. lib. de verb. ſign caſtigat. p.* 209, 210. *Tab. Eugubin.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 *apud Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. vol* i. *edit. Florent.* 1723. *Phil. Bonarot. ad monum. Etruſc. op. Demſt addit. explic. & conject. ſect.* 41. *p.* 85—88. *ed. Florent*, 1726. *Anton Fran. Gorii. muſeum. Etruſcum, paſſ ed. Florent* 1737.

capable of making any reſiſtance. The conſul, arriving before the place, made a vigorous attack; but was repulſed by *Hamilcar*, at the head of the gariſon, with the ſlaughter of a great number of men. At the ſame time *Sulpicius*, who then acted as admiral, after having hovered ſeveral days about the coaſt of *Sardinia*, made a deſcent there, and completed the reduction of that iſland. According to *Florus*, by razing the city of *Caralis*, or *Carala*, the capital of the iſland, he ſo terrified the *Sardi*, that they ſubmitted to him. *Zonaras* informs us, that the contrary winds prevented an engagement between *Sulpicius* and the *Carthaginians*; but that afterwards *Attilius*, who commanded the land-forces, found an opportunity of impoſing upon the *Carthaginian* admiral, by means of ſome deſerters, whom he bribed to aſſure him, that the *Romans* intended to land in *Africa*. Upon this, according to the ſame author, the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, having been before driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the ports of *Sardinia*, looſed immediately, though in the night, and ſet ſail for *Africa*; but were attacked by *Sulpicius*, who, being appriſed of the intelligence given them, had poſted himſelf in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or ſunk, by favour of the night, moſt of their ſhips. The good ſucceſs of this ſtratagem encouraged the *Romans* now in good earneſt to prepare for an expedition to *Africa*, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate *Sicily*, and procure them a peace upon their own terms [k] (S).

The

[k] Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 12, 13. Polyb. Liv. & Flor. ubi ſup.

(S) *Zonaras* and *Oroſius* make *Hannibal* to have been the *Carthaginian* admiral at this time, and, if we remember right, are the only authors who tell us, that he had his commiſſion taken from him for the ill ſucceſs he met with in his engagement with *Duilius*. *Aurelius Victor* indeed agrees with them in relation to *Hannibal*'s eſcaping puniſhment by a ſtratagem; but ſays not a word of his being deprived of his command. *Zonaras* and *Oroſius* therefore being modern, in compariſon of *Polybius*, whom they contradict in this particular, and unſupported by any antient writer in what they advance as to the point before us, we have choſen to follow the laſt hiſtorian, when he affirms, that *Hannibal* was continued in his command of the fleet, and crucified ſoon after by his own men. Beſides, it ſeems improbable, that, if he had been diſcarded on account of his ill conduct, or ill ſucceſs, which the ſuperſtitious *Carthaginians* looked upon as very ominous, the ſenate of *Carthage* ſhould

THE next year, from *Zonaras* it ſeems probable, that the *Roman* forces in *Sicily*, under the command of *A. Attilius Colatinus*, or, as *Livy* will have it, *Calatinus*, who, on account of his great ſervices, was continued general there, with the title of proconſul, beſieged *Lipara* a ſecond time, though they had been routed by the *Carthaginians* towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. *C. Attilius Regulus*, one of the new conſuls, who had the command of the fleet allotted to him, had two naval engagements with the enemy off the coaſts of *Sicily*, in the firſt of which he loſt nine galleys; but in the other routed the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, ſinking ten, and taking eight, of their veſſels, with all their crews. The other conſul, about the ſame time, laid waſte the iſland of *Malta*; which is a good proof, that the *Carthaginians* were then in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe advantages ſtill farther excited the *Romans* to attack the *African* republic in the very heart of its dominions [1].

The Romans and Carthaginians both meet with diſaſters in this maritime war.

As neither of the late actions had been deciſive, both parties made ſuch vaſt and expeditious preparations, that the enſuing ſummer, the ninth year of this war, they had collected their whole naval force, in order to determine the fate of *Sicily*, as well as the dominion of the ſea, and, in conſequence thereof, that of *Carthage* itſelf. The conſuls, *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *C. Attilius Regulus*, who were elected purely on account of their diſtinguiſhed merit, with the *Roman* fleet under their command, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty galleys of different ſizes, had their rendezvous at *Meſſana*. From thence, ſtretching their line along the coaſt towards cape *Pachynum*, after having doubled that cape, they ſailed directly to *Ecnomos*, where they took their land-forces on board. About the ſame time the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, compoſed of three hundred and fifty ſail, arrived at *Lilybæum*, the only place they had left in *Sicily*, except *Panormus*, and a few towns of leſs note in that neighbourhood. They did not ſtay long here, but, purſuing their projected courſe, took up

They both prepare for a deciſive engagement

[1] POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. DIOD. SIC. OROS. ubi ſup.

ſhould have afterwards employed him, eſpecially as they might naturally have ſome apprehenſions of his conduct's being influenced by his reſentment. *Zonaras* and *Oroſius* therefore ought to give way to *Polybius* in the preſent caſe. *Oroſius* intimates, that he was ſtoned to death by his troops (19).

(19) *Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. in Duil.* 37. *Polyb. l.* i. & *Zonar. in loc. citat. Oroſ. l.* iv. *Vide Liv. epit. l.* xvii. *alioſq; Roman. hiſtoric.*

their ſtation at *Heraclea Minoa*, where they made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to give the enemy battle [m].

The diſpoſition of their fleets.

The *Romans*, in order either to engage the enemy by ſea, or make a deſcent upon their territories in *Africa*, had taken care to put on board the galleys the very flower of their land-forces. The grand ſquadron conſiſted of four diviſions, the firſt of which was called the firſt legion, and the firſt fleet; the ſecond and third in like manner received a denomination from their order; but the fourth went by the name of *triarians*, a term peculiarly applied to a certain order of ſoldiers, who were always the choiceſt troops, and formed the corps *de reſerve* amongſt the *Romans*. Each galley contained three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty ſoldiers; ſo that the whole united force on board amounted to near an hundred and forty thouſand men. The firſt diviſion was poſted on the right, the ſecond on the left, and the third in the rear of the other two, in ſuch a manner, as with them to form a triangle, the vertex of which was the two admiral-galleys, wherein were the two conſuls, placed in the front of their reſpective ſquadrons. The *triarians* were drawn up in the rear of the whole fleet, parallel to the third legion, the baſe of the aforeſaid triangle, but extended beyond the two angles there. The tranſports, with the horſes and baggage on board, lay between the two laſt-mentioned lines, that is, between the third diviſion and the *triarians*, this being judged the beſt ſituation for them to be covered from any irruptions of the enemy. The combined naval and land-force of the *Carthaginians* muſt, according to *Polybius*, have exceeded that of the *Romans*; ſince he ſeems to inſinuate, that their troops, including the ſeamen, could not have been leſs than an hundred and fifty-thouſand ſtrong. When the *Carthaginians* had obſerved the diſpoſition of the *Roman* ſquadron, they immediately ranged their own in order of battle. They divided it into four ſmaller ſquadrons, which they drew up into one line. The three firſt diviſions, poſted to the right, ſtretched out far into the ſea, as though they had an intention to ſurround the *Romans*, pointing their prows directly upon them; the fourth, lying to the left, kept cloſe under the ſhore, being diſpoſed in the form of an outwork or tenaille. *Hanno*, who had met with ſuch bad ſucceſs at *Agrigentum*, commanded on the right with the light veſſels, that could attack and retreat with great ſwiftneſs, and row nimbly round the galleys of the *Romans*. *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral in the late

[m] Polyb. & Eutrop. ubi ſup. Dio. Cass. in excerptis Valeſii.

action

action off of *Tyndaris*, had the left wing committed to his conduct, who, though he had the misfortune to be defeated, gave sufficient proofs of his merit and experience in this engagement [n].

THE consuls observing the *Carthaginian* line to be very thin in the middle, caused it to be vigorously attacked in that part by their first and second divisions. The *Carthaginians*, at the first onset; pursuant to the orders received from *Hamilcar*, retired with precipitation, hoping by this means to separate that part of the *Roman* fleet, with which they were engaged, from the other, not doubting but the *Romans* would pursue them with great ardour, and thereby give the gross of their fleet an opportunity of charging the remaining *Roman* divisions with great advantage. Accordingly the *Romans*, by their eagerness in the pursuit, left their comrades exposed to the efforts of the enemy. The *Carthaginians* that fled perceiving this, immediately, upon a signal given from *Hamilcar*'s galley, tacked about, and, with great bravery, made head against their pursuers; but, after a warm dispute, the *Romans*, notwithstanding the lightness and activity of the *Carthaginian* vessels, by the assistance of their *corvi* and other grappling instruments, coming to a close engagement with them, and being animated by the example of their officers, who exposed themselves as much as the meanest soldiers, worsted the enemy, obliging them to sheer off. In the mean time *Hanno* fell with great fury upon the *triarians*, whilst that part of the *Carthaginian* squadron posted on the left under the shore, attacked the transports and the third legion. Here were three sea-fights at once, which continued for some hours with a vast effusion of blood. In fine, *Hanno* on one side, and the fourth *Carthaginian* division on the other, reduced the *triarians*, transports, and third legion, to the last extremity, forced many of them on shore, and had totally ruined them, had they not been kept in awe by the *corvi*. But at last *Manlius* returning from the chace of the *Carthaginian* squadron already routed, and *Regulus*, with the second legion, advancing to the relief of the *triarians*, the enemy were intirely defeated. The *Romans* lost only twenty-four galleys in this action; but the *Carthaginians* had thirty sunk, and sixty-three taken by the victors. After this battle, which happened off of *Heraclea Minoa*, *Hamilcar* sent *Hanno* to make proposals of peace to the *Romans*, chiefly with a design to amuse the consuls, and divert them from the *African* expedition they had in view. But the *Romans* re-

The Carthaginians intirely defeated.

[n] POLYB. & ZONAR. in annal. ubi sup.

jecting

jecting these proposals, the war continued with as much fierceness as ever; and the consuls, soon after setting sail for *Africa* with their whole fleet, and a powerful army on board, landed at *Clypea* without opposition [o].

The Romans commit great ravages in Africa.

No words can express the consternation the *Carthaginians* were in, upon advice of the *Roman* army's landing in *Africa*. They very well knew, that the consuls might march to *Carthage* without any obstruction, and lay waste all the fertile country as they advanced, which could not but reduce them to the greatest straights. *Zonaras* tells us, that the inhabitants of *Clypea* or *Clupea* were seized with such impressions of terror, that they abandoned the city at the approach of the *Romans*; but, according to *Polybius*, it stood a siege, though the *Carthaginians* not being in a condition to relieve it, the consuls, without much bloodshed, made themselves masters of it. *Appian* represents the *Roman* navy employed in this invasion as very formidable, telling us, that it included no less than three hundred and fifty sail. From cape *Hermes*, where it lay for a short time, it coasted along to *Clypea*, or, as the *Greeks* call it, *Aspis*, where there was a very commodious harbour. The *Romans*, having left a strong garison in the place, to secure their shipping, and keep the adjacent territory in awe, moved with the rest of their army nearer *Carthage*, and reduced a great number of towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. They likewise plundered an infinity of villages, laid vast numbers of noblemen's seats in ashes, took above twenty thousand (*Eutropius* says twenty-seven thousand) prisoners, amongst whom were many *Romans*, that had fallen into the enemy's hands since the beginning of this war, with several deserters; and having scoured all the country almost to the gates of *Carthage*, they returned to *Clypea*, loaden with the immense booty got in this expedition [p].

Regulus advances towards Carthage.

The *Carthaginians*, soon after, receiving intelligence, that *Manlius* was set out for *Rome* with the best part of the troops, and had left *Regulus* with only forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to carry on the war in *Africa*, began to recover from the terrible fright they were thrown into by the first news of this invasion, and therefore instantly set about making the proper dispositions for their defence. They appointed *Hanno*, the son of *Asdrubal*, and *Bostar*, generals of their forces, and dispatched an express to

[o] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Zonar. Lucius Ampel. ubi sup. Oros. l. iv. c. 7. [p] Idem ibid. & Eutrop. ubi sup. Appian. in Libyc. sub. init. Paul. Oros. l. iv.

Hamilcar,

Hamilcar, then at *Heraclea*, to return home with all expedition. *Hamilcar*, in a short time, arrived at *Carthage*, with a reinforcement of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and was joined with *Asdrubal* and *Bostar* in the command of the army. The first object of their consultations was, how to prevent the incursions of the *Romans* at least, if not to dislodge them from the province, wherein the capital of *Africa* was seated. On the other hand, *Regulus*, who had taken up his winter-quarters at *Clypea*, committed great ravages along the sea-coasts, and even penetrated into the very heart of the country; but hearing that the *Carthaginian* army was in motion, he likewise made a movement with his forces, and encamped upon the *Bagrada*, in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. Here with his battering-engines he slew a serpent of a monstrous size, which, if *Ælius Tubero* may be believed, found the whole *Roman* army for some time in employ. The *Roman* historians have undoubtedly given us an hyperbolic description of this monster, and the effects it produced; but considering that [q] *Livy*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Ælius Tubero*, *Pliny*, *Zonaras*, and others, agree in the main in their accounts of it, we cannot help thinking, that a serpent of an enormous size the *Romans* really killed at the place where they were now encamped, especially since dragons or serpents immensely large were pretty common in *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and (T) since it appears from

[q] LIV. epit. l. xviii. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 8. ÆL. TUBER. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 3. PLIN. nat. hist. l. viii. c. 14. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 13. SENEC. de clement. l. i. c. 25. FLOR. ubi sup.

(T) In proof of what is here advanced, many authors might be produced. *Megasthenes* says, that in *India* there were serpents or dragons, which could swallow at once a stag or a bull. *Metrodorus* affirms, that near the river *Rhyndacus* in *Pontus*, they were so large, that they could seize upon birds flying at a great height over their heads, and devour them. *Pliny* relates, that a certain species of this animal, called *boæ* or *boiæ*, were of such a magnitude, that a whole child had been found in the stomach of one of them, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*; and that at first they lived upon cows milk, from whence they derived their name. *Seneca*, a very grave author, intimates, that the serpent here mentioned infected the river for a vast distance, destroyed the country all round, and burnt many of the soldiers to death with his breath. *Plutarch* tells us of a monstrous serpent or dragon, which was brought up by a virgin at *Lanuvium*; and on some old *Roman* denarii, we find this virgin

from *Megasthenes* [r] and others, that various instances of surprisingly huge animals of the serpentine kind might be drawn from antiquity.

And defeats the Carthaginians.

Hamilcar and his collegues, receiving advice of the *Roman* general's approach, and of his having formed the siege of *Adis*, or *Adda*, a fortress of great consequence to *Carthage*, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of *Adda*, they encamped upon some heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and

[r] Megasth. apud Plin. in loc. jam citat. Plut. in parallel. Propert. eleg. viii ver. 4. Onesicrit. Astyp. apud Strab. l. xv. Agath. Cnid. de mar. Rubr. l. v. apud Phot. in biblioth. c. 250. p. 583 ed. Rothom. 1653. Georg. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 153.

virgin represented as bringing him meat, with a basket hanging by her side. *Agatarchides Cnidius*, in *Photius*, mentions serpents of various kinds of an enormous size common in *Ethiopia*, and asserts, that he himself saw one thirty cubits long. *Onesicritus*, *Astypaleus*, in *Strabo*, informs us, that *Abisarus*, an *Indian* prince, kept two dragons or serpents, one of which was an hundred and forty cubits long, and the other eighty; which *Alexander* greatly desired to see. *Herodotus* tells us, that serpents of a size exceeding all belief, were found upon the banks of the *Triton*, a river bordering on the territory of *Carthage*. *Isidore*, *Avicenna*, *Philostratus*, *Solinus*, *Nicephorus Callistus*, *Lucian*, *Arrian*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ætius*, *Leo Africanus*, and others, affirm, that serpents of an immense size were produced in *Mauritania*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*. Our *philosophical transactions* supply us with instances of rattle-snakes prodigiously large, which countenances, in some measure, what the *Roman* historians have related about the serpent we are discourting of. *Ludolphus* and father *Lobo* likewise, in their accounts of *Ethiopia*, add some weight to what is here advanced, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that country. It has been imagined by some, that the animal *Regulus* killed was a crocodile: but the manner in which this was slain, which has been minutely described by *Orosius*, as well as the express testimony of many *Roman* authors to the contrary, will not permit us to come into this opinion. Besides, it does not appear from antient history, that the river *Bagrada*, or indeed any part of *Africa Propria*, was formerly infested by crocodiles; nor, from the relations of modern travellers, that they are observed in the kingdom of *Tunis* at this day (20).

(20) *Vide auctor. jam citat. & Hedorot. l.* iv. *c.* 191 *Ælian. in hist anim. pass. Isidor. Avicen. Philostr. Solin. Nicephor. Callist. Strab. Arrian. in peripl. Lucian. Ætium, Oros. Leon. African. Augustin. tom.* viii. *enarrat. in psal.* cxlviii. *alios; plurim.*

and occaſioned the defeat of their army[r]; for by neglecting the plains, and taking poſt in rough and inacceſſible places, they rendered their elephants and cavalry, in which their principal ſtrength conſiſted, incapable of acting. The *Romans*, taking advantage of this miſtake, did not give them time to rectify it, but immediately fell upon them with the utmoſt fury. The attack, which happened in the night, was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that many of the *Carthaginians* had their throats cut in bed, and others loſt their lives before they could lay hold of their arms to defend themſelves. However, the mercenaries in the *Carthaginian* ſervice behaved with great bravery, and not only repulſed the firſt legion, but forced them to fly to their camp. But *Regulus* having, at the beginning of the action, ordered a detachment to wheel about, and attack the enemy's rear, they were hereby thrown into confuſion and at laſt forced to abandon their camp. A great part of the infantry periſhed, the *Romans* very cloſely purſuing them, and having guarded many of the defiles through which they muſt paſs; but moſt of the elephants and cavalry made their eſcape. The *Carthaginians* loſt ſeventeen thouſand, or according to *Eutropius*, eighteen thouſand men in the battle and purſuit; eighteen elephants were taken; five thouſand men made priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. *Regulus*, after this action, continued his devaſtations as before burnt all the open places, and reduced the fortified towns. Some authors aſſure us, that he took above two hundred cities; but as this account ſeems rather to refer to the whole number of places plundered or reduced ſince the firſt deſcent, we ſhall chuſe to follow *Eutropius*, who tells us, that the conſul conquered ſeventy-three cities. *Utica*, amongſt the reſt, was forced to ſubmit, and *Tunes*, within nine miles of *Carthage*, ſoon met with the ſame fate. In ſhort, nothing now remained but to lay ſiege to *Carthage* itſelf[s].

To complete the misfortunes of the *Carthaginians*, the *Numidians*, a ſort of *Tartars*, or at leaſt in their manners and way of life ſomething reſembling that people, entered the territories of *Carthage*, where they committed dreadful devaſtations. This drove moſt of the *Carthaginian* ſubjects into *Carthage*, which, by this means, was filled with ſuch numbers of people, that a famine ſeemed inevitable, eſpecially as the produce of the earth had been, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed, partly by *Regulus*, and partly by the aforeſaid *Numidians*[t]. *The* Numidians *declare againſt the* Carthaginians.

[r] POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. EUTROP. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. OROS. ubi ſup. [s] POLYB. & OROS. ubi ſup.

Regulus *makes propoſals for a peace to the* Carthaginians; *but they are rejected.*

THE *African* nations likewiſe more immediately ſubject to *Carthage*, being weary of the *Carthaginian* yoke, declared for the *Romans*, who now carried every thing before them. This induced *Regulus* to imagine, that the *Carthaginians* would conclude a peace with him upon any, even the moſt diſhonourable, terms. He therefore, according to *Polybius*, offered to treat with them about a peace, being afraid that his ſucceſſor would rob him of the glory he had acquired, by putting an end to the preſent war, though *Zonaras* tells us, that the *Carthaginians* themſelves made the firſt overtures. Be that as it will, the terms *Regulus* preſcribed them ſeemed ſo intolerable, and incompatible with their honour, that they were reſolved to ſuffer all extremities, rather than ſubmit to them. As *Regulus* had met with an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity from the beginning of his conſulſhip, he ſet no bounds to his arrogance; and the *Romans* in general being then of the ſame diſpoſition, by reaſon of the great ſucceſs their arms were attended with, both by ſea and land, it is no wonder, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould have been treated in ſo imperious a manner. *Regulus* wrote to the ſenate, that the *Carthaginians* were upon the brink of ruin, and that he had taken care to *ſeal up their gates with fear*. All hopes therefore of an accommodation vaniſhing into ſmoke, both ſides ſeemed reſolved to refer the deciſion of the points at preſent in diſpute betwixt them to the ſword. A certain author tells us, that the whole number of priſoners taken by the *Romans*, from their firſt arrival in *Africa* to this time, including thoſe who fell into their hands in the late battle amounted to two hundred thouſand. All the riches and valuable effects found in the *Carthaginian* camp, after the laſt action, *Regulus* ſent on board ſome tranſports to *Rome*; and having laid waſte all the adjacent country, advanced at the head of his victorious troops to the *ſtagnum* or great moraſs, on which *Carthage* ſtood. Here, immediately after the rejection of his above-mentioned propoſals, he encamped, reſolving without delay to attack the capital of the *African* republic [u].

Xantippus, *with a body of* Greek *mercenaries, arrives at* Carthage.

WHILST matters remained in this melancholy ſituation, a *Carthaginian* officer who had been ſent to *Greece*, to levy ſoldiers there, returned home with a body of *Greek* mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of *Lacedæmonians*. This body was commanded by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, a perſon of great bravery and military ſkill, who had learned the art of

[u] APPIAN. POLYB. OROS. EUTROP. ZONAR. DIOD. SIC. AUR. VICT. FLOR. ubi ſup.

war

war in the ſchool of *Sparta*, then the moſt renowned of any in the world, for the famous generals it produced. As ſoon as he had informed himſelf wherein the main ſtrength of the *Carthaginian* forces lay, and of the circumſtances of the late defeat, he openly declared, that it was owing to the falſe ſtep taken by their generals in encamping upon hills, where their cavalry and elephants could not act; and that, by an oppoſite conduct, they might ſtill retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being prevailed upon by the *Carthaginian* ſenate, people, *Hamilcar*, and all the other officers, to take upon him the command of their forces, he firſt trained them up in the diſcipline of his country: exerciſing them near the city, he drew them up in order of battle; made them advance or retreat upon the firſt ſignal; file off with order and ſwiftneſs; in a word, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art, according to the *Lacedæmonian* manner. As nothing inſpires ſoldiers with a greater degree of courage, than a perſuaſion of their general's abilities, the *Carthaginian* troops, who were before ſo greatly diſpirited, now thought themſelves invincible under the conduct of *Xantippus*, obſerving how vaſtly he excelled their own generals in the military art. As he judged it highly improper to permit their ardour to cool, he drew them up in battalia in a large plain before the city, and boldly advanced towards the *Romans*. We have already, in a former part of this work, deſcribed the diſpoſition of both armies, and given an account of the principal things that paſſed betwixt them previous to the engagement, and therefore ſhall not here repeat what was there ſaid; but only obſerve, that *Xantippus*, being within twelve hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, thought proper to call a council of war, in order to ſhew a reſpect and deference to the *Carthaginian* commanders, by conſulting them; and that, all joining unanimouſly in opinion with him, it was reſolved to give the enemy battle the day following [w].

THE *Romans* were not a little ſurpriſed at the motions of the *Carthaginian* army, and the new form of diſcipline introduced amongſt them; notwithſtanding which, they affected to hold both them and their new general *Xantippus* in great contempt, not doubting but they ſhould ſoon be able to give a good account of them. One capital error, according to *Polybius*, the *Roman* general committed in the arrangement of *And de-feats the* Romans.

[w] APPIAN. in Libyc. ſub init. POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. &c. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 20, & ſeq.

his forces. Though he took a proper precaution to ſuſtain the ſhock of the enemy's elephants, he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was vaſtly inferior in number to the *Carthaginian*, but diſpoſed them in ſuch a manner, that they were broken almoſt upon the firſt onſet. To which we may add from *Appian*, that the ſame general ought to have been deemed guilty of a great and complicated miſtake, when, elated with his former ſucceſs, through his great ardour, he over-fatigued his ſoldiers, led them through ſuch places as expoſed them to the enemy's parties, poſted on eminencies to annoy them with miſſive weapons in their march; and, to crown all, paſſed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off a retreat, in caſe of any misfortune. This bad conduct of *Regulus* proved the total ruin of his army; for *Xantippus* had thereby ſuch an advantage over the enemy thrown into his hands, that he intirely defeated them, and either put to the ſword, or took priſoners, all of them, except two thouſand, who, after having broken his right wing, had drawn themſelves out of the engagement, and made their eſcape to *Clypea*. Of the *Carthaginians* eight hundred were ſlain in this action; but on the *Roman* ſide near thirteen thouſand muſt have fallen in the battle and purſuit, if *Polybius* has given us a juſt account of the number of forces *Manlius*, at his departure for *Rome*, left with *Regulus*. *Xantippus* took *Regulus* himſelf, and five hundred of his men, priſoners in the purſuit, and immediately carried them to *Carthage*. According to *Eutropius*, thirty thouſand *Romans* loſt their lives in this battle, and fifteen thouſand their liberty; but this cannot be admitted, except we ſuppoſe, that *Regulus* had either received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Rome*, ſince the departure of his collegue, or been joined by a good body of *Africans* in the interval betwixt that event and the battle; neither of which ſuppoſitions receives the leaſt countenance from *Polybius*, whom, in the main, we chuſe to follow *.

The Carthaginians *treat all the* Roman *priſoners with great humanity, except* Regulus.

THE *Carthaginians* treated all the *Roman* priſoners, except *Regulus*, with great humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the *Romans* to behave with lenity and moderation to the *Carthaginian* captives, who were very numerous, in their hands. But as for *Regulus*, he had inſulted them in ſo outrageous a manner, in the height of his proſperity, that they could not forbear ſhewing him the greateſt marks of their reſentment on this occaſion. According to *Zonaras* and others, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he had only ſuſtenance

* Idem ibid. *Vide* AUREL. VICT. in At. reg. 40

allowed

allowed him barely sufficient to keep him alive; nay, his cruel masters, to heighten his other torments, ordered an huge elephant, at the sight of which animal, it seems, he was greatly terrified, to be constantly placed near him; which prevented him from enjoying any tranquility or repose, and rendered his life a burden to him. When he would have prescribed dishonourable terms of peace to the *Carthaginians*, he pretended, with unparallelled haughtiness, that every thing he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a favour, with this further insult, *that they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor.* No wonder therefore that so harsh and disdainful a treatment should incense to the highest degree a nation naturally proud, as well as cruel and implacable, and even, in the point before us, force their interest itself to give way to their resentment. *Zonaras* intimates, that *Regulus* suffered himself to be surprised by *Xantippus*, not believing that he would have the courage to attack him. However this may be, as the *Carthaginian* army did not consist of above sixteen thousand men, besides the elephants, this ought to be looked upon as a most wonderful victory, especially considering the heroic valour of the *Roman* legions; and, as *Frontinus* rightly insinuates, must be almost intirely attributed to the conduct and bravery of *Xantippus* [y].

Great rejoicings at Carthage, on account of this victory.

THE *Carthaginians* remained on the field of battle till they had stripped the slain, and then entered their metropolis, which was almost the only place left them, in great triumph. The citizens immediately repaired to the temples in crouds, to return thanks to the immortal gods for so signal a victory, and hung up in these temples (U), as so many trophies, the arms taken from the enemy. Several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings, a spirit of joy and gladness diffusing itself over the whole city. However, according to some authors, they not only soon forgot the vast obligation they were under to *Xantippus*, but even shewed them-

[y] ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 13 p. 391, 392. CIC. de offic. l. iii. S JUL. FRONTIN. strat l ii. c. 2. ex. 11. & l. ii. c. 3. ex. 10. DIOD. SIC. l. xxiii. ubi sup. VALER. MAX. l. i. c. 1.

(U) Other nations, as well as the *Carthaginians*, hung up the arms taken from the enemy in the temples of their gods. The *Gauls*, and even the *Romans* themselves, may be ranked amongst these, as we learn from *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, and others (21).

(21) *Plut. in Cæs. Tacit. l. xv. de Neron. Strabo, l. iv. aliq*;

selves

ſelves guilty of moſt ſhocking ingratitude to him, as well as to the whole body of mercenaries, who had delivered them at the critical moment. If theſe writers may be credited, they either actually deſtroyed *Xantippus*, or attempted his deſtruction; and not only refuſed paying the mercenaries the arrears due to them, but ordered the captains of the veſſels, who were to carry them home, to leave them expoſed on a deſolate iſland. Theſe horrid inſtances of *Carthaginian* ingratitude, we ſay, are atteſted by ſome authors; yet at the ſame time we think it our duty, as impartial hiſtorians, to obſerve, that their authority, in the point before us, is not to be intirely depended upon; for although we ſhould allow, that the *Carthaginians* were frequently both cruel and ungrateful, nay, that they had a natural propenſity to the odious vices of cruelty and ingratitude; yet, in the preſent caſe, what advantage or emolument could accrue to them from ſo execrable a fact? It could never have buried in oblivion ſo illuſtrious an action as the victory *Xantippus* acquired for them, ſince that could not fail of being tranſmitted to poſterity by their enemies, in order to deprive them, to whom they bore ſo implacable a hatred, of the merit of it; and indeed through this canal it has been conveyed down to us, and yet the authors, who ſtigmatize the *Carthaginians*, by acculing them of ſo enormous a crime, aſſign this as their motive to it; nor can any other motive be conceived, except we will ſuppoſe, that they did it purely to gratify a barbarous and inhuman diſpoſition; which, wicked as the world is, can ſcarce be imagined poſſible. Beſides, *Polybius*, the beſt author extant who has treated of this particular branch of hiſtory, ſays not a word of it. *Livy* alſo, if we may judge of him from his epitomizer, paſſes it over in ſilence, as do *Florus*, *Eutropius*, &c. who being *Roman* hiſtorians, would moſt certainly have taken the greateſt pleaſure in relating ſuch a ſtory, if founded on good authority, as reflecting an eternal ſhame and diſhonour upon their moſt avowed and mortal enemies, whom they never failed to treat with the utmoſt freedom on all occaſions. We think it therefore but equitable to ſuſpend our belief of what *Appian* and *Zonaras* have affirmed with regard to the departure of *Xantippus*, eſpecially as the ſcheme theſe authors have made the *Carthaginians* form for the deſtruction of the *Lacedæmonian* mercenaries is, in point of policy, ſo defective and incredible that no ſtreſs can be laid upon it; for, according to them, all theſe mercenaries, as well as their general, were to be expoſed to inevitable deſtruction, without the loſs of a ſingle *Carthaginian*, or pretence of even a ſtorm, to colour the perpetration of ſo horrid a crime. This certainly

tainly seems incompatible with that genius for refined policy and intrigues, the *Carthaginians* were in history so famous for; and therefore will, with great difficulty, be admitted for fact by our impartial and intelligent readers [z].

As for *Regulus*, he was a lively instance of the great instability of fortune and human affairs. Had he been either influenced by the maxims of found policy, or touched with the least sense of compassion for the misfortunes and sufferings of his fellow-creatures, he would have abated something of the rigour he shewed the *Carthaginians* after the last defeat given them, and might have concluded a most advantageous peace for the *Romans*; but, giddy with success, nothing less would satisfy him than the total ruin of that people, or at least a reduction of them to a state of servitude, which they thought equivalent to it. This Providence did not permit him to accomplish; but, on the contrary, by a swift revolution, he fell from the height of prosperity to the lowest degree of contempt, nay, into the extremest misery and despair, his exalted station serving only to render his fall the more precipitate, and the less pitied by those he had before insulted. Many, and even recent, examples might be produced of princes, who, by pursuing the same conduct, have met with the same fate, would the limits of our history permit; but as they will not, we must beg leave to refer our readers to their own observations on this head, and to those fine reflections of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, which we could not avoid glancing at here [a].

WE have, in a former part of this work, given a full account of what happened to *Regulus* in the subsequent part of his life, and censured *Hoffman* for differing from a great number of *Roman* authors in this particular. But our high regard to impartiality, a quality essentially necessary in an historian, obliges us now to lay before our readers the reasons, that may possibly have induced some learned men to believe the whole relation of *Regulus*'s death, as handed down to us by the aforesaid authors, to be an absolute fiction [b].

1. ALL the *Roman* historians, as *Romans*, bore an implacable hatred to the very memory of the *Carthaginians*, and did their utmost to make it appear odious in the eyes of all mankind. They were intirely void of impartiality when they spoke of that nation, as manifestly appears from what *Polybius*

[z] APPIAN. & ZONAR. ubi. sup. HORAT. carm. l. iii. od. 5. Vide etiam POLYB. LIV. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. &c ubi sup. & Univer. hist. vol. xxi. p. 28. [a] POLYB. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. xxiii. in excerp. Valesii. [b] Univ. hist. ubi supra.

relates

relates of *Fabius Pictor*, one of their moſt celebrated writers, and the moſt antient of their hiſtorians. 2. All the ſubſequent *Roman* hiſtorians muſt have followed *Fabius Pictor* in this particular, ſince neither *Diodorus Siculus* nor *Polybius* have taken the leaſt notice of *Regulus*'s being ſent to *Rome*, and ſuffering death afterwards at *Carthage* upon his return; though, had this been true, they would undoubtedly have related it, the *Greeks* bearing as great an averſion to the *Carthaginians*, as did the *Romans*. 3. From a fragment of *Diodorus Siculus* in the *excerpta* (W) of *Valeſius*, it appears, that *Regulus*'s ſons, at the inſtigation of their mother, treated *Hamilcar* and *Boſtar*, two *Carthaginian* generals, taken priſoners, and delivered into her hands to exchange for her huſ-

(W) The paſſage referred to imports in ſubſtance, that *Regulus*'s widow, hearing of his death at *Carthage*, and ſuppoſing him to have died through want of neceſſaries, inſtigated her ſons to uſe *Hamilcar* and *Boſtar*, two *Carthaginian* generals, taken priſoners, and delivered into their hands by the ſenate, in order to exchange for their father, with the utmoſt inhumanity. They were confined in ſo ſtraight a room, that they could not move, and kept without meat for five days together; inſomuch that *Boſtar* died of grief and hunger. *Hamilcar*, in order to move her compaſſion, told her, that he had taken all poſſible care of her huſband, who was commited to his cuſtody at *Carthage*. But this not availing, ſhe extended her barbarity ſo far, as to cauſe him to be ſhut up five days with the dead body of *Boſtar*, allowing him all that time only ſuſtenance barely ſufficient to keep him alive. Being ready to expire through the ſtench of the dead body, and the other miſeries he laboured under, this barbarous treatment was rumoured abroad by the meaner ſervants; which reaching the ears of the tribunes of the people, they had like to have cauſed the young men to be put to death for ſo execrable a fact, which diſgraced the *Roman* name. They were therefore obliged, by way of atonement for the perpetration of ſo heinous a crime, to burn the body of *Boſtar*, and ſend his aſhes to *Carthage*, as likewiſe to treat *Hamilcar* with lenity during the remainder of his confinement. *Tuditanus* in *Gellius*, in order to take off the odium of this barbarous action, and ſuit it more to the *Roman* taſte, tells us, that *Regulus* died for want of ſleep, which the *Carthaginians*, by various methods, deprived him of: and that this reaching *Rome*, his ſons uſed ſome noble *Carthaginian* captives, delivered to them by the ſenate, in the ſame manner. This relation, partial and diſguiſed as it is, gives great weight to the valuable fragment of *Diodorus* referred to, and at the ſame time renders *Palmerius*'s notion of this affair not a little probable (22).

22 *Diod. Sic. in loc citat. Tuditan apud Gell. ubi ſup. ut & Dominic. Machan. & Palmer. ubi ſup. laudat.*

band,

band, with the utmoſt cruelty; inſomuch, that one of them died. She was prompted to this, according to the ſame fragment, by a perſuaſion, that her huſband died at *Carthage* for want of a proper care being taken of him, upon the news ſhe received of his death there. This evidently ſuppoſes *Regulus* to have died in that city, without any other torture than what the want of neceſſaries occaſioned. 4. *Palmerius* has accounted for the whole ſtory, as related by the *Roman* writers, and the *Greeks* attached to the *Roman* intereſt, in ſuch a manner, as to give ſome reaſon to believe, that they are neither of them to be intirely relied upon in their accounts of the ſufferings and death of *Regulus*. Beſides the authors cited in the twelfth volume of this work, it will be neceſſary to conſult thoſe referred to in the margin, in order to have an adequate idea, according to the *Roman* tradition, of the point we are now upon [c].

Both the Carthaginians and the Romans meet with many diſaſters.

THE *Carthaginians*, now forgetting all former misfortunes, began to talk in a very high ſtrain, threatening even *Italy* itſelf with an invaſion. The *Romans*, being informed of this, placed ſtrong gariſons in all the maritime towns that lay moſt expoſed, and fitted out a new fleet, with a ſtrong body of land-forces on board, not only to divert the enemy from executing the deſign they pretended to have formed, but alſo to retrieve their broken affairs in *Africa*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* beſieged *Clypea* and *Utica* in vain, being obliged to riſe from before thoſe places by the approach of the *Roman* ſquadron, which had already plundered the iſland of *Corſura*, and left a gariſon there. Having equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, they put to ſea, in order to prevent the enemy from making a ſecond deſcent; and coming up with them off cape *Hermea*, engaged them; but being routed, the *Romans* landed without oppoſition at *Clypea*, defeated the *Carthaginians* in a pitched battle near that place; and carrying off the remains of *Regulus*'s army, ſteered for *Sicily*. However, notwithſtanding theſe victories, the

[c] DIOD. SIC. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Valeſ. Vide & PALMER. apud Gronov. in Appian. Libyc. p. 5, 6. CIC. orat. in Piſon. de fin. l. v. ſub fin. & alib. AUL. GEL. noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 4. PLUT. in lib. de Herodot. malign. HORAT. ubi ſup. & carm. l. i. od. 12. LIV. epit. l. xviii. SUID. in Ρηγυλος. FLOR. l. ii. c 2. DIO. CASS. SIL. ITAL. l. vi. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. TERTUL. ad martyr. c. 4. AUR. VICT. de vir illuſtr. ubi ſup. SENEC. de tranquil. anim i. c. 15. ÆL TUBER. apud Gell. ubi ſup. EUTROP l. ii. TUDITANUS apud Gell. ubi ſup. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, l. i. c. 15. & c. 24. APPIAN. in Libyc. ſub init. & DOMINIC. MACHAN. in auctor. vit. viror. illuſtr. &c.

Romans were greatly weakened. In the naval engagement they had been worſted; had not the two thouſand men left at *Clypea* attacked the enemy's rear unexpectedly, which obliged them to give way. In their paſſage to *Sicily*, they met with ſo dreadful a tempeſt, that out of three hundred and ſeventy odd veſſels, of which their fleet was compoſed, eighty only eſcaped. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, they loſt three hundred and forty galleys, beſides about three hundred tranſports. *Eutropius* affirms only eighty galleys to have remained out of four hundred and ſixty-four; inſomuch, that all the ſea-coaſts, from *Camarina* to *Pachynum*, were ſtrewed with the dead bodies of men and horſes, as well as the wrecks of ſhips. Immediately after this diſaſter, *Carthalo*, a *Carthaginian* commander, advancing to *Agrigentum*, laid ſiege to it, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of it. The town he laid in aſhes, and demoliſhed the walls, obliging the inhabitants to fly to *Olympieum*. The *Carthaginians*, appriſed of this, immediately ſent *Aſdrubal* to *Sicily*, with a large reinforcement of troops and an hundred and fifty elephants. They likewiſe fitted out a ſquadron, with which they retook the iſland of *Corſura*; and though they had loſt nine thouſand men in the laſt action, beſides five thouſand in the naval engagement, they marched a ſtrong body of forces, under the command of *Hamilcar*, into *Mauritania* and *Numidia*, to puniſh the people of thoſe countries for ſhewing a diſpoſition to join the *Romans*. *Hamilcar* treated them with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity, cauſing all their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer ſort to the ſword, and exacting from the reſt a thouſand talents of ſilver, beſides twenty thouſand head of cattle. In *Sicily*, the conſuls poſſeſſed themſelves of *Cephalœdium* by treachery; but *Carthalo* forced them to raiſe the ſiege of *Drepanum*, and retire with great loſs. The *Carthaginians*, however, ſoon after found themſelves obliged to abandon *Ieta*, as likewiſe the territories of the *Selinuntines*, *Petrinians*, *Enatterinians*, and *Tyndarites*. The *Romans*, landing afterwards an army in *Sicily*, laid ſiege (X) to *Panormus*, the capital

(X) *Panormus*, according to *Diodorus*, derived its name from its port or haven, which was the fineſt in *Sicily*. The *Phœnicians* probably called it *Labtin*, or *Leptin*, from *labt* an *harbour* or *ſtation for ſhips*. *Polybius* tells us, that it was the capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Sicily*; and if we may credit *Thucydides*, it was either of *Punic* or *Phœnician* extraction, being built in very early times either by the *Phœnicians*, who traded with the *Aborigines* of *Sicily*, or their poſterity, the moſt antient *Carthaginians*. That it was the moſt eminent city the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, at leaſt

capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions there; and making themſelves maſters of a fort or tower by the ſea-ſide, carried that part of the city called the *New Town*; but the inhabitants defending themſelves with great bravery, they could not immediately reduce the other. However, forming the blockade of the place, they at laſt forced both it and the citadel to ſurrender for want of proviſions. The *Carthaginian* fleet, poſted to obſerve the enemy's motions, fell in with one of their ſquadrons, and carried off many of their ſhips laden with money and other valuable effects. Both parties ſoon after put an end to the operations of the campaign, the conſuls returning to *Rome*, and the *Carthaginians* retiring into winter-quarters; ſo that we hear of no hoſtilities betwixt them till the following ſpring [d].

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding all their diſaſters, ſuffered leſs at ſea than the *Romans*. The prodigious loſſes the laſt nation had ſuſtained on that element, made them entertain thoughts of declining all preparations for the future againſt the *Carthaginians* there. The next year, loſing above an hundred and fifty galleys more on the coaſts of *Sicily*, they came to a reſolution to lay aſide all naval operations, and conſequently left the *Carthaginians* maſters of the ſea. This was not their only misfortune; for, in the late battle with *Regulus*, the elephants had made ſuch havock amongſt them, that, for the two ſucceeding years, the *Roman* ſoldiers in *Sicily* *The Carthaginians become once more maſters at ſea.*

[d] DIOD. SIC. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. POLYB. ubi ſup. ZONAR. ubi ſupra, c. 14. OROS. l. iv. c. 9. EUTROP. l. ii.

leaſt for a conſiderable period of time and the moſt reſorted to, if not for the moſt part inhabited, by that nation, is evident from the great number of coins belonging to it, with *Punic* legends upon them. *Paruta* and others exhibit many of theſe to our view, which ſerve to confirm the authorities above mentioned. Some *Sicilian* writers will have the *Phœnicians* and *Damaſcenes* to have founded it in the time of *Iſaac*. In ſupport of which notion they produce two *Hebrew* inſcriptions, found at that place in the reign of *William* the ſecond king of *Sicily*, importing, that ſome colonies of thoſe nations ſettled there at that time, and called the place *Panormus*. But as few, if any, *Hebrew* inſcriptions of that date are genuine, and as *Panormus* is a *Greek* not a *Hebrew* name, we muſt be excuſed from ſubſcribing to their opinion (23).

(23) *Thucyd. l.* vi. *Polyb.* l. i. *Diod. Sic. l.* xxii. *in excerpt Rhodoman. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c.* 24, 27. *Vide etiam. Tho. Fazel. de reb Sic. & Ranzanum in lib. de Panorm. l.* vi.

durſt not approach thoſe furious animals within five or ſix ſtadia. This prevented the war from being carried on with any vigour during that term. The *Romans*, however, wreſted *Lipara*, *Himera*, and *Thermæ*, out of the hands of the *Carthaginians*; but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Erĉta*. So ſlow a progreſs induced them to attempt making a figure once more by ſea, hoping by this means to compenſate for the terror, with which the elephants had ſtruck their legions [c].

Aſdrubal *overthrown by* Cæcilius.

Aſdrubal, the *Carthaginian* general in *Sicily*, perceiving how much afraid the *Romans* were of his elephants, marched out of *Lilybæum*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, in order to draw the enemy to a battle. *Cæcilius*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in the town, ſeemed to be afraid of him, till he had paſſed the river running cloſe by the city, when, having a great advantage over him, he attacked him with incredible fury. The fight was very obſtinate for ſome time, and the *Romans* were even repulſed by the violence of the elephants; but at laſt the dart-men wounded theſe boiſterous animals in ſuch a manner, that they fell foul upon their own troops, and threw them into confuſion. This being obſerved by the *Roman* general, he ſallied with a body of freſh forces out of the town, and attacking the enemy in flank, gave them a total defeat. The *Carthaginians* loſt a vaſt number of men in this action, it being one of the greateſt overthrows they ever received in *Sicily*, beſides many elephants, which were either killed or taken, and amongſt the reſt ten with their (Y) *Indian* leaders. The *Carthaginian*

[c] Liv. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Polyb. & Oros. ubi ſup.

(Y From the paſſage of *Polybius* here referred to, it is evident, that the *Carthaginians*, before the thirteenth year of the firſt *Punic* war, had an intercourſe with *India*, as receiving elephants, and perſons to manage and train them up, from thence. This greatly ſtrengthens what *Pliny* intimates, *viz.* that the *Carthaginians* carried on a trade with the *Indians*, and imported from *India* many *carbuncles* of an ineſtimable value. This they muſt either have done by means of caravans going through the interior parts of *Africa* to the *Arabic* gulf, if not through *Egypt* to *Perſia* and *India*, or by their own veſſels trading to thoſe parts, or laſtly, by their communication with *Tyre*. The paſſage we are now conſidering ſeems likewiſe clearly to prove, that the *Carthaginians* trafficked with the *Perſians*, ſince all caravans coming intirely by land from *India* to *Carthage* muſt neceſſarily paſs through part of *Perſia*; and we know, that the *Perſians* dealt much in theſe animals. But that the

Carthaginian elephants could never after this battle make any impreſſion upon the *Roman* troops; on which account the victory might juſtly have been looked upon as of vaſt conſequence to them. According to *Zonaras*, the *Carthaginian* fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of the land-forces; for vaſt numbers of *Aſdrubal*'s ſoldiers, endeavouring to make their eſcape on board the galleys, fell into the ſea and were drowned. *Diodorus* intimates, that *Aſdrubal* was, in a manner, compelled by his own troops to venture an engagement with the enemy; that advancing to *Panormus*, he paſſed the river above-mentioned with great temerity, not taking the leaſt precaution to ſecure himſelf againſt any attempts of the *Romans*; and that ſome merchants having brought a large quan-

the *Carthaginians* were well known to the *Perſians* in very early times, which we cannot well conceive to have been in any other manner than by trading with them, is evident from *Cambyſes*'s intention to attack them, and from the embaſſy *Darius* ſent them towards the cloſe of his reign, already mentioned. Beſides that they were acquainted with the *Perſian* gulf, is probable from what *Pliny* relates of one of their ſea commanders, who ſteered his courſe that way, in order to make diſcoveries in very early times. If they traded with theſe remote nations by caravans, they might likewiſe have gone through part of the country of the *Garamantes* and *Ethiopia*; which that they did, appears probable from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who tell us, that the *Indian*, *Garamantican*, and *Ethiopian* carbuncles, by reaſon of their great plenty at *Carthage*, were called *Carchedonian* carbuncles; and that the *Carthaginians* received them from the *Garamantes*. After having weighed all theſe particulars, we cannot help thinking, that the *Carthaginians* ſent caravans to the country of the *Garamantes*, *Ethiopia*, and *Perſia*, as well as ſhips to the *Red-ſea*, rather than that they had a communication with thoſe parts of the world by means of the *Tyrians*. As a further proof of this, it may be conſidered, that *Hanno*, who is ſuppoſed to have written the *periplus* going under his name, one of their admirals, ſailed to the remoteſt coaſts of *Arabia* from *Cadiz*, long before the age we are now treating of; and that *Pliny* intimates their commerce to have been ſo much more extenſive than that of any other nation, that merchandiſe was ſaid to be the invention of the *Pæni*, not of the *Phœnicians*. *Dalecampius*, in his notes on *Pliny*, receives a great acceſſion of ſtrength from this paſſage of *Polybius*, and on his part illuſtrates this laſt-mentioned author, as well as *Pliny*. We ſhall reſerve what we have to ſay of elephants, and thoſe nations, who firſt uſed them in war, for a future note (24).

(24) *Polyb. in loc. citat. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 7. & Dalecamp. in loc. Strab. l. xvii. Herodot. l. iii. Juſt. l. xix. Plin. l. ii. c. 67.*

tity of wine into the camp. the *Celtes* got drunk, filling all parts with noiſe, diſorder and confuſion; which *Cæcilius* obſerving, ſallied out of the town, put the *Carthaginian* army to the rout, and either killed or took priſoners a vaſt number of men. Sixty elephants, according to the ſame author, that fell into the hands of the *Romans*, were ſent to *Rome* as a great curioſity. It may not be improper to remark, that this exploit concluded the thirteenth year of the firſt *Punic* war f.

The Romans *beſieged* Lilybæum.

The beginning of the following year, the *Carthaginians* received intelligence, that the *Romans* intended to form the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, imagining, that the reduction of that place would put an end to this tedious and bloody war. As they looked upon the preſervation of *Lilybæum*, which was the only city they now poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, except *Drepanum*, to be of the utmoſt conſequence to them, they reinforced the gariſon with a large body of choſen troops, and finiſhed the fortifications in ſuch a manner, as to render the place almoſt impregnable. Notwithſtanding which, the two conſuls, *Manlius* and *Attilius*, inveſted the place; and, after having opened trenches before it, carried on the ſiege with great vigour. The *Carthaginians*, ſome time before the beginning of this ſiege, had razed the city of *Selinus*, and tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Lilybæum*; ſo that this laſt place was very populous when the *Roman* army appeared before it. The gariſon was alſo very numerous, conſiſting of ten thouſand mercenary *Gauls* and *Greeks*, beſides a large detachment of *Carthaginian* forces, commanded by *Hamilcar*, an officer of great experience and bravery. Though the *Romans* ſoon demoliſhed ſeveral of the outworks, and even made their approaches cloſe to the body of the place, yet *Hamilcar* defended it with an intrepidity and reſolution worthy of himſelf. He rebuilt, as it were in a moment, many forts, which the enemy had deſtroyed with their battering-engines; poſted to every part of the town to give the neceſſary orders, prevent confuſion, and animate the troops, as well as the citizens, by his preſence; and laſtly, made frequent, as well as vigorous, ſallies, upon the beſiegers. According to *Diodorus*, in one of theſe ſallies he killed ten thouſand *Romans* upon the ſpot, put a great part of their army to flight, burnt many of their rams, baliſtæ, and catapults, and then entered triumphantly into the town. The *Carthaginians* in the mean time, finding their cavalry of no ſervice in the defence of the place, ſent them to *Drepanum*. Soon after the laſt diſaſter, a famine began to rage in

f Polyb. Zonar. Eutrop. & Oros. ibid. Liv. epit l. xix. Plin. l. viii. c. 6. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 4.

the

the *Roman* camp, which in a ſhort time introduced the plague there, by which, in a very few days, above ten thouſand men were carrried off. In fine, the beſiegers, by ſuch a train of calamities, coming, as it were, one upon the neck of another, loſt more men than they could well have done in ſeveral pitched battles. This ſo greatly weakened, and at the ſame time diſpirited them, that had they not received an immediate ſupply both of troops and proviſions from king *Hiero*, they muſt have been infallibly obliged to raiſe the ſiege [g].

The mercenaries enter into a conſpiracy to deliver the place into the hands of the Romans.

BUT what the *Romans* could not effect by force, they attempted to accompliſh by treachery. In order to which, they ſo far corrupted ſome of the leaders of the mercenaries, that they decoyed them into their camp, to concert with them the proper meaſures for having the place delivered into their hands. This might have proved fatal to the *Carthaginians*, had not one *Alexon*, an *Achaian*, diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to *Hamilcar*; who, aſſembling all the remaining mercenary officers, acquainted them with the particulars of the horrid deſign, and, by his ſingular addreſs, engaged them to perſevere in their fidelity to the *Carthaginians*. Having ſecured this point, he prevailed upon them next to endeavour at inſpiring the ſoldiers under their command with the ſame ſentiments. He likewiſe ſent one *Hannibal*, the ſon of the admiral of that name, who was crucified by his own men at *Sulci* in *Sardinia*, to keep the *Gauls*, with whom he was very popular, firm in the *Carthaginian* intereſt; whilſt *Alexon* went to hinder the *Greeks*, amongſt whom he was extremely beloved, from entering into the enemy's meaſures. Theſe ſalutary precautions had the deſired effect; for the mercenary chiefs, returning ſoon after from the *Roman* camp, found their men ſo far from liſtening to their ſuggeſtions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmoſt fury (Z). *Zonaras*

[g] DIOD. SIC. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. POLYB. l. i. LIV. epit. l. xix. OROS. ubi ſup. c. 10. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 15. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 41. &c.

(Z) *Zonaras* inſinuates, that tho' *Hamilcar* was appriſed of the conſpiracy, he did not judge it expedient to take any notice of it, for fear of an open and public defection of the mercenaries; but that having ſecured the fidelity of the officers, by paying them their arrears, and calmed the minds of the ſoldiery, by promiſing them ſpeedy payment, which the *Carthaginians* enabled him to do, by ſending him immediately a large ſum of money for that purpoſe, he, by this means, avoided the danger that threatened him. The ſame author moreover relates, that the *Romans* received the commanders

of

naras says, that the length of the siege, and a want of pay, induced the mercenaries to entertain thoughts of betraying the city to the *Romans*; of which *Hamilcar* being apprised, he paid the officers their arrears, and appeased the minds of the soldiery by large promises; by which means all the sparks of discontent and sedition were extinguished. This impending storm being blown over, *Hamilcar* rewarded *Alexon* for his fidelity, and continued his sallies upon the *Romans* with the usual success [h].

The garison receives a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Carthage.

The *Carthaginians* being informed, that the *Romans* had received a reinforcement from *Hiero*, though they could have no intelligence from the garison, concluded that the *Romans* pushed on the siege with vigour, and that consequently *Hamilcar* wanted some relief. They therefore sent one *Hannibal* with a supply of ten thousand men, who putting in at the island of *Egusa*, was obliged to stay there some time, in expectation of a fair wind. He was not detained long here, but soon happily made his way into the town. Having landed his troops, he passed in the night by the enemy's camp to *Drepanum*, where he had a conference with his friend *Adherbal*, who commanded in that place. The subject of this conference undoubtedly was, how to open a communication betwixt *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*. In consequence, as it is probable, of the measures there concerted, *Hannibal*, surnamed the *Rhodian*, was pitched upon to execute the plan formed by the two commanders above-mentioned. This he very luckily did for some time, and thereby greatly contributed to the support of the garison of *Lilybæum*, as well as the service of the *Carthaginian* state in general; but was at last taken by some galleys detached from the *Roman* fleet, in the manner by us already related [i].

And burns in a sally the besiegers battering engines

All communication betwixt *Lilybæum* and the other *Carthaginian* territories being thus cut off, the garison was reduced to some extremities. However at last a storm arose, which

[h] Polyb. & Zonar. ubi sup. [i] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oros. ubi sup. Univers. hist. ubi supra.

of the mercenaries, who were expelled the city by their own troops, with great kindness, gave them lands in *Sicily*, and other valuable effects, to compensate the loss they had sustained for their affection to them. This last particular is likely enough to be true; but as to the first, since it contradicts *Polybius*, we think no degree of credit is due to it (25).

(25) *Zonar. ubi sup.* c. 15.

broke

broke and rendered uſeleſs all the *Roman* battering-engines, and overturned many of the towers they had erected to facilitate the reduction of the town. This unexpected event prompted the *Greek* troops in gariſon to attempt the deſtruction of the machines, which eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt; which they eaſily effected, and put a great number of *Romans* to the ſword. The conſuls, upon this unexpected blow, deſiſted from the attack of the town, turning the ſiege into a blockade, and drawing a line round the place, to prevent any ſuccours being thrown into it. The beſieged, on the other hand, repaired all the breaches made by the enemy, ſtrengthened the fortifications with ſome new works, and receiving a freſh flow of ſpirits from the great ſucceſs they had met with, were determined to defend the town to the laſt drop of blood [k].

SOON after this diſaſter, which greatly alarmed the *Romans*, *Claudius* the conſul put to ſea with a powerful fleet, having a deſign of ſurpriſing *Drepanum*. Upon his approach to that place, *Adherbal*, the commander there, was not a little amazed to ſee a formidable ſquadron entering the port, eſpecially conſidering the blow the *Romans* had lately received. However, he ſoon reſumed his uſual preſence of mind, and, aſſembling his troops, made a pathetic ſpeech to them, expatiating upon the hardſhips of a ſiege, which they muſt inevitably undergo, if they ſuffered the enemy to enter their harbour unattacked, and at the ſame time aſſuring them, that no doubt could be entertained of their vanquiſhing the *Romans*, conſidering the many advantages they had over them in point of ſituation, provided they fell upon them immediately, and did their duty. The ſoldiers and ſeamen, greatly animated by this ſpeech, required to be led inſtantly againſt the enemy. Upon which *Adherbal*, drawing up his ſquadron in line of battle near the rocks that lay on the coaſt, boldly advanced againſt *Claudius*, who was now entering the port. The engagement immediately began, and the fight was, for ſome time, obſtinate and dubious; but at laſt the *Carthaginians*, by the lightneſs and activity of their veſſels, by the diſadvantageous ſituation of the *Romans*, who, through *Claudius*'s imprudence, were poſted near the ſhore; and laſtly, by reaſon of the *Roman* galleys being incapabable, on account of their clumſy make, of charging the enemy in flank or rear, as occaſion ſhould require, obtained a complete victory. Ninety-three of the *Roman* galleys, if we may give credit to *Polybius*, with the greateſt part of their crews, fell into the hands of the

Claudius *totally routed by* Aſdrubal *in a ſea-fight.*

[k] POLYB. & DIODOR. ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup.

Carthaginians, who, it is said, did not lose a single man or galley in this glorious action. According to *Diodorus*, *Claudius* lost an hundred and seventeen ships, and twenty thousand men. *Eutropius* affirms ninety galleys to have been taken, and ninety, with all the troops on board, sunk in this fatal battle. And lastly, *Orosius* relates eight thousand men to have been killed or drowned, and twenty thousand taken prisoners. *Claudius*, with thirty vessels, made his escape (A) out of the fight to the camp at *Lilybæum*, bringing thither to the consuls the news (B) of his defeat; which was the greatest blow the *Romans* had received by sea since the commencement of this war [1].

Carthalo, by his conduct, occasions a mutiny in the Carthaginian army, and is therefore recalled to Carthage.

NOTHING was now celebrated at *Carthage* but the praises of *Adherbal*, who, at this juncture, was esteemed, both on account of his consummate prudence and personal valour, as one of the greatest heroes *Carthage* had ever produced: and indeed such an intire overthrow, given to a most proud and insulting enemy, could not but be in the highest degree grateful to all orders of men in that metropolis, and consequently render the general, to whom it was chiefly owing, greatly acceptable to all his fellow-citizens. As the *Romans* had amassed a vast quantity of provisions on board their fleet, *Adherbal* furnished *Lilybæum* with a most plentiful supply, and filled all his magazines at *Drepanum*. In the mean time, *Hamilcar* found himself inspired with new vigour, not only by the unexpected success of *Adherbal*, but by his having destroyed all the enemy's works and military engines, in the sally abovementioned, wherein he was not a little favoured by the violent gust of wind, which rendered unquenchable the flames his *Greek* mercenaries had kindled amongst them. The *Carthaginians* likewise at this juncture, by ravaging the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, reduced the natives to the extremest

[1] Idem ibid. Oros. & Zonar. ubi sup. Eutrop. l. ii. Flor. l. i. c. 2, sub fin. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. l. ii. c. 13. ex. 9. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. & l. viii. c. 1. ex. 4.

(A) *Frontinus* tells us, that *Claudius* made his escape with twenty ships, which he adorned in a triumphal manner, and by that means passed by some of the enemy's guard-ships without hurt, the *Carthaginians* on board believing him to have been victorious (26).

(B) We think it not improper to acquaint our readers here, that they will find this rash man's character drawn at full length by *Diodorus Siculus*, in one of his fragments published by *Valesius* (27).

(26) S. Jul. Frontin. in loc. citat. (27) Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. sub init. in excerpt. Vales.

poverty.

poverty. Soon after, *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* officer, in a quinquereme, fell into the hands of *Junius* the conſul, as he was ſteering with a new fleet for *Lilybæum*. However, this loſs was ſoon repaired; for *Adherbal*, detaching *Carthalo* with an hundred galleys to obſerve the *Roman* ſquadrons and convoys ſent to the relief of the camp before *Lilybæum*, gained ſeveral advantages over them, and at laſt had the pleaſure of ſeeing them totally deſtroyed by a ſtorm. Beſides many other places, *Carthalo* reduced *Ægythalus*, a ſtrong caſtle the *Romans* had poſſeſſed themſelves of. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the firſt ſea-fight with *Carthalo*, the *Romans* had thirty-five thouſand men killed, and as many taken priſoners; but this is ſcarce credible. Notwithſtanding all the loſſes the *Romans* had ſuſtained, they continued the blockade of *Lilybæum* with great firmneſs, cantoning all their troops in the neighbourhood, being determined, if poſſible, to carry the place. *Carthalo*, by ſome indiſcreet actions, became ſo unpopular amongſt the troops, that he had like to have occaſioned an univerſal defection; which obliged the ſenate to recal him to *Carthage*. The *Romans*, being greatly dejected by their late frequent misfortunes at ſea, reſolved once more to lay aſide all thoughts of oppoſing their rival upon the watery element. This revived the drooping ſpirits of the *Carthaginians*, and encouraged them to entertain hopes of coping with their formidable enemy once more by land. In order to which, they appointed *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, the head of the *Barcan* faction in *Carthage*, general of their forces. This extraordinary perſon, by his future conduct both in *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Spain*, demonſtrated himſelf to be the greateſt general, excepting his ſon *Hannibal*, who indeed outſhined him, that ever appeared at the head of the *Carthaginian* armies [m].

Hamilcar (C), reciving a *charte blanche* from the ſenate, Hamilcar *lands in* Sicily, *and makes ſeveral motions.*

[m] POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. FLOR. EUTROP OROS. ZONAR. ubi ſup. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. Vide & Univerſ. Hiſt. ubi ſup. & p. 42, &c.

(C) The ſurname of this famous general the *Greek* authors write *Barcas*; but the *Latin*, *Barca*. It was common for the *Greeks* to terminate the ſame proper name in *as*, that the *Latins* did in *a*, and even ſuch proper names as were of *African* extraction; witneſs *Micipſas*, *Micipſa*, &c. According to *Silius* and others, this was the ſurname of a family, which was the nobleſt in *Carthage*, being lineally deſcended from the antient kings of *Tyre*. The party in *Carthage*, that adhered to this *Hamilcar*, was from him called the *Barcine* or *Barcan* faction, of which *Livy* takes particular notice.

to act as he should think proper for the service of the republic of *Carthage*, set sail from *Carthage* in the eighteenth year of this war. According to *Cornelius Nepos*, he was a perfect youth, when he took upon him the command of the army; which, considering the bad situation of the *Carthaginian* affairs, adds no small lustre to his first gallant atchievements. Having put to death all the ringleaders and most guilty of the mutineers, he ravaged the coasts of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, and then made a descent near *Panormus* with all his forces. Upon his landing, he marked out a camp betwixt *Panormus* and *Eryx*; which was of itself a sufficient proof of his great military capacity, since the spot of ground pitched upon seems, from the description given us of it by *Polybius*, to have been the most commodious for the end proposed, that could possibly be conceived. Soon after his encampment here, he detached some galleys, with a body of land-forces on board, to pillage the *Roman* allies. These executed their orders with great severity, making excursions as far as *Cumæ*, and laying the county waste where-ever they moved. Upon their return, he marched with his army to the very walls of *Panormus*, though the enemy lay encamped but eight hundred paces from that city, and afterwards returned to his former camp. For some time the generals on both sides made it their whole business to observe each others motions. In short, by marches and counter-marches, by rencounters and ambuscades, by military falsifications, and stratagems of all kinds, *Hamilcar* and the consuls strove who should shew the greatest skill and dexterity; which, though it greatly fatigued the soldiers, trained them up in military discipline, and formed them for action in the most perfect manner. But such a variety of motions, as was the result of this conduct, being too tedious for an historian to describe, *Polybius* has, in a great measure, omitted it [n].

[n] Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Hœsch. Polyb. l. i. ubi sup. Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc. sub init.

Servius in direct terms asserts this name to appertain to a family; and *Plutarch* mentions one *Maherbal*, or *Adherbal* (who intimated to *Hannibal*, that he did not know so well how to make a proper use of a victory, as to get one', as a member of it. We may possibly have occasion to speak further of this family in the next section (28).

(28) *Sil. Ital. l. vi. Serv. in Æn iv. ver.* 632. *Liv. l. xxi. c.* 2, 3. *Plut. in Fab. p.* 184. *Corn. Nep in vit. Hamilc. Appian. Iberic. p.* 428. *Vide Reinec. hist. Jul. vol. ii. & Bentleium in dissert. ad Malelam. p.* 88, 89, *&c. edit. Oxon.* 1691.

Both

BOTH the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* camps were, by art and nature, rendered impregnable; so that neither side could force the other to a battle. The military operations therefore, for a considerable period of time, consisted in rencounters betwixt parties, who, on both sides, behaved with very great bravery. The success of these skirmishes was dubious, sometimes one party being victorious, and sometimes the other. The *Carthaginians*, however, in general, from what we find in *Polybius*, seem rather to have had the advantage, especially as *Diodorus* intimates, that *Hamilcar* took a castle of considerable strength in the territory of *Catana*, before he advanced to *Eryx*. If so, this ought undoubtedly to be ascribed to the incomparable conduct of *Hamilcar*; since, from the time he became their general, they performed feats, of which before they might justly have been thought incapable [o].

Neither side could force the other to a battle.

THE *Romans* had, for some time past, desisted from all naval preparations, being deterred from them by the terrible disasters they had met with at sea; and confined themselves wholly to a land-war, thinking their land-forces much more than a match for those of *Carthage*. But finding themselves greatly mistaken in their views, by the excellent conduct of *Hamilcar*, and that, instead of carrying their point in *Sicily*, they were even themselves reduced to some extremities there by the enemy, they began to think of annoying them again by sea. In order to this, a fleet was first equipped by private persons. This privateer-squadron of galleys was of considerable force, and fitted out chiefly with a view of plundering the enemy's territories, and inuring the *Romans* to the sea, to which they were now, in a manner, strangers. They committed great depredations on the coasts of *Africa*; and entering the port of *Hippo*, notwithstanding the citizens had endeavoured to hinder their entrance, by shutting up the mouth of the harbour with a large and strong chain thrown across it, they laid the greatest part of the town, together with the shipping, in ashes. Having filled their vessels with spoils, they returned to *Panormus*, near which place they gave a considerable defeat to the enemy. In the mean time, one of the consuls pushed on the siege of *Lilybæum*, and the other that of *Drepanum*. The *Romans* likewise dislodged the *Carthaginians* from the island of *Columbaria*; which *Hamilcar* in vain attempted to retake. *Fabius*, who carried on the siege of *Drepanum*, afterwards, with incredible labour, joined this island to the continent, which greatly facilitated his approaches.

The Romans equip a privateer squadron.

[o] Idem ibid.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding these advantages, the brave *Hamilcar* terribly harrassed the enemy, not only making incursions into the very heart of the island, but plundering frequently the coasts of *Italy*, that lay opposite to *Sicily*. Nothing considerable, for some time, happened after this, except that a cartel was settled betwixt both parties for an exchange of prisoners. They were exchanged man for man; but the *Carthaginian* prisoners being by far most numerous, many of them were redeemed by money out of the hands of the *Romans* [p].

Hamilcar *takes* Eryx.

About three years after *Hamilcar*'s arrival in *Sicily*, he made himself master of *Eryx* by surprise. The town was situate on the declivity of a mountain of the same name, and had fallen again to the *Romans* since the reduction of it by *Carthalo* above-mentioned. What rendered this action the more remarkable was, that the *Romans* had not only a body of troops in the town, whom they might easily have supported, and the support of whom was of the highest consequence to them, but were likewise in possession both of the top and foot of the mountain, where they had forts defended by strong garisons. By the possession of this post, the *Romans* on the summit of the mountain laboured under all the hardships and inconveniencies of a place closely besieged; notwithstanding which, they bore all their calamities with wonderful patience, as well as behaved with incredible bravery and resolution. *Hamilcar* maintained himself in the advantageous post he had gained with equal bravery. However, as the *Romans* were masters of the open country, he found himself sometimes straightened for want of provisions, and with no small difficulty preserved the avenue, keeping open a communication with the sea, by means of which he, from time to time, received supplies. *Fabius* represents both parties as sinking under the miseries they then endured; but *Polybius*, with greater justice, and more agreeable to the faith of history, as triumphing over them. Both sides continued in this melancholy situation for the space of two years. The *Romans*, notwithstanding the difficulties they were reduced to, still continued the blockade of *Lilybæum* [q].

The Romans *fit out a new fleet.*

As the privateer-squadron was only a prelude to the figure the *Romans* intended to make by sea, in the consulate of *C. Lutatius Catulus* and *A. Posthumius*, they fitted out another fleet of two hundred sail, which was likewise, in a great measure, equipped at the expence of private persons. The command of this armament was given to *C. Lutatius*, with an in-

[p] Flor. l. ii c. 2. sub fin. Zonar. ubi. sup. c. 16. Polyb. Diod. Sic. Corn. Nepos. ubi. sup. [q] Potention

tention to ſtrike a home-ſtroke, and force fortune to give a *coup de grace* to the *Carthaginians*. In the firſt place the conſul poſſeſſed himſelf of the port of *Drepanum* and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of *Lilybæum*. Afterwards he took care to exerciſe his ſoldiers and ſeamen with the utmoſt diligence, that they might be able to look the enemy in the face, as firmly believing, that a deciſive action by ſea muſt put an end to this long and burdenſome war. Soon after their entrance into the haven of *Drepanum*, the *Romans* attempted to ſtorm the town, and might have ſucceeded in their attempt, had not the conſul been wounded; which occaſioned ſome confuſion, and gave the enemy an opportunity of repulſing them. *Zonaras* obſerves, that when the troops on both ſides were drawn up in order of battle before the fight off the iſlands called *Ægates*, the place of rendezvous for the *Carthaginian* fleet, a blazing ſtar or comet appeared, to the great terror of both parties; but ſeemed to point directly at the *Carthaginians*. Though the wind proved unfavourable to *Lutatius* when he came in ſight of the enemy's fleet, yet he reſolved to attack them, ſince they expected every moment to be joined by *Hamilcar*, whoſe name was become terrible to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, intending now to make their laſt effort by ſea, had collected their whole naval power, conſiſting of four hundred ſail. The *Romans* on this occaſion, according to *Polybius*, fitted out two hundred gallies as above obſerved; but *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* make them to have been three hundred. Both fleets, coming in ſight of each other, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an engagement, which was to determine the fate of *Sicily*[r].

Which intirely defeats that of the Carthaginians *near the iſlands* Ægates.

THOUGH the galleys, of which the *Carthaginian* armament was compoſed, in number greatly exceeded thoſe of the *Romans*, yet, in many reſpects, the *Roman* ſquadron was vaſtly ſuperior to the *Carthaginian*; for whereas the forces on board the latter conſiſted, for the moſt part, of new levies, intirely raw and undiſciplined, *Lutatius* had taken care to man the former with choice troops and able ſeamen, trained up in the moſt perfect manner. Beſides, as his veſſels were built after the model of the galley taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian*, in lightneſs and activity they far excelled thoſe of the enemy. To which we may add, that the *Carthaginians* had the naval power of the *Romans* in the higheſt contempt, as having themſelves, for ſome years, been maſters at ſea; and therefore, upon the firſt advice of the enemy's

[r] POLYB. LIV. FLOR. DION. SIC. ubi. ſup. ZONAR. ubi. ſup. c. 17. EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. l. iv. c. 10.

motions

motions, they, being vaſtly ſurpriſed, put to ſea a fleet fitted out in haſte, manned only with mercenaries, who had neither courage, experience, nor zeal for the ſtate, in whoſe ſervice they were engaged. *Hanno* therefore made but a faint reſiſtance, his forces being routed at the firſt onſet. *Florus* ſays, that the *Carthaginian* fleet was ſo heavy laden with troops, baggage, arms, proviſions, *&c.* that the whole city of *Carthage* ſeemed to have been on board, and that the veſſels could not move with any freedom; which greatly contributed to *Hanno*'s defeat. The loſs of the *Carthaginians* on this melancholy occaſion ſeems greatly to be exaggerated by *Eutropius*, who tells us, that they had ſeventy-three ſhips taken, an hundred twenty-five ſunk, thirty-two thouſand men made priſoners, thirteen thouſand killed or drowned, and that an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver fell into the victors hands. *Oroſius* differs not much from him. But *Polybius*, who undoubtedly comes nearer the truth, affirms, that the *Romans* (D) ſunk only fifty of the *Carthaginian* veſſels, and took ſeventy with their crews, the reſt making off in great confuſion to the iſle of *Hiera*. *Lutatius* following his blow advanced to the city of *Eryx*; where engaging the *Carthaginians*, he cut off two thouſand men. This laſt action concluded the operations of the firſt *Punic* war [r].

Which is followed by a peace.

THE *Romans*, naturally inſolent in proſperity, were ſo elated with their victory, that *Lutatius* inſiſted upon *Hamilcar*'s delivering up his arms to him; but this haughty demand was rejected with the ſcorn and indignation it deſerved, that great captain proteſting, *That he would ſuffer all extremities, rather than give up thoſe arms to his country's enemies, with which he had been entruſted for its preſervation.* The conſul, however, underſtanding, that *Hamilcar* was inveſted with full powers to ſign a treaty with him, and being deſirous of

[r] Idem ibid. ut. & LUCIUS. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

(D) According to *Diodorus*, the *Roman* fleet, ſhips of war and tranſports, amounted to a thouſand ſail, and the *Carthaginian* only to two hundred and fifty. But this contradicts all other authors, and is highly improbable. The leſs credit is to be given to *Diodorus* in this particular, as he depends intirely upon *Philinus*, a writer of ſuch partiality, that his authority is not to be regarded. The ſame author affirms that the *Romans* loſt eighty ſhips, and had ſix thouſand men taken priſoners in this action; which, conſidering the relation of it given us by other hiſtorians, ſeems abſolutely impoſſible (28).

(28) *Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Rhodoman.*

having

having the honour of putting an end to a war, which had coſt both republics ſuch an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, before the expiration of his office, he concluded a peace with that general, provided the ſenate and people of *Rome* would ratify it, upon the following terms: *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould immediately evacuate* Sicily; *that they ſhould never for the future make war upon* Hiero, *or any other ally of the* Romans; *that they ſhould reſtore all the* Roman *priſoners in their cuſtody without ranſom, but redeem their own with money; and* laſtly, *that, within twenty years, they ſhould pay the* Romans *two thouſand two hundred* Euboic *talents of the pureſt ſilver*[t]. *Zonaras* intimates, that the ſenate of *Carthage* ſent a deputation directly to *Lutatius* to ſue for peace; but he muſt give way to the ſuperior authority of *Polybius* and *Cornelius Nepos*, who affirm, that *Hamilcar Barcas* had the management of the whole tranſaction. The people of *Rome*, greatly puffed up with their unexpected ſucceſs, and looking upon the republic of *Carthage* as now lying at their mercy, refuſed to ratify the treaty, till they had ſent ten deputies to *Sicily*, to inform themſelves thoroughly of the ſituation of affairs there, who, in conjunction with the conſul, agreed to the ratification of it, upon condition the four following additional articles were inſerted in it: *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould increaſe the above-ſtipulated ſum with two hundred talents; that a thouſand talents ſhould be paid immediately, and the remaining ſum in ten years time; that the* Carthaginians *ſhould not approach with their long ſhips either the coaſts of* Italy, *or any territories belonging to the allies of the* Romans; *that they ſhould not make levies either in the dominions of the* Romans, *or thoſe of their allies; and* laſtly, *that they ſhould abandon all the little iſlands betwixt* Sicily *and the coaſt of* Italy. As theſe hard conditions were extorted from *Hamilcar* by the *Romans*, becauſe they ſaw him not in a ſituation to refuſe them, he, from this moment, conceived an implacable hatred to that nation. In fine, he was determined to conclude a peace with them upon any terms, to give his country time to breath, that he might have an opportunity of hereafter chaſtiſing them for the unparallelled inſolence they had been guilty of through the whole courſe, and more particularly at the concluſion, of this war. Authors are not entirely agreed about the preciſe duration of the firſt *Punic* war. *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and *Zonaras*, ſay, it continued twenty-four years; whereas *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*,

[t] POLYB. CORN. NEP. ZONAR. ubi ſup ALFENUS. VARUS. in lib digeſt. 34. & conjectan. 2. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 5. & OROS. ubi ſup. c. 11.

Syncellus, and others, affirm it to have laſted twenty-three years only, with whom *Gellius*, as he makes it to have commenced *A. U. C.* 490. ſeems to agree. Be this as it will, both ſides ſuffered extremely by it, the *Romans* having loſt, ſince their firſt putting to ſea, ſeven hundred ſhips, and the *Carthaginians* five hundred. We ſhall not here tranſcribe the reflections *Polybius* makes upon the power of both ſtates in this war, ſince our readers may ſo eaſily have recourſe to that excellent hiſtorian; but content ourſelves with obſerving, that though, in his opinion, the *Roman* ſoldiers were far ſuperior to the *Carthaginian* in valour and reſolution, yet he allows *Hamilcar*, for his conduct and bravery, to have been the greateſt captain of the age[u].

The Libyan war.

THE *Carthaginians* were no ſooner got out of this bloody and expenſive war, than they found themſelves engaged in another, which had like to have proved fatal to them. The mercenary troops, that had ſerved under *Hamilcar*, in *Sicily*, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly on all occaſions, upon their return to *Africa*, found the ſtate of *Carthage* ſo drained, that, far from being able to give them the largeſſes and rewards promiſed by *Hamilcar*, it could not pay them their arrears. This, with ſome other concurring cauſes, occaſioned a war (E), which, for three years and an half, preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with ſuch inſtances of cruelty and barbarity, as are ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory. The antient hiſtorians call it the *Libyan* or *African* war, and ſometimes *the war with the mercenaries*. As many ſalutary inſtructions may be drawn from thence, of great ſervice to ſome ſtates in all ages, for the better regulation of their conduct in ſeveral important particulars, which is one of the great ends of hiſtory, *Polybius* has tranſmitted to poſterity a full and minute account of

[u] POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. CORN. NEP. ZON. OROS. EUTROP ubi ſup SYNCEL. in chronograph. p. 275. AUL. GELL. in noct. Attic. l. xvii. c. 21. ſub fin.

(E) *Diodorus Siculus* in this point differs from *Polybius*; for he tells us, that this bloody war continued four years and four months. But as this is aſſerted in one of his fragments, all of which are greatly corrupted, and conſequently ſtand in need of many emendations, we ſhall not ſcruple giving the preference to *Polybius*, who affirms, that this war laſted three years and an half (30).

(30) *Diod. Sic. l. xxv. ſub init. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæſchel.*

it.

it. For the ſame reaſon we think it incumbent upon us, in this part of our work, to inſert the ſubſtance of what has been laid down by that noble author relating to ſo remarkable a tranſaction, aſſuring our readers, at the ſame time, that nothing of moment ſhall be omitted, that we can be ſupplied with from other antient hiſtorians [w].

The mercenary troops of the Carthaginians greatly diſguſted, on account of not receiving their full pay.

As ſoon as *Hamilcar* had put the laſt hand to the treaty abovementioned, he retired, with the forces which were in *Eryx*, to *Lilybæum*, and there reſigned his commiſſion, leaving to *Giſco*, the commandant of that place, the care of tranſporting them to *Africa*. *Giſco*, being an officer of great penetration, as though he had foreſeen what would happen, did not ſhip them off all at once, but in ſmall and ſeparate parties, that thoſe who came firſt might be paid off, and ſent home, before the arrival of the reſt. The *Carthaginians* at home, however, did not act with the ſame forecaſt and precaution. As they were almoſt intirely exhauſted by the laſt war, and the immenſe ſum of money, in conſequence of the peace, paid to the *Romans*, they judged it would be a laudable action to ſave ſomething to the public, not conſidering the injuſtice, as well as imprudence, of the meaſure they were going to purſue in order to this. They therefore did not pay the mercenaries in proportion as they arrived thinking it more proper to wait till they all came together, with a view of obtaining from the whole body a remiſſion of ſome part of their arrears; but being ſoon made ſenſible of their wrong conduct on this occaſion, by the frequent diſorders theſe barbarians committed in the city, they, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon the officers to take up their quarters at *Sicca*, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood, giving them a ſum of money for their preſent ſubſiſtence, and promiſing to adjuſt their pretenſions, when the reſt of their comrades came from *Sicily*. For ſome time they refuſed to begin their march, becauſe the *Carthaginians* were not diſpoſed to permit their wives and children to ſtay in *Carthage*, as they deſired, believing that this would be an inducement to the ſoldiers to return often to *Carthage*, and conſequently deprive them of the benefits they had propoſed to themſelves from their departure. However, this difficulty was at laſt got over; and all the mercenaries already arrived in *Africa*, with their wives, children, and baggage, marched to *Sicca*. *Polybius* looks upon this ſtep as an overſight in the *Carthaginians*, ſince, had the women and children remained in *Car-*

[w] Vide POLYB. l. i. p. 65—89. DIOD. SIC. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman.

thage, they would have been as ſo many hoſtages for the future good behaviour of the ſoldiers: and indeed that ſuch an advantage would have more than counterbalanced the inconvenience ariſing from an oppoſite conduct, hinted at by the ſame author, notwithſtanding the fierceneſs of the *African* troops, required no uncommon degree of ſagacity to apprehend [x].

Hanno increaſes their diſguſt.

Being now wholly immerſed in idleneſs, to which they had long been ſtrangers, a neglect of diſcipline enſued, and of courſe a petulant and licentious ſpirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquieſce in receiving their bare pay, but to inſiſt upon the rewards *Hamilcar* had promiſed them, and even to compel the ſtate of *Carthage* to comply with their demands by force of arms. The ſenate, being appriſed of the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, diſpatched *Hanno*, one of the ſuffetes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at *Sicca*, he behaved in a very prepoſterous and imprudent manner. He expatiated largely upon the poverty of the ſtate, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of *Carthage* were loaded; and therefore, inſtead of anſwering their high expectations, he deſired them to be ſatisfied with receiving part of their pay, and remit the remainder to ſerve the preſſing exigencies of the republic [y].

Upon which they advance in a body to Tunes.

Nothing could have been more impolitic than this conduct of *Hanno*, excepting that of the *Carthaginians*, in employing a perſon ſo unqualified for the buſineſs he went upon. In the firſt place, he expoſed his country's weakneſs to the contempt of the mercenaries, and then farther inflamed them againſt it, by refuſing to comply with their juſt pretenſions, when they ſeemed determined to inſiſt upon a compliance with the moſt extravagant. But this perſon's conduct was all of a piece, both in his civil and military capacity, as will appear in the courſe of this war: ſo that *Carthage* muſt have been ruined, had ſhe not had ſo able a captain as *Hamilcar* to ſupport her in the time of this her great diſtreſs. In fine, the mercenaries being highly exaſperated, that neither *Hamilcar*, nor any other of the principal officers, who commanded them in *Sicily*, and who were the beſt judges of their merit, appeared on this occaſion, but only this *Hanno*, a perſon utterly unknown, and above all others diſagreeable to them, had immediately recourſe to arms. Aſſembling therefore in a body, to the number of twenty thouſand men, they

[x] Polyæn. ubi ſup.

[y] Idem ibid. & Appian. in Libyc. p. 7. edit. Toliii. Amſt. 1670.

advanced

advanced to *Tunes*, and immediately encamped before that city [z].

As *Polybius*'s history is interspersed throughout with the finest political maxims and reflections, so scarce any part of it abounds more with them than that describing the beginning of the *Libyan* war. It is superfluous to give these at large, because the author is in every one's hands; and therefore we shall only observe, that though, in some respects, he approves of the *Carthaginian* practice of making up their armies chiefly of mercenaries, yet in the main he condemns that practice, and demonstrates, from the breaking out of this war, as well as from the nature of the thing, that an observance of the fundamental axiom on which they proceeded, might sometimes produce dismal effects. They imagined, that by drawing their forces from different nations, who did not understand one another, they should prevent all conspiracies, intrigues, and combinations, against the state; and undoubtedly this had a tendency to the end proposed. But what *Aristotle* has observed of their constitution in general, *viz.* that it was more wisely framed to prevent inconveniencies than remedy them, may be applied to this particular custom; for though the evil guarded against by it was frequently by this means prevented, yet when it happened, the consequence could scarce fail of being deplorable, since it was next to impossible for any officers to persuade a soldiery, composed of so many nations, in any tongue, to listen to the dictates of reason. As *Polybius* has set this point in a strong light, we shall refer our readers to him, and now return to the history [a].

The mercenaries break out into an open rebellion.

THE *Carthaginians*, being greatly alarmed at the approach of so formidable a body to *Tunes*, made large concessions to the mercenaries, in order to bring them back to their duty. They ordered them supplies of provisions at their own prices, and sent a deputation of even senators themselves to confer with their chiefs, and, if possible, to satisfy them. Far from being softened, they grew more insolent upon these concessions, taking them for the effects of fear and weakness in the *Carthaginians*. As this powerful corps consisted of *Iberians*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, natives of the *Balearic* islands, *Greeks*, and *Africans*, who were strangers to one another's language, the *Carthaginians* found it next to impossible to treat with them. Many of them likewise being slaves and deserters, and consequently expecting capital punishment, either for this rebellion, or some other enormous crime, did their utmost to

[z] POLYB. ubi sup. [a] Idem ibid. ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c. 11.

prevent

prevent all friendly intercourse with the state of *Carthage*. They moreover considered that republic as destitute of troops, and themselves as the best soldiers in the world, having performed many notable exploits in *Sicily*, and being trained up there in the art of war by the most celebrated captain of the age. These considerations, for some time, made them intirely averse to all thoughts of an accommodation. They rose in their demands, without the least regard to reason, justice, or moderation. They practised every knavish art that could be thought of to extort money from their masters. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some fresh pretension. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them; they still would be reimbursed for the losses, which they pretended to have sustained, either (E) by the death of horses, the excessive price they had, at certain times, paid for their breadcorn, or their short allowance of provisions at those seasons. They insisted also upon the recompence due to their merit, so often promised; and that, in all these points they should have immediate satisfaction given them. The *Carthaginians*, finding themselves obliged to make a virtue of necessity, shewed a disposition to satisfy them in all points, how unreasonable soever, and agreed to refer themselves to the opinion of some general in *Sicily*, who had commanded them there, as they all along desired, leaving the choice of such commander intirely to them. Accordingly they pitched upon *Gisco*, a person greatly beloved by them, to mediate this affair, believing *Hamilcar* to have been a principal cause of the ill treatment they had met with, since he never appeared amongst them, and, according to the general opinion, had voluntarily resigned his commission. *Gisco* soon arrived at *Tunes* with money to pay the troops; and after conferring with the officers, and the several nations apart, he harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner, put them in mind of the long time they had been in the *Carthaginian* service, the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and, in short, gave them to understand, that their reasonable demands would be complied with; at the same time desiring

(E) According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the mercenaries insisted upon being paid for every one of their body who fell in *Sicily*, as well as for the loss of their horses here mentioned; which that historian looked upon as a very unjust und unreasonable demand (30).

(30) *Diod. Sic. in loc jam. laudat.*

them

them to recede from all exorbitant claims, and reſt ſatisfied with their pay. This made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the ſoldiery, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when *Spendius* and *Mathos*, two of the principal mutineers, occaſioned a tumult in every part of the camp. *Spendius* was by nation a *Campanian*, who had been a ſlave at *Rome*, and fled to the *Carthaginians*. He was a ſtrong, luſty, and extremely bold, fellow. The apprehenſions he was under of being delivered into the hands of his old maſter, by whom he was ſure to be hanged or crucified, his crime meriting capital puniſhment by the *Roman* laws, if a pacification took place, prompted him to break off the accommodation. *Mathos* was an *African*, and free-born; but as he had been active in raiſing the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable diſpoſition of the *Carthaginians*, he knew, that a peace muſt infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore very warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of *Spendius*, and inſinuating to the *Africans* the danger of concluding a treaty at that juncture, as this could not but leave them ſingly expoſed to the rage of the *Carthaginians*. *The* Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, *and* Greeks, ſaid he, *after having received their arrears, will be diſmiſſed, and from thenceforth enjoy an uninterrupted repoſe amongſt their countrymen at home; whereas you, being left alone, will have the whole guilt of the rebellion imputed to you, and, deſtitute of ſupport, fall an eaſy ſacrifice to the reſentment of your imperious maſters.* This gave a new turn to affairs, and ſo incenſed the *Africans*, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately aſſembled in a tumultuous manner. The foreigners ſoon joined them, being inſpired by *Spendius* with an equal degree of fury. Nothing now was heard amongſt them, but the moſt bitter oaths and horrid imprecations uttered againſt *Giſco* and the *Carthaginians*. Whoever offered to make any remonſtrance, or lend an ear to temperate counſels, was ſtoned to death by the enraged multitude; nay, many perſons loſt their lives, barely for preſuming to ſpeak, before the purport of their diſcourſe could be known, or any one could from thence with certainty infer, whether they were in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians* or *Spendius*. As the ſtate of *Carthage* had very impoliticly ſupplied the malecontents with plenty of wine, and all kinds of proviſions, they indulged themſelves with great freedom; and being at this very juncture heated (F) with wine, which they had drunk to great exceſs,

(F) We learn from *Polyænus*, that the *Libyans* or *Africans* were much addicted to drunkenneſs; which *Himilco*, a *Carthaginian* general

exceſs, they gave a full vent to their rage and inſolence, threatening the *African* republic with utter deſtruction. In fine, no one having the courage to open his mouth in favour of peace, the troops made choice of *Spendius* and *Mathos* to head them in the intended expedition [b].

And advance towards Utica.

In the midſt of theſe commotions, *Giſco* behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity. That general had too much courage, and too great a regard for his country's welfare, to deſiſt from all poſſible attempts to reduce the mutineers to reaſon, notwithſtanding his preſent dangerous ſituation. He left no methods untried to ſoften the officers, and calm the minds of the ſoldiery, though at the ſame time he kept up an air of dignity and command, giving them to underſtand, that *Carthage* was not in ſuch low circumſtances as they imagined. But the many falſe ſteps the *Carthaginians* had been guilty of ſince the commencement of theſe troubles, as well as before, defeated his good intentions, and rendered ineffectual all his endeavours. The torrent of ſedition was now become ſo ſtrong and rapid, that there was no poſſibility of ſtemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A ſcarcity of proviſions ſucceeding their late plenty and profuſion, the troops, in an inſolent manner, demanded of *Giſco* an immediate ſupply, who, to reprove their inſolence, bade them go to *Mathos*, their captain, for it. Such an accident as this, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the malecontents, could not but ſet the whole camp in a flame. *Shall he with impunity*, ſaid they, *not only refuſe redreſſing our juſt grievances and complaints, but turn even our wants and ne-*

[b] Polyb. & Appian. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Valeſ.

neral, being appriſed of, found an opportunity of intoxicating their troops in a war the *Carthaginians* had with that people, and, by this ſtratagem, gained a ſignal advantage over them. Poſſibly the *Carthaginians* might have ſomething of that kind in view at this time, when they ſupplied the mercenaries with ſuch quantities of wine. If they had not, they were in the higheſt degree impolitic to furniſh their enemies with wine at this juncture, as well as all ſorts of proviſions. Be this as it will, they ſeem to have been infatuated, their conduct, from the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war, having been nothing but a ſeries of blunders and miſtakes. We ſhall not, however, here expatiate upon this topic, but refer our curious readers to *Polybius*, whoſe judicious reflections and obſervations cannot fail of giving them ample ſatisfaction (31).

(31) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 1.

ceſſities,

ceſſities into ridicule? In a moment therefore they ſeized upon the military cheſt, dividing the money amongſt themſelves in part of their arrears, put the perſon of *Giſco* under arreſt, and treated him, as well as all his attendants, with the utmoſt indignities. *Mathos* and *Spendius*, to deſtroy the remoteſt hopes or a reconciliation with *Carthage*, applauded the courage and reſolution of their men, loaded the unhappy *Giſco*, and his followers, with irons, and formally declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*. All the cities of *Africa*, to whom they had ſent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, ſoon came over to them, except *Utica* and *Hippo Dyarrhytus*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Hippacra*. By this means their army being greatly increaſed, they divided it into two bodies; with one of which they moved towards *Utica*, whilſt the other marched to *Hippo*, in order to beſiege both thoſe places. The *Carthaginians* in the mean time found themſelves ready to ſink under the preſſure of their misfortunes, their city having never before been expoſed to ſuch imminent danger. Every thing at preſent ſeemed to conſpire to their ruin. After they had been harraſſed four-and-twenty years by a moſt cruel and deſtructive foreign war, they entertained hopes of enjoying ſome repoſe, and re-eſtabliſhing their affairs; inſtead of which a numerous army ariſes out of their own bowels, threatening them with immediate deſtruction. All the citizens of *Carthage* drew their particular ſubſiſtance from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expences from the tribute paid from *Africa*; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what is much worſe, had it turned intirely againſt them. They were deſtitute of arms and forces either for ſea or land; of all neceſſary preparations for the ſuſtaining of a ſiege, or the equipping of a fleet. They ſuffered all the calamities incident to the moſt ruinous civil war, and to complete their miſery, had not the leaſt proſpect of receiving aſſiſtance from any foreign friend or ally[c].

The true cauſes of this rebellion.

SUCH was the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs at *Carthage*, which the *Carthaginians* had, in a great meaſure, themſelves occaſioned, by their numerous inſtances of cruelty, injuſtice, and ill conduct. During the laſt war, they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed all the *African* nations ſubject to them, by impoſing exceſſive tributes upon them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty, or the extremes of miſery. They never ſent ſuch governors into the provinces as were likely to win the affections of the people by their lenity and moderation, but ſuch only as would moſt

[c] POLYB. & DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

fleece them, in order to fit out fleets, and raise armies, and and by that means the most administer to the ambition of the republic, where *Hanno* at that time governed with almost an absolute sway. This being considered, it cannot certainly appear strange, that the *Africans* were so easily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment of the most unreasonable taxes and imposts, as likewise suffering cruel deaths for the slightest crimes, shewed themselves everywhere extremely active in forwarding a revolt. They not only entered into an association to annoy, by all possible methods, so barbarous and inhuman an enemy, but likewise with pleasure gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war. *Mathos* and *Spendius* therefore, by such seasonable and large supplies, found themselves enabled, not only to animate their soldiers by a prompt payment of the sums promised them, but likewise to settle a sufficient fund for all the future exigencies of the army; in which, says *Polybius*, they acted like wise men, who do not only look to the present occasion, but likewise extend their views to futurity [d].

The Carthaginians make preparations to reduce the mercenaries to reason.

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding their deplorable circumstances, did not despond, but pursued all the measures necessary to put themselves into a posture of defence. As *Hanno* had already distinguished himself in their service, by conquering a territory of good extent on the confines of *Hecatompolis*, they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces. Troops they levied both for land and sea-service, horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; the horse exercised with great diligence and application; mercenaries invited from all parts; many new gallies built, and all the old ones refitted. In short, the most extraordinary efforts were made, not only to repel all the attempts of the mutineers, but even to reduce them to reason by force of arms [e].

Mathos *and* Spendius *besiege* Utica *and* Hippacra *at the same time.*

IN the mean time, *Mathos* and *Spendius*, having an army of seventy thousand men at their devotion, began the military operations. They laid siege to *Utica* and *Hippacra* at one and the same time, and pushed on both those sieges with the utmost vigour. But as they were carried on by detachments drawn from the army for that purpose, they remained with the main body of their forces at *Tunes*, and thereby

[d] POLYB. ubi supra. [e] Idem ibid.

cut

cut off all communication betwixt *Carthage* and the continent of *Africa*. This greatly ſtraightened the *Carthaginians*, whoſe capital was thereby held in a kind of blockade. The *Africans* likewiſe harraſſed them by perpetual alarms, advancing to the very walls of *Carthage* by day, as well as by night, and treating with the utmoſt cruelty every *Carthaginian* that fell into their hands [f].

Hanno *ſent againſt them, who behaves very imprudently.*

Hanno, a general more to be eſteemed for his diligence in making military preparations, than his conduct in time of action, notwithſtanding the reputation he had acquired by the conqueſt abovementioned, marched to the relief of *Utica* with a good body of forces, an hundred elephants, and a large train of battering engines. Having taken a view of the enemy, he immediately attacked their entrenchments, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, by the help of his elephants, forced them, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. As the (G) elephants did great execution, the mercenaries loſt a vaſt

[f] POLYB. ubi ſupra.

(G) If we remember right no mention is made by the antient hiſtorians of the *Carthaginians* uſing elephants in war, till the time of the firſt *Punic* war. It is certain *Plutarch* takes no notice of them, when he gives us a deſcription of the arrangement of the *Carthaginian* forces juſt before the battle on the banks of the *Crimeſus*; nor *Diodorus*, when he deſcribes the diſpoſitions of the *Carthaginian* armies before their various engagements with *Dionyſius* and *Agathocles*. This countenances *Geſbertus Cuperus*'s opinion, who aſſerts, that elephants never formed part of an army in *Europe*, till after the time of *Alexander the Great*, who took many of thoſe animals from *Porus*, an *Indian* king; which occaſioned their being known and uſed by his ſucceſſors afterwards in *Greece*; for if their military uſe had been known by the *Siciliens* before, or even at that period of time, that people would moſt certainly have joined them with their other forces in ſome of the earlieſt wars they were engaged in; which, from the ſilence of all hiſtorians mentioning the *Sicilian* wars, it is plain they never did. It follows therefore, that they were not uſed in *Sicily* before the interval abovementioned, which was the moſt likely part of *Europe* for them to be known in, by reaſon of its vicinity to *Libya*, which produced them. It ſeems to follow likewiſe, that the *Carthaginians* did not intermix them with their troops before that period, ſince hiſtory could not have omitted taking notice of ſo formidable a part of their armies, had they been a part of them; eſpecially as we find afterwards, that almoſt in all battles wherein they were concerned, they were, in a manner, the ſole cauſe of victory. We cannot help further remarking, that, unleſs we are

vaſt number of men in the action, and conſequently the advantage gained was ſo conſiderable, that it might have proved deciſive,

greatly deceived, no mention is made of armed chariots after the introduction of elephants into military engagements, nor of elephants before the laſt time armed chariots are mentioned in any battles the *Carthaginians* had with their enemies. This, if true, as we perſuade ourſelves it is, will point out to us the interval, in which chariots were firſt diſuſed, and elephants introduced, amongſt the *Carthaginians*, *viz.* betwixt the year before Chriſt 309, when *Agathocles* defeated *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, the laſt time we hear of chariots in the *Carthaginian* armies, and the year 262, before the chriſtian æra, when the *Romans* routed *Hanno* before *Agrigentum*, the firſt time we find elephants mentioned in them; and not only ſo, but likewiſe fully prove, that the cuſtom of fighting with elephants was adopted by the people under conſideration in the room of that which before prevailed of engaging with chariots. What ſtrengthens this is, that thoſe nations, who, it is probable, knew nothing of elephants, as the *Britons*, *Gauls*, &c. had chariots in uſe amongſt them, till they were conquered by the *Romans*, as is evident from *Diodorus*, *Cæſar*, and *Dio*. *Pyrrhus* was the firſt who brought them into *Italy*; and that the *Romans* had little or no knowledge of them for a conſiderable time after that prince's death, appears from the defeat *Regulus* received from *Xantippus*, occaſioned, in a great meaſure, by the *Carthaginian* elephants, of which the *Romans* were ſo much afraid, that for two years afterwards, they durſt not look the enemy in the face in *Sicily*. It likewiſe further appears from the overthrow *Cæcilius* gave *Aſdrubal* near *Panormus*, when he took moſt of the enemy's elephants, and ſent them to *Rome*, as a great curioſity. According to *Pauſanias*, the *Indians* in *Aſia*, and the *Libyans* in *Africa*, were the firſt nations that uſed elephants in battles, others only eſteeming them on account of the ivory they produced. The *Perſians*, *Lydians*, and neighbouring nations, anciently intermixed camels with their troops, as in after ages they did elephants. Though from *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and others, it is ſufficiently evident, that *Egypt* produced elephants, particularly that part of it bordering upon *Ethiopia*; yet they were not known in that country as military animals, till the time of the *Ptolemies*. From *Egypt*, it is probable, the practice of fighting with them ſpread into *Cyrenaica*, the people of which region, in all likelihood, might communicate it to their neighbours the *Carthaginians*. Neither the *Jews*, *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabs*, *Ethiopians*, nor even the *Medes* and *Perſians*, ever brought elephants into the field before the reign of *Alexander the Great*. King *Juba* in *Philoſtratus* intimates, that the *Moors* and *Libyans*, in very early times, fought with elephants; which notion ſeems likewiſe to be countenanced by *Ælian*. *Lucretius* affirms the *Carthaginians* to have invented this method of fighting;

decisive, had *Hanno* made a proper use of it. But not entertaining a right idea of these veteran troops, who had learned,

fighting; but as such an opinion runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, we shall pay no regard to it (32).

According to Dr *Hyde*, the most usual name of the elephant in *India* is *buri* or *bri*; from whence, it is probable, the *Latin* words *barrus*, *burritus*, *ebur*, &c. were derived *Isidore* adds some weight to this, when he tells us, that, in the *Indian* language, an elephant is called *barro*. *Martinius* makes the elephant to be named in the *Chaldee beira*; which probably was likewise the *Ethiopic* name, or nearly related to it, since there is a great affinity betwixt the *Ethiopic* and the *Chaldee*; and, in confirmation of this sentiment, *Horace*'s scholiast interprets the word *barri* of the elephants of *Ethiopia*. The animal under consideration went likewise almost all over the east by the appellation *phil* or *pil*, and even in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; though, in the last country, that animal is now called *nage*, and by the *Copis delphinos*. In some parts of *India* the elephants were named *bosare*, according to *Arrian*; in others, if *Ælian* may be credited, *prasii* and *taxilæ*, from the names of the places where they were produced. The *Moors* and *Carthaginians* styled an elephant *cæsar*, as we learn from *Spartian* and *Servius* Some derive the word *elephas* or ἐλέφας from *phil*, with the *Arabic* article *al* prefixed; others from the *Hebrew* verb *alaph*, *be learned*, the elephant, according to *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and others, being an animal of surprising docility; and lastly, others from the *Hebrew aleph* or *eleph*, signifying *an ox*, *a leader*, or indeed any large quadruped. *Hesychius* uses the words *pirissus* and *elephas* as synonymous terms. So much for the name (33).

(32) *Univers. Hist. Vol. xvi. p.* 654, *in not* (B) *Diod Sic. l. iv. p.* 209. *Cæs. de bell. Gal. l. iv. Dio Cass l lxii. p* 705. *in Ner & alib. ed. Hanov.* 1606. *Polyb l. i. Pausan l i S Jul. Frontin. strat l. ii. c.* 4. *ex.* 12. *Xenoph in Cyropæd l vii Polyæn. strae. l. vii. c.* 2. *Herodot. l. ii. Plat. in crit. Xenoph. ubi sup. l. vi. pass. Ælian. de animal l. xvii c* 36 *Ezech c. xxv. ver.* 5. *Rex Juba apud Philostrat. in vita Apollon Tyan l. ii. c.* 6. *Ælian. var. hist. l. xii. c.* 55. *Lucret. l v Vide Bochart. Phal* l. *iv. c.* 26 & *Gisbert. Cuper. de elephantis, in num. obv. exercitat. edit. ab Albert Henric de Sallengre, in nov. thesaur. antiquitat. Romanar. tom iii. Hagæ-Comit* 1719.

(33) *Thom. Hyde in lib. de luais orientabli.* p 93 *Isidor. in orig. l. xii. Matth Martin. lex philolog. in voce* Elephas *Schol. in Hor. epod xii. Sidon. Apollinar. carm* 23. *Pomp. Fest in voc.* Barrire. *Arrian. de reb Indic. Plin. l. viii c.* 7. *Cic epist fam.* 1 *l vii. Schind. pentaglot. p.* 1428. *Ælian. in hist. animal l* xiii *c.* 12. *Spartian in Æl Ver Serv. in Æn.* 1 *Vide etiam Arrian in peripl. mar. Erythr. Bochart. hierozoic. part. prior. c.* 23, 24, &c & *Gisbert. Cuper. ubi sup.*

The

learned, under the conduct of *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, to fly before an enemy, face about, and attack their purſuers, in one and

The *Carthaginians* generally poſted theſe animals in front, in order to ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, as we learn from the manner in which *Xantippus*, *Hannibal*, *Mago*, &c. drew up their armies. This ſeems a farther proof, that they immediately ſucceeded armed chariots, which had the ſame ſituation aſſigned them in the *Carthaginian* armies Sometimes, however, they were diſtributed in both wings, as appears from *Livy*. The elephants made uſe of by the *Carthaginians* in battles were generally, if not always, *Indian* elephants, which much exceeded the *Libyan* in ſtrength and magnitude. Each of theſe had a wooden tower faſtened to his back, with twenty-two warriors in it, and an *Indian* to manage the beaſt, which he did with the utmoſt dexterity. The *Libyan* elephants were not able to carry above ſix or ſeven men, as *Geſner* and *Aldrovandus* have proved from *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* In the firſt book of the *Macrabees*, *Antiochus Eupator* is ſaid to have brought againſt the *Jews* ſeveral *Indian* elephants, with towers on their backs, containing thirty-two men a-piece, with an *Indian* guide *Philoſtratus* ſays, that an *Indian* elephant as much exceeded in ſize one of *Libya*, as this laſt did a *Nyſæan* horſe; and *Pliny* tells us, that the *African* elephants were ſo much afraid of the *Indian*, that they could not bear the ſight of them; which is confirmed by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who intimate, that the *Libyan* elephants could neither bear the noiſe nor ſmell of the *Indian*. Theſe laſt animals, according to *Ælian*, were nine cubits high, and five broad. The *Romans* called the elephant *bos Luca*, or *bos Lucana*, becauſe they firſt ſaw that creature in *Lucania*, and uſed the word *bos* to denote any great animal. That nation firſt placed elephants in their armies in the year of *Rome* 555. in the conſulate of *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. As the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers were exerciſed by their officers, ſo their elephants were trained up and exerciſed by the *Indian* guides. By their monſtrous ſize, filthy ſmell, terrible noiſe, and prodigious ſtrength, as well as the efforts of the garriſons on their backs, they generally threw the enemy into confuſion, and made great havock amongſt them. The *Indians*, that managed them, appeared in a dreſs the moſt proper to heighten the conſternation of the enemy, and began the fight with the utmoſt fury. No horſes but the *Numidian*, which were accuſtomed to them, could approach the *Indian* elephants; and therefore the enemy's cavalry was ſoon put to the rout by them. Sometimes, by being pierced with darts, they became ſo enraged, as to turn upon their own men, treading vaſt numbers of the ſoldiers to death, which was their common method of deſtroying thoſe they attacked; though ſometimes with their trunk or *proboſcis* they diſpatched them The *Romans* alſo ſometimes, by firing the caſtles on their backs, forced them to recoil upon their own troops, which, in ſuch a caſe, they did not fail of

F ſting

and the ſame day, as occaſion ſhould require, he imagined himſelf to have routed a body of raw, undiſciplined, *Africans* and *Numidians*, who, upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country; and therefore entering the town, lay there in great ſecurity, his troops in the mean time, ordered to guard the camp, being every-where off their duty. The mercenaries, who, after *Hanno*'s victory, had rallied their ſhattered forces upon a neighbouring eminence, ſtrong by its ſituation, and covered with a wood, where they had poſted themſelves, being informed of this, poured down upon them, cut many of them off, forced the reſt to fly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and ſeized upon all the proviſions, military ſtores, *&c.* brought from *Carthage* to the relief of the beſieged. Nor was this the only error committed by *Hanno*; another inſtance of his military incapacity ſoon diſcovered itſelf. Notwithſtanding he lay encamped in the moſt advantageous manner near a town called *Gorza* (H), at which place he twice overthrew the enemy, and

putting into diſorder. When this happened, the *Carthaginians* themſelves were obliged to kill them; which they did very expeditiouſly, by a method *Aſdrubal* diſcovered, and which we find deſcribed by *Livy*. Theſe are the principal points relating to the manner of fighting with elephants, particularly amongſt the *Carthaginians*, as far as we can collect from the authors, who have been the moſt explicit on this ſubject. The natural hiſtory of the elephant our readers may expect from us in another note (34).

(H) It may be collected from *Polybius*, that the town of *Gorza* was ſituated in the neighbourhood of *Utica*, and not far from the iſthmus or neck of land joining the peninſula, on which *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent of *Africa*, though the ſituation of it cannot be preciſely determined. It is probable the *Punic* name was *Goza* or *Gaza*, ſince the *Greeks* frequently inſerted the letter R or P in ſuch proper names, as appears from *Bochart*; and *Gaza* or *Goza* (a permutation of vowels eſpecially O and A, being very common in the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* proper names, when written and pronounced

(34) *Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. &c. paſſ. Veget. de re militar. l* iii. *c.* 24. 1 *Maccab. c.* viii. *ver.* 6. *Hornius ad Sulpit Severr. l* ii. *Geſner. & Aldrovand. de eleph Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon l* ii. *c.* 6. *Pin l* viii *c.* 9. *Liv. l* xxxvii. *Polyb. l. v. c* 85. *Ælian de animal. l. xiii, c.* 8. *Verginius apud Varron l vi Veget ubi ſup. c.* 24. *Modeſtus in lib. de vocab. rei militar Enn fragment. ed. Amſt.* 1707. *p* 305. *Sil Ital l. ix. & alib Appian. in Libyc. Curt. l. viii. Hirt. in bell. Afric. Plut. in Vit. Marcel. & Hannib.*

by

and had in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve thoſe advantages, and even ſuffered the mercenaries to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſthmus, which joined the peninſula, on which *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent of *Africa* *.

Hamilcar commands the Carthaginians in his room.

Such repeated miſtakes, which had almoſt proved fatal to the republic, highly diſpleaſed the *Carthaginians*, and induced them once more to place *Hamilcar Barcas* at the head of the forces. This could not but be extremely mortifying to *Hanno*, who had always been an inveterate enemy to the *Barcine* faction, and of courſe infuſe new life into *Hamilcar* and his adherents, who undoubtedly, during *Hanno*'s influence, were excluded from all poſts in the adminiſtration. *Hamilcar*, in all reſpects, anſwered the high idea his countrymen had entertained of him. He marched againſt the enemy with an army of about ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, and ſeventy elephants, all the troops the *Carthaginians* could at that time aſſemble for their defence; which is a full proof of the great extremities to which they were then reduced. As *Mathos*, after he had made himſelf maſter of the iſthmus, had poſted proper detachments in two paſſes on two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over the *Bagrada*, which, through *Hanno*'s neglect, he had taken, *Hamilcar* ſaw little probability of engaging him upon equal terms, or indeed of coming at him. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to a ſtratagem at this critical conjuncture, eſpecially as *Mathos* lay encamped with his army at a village near the bridge, and watched the enemy's motions with the utmoſt vigilance. Obſerving, that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choaked up with ſand, which formed a kind of bar, and rendered the river paſſable, tho' with no ſmall difficulty, as long as thoſe winds continued, he

* Polyb. ubi ſup.

by the *Greeks*) was the *Carthaginian* name of a town in *Sicily*, as well as the *Phœnician* name of a fortreſs in *Paleſtine*, or, as the prophet calls it, *Peleſeth*. Be this as it will, that not only *Gaza* or *Gozæ*, but likewiſe *Chorſa* or *Gorza*, is the *Punic* proper name of a place, cannot be denied, after a peruſal of *Bochart*. No author, either antient or modern, if we remember right, except *Polybius* in this paſſage, has ſo much as mentioned it (35).

(35) *Bochart. Chan. l. i. c.* 29, 31. *& l ii* 12. *Steph. de urb. in* Γάζα. *Arrian. l. ii. Q Curt l. iv. Iſai. c. xiv ver.* 29, 31. 1 *Sam. c. vi. ver*, 17, *& alib. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c.* 44. *ſub init.*

halted

halted for ſome time at the river's mouth, without communicating to any perſon his deſign. As ſoon as the wind favoured his intended project, he paſſed the river privately by night, without the leaſt oppoſition, neither his own men, nor the mercenaries, dreaming of any ſuch attempt. Immediately after his paſſage, he drew up the troops in order of battle, and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards *Mathos*, who was poſted at the village near the bridge. This action greatly redounded to *Hamilcar*'s glory, being of ſo daring a nature, that it equally ſurpriſed the malecontents and the *Carthaginians* †.

THE *Africans* being informed, that *Hamilcar* ſucceeded *Hanno* in the command of the *Carthaginian* army, that he had already paſſed the *Bagrada*, and was marching at the head of his forces to attack their camp, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. They very well knew, that they had now to deal not with a man of *Hanno*'s genius, but with the greateſt captain of the age; a captain, from whom they themſelves had learned the art of war, and who was infinitely ſuperior to all their generals in every branch of it. However, *Spendius*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of ten thouſand men out of *Mathos*'s camp, with which he attended *Hamilcar* on one ſide, and ordered fifteen thouſand from *Utica* to obſerve him on the other, thinking by this means to ſurround the *Carthaginians*, and cut off both their army and general at one ſingle ſtroke. *Hamilcar* in the mean time advanced with great intrepidity, his troops being ranged in the following manner: the elephants were poſted in front, then came the cavalry, and after them the light-armed infantry, being ſupported by the targeteers, who brought up the rear. But obſerving the mercenaries to approach him with great temerity, though at the ſame time with reſolution, and as much confidence as if they had been ſure of victory, he changed his order of battle in a precipitate manner, ſtill retiring before the enemy, as though he was afraid of them. This motion anſwered the end propoſed; for the mercenaries, looking upon it as the effect of fear, and conſequently as a tacit acknowledgment of their valour and ſuperiority, fell upon him with great fury, but without any diſcipline or order. *Hamilcar* therefore facing about in an inſtant, and his horſe behaving with extraordinary bravery, the enemy were ſoon put to flight; when meeting a body of their own men coming to their relief, and miſtaking them for the *Carthaginians*,

And defeats the mercenaries.

† Idem. ibid.

they engaged them; upon which a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. In fine, *Hamilcar* gave the malecontents a total overthrow, in which they had ſix thouſand men killed, and two thouſand taken priſoners. The reſt fled, ſome to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at *Utica*. *Hamilcar* did not give the enemy time to recover from their defeat, as *Hanno* before had done, but purſued them with great ardour to the village near the bridge before-mentioned; which he entered without oppoſition, the mercenaries flying in great confuſion to *Tunes*. Many towns, which had revolted to the enemy, terrified by this defeat, ſubmitted to the *Carthaginians*; others *Hamilcar* reduced by force. In ſhort, the *Carthaginians*, finding that *Hamilcar* had ſeized many of the enemy's advantageous poſts, were greatly animated by his conduct, and doubted not but he would ſoon put a happy concluſion to this deſtructive war[f].

Hamilcar *aſſiſted by* Naravaſus

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſaſters, *Mathos* puſhed on the ſiege of *Hippo* with great vigour, and appointed *Spendius* and *Autaritus*, commander of the *Gauls*, with a ſtrong body of troops, to obſerve the motions of *Hamilcar*, adviſing them above all things to guard againſt a ſurpriſe; which, conſidering the abilities of that general, as well as his ſuperiority in horſe and elephants, was a very wholeſome admonition. At the ſame time, he ſolicited the *Numidians* and neighbouring *Africans* to ſend him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmoſt efforts at the preſent juncture, which ſeemed to be the only opportunity left them of recovering their liberty, to aſſert their independency, and throw off the yoke of the *Carthaginians*. *Spendius* and *Autaritus* therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of ſix thouſand men, drawn out of the camp at *Tunes*, and two thouſand *Gallic* horſe, attended *Hamilcar*, approaching him as near as they could with ſafety, and keeping cloſe to the ſkirts of the mountains, as they had been adviſed. At laſt *Spendius*, having received a ſtrong reinforcement of *Africans*, and *Numidians*, and poſſeſſing himſelf of all the heights ſurrounding the plain, in which *Hamilcar* lay incamped, reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking him. Accordingly he placed the *Numidians* in the rear and the *Africans* in front, whilſt he himſelf, with his firſt detachment, was reſolved to charge the enemy in flank; and having made this diſpoſition, boldly advanced towards the *Carthaginians*. Had a battle enſued, *Hamilcar* and his whole army muſt, in all human probability, have been totally ruined; but here his good for-

[f] Idem ibid. & CORN. NEP. ubi ſup.

tune

tune interposing, saved them both. It happened, that at that time one *Naravasus*, a young *Numidian* nobleman, eminent for his personal merit, commanded a body of *Numidians* in the enemy's army. This nobleman, before the breaking out of the present war, had been a great promoter of the *Carthaginian* interest, on account of the friendship, that had subsisted many years betwixt his father and that nation; and, being now charmed with the great worth of *Hamilcar*, was determined to renew his former good understanding with *Carthage*, and not suffer so brave a man to be sacrificed. He therefore, with an hundred *Numidian* horse, approached the *Carthaginian* lines, acquainting one of their advanced guards, that he had something of importance to communicate to the general. As the *Carthaginians* shewed themselves a little diffident of him, he immediately dismounted, and leaving his horse and arms with the guard that escorted him, went directly to *Hamilcar*'s tent, without the least distrust or suspicion. He then informed *Hamilcar*, that he was well disposed towards the *Carthaginian* nation in general, but that to contract a friendship with him, for whom he had the most profound veneration and esteem, was the height of his ambition. *Hamilcar*, greatly admiring so generous, polite, and gallant, an action, made him an equal return of gallantry, politeness, and generosity. He made him his absolute confident in all points whatsoever. He took him for his companion, imparting to him his most secret designs; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Upon the fame of this event, two thousand *Numidians* came over in a body to *Hamilcar*, who, strengthened by such a seasonable reinforcement, found himself in a condition to give *Spendius* and *Autaritus* battle. The fight was obstinate and bloody, and the victory for a long time in suspence; but, the young *Numidian* most eminently distinguishing himself, and the *Carthaginian* elephants bearing down all before them, the mercenaries were at last intirely overthrown. *Spendius* and *Autaritus* escaped by flight, but left ten thousand of their men dead upon the spot, besides four thousand taken prisoners. All the prisoners, who were willing to take on in the *Carthaginian* service, *Hamilcar* received amongst his troops, supplying them with the arms of the soldiers, who had fallen in the engagement. To the rest he gave free liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never for the future bear arms against the *Carthaginians*. However, he thought proper to acquaint them, that as many violators of

this agreement, as ſhould hereafter fall into his hands, muſt expect to ſuffer death without mercy [e].

The chiefs of the mercenaries guilty of great cruelty.

Mathos, *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, the chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this affected lenity of *Hamilcar*, might occaſion a defection among their troops, thought the only expedient left them to prevent it would be, to put them upon ſome action ſo execrable and ſhocking in its own nature, as ſhould deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Accordingly, having aſſembled them in a formal manner, as though ſomething of moment was to have been imparted to them, a meſſenger, as had been before concerted, appeared with fictitious letters from the mercenaries in *Sardinia*, who had followed the example of the *Africans*, giving them advice of a ſecret deſign formed by ſome of their comrades, in conjunction with *Giſco*, to reſcue that general, and all his attendants out of priſon at *Tunes*, where they had been ſo long detained. *Spendius* on this occaſion made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, wherein he exhorted them not to be impoſed upon by *Hamilcar*'s pretended clemency, ſince this was only intended for a bait to decoy their whole body into his hands, that he might take vengeance of them all at once. He further adviſed them to have a narrow eye upon *Giſco*, inſinuating, that the eſcape of an officer of ſuch influence and capacity might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He had ſcarce finiſhed, when another courier arrived, as was given out, from *Tunes*, intimating, that the plot was upon the point of being carried into execution. Hereupon *Autaritus*, addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiery, moved, in ſupport of what *Spendius* had advanced, that whoever ſhould ſhew any diſpoſition to repoſe the leaſt confidence in the *Carthaginian* promiſes or inſinuations, ſhould be deemed a traitor; and in fine gave it as his opinion, that *Giſco*, and all the *Carthaginians* with him, ought immediately to be put to death. *Autaritus*, being very popular in the army, and ſuppoſed to have a perfect knowledge of the *Carthaginians*, as having reſided long amongſt them, and being a perfect maſter of their language, was liſtened to with great attention. His ſpeech in fine made ſuch an impreſſion, that the whole aſſembly expreſſed themſelves of the ſame ſentiments, though ſome of every nation joined in a petition, that as *Giſco* had been a common friend and benefactor to them all, he might be diſpatched without any torture; but the groſs of the army being compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, and not underſtanding the matter of the petition, no regard was paid to it. In conformity therefore to that ſavage bruta-

[e] POLYB. ubi ſup.

lity

lity so natural to them, the mercenaries first stoned to death all the prisoners they had taken from the *Carthaginians* in the late engagements, who were soon after interred by their relations; and then, at the command of *Spendius*, executed *Gisco*, and seven hundred *Carthaginians* with him, as the vilest malefactors. Their heads were cut off, their bodies dismembered, and afterwards thrown breathing into a hole prepared for them. The *Carthaginians*, being apprised of these inhuman cruelties, were most sensibly touched with them, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmost severity. In the mean time *Hamilcar*, sending an herald to demand the remains of his countrymen in order to pay them the last sad office, received for answer, that whoever presumed hereafter to come upon that errand, should meet with *Gisco*'s fate. They moreover came to an immediate resolution to treat all such *Carthaginians* as should fall into their hands with the same barbarity. As for their countrymen in the *Carthaginian* service, who should happen to be taken prisoners, they passed a decree, first to cut off their hands, and then send them to *Carthage*; which bloody resolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. Such infernal practices as these, so contrary to the laws of nature and all nations, can never be sufficiently detested. However, as they are on one side sufficient proofs of the more than ferine disposition of the *Africans*, they may on the other likewise be considered as strong intimations of *Carthaginian* oppression, since human nature, wicked as it is, seems scarce capable of such cruelties, except it be in the highest degree irritated and inflamed. This reflection so naturally occurring to us from what has been just related, we could not avoid. As for others, a large field for which must necessarily open itself to all our curious and intelligent readers, we are obliged to pass them by untouched; at the same time observing, that a perusal of *Polybius*, in the point before us, will in a good measure supply our deficiency in this particular [h].

Utica *and* Hippacra *revolt to the mercenaries.*

Hamilcar, being determined to revenge the barbarous treatment of his countrymen, ordered *Hanno*, who, it seems, at that time commanded a separate body, to join him, that they might act with the greater vigour against the enemy. In order to deter the malecontents from such enormous proceedings for the future, he threw all the prisoners, that fell into his hands, to wild beasts, to be devoured by them, being convinced, that compassion served only to render them more

[h] Idem ibid. & DIOD. SIC. in excerpt. Vales.

fierce

fierce and untractable. And now, when the *Carthaginians* were just beginning, as it were, to breath, and recover their spirits, several unlucky accidents concurred again to dep ess them. By reason of a misunderstanding betwixt the generals, nothing could be undertaken against the enemy; a great supply of provisions and military stores, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them from *Emporiæ* by sea, were all cast away in a storm; *Sardinia*, which had always served them as a magazine in their greatest straights, was totally lost, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe; and, to complete all their other misfortunes, they received intelligence of the defection of *Utica* and *Hippacra*, the two only cities which, till then, had preserved their allegiance, and always adhered inviolably to the republic, even when *Agathocles* and the *Romans* made their descents in *Africa*. The citizens, not satisfied with entering into an alliance with *Mathos* and *Spendius*, massacred the *Carthaginian* garison, consisting of five hundred men, throwing their bodies over the walls; nay, to imitate their good allies in all their amiable qualities, they refused them burial, though the *Carthaginians*, by their embassadors, in most pressing terms desired this favour of them. The mercenaries, animated by such success, advanced to the very walls of *Carthage*, with an intention to lay siege to that city [i].

Hiero *assists the* Carthaginians.

The *Carthaginians*, being apprised of the division betwixt their generals, and seeing the fatal effects of it, resolved to separate them, but left the determination of this point intirely to the army, who having had long experience of the great merit of *Hamilcar*, continued him in his command; upon which *Hanno* was recalled a second time to *Carthage*, and *Hannibal*, an officer more agreeable to *Hamilcar*, sent to supply his place. Upon *Hannibal*'s arrival in the camp, affairs soon began to take a happy turn. There being now a perfect harmony betwixt the commanders, the operations were not clogged as formerly; they sent out detachments to plunder and lay waste the country, in order to cut off all subsistence from the enemy; which they happily effected, destroying or carrying off all the forage and provisions. This, however, did not intirely relieve the garison of *Carthage*, which was reduced to great extremities. The *Carthaginians* therefore were obliged to have recourse to their friends, and particularly to *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*; who granted what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole course of this war. That prince, as *Polybius* observes, acted according

[i] Polyb. ubi sup.

cording to the maxims of true policy on this occaſion; ſince, if *Carthage* had been now deſtroyed, *Rome* would have had no rival to contend with in any future times, and therefore he himſelf might ſoon have lain at the mercy of the *Romans*, without a poſſibility of being relieved by any neighbouring power [k].

THEY alſo applied to the *Romans* for aſſiſtance at this critical juncture, though they had, ſince the concluſion of the laſt treaty, diſobliged them. At the beginning of this war, they ſeized upon ſeveral *Roman* veſſels trading to the coaſts of *Africa*, for ſupplying the enemy with military ſtores and proviſions, and detained the crews, conſiſting of five hundred men, in cuſtody. The *Romans*, being incenſed at this treatment, threatened the *Carthaginians* with their reſentment, if they did not releaſe the priſoners, and reſtore them their ſhips. The *Carthaginians*, either out of a principle of fear or generoſity, immediately ſent both the men and ſhips to *Rome*, and that in ſo handſome a manner, as gave the *Romans* entire ſatisfaction. The *Romans* therefore, not to be behind-hand with them in point of politeneſs, at this time ſent them all the priſoners that ſtill remained in their hands ſince the late war, without ranſom, ordered their merchants to aſſiſt *Carthage* with what it wanted, and prohibited all manner of commerce with the *Africans*. At the ſame time both the malecontents of *Africa* and *Sardinia* offered to ſubmit to them, and to put them into the immediate poſſeſſion both of *Sardinia* and the town of *Utica*, which overture they refuſed. Theſe inſtances of ſucceſs animating the *Carthaginians*, they bore the fatigues of the ſiege with great alacrity. In fine, *Mathos* and *Spendius*, being extremely harraſſed by *Hamilcar*, who, by ſtratagems and rencounters, daily cut off great numbers of their men, and ſo ſtraightened for want of proviſions, that they apprehended a ſpeedy famine, found themſelves obliged to abandon the ſiege [l].

Strange viciſſitudes of fortune.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſgrace, the generals of the malecontents took the field with an army of fifty thouſand effective men, having been joined by one *Zarxas*, the head of an *African* hord or canton, with all his people capable of bearing arms. They watched *Hamilcar*'s motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, on account of *Naravaſus*'s *Numidian* horſe and the *Carthaginian* elephants. *Hamilcar*, being much ſuperior to any of

[k] Idem ibid. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. [l] POLYB. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17. APPIAN. in Iberic

their

their generals in every branch of the military art, frequently outwitted them; ſometimes diſpoſſeſſing them of their advantageous poſts; at other times drawing them into ambuſcades; and often defeating them in rencounters, by which means he cut off abundance of their men. If any of their ſoldiers ſtraggled ever ſo little from the main body of the army, they certainly fell into his hands, and were thrown by him to wild beaſts, that he might, in ſome meaſure, retaliate the inhuman cruelty of *Spendius*. In ſhort, he harraſſed them a thouſand ways; which as it greatly dejected them, ſo it inſpired his own troops with freſh courage and vigour. At laſt, he ſurpriſed them when they leaſt expected it, and ſhut them up in a poſt, which was ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible for them to get out of it. Here he kept them ſtraightly beſieged, lying at eaſe in his camp, and being plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of neceſſaries. The mercenaries, not daring to venture a battle, and finding themſelves not able to get off, began to fortify their camp, and ſurround it with ditches and entrenchments. Conſcious of their enormous guilt, they deſpaired of mercy, and therefore concluded it would be to no purpoſe to make any overtures to *Hamilcar*. They were ſoon ſo ſorely preſſed by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; Divine Providence, ſays *Polybius*, thus avenging upon themſelves the inhumanity they had exerciſed on others. As they could not entertain the leaſt thought of peace, or of coming to an accommodation, after having been ſo deeply concerned in ſuch bloody ſcenes, and knew what puniſhments would be inflicted upon them, in caſe they fell alive into the hands of the enemy, they ſaw they had no reſource left, and therefore prepared themſelves for the meaſures deſpair ſhould dictate to them. The forces they looked for from *Tunes* came not to their aid as was expected, and the famine made daily large ſtrides amongſt them. They firſt found themſelves under the neceſſity of eating their priſoners, then their ſlaves, and laſt of all their comrades. Prompted therefore to it by the extremity of miſery they ſuffered, they inſiſted, that *Spendius*, *Autaritus*, and *Zarxas*, their leaders, ſhould in perſon make propoſals to *Hamilcar*, and to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a ſafe conduct from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded, upon the following terms: That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents ſhould be left intirely to the mercy of the *Carthaginians*; and that the troops ſhould all be diſarmed, every man retiring only in a ſingle coat. The treaty was no ſooner concluded, than *Hamilcar* ſeized upon the negotiators themſelves, by virtue of the firſt article, which favoured not a little of

Punic

Punic ſubtlety. The army being informed, that their chiefs were under arreſt, and at the ſame time ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourſe to arms, ſuſpecting that they were betrayed; but *Hamilcar*, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately ſurrounded them, and either cut them to pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The place, where this bloody tragedy was acted, was called *Prion* (I). The number of the wretches, who periſhed, amounted to above forty thouſand [m].

AFTER this complete victory, *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal*, and *Naravaſus*, ſcoured the country, and many of the revolted towns returned to their obedience. According to the plan of operations, *Hamilcar* immediately inveſted *Tunis*, into which place *Mathos* (K) retired with all his remaining forces. *Hannibal's* quarter was on the road leading to *Carthage*, and *Hamilcar's* him. *Mathos* *Naravaſus* *Hannibal* *Tunis* *Mathos* *Hannibal* *Hamilcar*

[m] POLYB ubi ſup.

(I) *Polybius* ſays this place was called *Prion*, from the ſimilitude its figure bore to that of a ſaw, the *Greek* word πριων, *prion*, ſignifying that inſtrument. But this notion, at firſt ſight, appears highly improbable, not to ſay ridiculous; for, to omit the abſurdity of ſuppoſing this particular ſpot to reſemble a ſaw, how can it enter into any perſon's head, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould give *Greek* names to their towns and villages? All the other names of towns, this author mentions here, are apparently *Punic* or *Phœnician*; and therefore it is but reaſonable, nay natural, to conclude, that this muſt be ſo too. The word פרי *peri* or *pri*, *fruit*, is undoubtedly the original from whence *Prion* is to be deduced, ſince *Bochart* has demonſtrated ſome names of places near *Carthage*, to have been derived from thence, and ſince many antient authors conſpire to evince that this country abounded with ſpots of ground ſurpriſingly fruitful. Add to this, that the *rabbinical* word פרדס *prion* ſignifies a garden; which, no doubt, is ſo called by the *rabbins*, on account of its fruitfulneſs or fertility. We cannot take upon us to affirm how near exactly this place was to *Carthage*; but, according to *Polybius*, it muſt have been in the neighbourhood of *Tunis* (35).

(K) Sir *Walter Raleigh*, M. *Rollin*, &c call this *Aſdrubal* captain *Malbo*: whereas his true name is *Mathos*, ſince the original word in *Polybius* is ΜΑΘΩΣ. So ΑΘΩΣ, the proper name of a mountain in *Macedonia*, in *Latin* and the modern languages is *Athos*. Many other examples might be produced to ſupport what is here advanced (37).

(35) *Bochart Chan.* l. i. c. 34. *Val. Schind. annotat.* p. 1475, 1476. *Vide Polyb.* l. i. c. 82. l. iii. c. 33. *item in excerpt. legat.* 118. & *Liv.* l. xxxi. c. 62. (37) *Polyb. ubi ſup.*

on the oppoſite ſide. The army was no ſooner encamped than *Hamilcar* cauſed *Spendius*, and the reſt of the priſoners, to be led out in view of the beſieged, and crucified near the walls. *Mathos*, by this, was appriſed of the fate he muſt expect to meet with, and therefore undoubtedly rendered much more attentive to his own defence. Obſerving, that *Hannibal* did not keep ſo good a guard as he ought, he made a ſally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was *Hannibal* himſelf, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of *Spendius* from the croſs on which it was fixed, he ſubſtituted *Hannibal* there in its place; and thirty *Carthaginian* priſoners of diſtinction, who all expired in exquiſite torture, were crucified round him; fortune, as *Polybius* expreſſes it, giving both ſides an opportunity of vying with each other in point of cruelty. *Hamilcar* being at ſome diſtance from his collegue, it was ſome time before his misfortune reached him, and the road betwixt them being impaſſable, had he received earlier intelligence of the ſituation of affairs on that ſide, he could not have moved with any expedition to his aſſiſtance. He therefore immediately decamped, and poſted himſelf along the ſea-coaſt, near the mouth of the river *Bagrada* [n].

The Libyan *war happily concluded by* Hamilcar.

The *Carthaginians* were greatly terrified at this laſt diſaſter; however, they omitted no means neceſſary for their preſervation. They ſent thirty ſenators, with *Hanno* at the head of them, to conſult with *Hamilcar* about the proper meaſures to be taken for ſpeedily terminating this cruel and unnatural war, conjuring in the moſt preſſing manner *Hanno* to be reconciled to *Hamilcar*, and to ſacrifice his private reſentment to the public welfare. This, with ſome difficulty, was complied with, and the two generals came to a full reſolution to act in concert for the good of the republic. The ſenate at the ſame time ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms to be preſſed into the ſervice, by which means a ſtrong reinforcement being ſent to *Hamilcar*, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to act offenſively; ſo that the *Carthaginian* affairs began to have a better aſpect. *Hamilcar* defeated the enemy in all his rencounters with them, drew *Mathos* into frequent ambuſcades, and gave him one notable overthrow near *Leptis*. This reduced him to the neceſſity of hazarding a deciſive battle with the *Carthaginians*, which proved fatal to him. The leaders on both ſides animated their troops, as going to decide their reſpective fates; upon which an engagement immediately enſued. Victory

[n] Idem ibid.

was

was not long in ſuſpence, the mercenaries flying almoſt upon the firſt onſet. Moſt of their army fell upon the field of battle, and in the purſuit, *Mathos*, with a few eſcaping to a neighbouring town, where he was taken, and carried alive to *Carthage*. All the revolted towns, except *Utica* and *Hippo*, which had behaved in ſuch a manner, as to exclude themſelves from all hopes of mercy, returned to their duty upon this defeat. *Hamilcar*, uting down before thoſe cities, ſoon reduced them, and thereby concluded this war. *Mathos*, having adorned the public triumph, was led to execution, and finiſhed, by a painful and ignominious death, a life, that had been polluted with the blackeſt treaſons and unparallelled barbarities. From the exceſſes of cruelty committed in it, *Polybius* tells us, that this war generally went amongſt the *Greeks* by the name of *the inexpiable war*. The ſame excellent author from hence remarks, that thoſe ſtates muſt be expoſed to the greateſt dangers, which hire for their defence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by intereſt or affection [o].

The Romans extort Sardinia and a vaſt ſum from the Carthaginians.

DURING the *Libyan* war, the mercenaries in *Sardinia* declared againſt the *Carthaginians*, excited thereto by the example of *Mathos* and *Spendius* in *Africa*. They ſeized upon the perſon of *Boſtar*, who commanded in the citadel of *Olbia*, and maſſacred both him and the *Carthaginian* gariſon. The ſenate, appriſed of this, ſent one *Hanno*, with a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, to bring the mutineers to reaſon. *Hanno*, upon his arrival, was abandoned by his men, who joined the mercenaries, and ſoon after not only crucified him, but put to the ſword all the *Carthaginians* they could meet with in the iſland, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the ſtrong places there, though, in a ſhort time they were expelled from thence by the natives, and forced to take ſhelter in *Italy*. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the friendſhip they had lately expreſſed for the *Carthaginians*, gave countenance and protection to theſe fugitives, and thereby greatly deviated from thoſe maxims of juſtice and honour their own writers celebrate them ſo much for. In fine, they ſent the conſul *Sempronius*, on trifling pretences, with a fleet, to reinſtate thoſe malecontents, and take poſſeſſion of *Sardinia*; which the *Carthaginians*, being now in a manner exhauſted, were obliged to cede to them. Not content with this iniquitous act, they obliged the *Carthaginians* to defray the expence of their armament, and beſides extorted from them a ſum of twelve hundred talents. Such a perfidious conduct as this

[o] Idem ibid. DIOD. SIC. l. xxv. in excerpt. Valeſ.

could not fail of heightening the averſion *Hamilcar* had already conceived to them, and did not a little contribute to the ſecond *Punic* war, and to thoſe dreadful devaſtations, which *Hannibal* afterwards committed in *Italy* [F].

The faithleſs dealings of the Carthaginians.

Polybius tells us, that when the *Carthaginians* made preparations to reduce *Sardinia*, the *Romans* pretended to be under terrible apprehenſions of their power, as though theſe preparations had been intended to ſubvert their republic; and therefore from hence took occaſion to declare war againſt them. Thus plainly demonſtrates, that the *Romans* at that time were determined to ſtick at nothing, in order to gratify their ambition, and that they had then a refined genius for villainy. The motives that prompted them to act in a friendly manner towards *Carthage*, when that ſtate was in danger of being overturned by its rebellious ſubjects, were undoubtedly far different from the ſpecious pretext they offered to impoſe upon the world, *viz.* a principle of honour. They probably conſidered that if the *Carthaginians* were reduced to the laſt gaſp by the barbarians, with whom they were then engaged in war, they would, by a little kindneſs, be induced to ſubmit to them at ſo critical a conjuncture. They likewiſe, in all probability, were afraid, that the mercenaries would find their way again into *Sicily*, where they had behaved with ſuch bravery, could they have made themſelves maſters of *Carthage*, and have diſlodged them from thence; both or either of which conſiderations were ſufficient to determine their conduct as above related. Be this as it will, that the friendly offices the *Romans* did the *Carthaginians* in the time of their great diſtreſs were the reſult of political views, and did not proceed from any noble or generous ſentiments, is abundantly evident, not only from their ſubſequent conduct, but even from ſeveral hints given us by their own prejudiced hiſtorians [q].

Some writers endeavour to palliate this tranſaction, but in vain.

In order, no doubt, to palliate the conduct of the *Romans* on this occaſion, we are told by ſome of their writers, that by the treaty concluded at the end of the firſt *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* made a ceſſion of *Sardinia*, as well as *Sicily*, to the *Romans*. But, notwithſtanding the authority of theſe writers, this is utterly improbable; for, if ſo, why did not the *Romans* take immediate poſſeſſion of it, ſince the *Carthaginians* were too weak to oppoſe them, otherwiſe they would not

[F] Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxi. Oros. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 19. Appian in Iberic. ſub init. [q] Polyb. Liv. &c. ubi ſup.

have

have made peace upon ſuch diſadvantageous terms? And that they did not take poſſeſſion of it, is evident from *Polybius*, an author infinitely ſuperior to thoſe here hinted at, when he aſſures us, that the mercenary troops in that iſland rebelled againſt their maſters the *Carthaginians*. But what ſerves ſufficiently to explain the diſpoſition of the *Romans* towards the *Carthaginians*, is an incident that happened ſoon after, *viz.* the rebellion of the *Corſi*, *Sardi*, and *Ligurians*, which the *Romans* pretended to have been fomented by the *Carthaginians*, in order to have an opportunity of picking a quarrel with that nation, though *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* lord, by his great ſpirit and vivacity, parried the blow. However, ſome time after, without any tolerable colour or pretext, they aſſumed to themſelves the power of preſcribing limits to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Spain*, obliging *Aſdrubal* to engage himſelf by treaty not to paſs the *Iberus*. Such points of conduct need no comment; they render moſt glaring the motives *the juſt and upright* Romans acted upon [r].

Hamilcar, by the happy concluſion of the *Libyan* war, did not only reſtore tranquility to the republic, but greatly extended the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Africa*. Finding he country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with *Rome*, he formed a ſcheme to put it upon a level with that imperious republic, which was, to make an intire conqueſt of *Spain*, that the *Carthaginians* might have troops capable of coping with the *Romans*. In order to facilitate the execution of this ſcheme, he inſpired both his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal* and his ſon *Hannibal* with an implacable averſion to the *Romans*, the great blaſters of his and his country's grandeur. *Aſdrubal* did not live to be a ſcourge to the *Romans*; but *Hannibal* brought that proud nation to the very brink of deſtruction. Immediately after the troubles in *Africa* were appeaſed, the ſenate ſent *Hamilcar* upon an expedition againſt the *Numidians*, notwithſtanding his ſon-in-law *Naravaſus* was of that nation; which renders it probable, that the *Carthaginians* had an intention to puniſh them for joining their diſcontented mercenaries. Be that as it will, *Hamilcar* gave freſh proofs of his courage and abilities in this expedition, ſince, by his valour and conduct, he finiſhed it ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the republic, that the command

Hamilcar makes in-to Spain.

[r] LIV. & OROS. ubi ſup. FUTROP. l. iii. c. 2. POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. APPIAN. in Iberic. AUREL. VICT. in C. Lutat. Cat. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 68.

mand of the army deſtined to act againſt *Spain* was given him. *Hannibal* his ſon, at that time but nine years of age, begged, with the utmoſt importunity, to attend him on this occation, for that purpoſe employing all the ſoothing arts ſo common to children of his age, and which have ſo much power over a loving father. *Hamilcar* therefore granted his requeſt; but ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and ſwear, that he would be an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*, and act as ſuch as ſoon as his age would permit him. He likewiſe took with him *Aſdrubal*, after he had beſtowed his daughter in marriage upon him. *Nepos* intimates, that he was obliged to this ſtep, becauſe the cenſor took *Aſdrubal* from him, upon a report that he was more familiar with that youth than was conſiſtent with modeſty. However, that biographer at the ſame time inſinuates this report to have been a calumny, and tells us, that, by the *Carthaginian* laws, it was not permitted any perſon to ſeparate the ſon-in-law from the father-in-law. The military preparations being completed *Hamilcar* advanced with a powerful army to *Abyla* (L), and croſſing the ſtraights of *Hercules*, landed in *Spain* without oppoſition. He began the operations by incurſions into the enemy's country, fixing his head-quarters at *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* acquiſitions in *Spain*. According to *Appian* and *Polybius*, he had two views in this war; firſt, to put *Carthage* in a ſituation to revenge the indignities received from the *Romans*; and ſecondly, to have an opportunity of being abſent from home, the *Carthaginian* ſtate being at that time miſerably diſtracted by two potent factions, over one of which preſided *Hanno*, *Hamilcar*'s inveterate enemy. However, by the great ſucceſs he met with, and the vaſt reputation he had already acquired, he animated his friends at home, enabling them to carry every point there, and would undoubtedly have come ſoon to blows

(L) *Abyla*, the pillar of *Hercules* on the *African* ſide, is oppoſite to the other in *Spain* called *Calpe*. They are both conſiderable mountains, and have a narrow ſea betwixt them, called antienly *Fretum Herculeum*, *the ſtraights of* Hercules, but, by the moderns, *the ſtraights of* Gibraltar. *Marcianus*, *Heracleota*, *Silius Italicus*, and others, take particular notice of them (38).

(38) *Marcian. Heracleot. p.* 36. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. *ver.* 199. *Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *p.* 930. *edit. Lipſ.* 1732.

with

with the *Romans*, had not death prevented his design from taking effect[f] (M).

OUR

[f] APPIAN. in Iberic. POLYB. l. iii. & LIV. ubi sup. Vide CORN. NEP. AUREL. VICT. EUTROP. &c. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 3. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6.

(M) According to *Diodorus Siculus*, after his landing in *Spain*, he reduced the city of *Tartessus*, and gave a memorable defeat to *Istolatius*, general of the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, putting a great number of his men, together with himself and his brother, to the sword. Many of the *Celtic* nobility likewise perished in the action. Out of the prisoners *Hamilcar* selected three thousand, whom he incorporated with his own troops. But *Indortes*, one of the *Celtic* or *Iberian* general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a considerable reinforcement, assembled a body of fifty thousand men, with which he intended to give *Hamilcar* battle. However, his men consisting partly of veterans terrified by the last overthrow, and partly of new-raised levies, fled upon the first appearance of the enemy, to a neighbouring eminence, where the *Carthaginians* surrounded them, and for some time closely besieged them *Indortes*, by a stratagem and by the favour of the night, found means to make his escape; but the greatest part of his army was either cut off, or obliged to surrender at discretion At last *Indortes* himself fell into *Hamilcar*'s hands, who, according to the same author, first put out his eyes, and then, after many insults, crucified him. But this we can scarcely give credit to, since it is so inconsistent with the character of that general, as given us by *Polybius*, except we will suppose, that this *Indortes* had been guilty of some monstrous piece of cruelty towards the *Carthaginians* Ten thousand *Celtic* and *Iberian* prisoners, that would not take on in the *Carthaginian* service, *Diodorus* likewise tells us, *Hamilcar* let at liberty without ransom; which countenances the supposition just hinted at Many cities he also reduced, partly by force, and partly by composition; and had probably made a vast progress, had he not received an express from *Carthage*, with advice, that a part of *Numidia* had rebelled against the *Carthaginians* This obliged him to weaken his army, by sending a strong detachment, under his son-in-law *Asdrubal*, to reduce the rebels. *Asdrubal* soon obliged them to return to their duty, after having put eight thousand of them to the sword, and taken two thousand prisoners. In the mean time, *Hamilcar* made himself master of several towns, and built a large city, from its situation called by the *Greeks Acra Leuca*, or *the White citadel*. Some time afterwards he laid siege to *Helice* with part of his army, putting the rest into winter-quarters, at *Acra Leuca*. *Orisson*, prince of the country, being informed that *Hamilcar* had sent the best part of his army, and all his elephants, to *Acra Leuca*, advanced with his forces towards the *Car-*

thaginians.

And, after many gallant actions, is killed there.

OUR hero commanded in *Spain* nine-years, and, during that interval, ſubdued many warlike nations there. In the courſe of ſo long a war, conſidering how rich a country *Spain* was, an immenſe quantity of treaſure muſt neceſſarily fall into his hands. This he diſtributed in the moſt politic manner, partly amongſt the troops, and partly amongſt the great men at *Carthage*; by which means he ſecured his intereſt with both thoſe powerful bodies. We have received no particular detail of the actions he was concerned in, during the term above-mentioned, to be depended upon, only an account of that wherein he fell. The *Vettones* or *Vectones*, a nation of *Luſitania*, being incenſed at the devaſtations committed in their country by the *Carthaginians*, drew out all their forces, with an intention to give *Hamilcar* battle. They were joined by many other petty nations, with their *reguli* at the head of them, who had been plundered and laid under contribution in the ſame manner. To compaſs their end, they made uſe of the following ſtratagem: they ſent before them a vaſt number of waggons filled with faſcines, pitch, ſulphur, and other ſuch-like combuſtible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle-array. The *Carthaginians* at firſt ridi-

thaginians, pretending that he came with a deſign to join them, and thereby facilitate the conqueſt of the remaining part of the country. *Hamilcar*, giving too much credit to him, was ſurpriſed, his body of troops before the town utterly ruined, himſelf obliged to fly one way, and his ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal* another, that they might not all fall into the enmy's hands. The two laſt arrived at *Acra Leuca*, *Hamilcar* only being purſued by *Oriſſon*; but the purſuit was ſo hot, that he was obliged to attempt paſſing a rapid river, in the midſt of which, by the violence of the ſtream, he was forced from his horſe and drowned. This is the account given by *Diodorus Siculus*, which abounds with ſo many improbable particulars, and is ſo contradictory to the character of that excellent general, as given us even by that author himſelf, that no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon it. However, we muſt deſire our readers to obſerve, that the fragments of this uſeful and excellent author are not, for the moſt part, of equal authority with that part of the body of his hiſtory preſerved to us, being much more corrupted, and conſequently ſtanding in need of many more emendations. That this is true of the fragment we have here given our readers a tranſlation of, will appear from an attentive peruſal of it, ſince its parts do not hang together in a proper manner (30).

(30) *Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman*

culed

culed this ſeemingly coarſe ſtratagem? but at laſt the *Spaniards*, upon their approaching *Hamilcar* ſet fire to theſe vehicles, driving the beaſts amongſt the enemy, who ſoon found themſelves obliged to quit their ranks. The *Vettones* and their allies, obſerving this, charged them with ſuch bravery, that they ſoon put them to flight, killing many upon the ſpot, amongſt whom was the general himſelf. This relation we have extracted from *Appian*, *Nepos*, *Frontinus*, and *Zonaras*; but muſt own, that moſt, if not all, the circumſtances of it are omitted by *Polybius*. That excellent hiſtorian only tells us in general, that *Hamilcar* came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying glorioufly in the field of battle at the head of his troops. And indeed was not *Polybius*'s authority ſufficient to ſupport him in the point before us, yet the nature of the thing plainly enough confutes the other writers; for is it poſſible to imagine, that ſo expert and famed a general as *Hamilcar*, a general who was ſo perfect a maſter of the military art, who, by an infinity of the moſt refined ſtratagems, had ſo frequently outwitted the greateſt captains of the age, ſhould at laſt be overreached by ſo mean an artifice? This, we ſay, is incompatible with the character of that commandar, as given us by *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and even theſe very authors themſelves; for which reaſon we muſt caution our readers, not to be over-haſty in giving their aſſent to it. Upon *Hamilcar*'s death, the army elected his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal*, then the *Carthaginian* admiral, to ſucceed him [t] (N).

THE

[t] LIV POLYB. DIOD. SIC. APPIAN. CORN. NEP. EUTROP. FRONTIN. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi. ſup. LUCIUS AMPELIUS. in lib. memor. c. 36. AUREL. CASSIOD. in chron. Vide & in eum JOAN. CUSPINIAN. comment. p. 217. edit. Baſ. 1553.

(N) *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that *Aſdrubal* built two cities in *Spain*, and endeavoured to make a greater figure than even his ſather-in-law *Hamilcar* had done. Upon the firſt advice of that general's death, continues our author, he advanced with an army of fifty thouſand foot, all veteran troops, ſix thouſand horſe, and two hundred elephants, to attack *Oriſſon*, whom, after a bloody conteſt, he intirely defeated, cutting to pieces a great part of his forces. Twelve cities, in conſequence of this victory, immediately ſurrendered to him, and ſoon after all the others in *Spain*, that remained unſubdued. Having had ſuch a happy run of ſucceſs, to crown all, he married a *Spaniſh* prince's daughter; which ſecured his conquells to him. The ſame author adds, that, after he had command-

Aſdrubal *choſen to ſucceed him.*

THE ſenate, being appriſed of the choice the army had made, after they had confirmed it, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to *Aſdrubal*, to enable him not only to preſerve, but to extend their conqueſts. As the new general had been trained up in the art of war by *Hamilcar*, under whom he had ſerved ſo many campaigns, the people in general entertained a high idea of him, though *Hanno* and his adherents did their utmoſt to depreciate his merit. *Aſdrubal* anſwered their expectations, behaving with ſuch wiſdom and addreſs, as enabled him to ſupport *Hamilcar*'s friends both at *Carthage* and in the army. To ſecure his predeceſſor's acquiſitions, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its ſituation, the commodiouſneſs of its harbours, its fortifications, and flow of wealth, which its great commerce produced, became afterwards one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world. Some people, at that time, called it *the New city*, others *Carthage*, nothing being more common in that age, as well as many of the preceding than to denominate new-built cities after the names of thoſe to which their founders belonged. It is known at this day by the name of *Carthagena*, from whence one of the principal fortreſſes of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies* at preſent is ſo called [u].

The great progreſs of Aſdrubal *in* Spain *is checked by the* Romans.

THE *Romans*, receiving intelligence of the great progreſs the *Carthaginians* made in *Spain*, began to have a watchful eye over them. They could not but imagine, that both *Hamilcar* and *Aſdrubal* had ſomething more grand in view than the reduction of *Spain*, and had formed a remote deſign, vaſt in its nature, which they propoſed gradually putting in execution. They were not long at a loſs to find out whom this muſt be levelled at, as eaſily diſcovering, that their republic was, of all other ſtates the moſt diametrically oppoſite in point of views and intereſt to that of the *Carthaginians*. As they took for granted, that their rivals never loſt ſight of

[u] LIV. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. & APPIAN. ubi. ſup.

ed nine years in *Spain*, he was aſſaſſinated by one of his own ſervants; and intimates, that at, or near, the time of his death, the *Carthaginian* army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand foot, eight thouſand horſe, and two hundred elephants. As this fragment is a continuation of the preceding, ſome particulars in it are of a very dubious authority; and indeed our readers themſelves will eaſily perceive this, upon their peruſal of it, though others, that agree with the moſt approved authors, will, without any ſcruple, be admitted (40).

(40) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.*

their

their grand ſcheme, though the execution of it might be at a great diſtance, they began to reproach themſelves for their indolence and ſloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, eſpecially as the *Carthaginians* now, with the utmoſt rapidity, puſhed on their conqueſts in *Spain*, which might one day be turned againſt them. They however, at this juncture, ſeemed afraid of coming to an open rupture with them, on account of the apprehenſions they were under of an invaſion from the *Gauls*, who, according to common fame, were advancing with a formidable army to the very gates of *Rome*. At preſent therefore they judged it expedient to have recourſe to milder methods; and, in conformity to their plan, partly by menaces, and partly by perſuaſion, prevailed upon *Aſdrubal* to conclude a new treaty with them. The articles of it were, 1. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould not paſs the *Iberus*. 2. That *Saguntum*, a colony of *Zacynthians*, and a city between the *Iberus* and that part of *Spain* ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, as well as the other *Greek* colonies there, ſhould enjoy their antient rights and privileges. The *Saguntines* afforded the *Romans* ſomething of a pretext for this unjuſtifiable procedure, ſince they implored the protection of *Rome*, which republic, they heard, was ſuperior in power to that of *Carthage*, and kept a curb upon it. *Zonaras* intimates, that about this time the *Carthaginians* had formed a deſign of attacking the *Romans*, but were by that people terrified into a pacific diſpoſition. *Aſdrubal* took care not to paſs beyond the limits ſtipulated by the treaty, though he ſtill puſhed on his conqueſts, and made himſelf maſter of all that part of *Spain* extending from the weſtern ocean to the *Iberus*, within five days journey of the *Pyrenees*. He made it his endeavour to render himſelf popular amongſt the *reguli* of *Spain*, by his engaging addreſs and affable deportment. His endeavours were not unſucceſsful; for, by his perſuaſive methods, he brought over more effectually thoſe *reguli* to the intereſt of *Carthage*, than he could have done by force of arms. He did not fail, however, exerting himſelf ſometimes in a military way, tho' the other was, in the main, the moſt effectual. Having governed the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Spain* eight years, he was treacherouſly murdered by a *Gaul*, whoſe maſter he had put to death. The murder was perpetrated in public; and the aſſaſſin, being ſeized by the guards, and put to the torture, expreſſed ſo ſtrong a ſatisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſeemed to inſult all the terror of his torments. This, howe-

ver, notwithſtanding the youth of *Hannibal*, occaſioned no revolution in the ſtate of affairs[w].

Aſdrubal *ſends for* Hannibal.

Aſdrubal, three years before his death, had written to *Carthage*, to deſire, that *Hannibal*, then twenty-two years of age, might be ſent to him. *Hanno*, the inveterate enemy of the *Barchine* family, oppoſed this with all his might, repreſenting, in a moſt ill-natured ſpeech to the ſenate, handed down to us by *Livy*, that this was intirely improper. The ſubſtance of it was, that though *Aſdrubal*'s requeſt ſeemed in itſelf reaſonable, yet he could, by no means, give his conſent to it. *Aſdrubal*, ſaid he, accompanied *Hamilcar* in his expeditions, ſpent the flower of his youth with him; and was abuſed by him; and now he would have young *Hannibal* in the ſame manner ſubſervient to him. This ought not to be granted. Beſides, added he, this young man has all the pride and thirſt after arbitrary power of the *Barchine* family tranſfuſed into him. Inſtead therefore of putting him at the head of the army, where he will be, in a manner, maſter of all our properties, he ought to be kept under the eye of the magiſtrates, and the power of the laws, that he may learn obedience, and a modeſty, which ſhould teach him to look upon himſelf as on a level with other men. He concluded with obſerving, that this ſpark might one day riſe to a conflagration, which would occaſin the ruin of the republic. However, the *Barchine* faction prevailed, and *Hannibal* was ſent to the army in *Spain*[x].

Hannibal *very popular amongſt the troops.*

Hannibal, upon his firſt arrival in the camp, diſcovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatneſs of mind. He drew upon himſelf the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they ſaw *Hamilcar* his father ſurvive in him. From his firſt appearance in the army, every one perceived, that he meditated a war againſt the *Romans*, which was conſidered as the effect of his father's diſpoſition. The great reſemblance he bore to *Hamilcar* rendered him extremely agreeable to the army; but his perſonal good qualities endeared him ſtill more to them. Every talent and qualification he ſeemed to poſſeſs, that can contribute towards conſtituting the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance ſurpriſing, his courage in the greateſt dangers intrepid, his preſence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his diſpoſition equally ſuited to command or obey. This could not but render him the darling both of the officers and ſoldiers. Under *Aſdrubal* he made three campaigns, that general always employing him in enterpriſes of the greateſt importance, as thinking him the

[w] Idem ibid. ut & Zonar. ubi. ſup. c. 19. [x] Idem ibid. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 3.

beſt

beſt qualified for the execution of them. The ſoldiers likewiſe repoſed the utmoſt confidence in him, eſteeming him ſuperior to all the other commanders in conduct and perſonal bravery, though he was then but in the twenty third year of his age. In ſhort, after *Aſdrubal*'s death, the army immediately ſaluted him general, with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy, and the ſincereſt attachment to his perſon; and the ſenate, as well as people of *Carthage*, confirmed this election, in a manner that ſhewed them to have been intirely at his devotion; though it muſt be owned, *Hanno* and his faction were ſecretly averſe to him. He had no ſooner taken upon him the command of the troops, being then in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, than he made the proper diſpoſitions to proſecute the war with vigour, having the pleaſure to find all the officers approve of the plan of operations he propoſed to them [y].

Elected general after the death of Aſdrubal.

As the ſuffrages, both of the army and republic, concurred to raiſe *Hannibal* to the ſupreme command upon the death of *Aſdrubal*, he muſt, of courſe, have been extremely popular at *Carthage*. It is therefore probable, that about the time of his being elected general, or ſoon after, to heighten his credit and authority, he was advanced to the firſt dignity of the ſtate, that of one of the ſuffetes, which was ſometimes conferred upon generals. In ſupport of this notion, *Cornelius Nepos* informs us, that *Hannibal* was choſen prætor of *Carthage*, upon the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, twenty two years after he had been nominated king there; which brings that event pretty near the period we are now upon [z].

Hannibal *conquers the* Olcades.

Hannibal had no ſooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put himſelf in motion. As though *Italy*, had been the province allotted him, and he had been appointed to make war upon the *Romans*, he turned ſecretly his whole views to that country, and loſt no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. Though he was determined to attack *Saguntum*, he thought it at preſent more expedient not to ſeem to have an eye directly upon that place, but to reduce ſome provinces, that would facilitate the conqueſt of it, believing the *Romans* could not from thence penetrate his deſigns. Accordingly he marched againſt the *Olcades*, a nation not far diſtant from the *Iberus*, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Althæa*, their capital; upon which all their other towns immediately ſubmitted. All the plunder taken in this expedition he diſtributed amongſt

[y] LIV. POLYB. AUREL. VICT. & CORN. NEP. ubi ſup & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 76. [z] Iidem ibid. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 76.

the

the troops, which greatly animated them, and then retired to new *Carthage*, where he put them into winter-quarters. Here he soon after paid the army all their arrears; by which the soldiers became in such a manner attached to him, that they were absolutely at his devotion. This first instance of success rendered his name terrible to the neighbouring nations of *Spain*, who were not in a state of amity with *Carthage* [a].

And the Vaccæi.

The next campaign he opened with the siege of *Salmantica*, and soon possessed himself of it. Then he advanced to *Arbucala*, which being a place of great strength, very populous, and defended by a numerous garison, made a vigorous resistance, but was at last forced to surrender. Soon after this event, some fugitives, who had made their escape out of *Salmantica*, before it was obliged to capitulate, joining a body of the *Oleades*, excited the *Carpetani*, one of the most powerful nations in *Spain*, to declare against the *Carthaginians*. Their army amounted to an hundred thousand fighting men, with which they proposed to attack *Hannibal* in his return from the country of the *Vaccæi*, which, it seems, he subdued this campaign, drawing gradually nearer the point he had in view [b].

He gives the Spaniards *a great overthrow and subdues the* Carpetani.

Hannibal, being informed of the enemies design, and knowing himself to be much inferior to them, was determined to avoid a battle, which he had great reason to imagine would prove fatal to him. In order to this, he moved with the utmost prudence and circumspection, covering himself with the *Tagus* in such a manner, that the *Spaniards* could not come at him. At last he passed it in the dead time of the night with his whole army, the enemy not entertaining the least suspicion of such an attempt. The *Spaniards* interpreted this as a flight, and therefore, looking upon themselves as invincible, they immediately resolved to pursue him, and, in consequence of this resolution, passed the river without any order or discipline. This was what *Hannibal* wanted; and, as he had foreseen it, he disposed his army in a proper manner to fall upon them when in the midst of the river. Forty elephants he posted on the bank, and ordered his horse to charge the *Spanish* infantry, as soon as they were advanced into the middle of the stream. The *Carthaginian* cavalry, being well mounted, kept their post firm, notwithstanding the rapidity of the torrent; whereas the enemy's foot were born down by it, and besides, entering the water in a straggling disorderly manner, they were incapable of making any resistance. Great numbers of them therefore were cut to

[a] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. sub. init. [b] Iidem ibid

pieces

Pieces in the water, without oppoſition, by *Hannibal*'s horſe, and others, that landed, trod to death by his elephants. Moſt of thoſe who collected themſelves into a body upon this diſaſter, and ſtrove to gain the oppoſite bank, were charged by *Hannibal* himſelf, at the head of his *Carthaginian* phalanx, with which he had entered the water for that purpoſe, and, for the moſt part, either cut to pieces, or drowned. *Hannibal*, after this, laid waſte the whole country of the *Carpetani*, who, terrified by ſo great a defeat, thought proper to ſubmit to the conqueror. Nothing now remained but *Saguntum*, to give any obſtruction to the *Carthaginian* arms [c].

And meditates the ſiege of Saguntum.

THE *Carthaginian* general, however, thought the ſeaſon was not yet come for him to lay ſiege to that city, and therefore did not, for ſome time, approach it, carefully avoiding every thing that might occaſion a rupture with the *Romans*. His intention was to furniſh himſelf with all things neceſſary for ſo important an enterpriſe before he entered upon it, according to the advice he had received from his brother-in-law *Aſdrubal*. In conſequence of which, he puſhed on his conqueſts, in a manner, to the very gates of *Saguntum*, and, by his ſingular addreſs, took care to ſecure theſe conqueſts, before he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of declaring war againſt the *Carthaginians* [d].

The Saguntines *apply to the* Romans *for relief.*

IN the mean time, the *Saguntines*, being greatly alarmed at the continued ſucceſſes of *Hannibal*, did not know how to avoid the impending ſtorm, any otherwiſe than by appriſing the *Romans* of what had happened in *Spain*, and applying to them for ſpeedy relief. They therefore diſpatched deputies in all haſte to *Rome*, to inform the ſenate of the great progreſs made by *Hannibal* in *Spain*, and to deſire immediate ſuccours againſt him. What induced them chiefly to take this ſtep was, an attempt *Hannibal* made to embroil them with their neighbours the *Turdetani*, or, according to *Appian*, the *Torboletæ*, that, by eſpouſing the intereſt of that people, he might be enabled to pick a quarrel with them. *Appian* intimates, that the *Torboletæ* made excurſions upon the *Saguntine* territories, where they committed great depredations. As ſoon as the *Saguntine* deputies arrived at *Rome*, and communicated their meſſage to the ſenate, all the members of that illuſtrious aſſembly expreſſed a prodigious concern for their *Spaniſh* allies, and came to a reſolution to ſend embaſſadors to *Hannibal*, to expoſtulate with him about his conduct, with orders in caſe he did not give ear to their complaints to proceed directly to *Carthag* , and inſiſt upon that republic's with-draw-

[c] Iidem ibid. [d] Iidem ibid.

ing its troops from the territories of their confederates in *Spain*. But this resolution not being presently executed, whilst the *Romans* were amusing themselves with frivolous consultations, advice was brought, that *Hannibal* had not only passed the *Iberus*, but actually invested *Saguntum*. The senators were divided in their sentiments on this occasion: some were for coming to a vigorous resolution, and sending one of the consuls, with a powerful army, to *Africa*, and the other to *Spain*; others were for employing the whole force of the republic in driving *Hannibal* out of *Spain*; and lastly, others gave it as their opinion, that nothing should be undertaken against *Carthage*, till all pacific methods had been tried, and no redress could be had but by force of arms. This motion being the most safe, as well as rational and equitable, prevailed; and accordingly *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Q. Bœbius Tamphilus* were dispatched with all possible expedition to the *Carthaginian* camp before *Saguntum* [e].

Hannibal *besieges* Saguntum.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* pushed on the siege of *Saguntum*, promising himself great advantages from the reduction of that place. He was convinced, that this would enable him to put his favourite scheme in execution, and even accomplish it; that he should deprive the *Romans* of all means of carrying the war into *Spain*; that this new conquest would serve as a barrier to the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumstance which would render him much more secure and unmolested; that he should there find treasure sufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the *Romans*; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with the utmost alacrity; and that, lastly, thereby he should win the people of *Carthage* over to his interest. These considerations had such an effect upon him, that he was present at all the works, conducted every particular measure in the siege, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, as much as the meanest soldier. With the commencement of this siege we shall conclude this section, and begin our next with an account of the reduction of *Saguntum*, which was the immediate cause of the second *Punic* war [f].

[e] Liv. ubi sup. Appian. in Iberic. Aurel. Vict. in Hannib. 42. [f] Liv. & Polyb. ubi sup. Oros. ubi sup. c. 14. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The History of the Carthaginians, *from the beginning of the second* Punic *war, to the destruction of* Carthage *by* Æmilianus.

The remote causes of the second Punic *war.*

THE consul *Lutatius*, at the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, had behaved with such insolence to *Hamilcar Barcas*, when, for some time, he insisted, that the *Carthaginian* troops, under his command, should deliver up their arms to the *Romans*, and even pass under the *jugum*, that the *Carthaginian* general, from that moment probably, conceived an aversion to him and his whole nation. Nothing could have been more inconsistent with true magnanimity and greatness of soul, than such a conduct, and consequently more disagreeable to a person of heroic and generous sentiments. *Hamilcar* therefore could not but deeply resent an action so infamous in its nature, and look upon the people countenancing it as void of honour, as strangers to all those amiable qualities, from which military virtue is inseparable. That this notion is founded upon truth sufficiently appears from *Cornelius Nepos*, who tells us, that *Hamilcar* professed he would rather die than return home loaded with the ignominy a compliance with such a proposal must fix upon him. We may therefore conclude this to have been a remote cause of the second *Punic* war [a].

Hamilcar likewise condemned himself for having so tamely given up *Sicily* to the *Romans*. Being endued with that greatness of soul so natural to a true lover of his country, he reflected, with the utmost regret, upon that action, which, in every light, he considered as dishonourable and too precipitate. This undoubtedly excited him to meditate revenge upon that nation, which occasioned so false a step, and consequently determined him to embrace the first opportunity that offered of attacking the *Romans* [b].

BUT what the most effectually contributed to the war, we are going to enter upon, was the injustice of the *Romans*, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the *Carthaginians*,

[a] CORN. NEP. in Hamilc. ZONAR. in annal. l. viii. c. 17.
[b] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. sub init.

after the *Libyan* war was terminated, diſpoſſeſſed that nation of *Sardinia*, and extorted a vaſt ſum of money from them. The great ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* likewiſe heightened the animoſity betwixt the two ſtates, and conſequently diſpoſed both of them to a rupture. The train therefore for a bloody conteſt betwixt them was laid before the ſiege of *Saguntum* [c].

THE ceſſion of *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, and the payment of vaſt ſums to that rapacious nation, in compliance with their unjuſt demands, after *Carthage* had been ſo drained by the *Libyan* war, incenſed *Hamilcar Barcas*, or, as ſome call him, *Baccor*, to the laſt degree. He ſaw that there was no end of ſuch extortions, and therefore came to a full reſolution, not only to endeavour at ſecuring his country from ſuch depredations for the future, but even to take ample vengeance of the *Romans* for their perfidious conduct in this particular. He therefore inſpired his four ſons, *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*, *Hamilcar*, and *Mago*, with an implacable hatred to that proud republic, which was the object of his averſion, declaring publicly, that he looked upon them as four lions whelps brought up for the deſtruction of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* only ſurvived nearly to execute the vaſt project his father had formed, and probably was the only one of them endued with a genius fit for the execution of it. From hence it appears, that the grand ſpring, which ſet *Carthage* in motion againſt *Rome* at this juncture, was the diſpoſition *Hamilcar* had transfuſed into his family, as well as the majority of the citizens of *Carthage* [d].

Hamilcar's reſentment therefore may be looked upon as the chief impulſive cauſe of the ſecond *Punic* war. That great general was of too heroic a ſpirit, and too ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of his country, not to make uſe of all proper means to reſtore it to its former grandeur. As this could not be done without humbling the *Romans*, it is no wonder, eſpecially conſidering the affronts he had in perſon received from them, that he ſhould bend all his thoughts that way. In fine, after his great atchievements had raiſed his reputation to ſo high a pitch at *Carthage*, that he was looked upon there as a ſecond *Mars*, it is no wonder he ſhould have intereſt enough to lay the foundations of a ſecond war with the *Romans* [e].

[c] Idem ibid. [d] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 21. POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup. VALER. MAX. l ix c. 3. LUCIUS AMPELIUS in lib. memorial. c. 36. [e] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup.

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THE great ſucceſs the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain*, we may, with *Polybius*, likewiſe look upon as a concurring impulſive cauſe of the ſecond *Punic* war; for this did not only increaſe the jealouſy of the *Romans*, and ſtrongly excite them to a rupture, but alſo diſpoſe the *Carthaginians* thereto, as it furniſhed them with ſuch copious ſupplies both of men and money, which enabled them to put their favourite ſcheme in execution. The *Greek* writers frequently call this the *Hannibalic* war. The interval betwixt it and the firſt *Punic* war conſiſted of twenty-three years.

The Carthaginians repulſed by the Saguntines.

BUT to return to our hiſtory: The *Saguntines* were a colony, partly of the *Zacynthians*, and partly of the *Rutuli* from the city of *Ardea*. According to *Livy*, they were not of long ſtanding in *Spain*, though they ſoon grew immenſely rich there, the province in which they were ſeated being extremely fertile. Their city was ſituated on the *Carthaginian* ſide of the *Iberus*, about a mile from the ſea, near a ridge of mountains, that ſeparated *Spain* from *Celtiberia*, and in a country where, by the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were permitted to make war, though this city was expreſly excepted from all hoſtilities by that treaty. As ſoon as *Hannibal* approached their frontiers, he detached a party to lay waſte the territory adjacent to the city, and then made a diſpoſition to attack it in three places at once. With his battering engines he made the utmoſt efforts to beat down the wall, whilſt his troops were in readineſs to ſtorm the city upon the firſt breach made. The *Saguntines* defended themſelves with inexpreſſible bravery, making frequent ſallies upon the beſiegers, and deſtroying many of their men, though they were ſcarce ſenſible of this loſs, ſince *Hannibal*'s army conſiſted of a hundred and fifty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. The beſieged, however, ſuffered extremely in theſe actions, loſing as many men as the *Carthaginians*; which rendered their condition almoſt deſperate. However, their fate was for ſome time reſpited, by a wound *Hannibal* received in his thigh from a javelin, as he was viewing ſome of the works; which occaſioned ſuch a conſternation amongſt his troops, that the enemy were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of all his works and military machines. Till the wound was cured a ſort of ceſſation of arms enſued, though the beſiegers ſtill maintained their poſts, carried on their approaches, and perfected their works. After *Hannibal*'s recovery, hoſtilities recommenced with double fury, the *Saguntines* oppoſing the enemy with undaunted reſolution, and *Hannibal* puſhing on his attacks with the utmoſt vigour. At laſt the beſiegers, after having laid a great

part of the wall level with the ground, and demoliſhed three towers, by which the body of the place lay entirely expoſed, made an aſſault with unparallelled bravery, thinking that now a fair opportunity offered of taking the town ſword in hand. The beſieged, on the other hand, conſidering that every thing valuable to them lay at ſtake, exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. They drew up their forces in order of battle in the ſpace betwixt the ruins of the walls and the town, and diſputed every inch of ground with ſuch incredible valour, that the place where the engagement happened was covered with dead bodies. In ſhort, hope and deſpair ſo animated both parties, that the greateſt efforts were made on each ſide. However, at laſt deſpair prevailed, the *Saguntines* forcing the *Carthaginians* not only to abandon the breach, but to flee to their camp with prodigious ſlaughter. *Livy* tells us, that a kind of dart or miſſive weapon, called *falarica* (A), was of ſingular ſervice to the *Saguntines* on this occaſion [f].

It

[f] Idem ibid. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7. Sil. Ital l. i. Plut. & Aur. Vict. in Hannib.

(A) The deſcription of the *falarica*, as it may be collected from *Livy*, and other authors, is as follows: The *falarica* was a kind of large dart, or miſſive weapon, diſcharged by the parties poſted in wooden towers, upon the enemy. Theſe wooden towers were called *falæ*, as we learn from *Juvenal*, *Servius*, and others; ſo that the weapon undoubtedly derived its name from thoſe machines. It had an oblong ſhaft, round and even every-where, but towards the end, where it had a ſquare piece of iron, bound about with tow, beſmeared with pitch. The iron head reſembling that of the *Roman pilum*, or javelin, was three foot long, that it might be capable of penetrating the ſtrongeſt armour, and, through it, of doing execution, which it frequently did. As the combuſtible part of it was ſet on fire before it was thrown upon the enemy, and this fire muſt have been greatly increaſed by the air fanning it in its motion, in caſe it killed not the perſon it fixed upon, but only ſtuck in his armour, it could not fail of throwing him into the greateſt conſternation; ſince, in order to preſerve himſelf from the flames, he muſt have lain under the neceſſity of diſarming himſelf, and conſequently of leaving himſelf intirely expoſed to the future efforts of the enemy. To render this weapon the more terrible, by making the fire inextinguiſhable, the tow, according to *Pomponius*, *Sabinus*, and *Vegetius*, was anointed or beſmeared likewiſe with ſulphur, reſin, bitumen, and burning oil. This dart was ſometimes diſcharged out of the *baliſta*, with an inconceivable force, and did not only deſtroy men in the manner juſt mentioned, but

IT appears from *Zonaras* and others, that, in purſuance of the reſolution above-mentioned, the *Romans* ſent deputies to but likewiſe frequently conſumed the enemies wooden towers, againſt which it was levelled. The *falarica* was either *magna* or *parva*, as we have before obſerved of the *baliſta*. From the particulars already laid down, it cannot but appear probable, that this weapon was of oriental extraction; and therefore it can by no means be deemed abſurd to deduce the name itſelf from the eaſt. *Feſtus*, as hinted above, intimates, that the dart, here deſcribed, derives its name from the towers called *falæ*, from whence it was diſcharged; and that *falæ*, in the *Etruſcan* language, ſignified *high*. We may therefore either deduce it from the verb פלא *phala*, *mirabilis*, *excelſus*, *arduus*, *excellens fuit*; or from עלה *alah*, *aſcendit*, *altus*, *elevatus fuit*, with a completive *vau* prefixed, which will make it ועלה *vealah* or *phalah*. That the eaſtern nations, particularly the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*, uſed *vau* and *fe*, or *phe*, ſometimes in ſuch a manner, without any ſignification annexed to it, may be proved by many inſtances; ſo that there is nothing forced or unnatural in the latter etymon, if the firſt ſhould not ſatisfy our readers. From one or both of theſe words (for it is very poſſible, that the former may have been originally formed from the latter), the *Greek* φάλος, *criſta*, *eminens in mari petra*, *ornamentum in ſummitate galeæ*, &c. is to be drawn. *Feſtus* and others farther countenance this notion, by calling the wooden towers we are now upon *loci extructi*. By adding to either of the verbs above-mentioned any of the following radixes, *viz* חרג *harag*, *interfecit*, חרג *hharag*, *motus fuit*, חרך *hharac*, *uſſit*, ארך *arac*, *longus fuit*, from whence אריכא *arica*, *longa*, may be formed the word *falarica*; in which caſe the name will aptly enough anſwer to the nature and office of the weapon here deſcribed. It is probable, that the *Saguntines* either learned the uſe of the *falarica* from their neighbours the *Carthaginians*, or the *Phœnician* colonies ſettled antiently in *Spain*. We ſhall only further obſerve upon this head, that the *falarica* is called ἶδος λόγχης, a kind or ſpecies of lance, by *Heſychius* (1).

The Romans *expoſtulate with* Hannibal *and the* Carthaginians *upon their proceedings*

(1) *Liv. l.* xxi. *Ennius apud Feſt. in voc.* falarica. *Non. Marcel. in voc. Virg. Æn* ix. & *Serv. in loc. & in Æn* v. *Pomp. Sabin. annotat. in Virg. Æn.* v. *Juvenal. apud Serv. ubi ſup. Ammian. Marcellin. apud Pomp. Sabin. ubi ſup. Veget. de re milit. l.* iv. *c.* 18. *Iſidor. l.* xviii. *c.* 7. *Heſych im voc.* φαλαρικα. *Joan. Britan. in Juvenal ſat.* vi. *Suid. in voc.* φαλος. *Plut. Martin. in voc* falx. *Schind pent. p* 454. 1317. 1319. 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323 — 1443, 1444. *Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l.* iii. *c.* 88.

Hannibal,

Hannibal at his camp before *Saguntum* (B), who arrived there about the time we are now upon. According to these authors, *Hannibal* avoided giving them an audience, and that in a refined politic manner. He employed certain *Spaniards*, whom he could confide in, to meet the *Roman* ministers at some distance from the camp, and, accosting them as friends, to assure them, that it would on no account be safe to approach nearer the camp, since the general himself was absent, and the barbarous nations, which formed the *Carthaginian* army, had such an antipathy to the *Romans*, that they would undoubtedly massacre them, if an opportunity offered. *Livy* intimates, that *Hannibal* dispatched messengers to the sea-side to meet the deputies above-mentioned, and acquaint them in his name, that it was by no means proper for them to trust their persons with those fierce nations, of which his army was composed; and that the multiplicity of his affairs would not permit him then to hear their proposals. *Polybius*, on the other hand, asserts, that the *Roman* deputation found *Hannibal* in his winter-quarters at *New Carthage*, a little before he had formed the siege of *Saguntum*; and that, being admitted to an audience, they advised him not to attack the *Saguntines*, whom the *Romans* had taken under their protection; nor in-

(B) *Saguntum* being first built and peopled by a colony of *Zacynthians*, it is no difficult matter to account for its name. It was probably called by the citizens ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΣ or ΖΑΚΥΝΘΟΝ, *Zacynthus*, or *Zacynthon*, which in old *Latin* was *Sacuntus*, *Sacuntum*, or *Saguntus*, *Saguntum*, the antient *Latins* using C in the same manner as those of the classic period of time did G, as we learn from *Terentianus*, the *columna rostrata* of *Duilius*, *Quintilian*, &c. In confirmation of this notion it may be further observed, that some of the oldest editions of *Aurelius Victor*, for *Saguntum* have *Zagunthus*; which reading receives some strength from *Priscian*. *Silius Italicus* likewise calls it *Sagunthos*; which word approaches very near what we would have the original name. According to *Appian*, after *Hannibal* had taken it, he brought thither a colony from *Carthage*, and called it *Spartagene*. There seem to have been, in antient times, two cities of this name in *Spain*, on the ruins of one of which at present stands *Siguenza*, a city of *New Castile*, situate upon the river *Henares*. The inhabitants of *Saguntum* are greatly celebrated, for their constancy and fidelity to the *Romans*, by most of the *Roman* historians (2).

(2) *Quintil. Terentian. Priscian. &c. Vide etiam Jos. Scalig. animadvers in Euseb. Jul. Cæs. Scalig. de ling. Lat. aliosq; mult. Strab l* iii. *Lucan l.* iii. *Sil. Ital.* l. i. & ii. *Appian. in Iberic. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c.*

fringe

fringe the late treaty concluded with *Asdrubal*, by paſſing the *Iberus*. *Hannibal*, according to the ſame hiſtorian, being then ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes, fired with ambition, and mortally hating the *Romans*, with ſome emotion, replied, that the *Romans* themſelves had already given juſt grounds for a rupture, by oppreſſing ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of *Saguntum*, after the citizens had applied to them, upon the breaking out of a ſedition in the city, to make up all differences between the contending parties by a juſt and impartial arbitration; and that as the *Carthaginians*, in imitation of their anceſtors, always thought it incumbent upon them to ſuccour the oppreſſed, he would revenge ſo perfidious an action, unleſs the *Romans* gave immediate ſatisfaction to the perſons injured. At the ſame time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Carthage*, informing the ſenate, that the *Saguntines*, grown inſolent by their alliance with *Rome*, and ſpirited up by their allies, made irruptions into the *Carthaginian* territories, deſiring inſtructions how to act in ſo critical a ſituation. *Livy* ſays, that the *Roman* deputies, being denied acceſs to *Hannibal*, ſailed directly to *Carthage*, to demand ſatisfaction there; but that *Hannibal* took care to ſend advice to the leaders of the *Barchine* faction of what had happened, and to prepare their minds for giving the *Romans* ſuch a reception as he deſired; in conſequence of which, they were diſmiſſed from *Carthage*, without any ſatisfactory anſwer. Whether any of theſe jarring relations be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us at preſent to determine. However, we cannot avoid obſerving, that *Polybius* has probability on his ſide; for it is much more likely, that a general, ſo famed for politeneſs and addreſs as *Hannibal* was, ſhould confer with the *Roman* deputation, in his turn expoſtulate with them, and impute the approaching rupture to their principals, as is, generally ſpeaking, the practice of civilized ſtates at this day, than to behave in ſo rude and ſavage a manner towards them, as the *Roman* hiſtorians, and their adherents, ſuggeſt. Certain it is that theſe laſt authors deſerve very little credit, when they deliver any thing that affects the character either of *Hannibal*, or his enemy *Hanno*, ſince it is their conſtant endeavour to paint the former in the blackeſt colours, and to repreſent the latter, with his partizans, as the only virtuous members of the ſtate of *Carthage*. They were ſo greatly obliged to *Hanno* for his kind diſpoſition towards them, or at leaſt his averſion to their enemies, and received ſo much of the treatment they deſerved from *Hannibal*, that it is no wonder they ſhould labour ſo heartily to depreciate the one, and extol the other, though this was done

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at the expence of truth, as well as of their own reputation, since many of their insinuations relating to the characters of both these *Carthaginians* are absolutely inconsistent with the accounts of their actions, which they themselves have handed down to us. As we cannot therefore but look upon *Polybius* as the most impartial and unprejudiced, as well as the most rational and probable, historian, we shall supercede that tedious declamatory harangue of *Hanno* to the senate of *Carthage*, in order to prejudice them against *Hannibal*, and the *Barchine* faction, given us by *Livy*; notwithstanding which, in order to preserve consistency, and render our history uniform throughout, we must follow this last historian with respect to order of time, and suppose the *Roman* deputies to have found *Hannibal* employed in the siege at present under consideration. The majority of the senate and people being closely attached to *Hannibal*, neither the *Roman* faction in *Carthage*, nor the deputies sent from *Rome* to put them in motion, could prevent the destruction of *Saguntum* [g].

Hannibal carries on briskly the siege of Saguntum.

But to return to the military operations: After the late repulse, *Hannibal*, finding his troops greatly fatigued, remained for some days in a state of inaction, but disposed guards in proper places to defend his works and machines from all attempts of the enemy. In the mean time, in a speech he made to his soldiers, he endeavoured to raise their courage, by inspiring them with a detestation of the enemy, by promising them great rewards, if they did their duty, and lastly, by alluring them of the plunder of the place, in case it was taken by storm. The garison likewise kept quiet within the town, and took the opportunity of this cessation of arms to build a counter wall opposite to the breach the *Carthaginians* had made. *Hannibal*'s troops greatly animated by the hopes of sharing the plunder of the town, made a vigorous attack, being encouraged by their general, who had placed himself on the top of a moveable tower, overlooking all the works of the belieged, and the whole city. In fine, *Hannibal*, having cleared the breach of the soldiers posted there for its defence, and demolished the new wall, by the assistance of five hundred *Africans* appointed to undermine it, entered the town without opposition; and possessing himself of an eminence near the citadel, drew a line of circumvallation round it, and planted his artillery against it. The *Saguntines* however did all that could be expected from men

[g] Idem ibid. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœschel. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 21. Paul. Oros. l. iv. c. 14. Eutrop. ubi. sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 78. 79.

animated

animated by deſpair; they erected a new wall to ſupport that part of the city, which the enemy had not yet made themſelves maſters of; they diſputed every inch of ground with the utmoſt bravery; and repulſed the beſiegers in many attacks. However, being not a little ſtraightened for want of proviſions, they found themſelves reduced to great extremities, eſpecially as they had no proſpect of foreign aid, the *Romans* ſeeming to have intirely deſerted them. But they were, for the preſent, relieved by an expedition *Hannibal* undertook againſt the *Carpetani* and *Oretani*, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſhake off the *Carthaginian* yoke. The beſieged however did not reap any great advantages from this expedition, ſince *Maherbal*, the ſon of *Himilco*, whom *Hannibal* left to command the forces before *Saguntum* in his abſence, puſhed on the ſiege with as much vigour as *Hannibal* himſelf could have done. Battering the new wall inceſſantly with his rams, he made ſuch a breach in it, that *Hannibal* returning ſooner than was expected, having quaſhed the conſpiracy of the aforeſaid nations in embryo, immediately ſtormed the citadel, after a warm diſpute, *Hannibal*, making a lodgment, poſſeſſed himſelf of part of it, the *Saguntines*, with no ſmall difficulty, maintaining themſelves in the other [h].

And takes it.

WHILST affairs were in this melancholy ſituation, one *Alcon*, a *Saguntine*, went privately by night, unknown to his countrymen, to the *Carthaginian* camp, where by his tears and ſupplications he endeavoured to move *Hannibal*'s compaſſion towards the unhappy citizens of *Saguntum*. He could however make no impreſſion upon that general. The conditions he inſiſted upon were; that they ſhould give ample ſatisfaction to the *Turdetani*; that they ſhould deliver up all their treaſure to the *Carthaginians*; and that they ſhould retire, with only their cloaths upon their backs, to the place the *Carthaginians* ſhould aſſign them for their habitation. Theſe conditions appeared ſo intolerable to *Alcon*, that he durſt not propoſe them to the gariſon of *Saguntum*; and therefore remained in *Hannibal*'s camp. But one *Alorcus*, a *Spaniard*, then in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, though expreſſing a great regard and eſteem for the miſerable inhabitants of that unfortunate city, undertook to convey the *Carthaginian* general's propoſals to them. This he did, endeavouring at the ſame time to prevail upon that unhappy people to embrace them; but they were ſo harſh, that the *Saguntines* could not ſo much as think of accepting them. Before they gave their final anſwer, the principal ſenators, bringing their

[h] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſupra.

gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards themselves. At the same time a tower, which had been battered by *Hannibal*'s rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the *Carthaginians* entered the town by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it and the citadel, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants, who were of age to bear arms. *Livy* relates, that vast numbers of the *Saguntines*, without distinction of sex or age, were massacred; and that many, taken prisoners, became the property of the soldiery. According to *Frontinus*, *Hannibal*, by a stratagem, drew the garison out of the town, and put them all to the sword. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Hannibal* took the city in the following manner: He applied a machine to the wall, which overtopped it, and was filled with armed men, some of whom were in sight, and others concealed. Whilst the *Saguntines* warmly engaged those in sight, the others concealed undermined the wall; which falling, gave the *Carthaginians* an opportunity of advancing into the town, and threw the *Saguntines* into such a consternation, that they immediately retired into the citadel. Upon their application to *Hannibal*, finding him averse to moderation, and themselves destitute of any prospect of assistance from the *Romans*, they desired some days to deliberate upon the measures they were to take; which being granted, in that interval they committed every thing valuable to the flames; persuaded the poor helpless people to lay violent hands on themselves; and then, making a sally on the besiegers, were all put to the sword [1].

He finds great spoils there

Notwithstanding the fire above-mentioned, the *Carthaginians* got a very rich booty. *Hannibal* did not reserve to himself any part of this; but applied it solely to the carrying on of his enterprises. *Polybius* remarks, that the taking of *Saguntum* was of signal service to him in the execution of the scheme he had formed, as it stimulated his soldiers to further conquests by the sight of so much booty, and a prospect of more; as likewise by engaging the principal persons of *Carthage* to second his views; which the large presents he was enabled to make them from such rich spoils could not fail of doing. He also from hence laid the foundations of a future fund to supply all his exigencies in the accomplishment of the vast project he had so long been intent upon.

[1] Idem ibid. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. iii. c. 10. ex. 4. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Vide etiam Sigon. annot in Liv. l. xxi.

The

THE news of the taking of *Saguntum* had ſcarce reached *Carthage*, when embaſſadors arrived there from *Rome*, demanding of the ſenate and people, whether the *Spaniſh* expedition had been undertaken by their order, or *Hannibal*, contrary to their approbation, had been the ſole author of it. One of the *Carthaginian* ſenators, the beſt qualified for this purpoſe, by order of the ſenate, endeavoured to vindicate *Hannibal*'s conduct, or rather that of the republic, on this occaſion. He made very ſlight mention of the laſt treaty *Aſdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*, only endeavouring to draw a parallel betwixt it and the peace granted the *Carthaginians*, by the conſul *Lutatius*, after the battle off of the iſlands *Ægates*. He inſiſted, that as the ſenate and people of *Rome* had taken the liberty to inſert ſome additional articles in that treaty, ſo the *Carthaginian* ſenate and people had an equal right to make what alterations they thought proper in that *Aſdrubal* had concluded with the *Romans*. He further acquainted them, that the *Carthaginians* were not ſtrangers to the ambitious deſigns of their republic; and that they might enter upon the execution of them as ſoon as they pleaſed, without giving any concern or uneaſineſs to his ſtate. In ſhort, he gave them to underſtand, that the ſenate and people, notwithſtanding the efforts of *Hanno* and his faction, were of the ſame ſentiments with *Hannibal*, in relation to the affair of *Saguntum*, and intirely approved of what he had done. Upon which *Q. Fabius*, the ſenior of the embaſſy, declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*, in the manner already related by us in a former part of this hiſtory [k]. *The Romans ſend freſh embaſſadors to Carthage.*

IN order to give our readers an adequate idea of the juſti[illegible] with which this war was entered upon, we muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the *Carthaginians* had, in reality, a right to call the *Romans* to an account for their former inſtances of oppreſſion; but made uſe of a pretended motive, not ſo conſiſtent with the dictates of equity, to vindicate, or at leaſt to palliate, their conduct on the preſent occaſion. The iniquitous conqueſt of *Sardinia*, and perfidious exaction of the immenſe ſum above-mentioned from the *Carthaginians*, undoubtedly authorized that nation to make repriſals upon the *Romans*, whenever they found themſelves in a capacity of ſo doing; and the *Romans*, by intermeddling with the affairs of *Spain*, without any other cauſe, than to give a check to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts there, did, with reaſon, highly irritate the ſtate of *Carthage*. But then, on the other hand, it

[k] LIV. POLYB. ZONAR. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. P. 79.

muſt be allowed, that no juſt parallel could be drawn betwixt the treaty of peace concluded by the *Romans* with *Aſdrubal*, and that granted the *Carthaginians* by *Lutatius*. In the former, no mention was made of the ſenate and people of *Carthage*; but *Aſdrubal* acted, as tho' he had been inveſted with full powers to ſign whatever articles he ſhould judge proper for the good of the republic; which afterwards gave a ſort of ſanction to what he had done, by an acquieſcence in it; whereas to the latter, *Lutatius* expreſly added a clauſe, importing, that the treaty ſhould be valid, provided the ſenate and people of *Rome* thought proper to ratify it. Here therefore with *Polybius*, we cannot but acknowledge, that the *Carthaginian* pretext was mere chicane, void of the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon or juſtice to ſupport it. But with regard to one of the articles of the treaty of *Lutatius*, which the *Romans* urged as a condemnation of the deſtruction of *Saguntum*, we own ourſelves not ſo intirely of that author's ſentiments. The article was to this effect; *That neither party ſhould injure or moleſt the allies of the other*; which he extends to all thoſe with whom an alliance might be contracted in any future times, though, in our opinion, no neceſſity appears for admitting ſuch a ſuppoſition, at leaſt except ſuch an alliance had been contracted by the mutual conſent of both parties; for otherwiſe, each nation might have entered into a confederacy with the declared enemies of the other, and then, by virtue of this article, have forced their old friends to make peace with their new confederates; which would undoubtedly have been contrary to the true intent and meaning of it, as well as the general tenor of the treaty; ſince it would have given the more formidable power an opportunity of extorting a compliance with the moſt ruinous conditions from the other. It is probable, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the *Roman* hiſtorians on this head, that the article we are now upon furniſhed the *Romans* with a pretext to countenance the *Sardinian* rebels above-mentioned, and eſpouſe their intereſt, in order to make themſelves maſters of *Sardinia*; ſince it appears from *Livy*, that they underſtood it in the ſenſe of *Polybius*, which ſeems to authorize ſuch an action. It is certain, the perfidious conduct they were guilty of towards the *Carthaginians* at that time, gives ground to ſuſpect them capable of wreſting the treaty of *Lutatius* in ſuch a manner, to ſerve ſo villainous a purpoſe; and therefore juſtifies our not intirely agreeing with *Polybius* in the above-mentioned particular. Be that as it will, as the treaty of *Lutatius* was infringed by the reduction of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had no reaſon to condemn any ſubſequent conduct of the *Carthaginians* for its not ſquaring with the articles of that treaty.

treaty. Beſides, as the *Sicilian* peace bore no relation to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Spain*, which were made long afterwards, they had no right to preſcribe limits to thoſe conqueſts, which they did, by obliging *Aſdrubal* not to paſs the *Iberus*. Add to this, that it does not appear from hiſtory, that the *Carthaginians* ever ratified with an oath, the articles *Aſdrubal* ſigned by his own authority, but only concealed their diſapprobation of that action, till a proper opportunity of diſcovering it offered; and therefore the *Carthaginians* could not, with ſo much juſtice, be charged with perjury, by concurring with *Hannibal* in the deſtruction of *Saguntum*, as the *Romans* with a ſecond violation of the treaty of *Lutatius*, by extorting a compliance with ſuch hard terms from *Aſdrubal*, when the neceſſity of his affairs would not permit him to refuſe it. In confirmation of what has been advanced, it may be farther obſerved, that the *Romans* had not obliged themſelves, by any implicit covenant prior to the pretended treaty with *Aſdrubal*, to fix the *Iberus* as a boundary to any future acquiſitions or diſcoveries they might make in *Spain*; beſides which, nothing could have the leaſt tendency to palliate their treatment of the *Carthaginians* on that occaſion. However, it muſt be owned, that the *Carthaginians* would have acted more generouſly, by aſſigning the unjuſt ceſſion they found themſelves forced to make of *Sardinia*, and the immenſe ſum of money at the ſame time iniquitouſly exacted from them, as the chief motives that prompted them to deſire a rupture with the *Romans*. But they were doubtleſs hindered from this by ſome political views, which, they thought, it might be for their intereſt to keep concealed; than which ſcarce any practice has been more common in all ages; and we have had recent inſtances of princes publiſhing a manifeſto, immediately before a declaration of war, filled with frivolous pretexts, rather than the real cauſes, of their hoſtile intentions [1].

Hannibal undertakes this war to prevent civil diſſenſions at home, according to Appian.

Appian ſeems to intimate, that *Hannibal*, in order to provide for his own ſafety, was obliged to attack the *Saguntines*, and come to blows with the *Romans*. Notwithſtanding he was elected general by the army after the death of *Aſdrubal*, and had his election confirmed by the ſenate and people of *Carthage*, yet, according to this author, *Hanno*'s faction, taking advantage of his youth, endeavoured to inſpire the giddy populace with ſentiments to his prejudice. His friends, perceiving the wicked ſuggeſtions of that faction beginning in a ſhort time to take ſome effect, appriſed him of it, deſiring him by no means to forget them, but to exert himſelf in

[1] Vide. LIV. & POLYB. ubi- ſupra.

order

order to promote their intereſt, and conſequently his own. This, adds the ſame author, *Hannibal* had foreſeen; and being ſenſible, that whatever attacks ſeemed levelled at his friends, were principally intended againſt him, notwithſtanding the great ſervices his family had done the ſtate of *Carthage*, he thought, that the only expedient to prevent civil diſſenſions, and hinder *Hanno*'s inſinuations from making any impreſſion upon the minds of the populace to his diſadvantage, would be to enter upon a war with *Rome*. An enterpriſe of ſuch importance as this, he very well knew, would engage all the public attention, and of courſe greatly contribute towards ſtifling the cabals and ſchemes, that might have been formed againſt him, eſpecially as the generality, both of the ſenate and people, were eagerly bent upon ſuch a war. Beſides, the fears and anxieties ariſing in their minds for the ſucceſs of an *Italian* expedition, would naturally render them cautious of changing hands at home. *Appian*, we ſay, mentions this as one of the motives that induced *Hannibal* to lay ſiege to *Saguntum*; which may poſſibly be true. But we muſt own, that neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* takes any notice of it. That another motive, as the firſt author relates, was a deſire to immortalize his name, will be granted by all, who conſider the genius of that general, as deſcribed to us by the beſt writers. But whatever might prompt him to the ſiege above-mentioned, he met with a courage and reſolution in the *Saguntines* worthy of himſelf. After a moſt gallant defence, they fell in the manner already related, the very women from the ramparts, with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, beholding the ſlaughter of their huſbands and relations, and maſſacring all the children, that had eſcaped the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some writers inſinuate, that, before the laſt ſally, the *Saguntines* melted lead with their gold and ſilver, imagining, that ſuch a mixed maſs could not be of any great ſervice to the *Carthaginians*; and that *Hannibal* would have found it more difficult ſtill to have carried the place, had not the citizens been reduced to the laſt extremity by famine. The *Carthaginian* general did not think proper to raze the city, but tranſplanted thither a colony from *Carthage*. Thus the *Saguntines*, after a ſiege of eight months, fell a ſacrifice to *Hannibal*'s reſentment, being marked out for deſtruction, on account of their ſingular fidelity and attachment to the *Romans* [m].

[m] Dion. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Rhodoman: & Hœſchel. Appian. in Iberic. Vide & Polyb. Liv. Zonar. ubi. ſup. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7. Plut. in Hannib. Petron. Arbit. in ſatyric.

The

THE *Carthaginians*, or at leaſt the *Barchine* faction, received the *Roman* declaration of war from *Fabius* with great joy and acclamations, aſſuring him they would carry it on with the utmoſt vigour, and alacrity, and make all poſſible efforts to revenge the repeated extortions, the ſiniſter deſigns, the unjuſt invaſions, and the haughty behaviour of his republic. In conſequence of this ſtep, *Fabius*, and his companions returned home, taking *Spain* in their way, as they had been ordered by the ſenate. Upon their arrival there, they endeavoured to draw the *Spaniards* ſubject to *Carthage* from their allegiance, to detach the allies of that ſtate there from its intereſt, and to enter into an alliance with as many of the *Spaniſh* nations, as were diſpoſed to accept either the friendſhip or protection of the *Roman* republic, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received before their departure from *Rome*. The *Barguſii* being deſirous of ſhaking off the *Carthaginian* yoke, gave the *Roman* embaſſadors a kind reception; which not a little influenced many other neighbouring cantons. But this ſucceſs was not laſting; for the *Volſciani*, upon *Fabius*'s application to them, made him this ſmart reply: *Wit's what face can you*, Romans, *offer to ſolicit us to prefer your friendſhip, to that of the* Carthaginians, *ſince your treachery to the brave* Saguntines, *who did ſo, exceeded even the cruelty of that barbarous enemy, who deſtroyed them? Seek for allies, where the fate of* Saguntum *is not known. The deſtruction of that city will ſerve for a lively leſſon to the people of* Spain, *to take care how they ever repoſe any confidence in the* Romans. After which, the embaſſadors, being commanded to leave the territories of the *Volſciani*, found themſelves obliged to retire out of *Spain*, without accompliſhing their deſign. Neither did they meet with any better ſucceſs in *Gaul*; for when they deſired the *Gauls* to refuſe the *Carthaginians* a paſſage through their country into *Italy*, they could by no means prevail upon them to grant their requeſt. *Hannibal* had before prepoſſeſſed them in favour of the *Carthaginians*; which he found it no difficult matter to do, they having, on various accounts, conceived an averſion to the *Romans* [n].

The Romans *attempt to draw the* Spaniards *off from the* Carthaginian *intereſt, but in vain.*

AFTER the reduction of *Saguntum*, *Hannibal* put his *African* troops into winter-quarters at *New Carthage*; but permitted the *Spaniards*, in order to gain their affection, to retire to their reſpective habitations. During the winter, he remained in a ſtate of inaction, but made ſeveral very wiſe regulations for the ſecurity of the *Carthaginian* dominions both in *Spain* and *Africa*. He tranſported

Hannibal puts both Spain *and* Africa *into a poſture of defence.*

[n] LIV. POLYB & ZONAR. ubi. ſup.

into

into *Africa*, for the defence of that country, a body of *Spaniards*, consisting of *Therſitæ*, *Maſtiani*, and *Olcades*, amounting to twelve hundred horſe, and thirteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty foot, to which were added ſome companies raiſed in the *Balearic* iſlands. Theſe it was thought proper to place, for the moſt part, in the provinces of *Metagonum*, and city of *Carthage*. He poſted four thouſand *Metagonitæ* likewiſe in *Carthage*, not only to defend that metropolis, in caſe of need, but likewiſe to ſerve as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. *Hannibal* appointed his brother *Aſdrubal* to command in *Spain*, leaving him, beſides a ſufficient naval force, a powerful army, to preſerve the *Carthaginian* acquiſitions there. The *African* corps, deſtined to act in *Spain* under the command of *Aſdrubal*, was compoſed of four hundred and fifty *African* and *Libyphœnician* cavalry, eleven thouſand eight hundred and fifty *Maſſylian*, *Maſſæſylian*, *Macian*, and *Mauritanian* foot, beſides three hundred (C) *Lorgitæ*, eighteen hundred *Numidians*, three hundred *Ligurians*, five hundred *Balearic* ſlingers, and above twenty elephants. Theſe particulars, *Polybius* tells us, he extracted from ſome tables or records of copper, engraved by *Hannibal* himſelf when in *Italy*, and left by him at *Lacinium* (D). After ſuch a prudent diſpoſition, which had

(C) It is evident from *Livy*, that *Polybius*'s text here ſtands in need of an emendation. We find in no author the word *Lorgitæ*, [ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ] as the name of a people; but the *Ilergetes*, whom *Livy* takes notice of here, and whom *Polybius* had mentioned juſt before, were a people of *Spain*, frequently deſcribed by antient writers. In the room therefore of ΛΟΡΓΙΤΑΙ, we ought to ſubſtitute ΙΛΩΥΡΓΗΤΟΙ, nothing being more eaſy, than for ſome letters, and parts of letters, to be defaced by time, or a variety of contingencies. As *Livy* cloſely followed *Polybius*, we doubt not but ΙΛΟΥΡΓΗΤΟΙ is the true reading (3).

(D) The *Lacinium*, here mentioned by *Polybius*, muſt, we apprehend, have been the name of a town near the *Lacinian* promontory in *Calabria*, taken notice of by ſeveral authors. From this curious paſſage of *Polybius*, as well as from *Livy*, it ſeems to appear, that *Hannibal* left behind him an account of the principal, if not all, the tranſactions he was concerned in there. But here a queſtion may ariſe, In what language was this account left written or engraved? To which we muſt beg leave to anſwer, that our readers may determine for themſelves, when they have conſidered

(3) *Liv. & Polyb. in loc. citat.*

the

had a natural tendency to render both *Spain* and *Africa* intirely dependent on *Carthage*, as well as more closely to cement the people of those countries by mutual bonds of friendship, he made the necessary preparations to pass the

the principal arguments that may be offered in favour both of the *Greek* and *Carthaginian* languages, which we shall here lay down for their perusal. In behalf of the *Greek* it may be urged, first, that *Hannibal* intended his tables should be understood by the natives of the country wherein they were left. Now the *Greek* was the tongue of *Magna Græcia*, and consequently of the *Brutii*, in whose territory *Lacinium* was situated. Secondly, *Hannibal* understood *Greek*, having been taught it by *Sosilus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and composed some pieces himself in that language. Thirdly, *Sosilus* attended *Hannibal* in his expeditions, and wrote a history of them in *Greek*, from whence, it is probable, the inscriptions, on these tables of copper, mentioned by *Polybius*, were taken. Fourthly, as *Polybius*, understood these inscriptions, and made extracts from them, it is natural to suppose, that they must have been in *Greek*. On the other hand, it may be said, first, that the *Greek* language had been expelled *Carthage*, before *Hannibal*'s time; and that the *Carthaginians* ever retained such an aversion to the *Greeks*, that it cannot be supposed the language of that nation should afterwards have been introduced amongst them. Secondly, that though *Hannibal*, for his own private amusement, studied the *Greek* tongue, he was too wise so far to thwart the genius of his countrymen, as to leave a journal or history of his *Italian* wars in it, especially as he had a faction against him at *Carthage*. Thirdly, that the *Carthaginian* and *Etruscan* languages must have been related, the *Etruscans* being descended from the *Pelasgi* and *Phœnicians*; and it is well known, that the *Etruscan* was the antient language of *Magna Græcia*, that country having been antiently a part of *Etruria* Fourthly, the *Carthaginians* had, for many generations, an intercourse with the people of *Magna Græcia*; and several coins of that country, particularly of the *Thurians*, have characters upon them resembling the *Etruscan*, and even the *Carthaginian*. From hence it is probable, the inhabitants of *Magna Græcia* understood something of the *Carthaginian* tongue; which renders it likely, that the language of *Hannibal*'s tables must have been the *Carthaginian*. But this we leave our readers to decide (4).

(4) *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 56. *Liv. l.* xxviii. *sub fin. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Justin. l.* xx. *c* 5. *Diod Sic. pass. Stilling fl. in orig Scip. Mass. in ant. Etrusc. & Latin. Diod. Sic. l.* v. *Liv. l.* i. *&* v. *Jul. Philargyr. ad Virg. georg. l.* ii. *ver.* 534. *Varro apud Jul. Philargyr. ubi sup. Serv. in Virg. loc. jam laudat. Vide & Dempst. de Etr. regal. l.* i. *c.* 1. *p.* 3, 4.

Iberus. But before he attempted this, he judged it expedient to win the *Ciſalpine Gauls* over to his intereſt, that he might not only have a free paſſage through their country, but likewiſe receive a reinforcement from them when there. This he effected, partly by diſtributing ſome gold amongſt their chiefs, and partly by heightening their averſion to the *Romans.* Having received intelligence, that the *Gauls* were ready to join him, and before diſcharged his vows made to *Hercules* at *Gades*, as well as engaged himſelf by new ones, provided ſucceſs attended his arms in the enſuing expedition, he immediately put himſelf in motion. As his emiſſaries, arrived from *Gaul*, informed him, that, though the paſſage of the *Alps* was difficult, it was far from being impracticable, he began to look upon the *Carthaginians* as already maſters of *Italy* [o].

His remarkable dream.

Having therefore completed his military preparations, and got every thing in readineſs for the intended expedition, early in the ſpring he moved out of his winter-quarters, advancing at the head of all his forces to *Etouiſſa*, and from thence to the *Iberus.* Here, we are told, *Hannibal* had a remarkable dream, which gave him great hopes of ſucceſs in the enterpriſe he was going to enter upon. That general, according to the authors referred to, imagined himſelf, in his ſleep, ſummoned to a council of the gods, who commanded him to begin his march for *Italy* without delay. At the ſame time, there appeared to him a youth incircled with glory, who ſaid, that *Jupiter* had appointed him his guide, with orders to conduct him and his troops to *Italy*, ſtrictly injoining him never to draw his eyes from off him; which injunction he, for ſome time, obeyed: but at laſt, having the curioſity to look behind him, he ſaw a ſerpent of a monſtrous ſize moving with great celerity, overthrowing all the trees, ſhrubs, *&c.* in its way, and attended by a dreadful tempeſt, with violent claps of thunder. He then aſked his guide, What ſuch a prodigy could portend? who told him, it preſaged the dreadful devaſtations, that ſhould be committed in *Italy* by his troops, deſiring him to purſue his journey, and not to be too inquiſitive, nor pry too deeply into what the fates had decreed. Upon his paſſing the *Iberus*, ſeveral beaſts, of a ſpecies utterly unknown, likewiſe appeared to him, ſeeming to ſhew the way to his troops. The *Romans*, about the ſame time, were as greatly diſpirited by bad omens, as

[o] Iidem ibid.

Hannibal

Hannibal found himself animated by good ones. An ox spoke audibly with a human voice at *Rome*, just before the commencement of this war; another threw itself from the top of a house into the *Tiber*, and was drowned, during the public diversions; many places were struck with lightning; blood flowed from many statues, and from the shield of one of the legionaries, and lastly a woolf carried off a sword out of the camp. Whether these occurrences are to be esteemed as so many fictions, intirely owing to that credulity and superstition, to which both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were so much addicted, or as real events, intended by Providence as presages of those dreadful convulsions, which afterwards happened in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* states, we shall not take upon us to determine; but only observe, that many arguments may be offered in support of each opinion. However, as the histories of almost all nations are interspersed with such relations, as Scripture itself gives countenance to some of them, and as the authors cited here are of no mean authority, we doubt not but our curious readers will at least excuse what has been inserted in this place [P].

He passes the Iberus.

BEFORE *Hannibal* began the operations of the campaign, he thought it incumbent on him to inspire life and vigour into the soldiery, nothing but that being now wanting, since the senate and people of *Carthage*, at the instigation of *Asdrubal*, had given him an unlimited commission, which left him in full power to act as he should think fit for the good of the republic. In an harangue therefore he acquainted the army, that such was the insolence of the *Romans*, that they insisted upon having him, and all the general officers, delivered up to them; that *Italy* was one of the most fertile and delicious countries in the world; that he had just concluded a treaty with the *Cisalpine Gauls*, through whose countries they must pass, who would not only supply them with all necessaries, but join them with a good body of troops, bearing a mortal hatred to the *Romans*; so that they ought to look upon themselves as morally certain of success. The soldiers, animated by this speech, loudly proclaimed their confidence in his conduct, at the same time declaring themselves ready to follow him whithersoever he should think proper to lead them, and to spend the last drop of their blood in executing the project he had formed. Finding it therefore time to enter upon action, he took a review of his army, consisting of ninety

[P] LIV. ubi supra. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 22. p. 407, 408, 409. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 7. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 5, 6, 7. Dan. c. ii. ver. 29, &c.

thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, of various nations, besides a good number of elephants; and then, without the least obstruction, passed the *Iberus* [q].

And subdues all the nations betwixt that river and the Pyrenees.

The *Ilergetes* and *Bargusii* were the first cantons he obliged to submit to the *Carthaginians*, and soon after the *Ærenosii* and *Ausetani*, people whose territories extended as far as the *Pyrenees*. Nevertheless, as he reduced several towns by force, these conquests cost him abundance of men. Before he proceeded farther on his march, he constituted *Hanno* governor of the country betwixt the *Pyrenees* and the *Iberus*, which included the territory of the *Bargusii*, injoining him to have a watchful eye over that people, whose former conduct gave him reason to suspect, that still they were secretly well-wishers to the *Romans*. To support *Hanno* in his new post, he left him a body of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse; and in order to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniards*, that he might be the more readily supplied with what recruits he should want in *Italy*, he dismissed about the like number of them to their respective habitations, and gave the greatest encouragement to those that continued in the *Carthaginian* service. Upon a muster of his forces, after they were weakened by sieges, desertion, mortality, and the aforesaid dismission and detachment, he found them to amount to fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, all veteran troops, and the best in the world. As they had left all their heavy baggage with *Hanno*, and were light-armed, *Hannibal* easily crossed the *Pyrenees*, passed by *Ruscino*, the *Roussillon* of the moderns, a frontier town of the *Gauls*, and arrived on the banks of the *Rhone* without opposition [r].

He advances to the Rhone *and passes it.*

For some time, however, he was retarded in his march by the jealousy of the *Gauls*; for that nation, hearing that the *Carthaginia* army, then encamped at *Illiberis*, a city of *Gallia Narbonensis*, had reduced the country immediately beyond the *Pyrenees* and left strong garisons there to keep the natives in awe, entertained vehement suspicions, that *Hannibal* had a design upon them, notwithstanding his pretext of invading *Italy*. But upon his decamping speedily from *Illiberis*, giving them the strongest assurances of his amicable intentions towards them, and making a few presents to their *reguli*, they permitted him to continue his route without the least molestation. Upon his approaching the banks of the

[q] Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi sup. [r] Liv. & Polyb. ubi supra.

Rhone,

Rhone, the greateſt part of the *Volcæ* (E), a nation inhabiting the tract contiguous to that river, withdrew, with all their effects, to the oppoſite bank, the other neighbouring *Gauls* being his friends, and giving him all the aſſiſtance they were able. The *Gauls*, on the other ſide, taking umbrage at the approach of ſo formidable a power, had aſſembled all their forces, with an intent to diſpute the paſſage of the river; which *Hannibal* perceiving, and finding it no-where fordable in ſight of the enemy, he began to be in pain for the ſucceſs of the expedition; but his good fortune ſtill attending him, he at laſt carried his point by a ſtratagem, and diſperſed the *Gallic* forces in the manner by us already related. But, after all, the greateſt difficulty was how to waft over the elephants. Some affirm this to have been done in the following manner: a float of timber, two hundred foot long and fifty broad, was thrown from the bank of the river, being fixed thereto, by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; ſo that the elephants, deceived with this appearance, thought themſelves upon firm ground. From the firſt float they proceeded to a ſecond, which was built in the ſame form, but only an hundred foot long, and faſtened to the former by chains, that were eaſily looſened. The female elephants were put upon the firſt float, and the males followed. As ſoon as they got upon the ſecond float, it was looſened from the firſt, and by the help of ſmall boats, towed to the oppoſite ſhore. After this, it was ſent back to fetch thoſe which were left behind. Some threw their guides, and fell into the water, but they at laſt got ſafe to ſhore; ſo that out of forty-eight, not a ſingle elephant was drowned. Others ſay, that *Hannibal* ordered them all to be drawn together on the bank of the river, when one of the guides, by his direction, having irritated the fierceſt of them, leaped into the river, and ſwam to the oppoſite ſide, being hotly purſued by the enraged beaſt, that immediately ruſhed into the (F) water after him with the utmoſt fury;

(E) The *Volcæ*, or *Volcæ Aricomici*, according to *Strabo*, were a nation, that inhabited the country contiguous to one ſide of the *Rhodanus* or the *Rhone*; but had nothing to do on the other, as *Livy* here aſſerts. *Nemauſus*, the *Niſmes* of the moderns, was their capital. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, take particular notice of them (5).

(F) But this, with *Livy*, we cannot help thinking improbable; eſpecially ſince it is remarked by *Polybius*, that elephants were exceedingly

(5) *Strabo*, *l*, *iii p.* 129. *Mel. Plin. & Ptol. in Gal.*

fury; upon which all the reſt followed. *Hannibal* ſpent five days in paſſing the river, though vaſt numbers of the *Gauls*, by

exceedingly afraid of the water; inſomuch, that though they were taught an exact obedience to their guides, yet theſe could never prevail upon them to go into the water without the utmoſt difficulty. That excellent author adds, that, on the preſent occaſion, theſe beaſts were at firſt ſo terrified, that they ran from one ſide of the float to the other; but ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded with water, the fear of that element kept them in order. However, ſome of them, he tells us, were ſo extremely ſcared, that, being in the middle of the ſtream, they leaped into it, though breathing freely, and diſcharging their ſtomachs of the water taken in, by the aſſiſtance of their trunks, which they held above water, they were thereby preſerved.

Though, according to *Polybius* here, the elephant is afraid of paſſing deep and rapid waters, yet, if *Ælian* may be credited, that animal takes delight in the marſhes, being, for the moſt part, in moiſt places. The *Indians* therefore, employed in taking their whelps (for vaſt numbers of theſe they train up for uſe), generally go to ſuch places, where they ſeldom fail of finding them. In ſummer time the elephant covers himſelf with mud, to avoid the heat, receiving more refreſhment from hence, than from being in the ſhade †.

In confirmation of what *Polybius* aſſerts, it may be obſerved, that, according to naturaliſts, the elephant is a vaſt animal, of a make entirely unfit for ſwimming. He drinks much, *Ariſtotle* aſſuring us, that there have been ſome elephants, that have been ſeen to drink fourteen *amphoras* of the *Macedonian* meaſure, that is, if we will believe *Budæus*, about one eighth part of a *Paris* hogſhead. It is remarkable, that this animal always diſturbs the water before he drinks, as if this was a way to make it more nouriſhing, or to add a certain taſte to it, and take away the ſweetneſs of it, which is not ſufficiently pungent to his tongue. *Ælian* intimates, that the ſight of the ſea terrifies the elephant; and that, in order to get him on ſhipboard, recourſe is ſometimes had to ſuch an artifice as that here mentioned; which notion he undoubtedly received from the very paſſage of *Polybius* we are now upon (6).

The wild elephant chiefly feeds upon ruſhes, ivy, the tender tops of palms, the young ſhoots of other trees, plants, &c. We are told, that when wild elephants find themſelves neceſſitated to paſs a river, that is not extremely deep, the younger ſwim over firſt, after which the others ford it, the females carrying their young on their trunks. Theſe animals herd together in great numbers in

† *Polyb in loc citat. Ælian de animal. l. iv. c. 24, & l xiii. c. 8 & l. ix. c. 56.* (6) *Ælian. l. x. Plin. l. viii. Ariſtot. hiſt. animal. c 9.*

India,

by their assistance, facilitated the execution of the plan he had formed. The elephants were not wafted over, till the day after

India, and are hunted by the *Indians*, partly on account of the ivory they produce, and partly for other reasons. We find a full and particular description of the *Indian* manner of hunting them in *Agatharcides Cnidius*, and *Ælian* (7).

Of all quadrupeds the elephant is the largest; the male is much higher and stronger than the female, being sometimes in *India* nine cubits high, and capable of carrying a tower on his back with thirty-two warriors in it. With one stroke of his trunk he kills a camel or a horse, and has been known to draw two cast cannons fastened together with cables, and weighing each three thousand pounds, five hundred paces, with his teeth. The *Indian* elephants are either black, or of a mouse-colour; but some white ones are found in *Ethiopia*. According to *Ptolemy*, all the *Ethiopian* elephants were formerly of that colour. Some few were likewise produced in *India*, and looked upon as great curiosities by the princes of that country. It is remarkable, that this animal has a particular aversion to a sow. The grunting of that creature, as well as the squeaking of a young pig, strikes him with terror. A ram likewise he has an antipathy to. But his two worst enemies are the dragon and the rhinoceros; the latter frequently worsting him in combat, and the former as often destroying him by sucking all the blood out of his veins. *Ælian* tells us, that these dragons strangle the elephant first. However, the blood, that they imbibe, kills them. Some authors affirm, that, the female elephant goes two years with her young, and that the elephant is reckoned in his prime at sixty years of age. Some elephants have been known to live above two hundred, three hundred and fifty, and even four hundred years; for which reason that animal was a symbol of eternity amongst the antients, and, as such, may be seen on the reverses of several antique coins (8).

Though the elephant is naturally a quiet and inoffensive animal, yet he is terrible when provoked: nothing can stand before him; he oversets trees, houses, and walls; he tramples under foot every

(7) *Ælian. l. vii. c.* 6 *& l. xv. c.* 17. *& l. vii. c.* 15. *Agatharcides Cnidius apud Phot. in biblioth. p.* 1354. (8) *Aristot. hist. animal. l. ix. c.* 46. *Plin. nat. hist l. viii. c.* 1. *Auctor incert. apud Pitbœum. Lotichius ad Petron. Arb. Ptol. in Afric. c.* 9. *Ælian. de animal. l. i. c.* 38. *& alib. pass. Polyæn. in strat l. iv. c.* 6. *ex* 3. *Plin. ubi sup. & c.* 11. *Diod Sic. l. iii. Agatharcides Cnidius ubi sup. p.* 1362. *Solin. c.* 30. *Philostrat. apud Phot. in biblioth. p.* 1019 *& in vit. Apollon. l. xi. c.* 6. *Spanhem. de us. & præst. num. ant. diss. iv. p.* 169, 170. *Conr. Gesn. de elephant. & Gisb. Cuper. de elephant. in num. invent. exercitat. in nov. thesaur. Rom. ant. congest. ab Alb. Hen. de Sallengre, tom. iii. edit. Hagæ Com.* 1719.

thing

after the defeat of the *Gauls*, who attempted to diſpute his paſſage. The particulars here laid down, added to thoſe already

thing that comes in his way; he overthrows whole ſquadrons. His arms are his trunk, and his teeth his horns, for ſo ſome of the antients call them. His trunk is a long, hollow cartilage, like a large trumpet, hanging between his teeth, and frequently ſerves him for hands. His teeth are the ivory ſo well known to us, being of the nature of horn, and may be ſoftened. There have been elephants teeth ſeen as large as a man's thigh, and a fathom in length. When they quarrel amongſt themſelves, they ſtrike one another with their teeth, as bulls do with their horns. However, the elephant never uſes his ſtrength, but when compelled to it. He creates no terror in other creatures. If he is obliged to paſs through a herd of other beaſts, he puts them gently out of his way with his trunk, to make way for him. He feeds in the fields and meadows; and the weakeſt and tameſt animals, with impunity, play before him. If *Ælian* may be credited, the elephant is quite raviſhed and tranſported at the ſight of a beautiful woman. He takes great delight likewiſe, according to the ſame author, in beautiful flowers, particularly thoſe that emit fragrant odours, which are exceeding grateful to him (9).

Of all animals the elephant comes neareſt to man in ſagacity, docility, addreſs, clemency, prudence, equity, and, according to ſome authors, even religion. His modeſty, fidelity, chaſtity, &c. are likewiſe greatly celebrated by the antients. He underſtands the language of his guide and of the country where he is produced. *Pliny* mentions one that underſtood *Greek*, and could write that language. *Ælian* tells us he ſaw another that wrote *Latin*, and, whilſt writing, behaved with great attention. In *Hadrian*'s time, *Arrian* ſaw an elephant playing on a cymbal, and others dancing about him. That they worſhip the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and even are not void of ſome ſenſe of moral duties, is atteſted by ſeveral good authors. In ſhort, ſo many things of this kind are related of them, as would ſeem fabulous, were they not delivered by grave writers. The antients gave them both names and ſurnames. The names were generally ſuch as great warriors had gone by, *viz. Patroclus*, *Ajax*, &c. They frequently bore a ſingular affection to their guides, of which we are ſupplied with ſome ſurpriſing inſtances by antiquity (10).

The natural parts of the elephant are under his belly, like thoſe of a horſe; but his teſticles lie concealed in his loins. The female elephant receives the male lying upon her back, contrary to the

(9) *Ariſtot. Ælian. Plin. ubi ſup. & alib.* (10) *Plin. l. viii. c.* 1, 3, 4, 5, &c. *Ælian. de anim. l. vii. c.* 44. *& l. iv. c.* 10. *Plut. de ſolert. anim. Apollon. apud Philoſtr. l. i. c.* 7. *Dio. Caſſ. l. xxxix. Arrian. in Ind. Cour. Geſn. ubi ſup. Pierius in hieroglyph. l. ii. c.* 18. *& Hier. Oſor. l. ix. de geſt. Eman. rg.*

nature

already related in a former part of our history, make up a full and ample description of this remarkable atchievement [f].

WHILST

[f] POLYB. l. iii. c. 46, 47. LIV. l. xxi. c. 31, 32. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 48&, seq. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 23. p. 409, 410.

nature of other beasts; and he never courts her as long as any one appears in sight. When he is heated with lust, he beats down trees, walls, and every thing that approaches him, butting with his forehead like a ram. We are told he copulates but once in his whole life, and that about the twentieth year of his age. Others say, that the male is capable of propagating his species at ten years old, and the female at five; and that the male covers the female once every three years. The females bring forth only one at a time, which immediately sucks the dam with its mouth, and not the trunk. The elephant sleeps in an erect posture, and, when he is tired, leans against a tree, which being cut in two, he falls to the ground, and cannot rise, and by this means is sometimes taken by the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. Wild elephants are likewise caught sometimes by the help of a female elephant, which is ready for the male, and put into some narrow place between barricades, where the elephant engages himself, and is taken. They are also taken in deep ditches, dug particularly for that purpose, and covered with a little earth scattered over hurdles, which close the open part of them. A nation inhabiting that part of *Ethiopia* to the west of the *Nile*, and not far from the line, used formerly to eat great numbers of those they took; for which reason they were called *Elephantophagi* by *Agatharcides Cnidius* and others. To what has been before mentioned, with regard to the elephant's food, we may add, that some of them could eat at once nine *Macedonian medimni* of barley, besides a great quantity of leaves and young branches of trees. They feed likewise upon legumes, hay, herbs, &c. as the tamest animals. They drink a vast quantity of liquor at once, as has been observed, but, to make amends for this, they can go eight days, without taking any liquid whatsoever. Though the wild elephants drank only water, those that were trained up for war had either wine mixed with their water, or a liquor composed of water, rice, sugar, &c. which infused new life and vigour into them, and made them exert themselves in such a manner, that nothing could stand before them. We read in the *Maccabees*, that the elephants of *Antiochus Eupator*'s army had the blood of grapes and mulberries shewn them, that thereby they might be animated to the combat, to accustom them, as it were, to the sight of blood; as likewise that it was usual to intoxicate them, by giving them wine mixed with incense, or with parcels of incense; which parcels were dipped in the wine, in order to make the fumes of it the stronger, and consequently more proper to intoxicate the elephants. *Elian* says, that the only parts of the

Hannibal *continues his march.*

WHILST the elephants were croſſing over, *Hannibal* detached five hundred *Numidian* horſe to get intelligence of the enemy, who, he was informed, approached the banks of the *Rhone* with a powerful army, in order to give him battle. Theſe, falling in with a party of three hundred *Roman* and *Gallic* horſe, ſent out by *Scipio* upon the ſame deſign, a rencounter immediately enſued, which, after a briſk diſpute, ended in favour of the *Romans*, though the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides. As *Hannibal* had drawn up his troops in order of battle, and the *Roman* detachment purſued his cavalry to the camp, *Scipio* was ſoon acquainted with the diſpoſition of the *Carthaginian* army; which encouraged him to

elephant uſed for food by the *Elephantophagi*, were his proboſcis, his lips, and the marrow of his horns. The ſame author affirms the fat of the elephant to be a preſervative againſt all venomous animals, which will not approach any thing anointed with it. We read in *Philoſtratus* of bulls and oxen reſembling the elephant in ſize, ſkin, and colour, common in *Ethiopia* (11).

Hiſtory affords us ſurpriſing inſtances of the dexterity of the elephant: in the public theatres at *Rome*, elephants danced upon ropes. They ſat down in a formal manner to a feaſt, helping themſelves, in a decent manner, to what they wanted, with their trunks. Forty of them carried lamps or torches before *Julius Cæſar* to the capitol, and from thence home, a repreſentation of which we have upon an antient coin taken notice of by *Spanheim*. Some authors tell us, that, notwithſtanding the antipathy betwixt ſwine and the elephant, pork cures that animal of ulcers and other diſorders, and that the tiger, a potent enemy, is frequently too hard for him. Thus we have enumerated the principal qualities and properties of the elephant; which is ſufficient to give our readers a general idea of that creature, and conſequently anſwers our purpoſe; though we might fill a volume by repeating what has been laid down by various authors on this ſubject. We ſhall conclude the whole by obſerving, that an elephant is called *fill* in the *Iſlandic* tongue, and *phill* in the *Turkiſh*, and that *Reland* ſeems to derive the word *baro* or *barro* above-mentioned from the *Perſic barou*, which ſignifies a caſtle, tower, bulwark, &c. (12).

(11) *Arrian. Plin. Ælian. Agatharcid. Cuid. Philoſt. ubi ſup.* 1 *Macc.* c. vi. ver. 31. & 3 *Maccab.* c. 5. *Auct. chron. Alexand. p.* 412. *edit. Rader. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* ii. *Diod. Sic. l.* iii. *Philoſtrat. ubi ſup. l.* iii. c. 11. (12) *Plin. l.* viii. c. iv. *Senec epiſt.* lxxxv. *Suton in Ner.* c. 11. & *in Calb.* c. 6. *Dio Caſſ. l.* lvi. *p.* 617. *Ælian l.* ii. c. 11. *Vide & Ezech. Spanheim. ubi ſup. Arrian. hiſt. Ind p.* 328 *Ælian. l.* xv. c. 7. *Reland in diſſert miſcel p.* 3. *Nicol Smith. in itinerar. Conſtantinopol tom* xxii. *collect. Petr. Vander Aa.*

move

move with all poſſible expedition towards *Hannibal*, in order to attack him. That general was, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould engage the *Romans*, or continue his march for *Italy*; but was ſoon determined to the latter, by the arrival of *Magilus*, a prince of the *Boii*, who brought rich preſents with him, and offered to conduct the *Carthaginians* over the *Alps*. In conſequence of the reſolution he had taken, the next day he decamped, commanding his horſe to move towards the ſea-coaſt, in order to prevent any ſudden irruption from thence; the foot followed at ſome diſtance, whilſt he himſelf waited for the coming up of the elephants, and the guides that conducted them. That his troops might bear the fatigues of ſo long and painful a march with the greater alacrity, *Hannibal*, the day before he began it, in the preſence of them all, gave an audience to *Magilus*, who aſſured him by an interpreter, that his ſubjects ardently deſired to ſee him; that both they and the neighbouring *Gauls* were ready to join him upon his firſt arrival amongſt them; that he himſelf would take care to conduct his army through places where they ſhould meet with a plentiful ſupply of proviſions; and that he would ſoon bring them ſafe to *Italy*, which was one of the fineſt countries in the world. And then, after the prince was withdrawn, *Hannibal* in a ſpeech to them, magnified extremely this deputation from the *Boii*; extolled, with juſt praiſes, the bravery which his forces had hitherto ſhewn; and exhorted them to ſuſtain, to the laſt, their reputation and glory. The ſoldiers, greatly animated hereby, proteſted they were ready to execute all his meaſures. Nothing could have happened more favourable to *Hannibal*'s affairs, than the arrival of *Magilus*, ſince there was no room to doubt the ſincerity of his intentions, the *Boii* bearing an implacable hatred to the *Romans*, and having even come to an open rupture with them, upon the firſt news, that *Italy* was threatened with an invaſion from the *Carthaginians* [t].

FOR four days *Hannibal* continued his march, croſſing through the midſt of *Gaul*, and moving northwards, with his horſe and elephants poſted in the rear; not becauſe this was the ſhorteſt way to the *Alps*, but becauſe it kept him at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, and conſequently enabled him to avoid *Scipio*, with whom he choſe to decline an engagement, in purſuance of the advice given him by *Magilus*, that he might march his army, without any diminution, into *Italy*. Advancing towards the country of the *Al-*

And arrives at the foot of the Alps.

[t] POLYB. l. iii LIV. l. xxi.

Iobroges, he found two brothers diſputing about the ſovereignty of a territory where he encamped. *Brancus*, the elder brother, was driven from his throne by the younger part of his ſubjects, who eſpouſed his younger brother's intereſt. *Hannibal*, being made arbiter of this diſpute, reinſtated *Brancus* in the poſſeſſion of his dominions; who thereupon, out of a ſenſe of gratitude, ſupplied his troops with every thing they wanted, particularly arms, of which they then ſtood in great need, their old ones being, in a manner, worn out by long ſervice; which was, as *Polybius* obſerves, the ſame thing as furniſhing him with a proper number of recruits. He likewiſe eſcorted him through the countries of the *Tricaſtini*, *Vocontii*, and *Tricorii*, as far as the river *Druentia*, now the *Durance*; from whence he reached the foot of the *Alps* without oppoſition [u].

As, in a former part of this work, we have given a large account of *Hannibal*'s paſſing the *Alps*, we ſhall have no occaſion to expatiate upon that head here. Nothing further is requiſite to be done, than to inſert all the moſt material circumſtances and occurrences, relative to ſo famous a tranſaction, that have been hitherto omitted. This we ſhall do from thoſe writers, whoſe authority is the moſt eſteemed, and who have been the moſt particular in their deſcriptions of it; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to our readers [w].

He comes to the ſummit of thoſe mountains.

Notwithstanding moſt, if not all, of the barbarous nations, through whom *Hannibal* was to paſs, had a mortal averſion to the *Romans*, yet, as they were incapable of friendſhip or fidelity, he frequently found both himſelf and his army in the moſt imminent danger of being cut off, and particularly at his beginning to aſcend the *Alps*, ſoon after his eſcorte had left him. Being, however, informed, that the enemy only kept guard in the day-time, he found means to encamp not far from them; and, about the firſt watch of the night, ordering a great number of fires to be made in his camp, as though all his troops remained there, he moved, at the head of a choice detachment, to ſome paſſes in the neighbourhood, which the enemy had abandoned, their main body always retiring at night to a town at ſome diſtance. Theſe he immediately ſeized upon, and ſoon after gave them a defeat, killing vaſt numbers of them upon the ſpot; upon which, advancing to the town, he found it

[u] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſupra. Zonar. ubi ſupra. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 85, & ſeq.

deſerted

deſerted by the inhabitants. Here he met with plenty of cattle and other proviſions, with which, for three days together, he refreſhed his forces. Continuing his march to the ſummit of the *Alps*, he encountered with many other difficulties. The ſight of theſe mountains, which ſeemed to touch the ſkies, that were all covered with ſnow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few tottering cottages, ſcattered here and there on the ſharp tops of inacceſſible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks almoſt periſhed with cold, and hairy men of a ſavage and fiery aſpect; this diſmal ſpectacle, we ſay, renewed the terror, which the diſtant proſpect of this ridge of mountains had raiſed, and ſtruck a prodigious damp on the hearts of the ſoldiery. Beſides which, the whole army was brought upon the verge of deſtruction by the perfidy of a *Gallic* nation, who, under the ſpecious appearance of friends, perſuaded *Hannibal* to commit himſelf to their conduct, promiſing to ſhew him the beſt and moſt expeditious way to the ſummit of the *Alps*. But theſe faithleſs guides, having led him into a ſteep paſs, out of which they thought it would be impoſſible for him to make his eſcape, facing about on a ſudden, charged him with great fury, being ſupported by vaſt numbers of their countrymen, who, till that time, had kept themſelves concealed, but now ruſhed out from an eminence, that commanded this paſs, where they had placed an ambuſcade. However *Hannibal*, by the wiſe diſpoſition of his forces, as well as the aſſiſtance of his elephants, and bravery of his infantry, who greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, at laſt diſperſed them; and, having ſurmounted all other difficulties, the ninth day from his beginning the aſcent, arrived at the top of the mountains. It muſt be obſerved, that *Hannibal* was in a great meaſure, obliged to the elephants for his eſcaping all the diſaſters the enemy threatened him with, ſince, where-ever theſe huge animals appeared, the *Gauls* were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they immediately took to their heels; by which means the *Carthaginian* general gained the ſummit of the *Alps* with the leſs moleſtation [x].

Animates the troops.

HERE *Hannibal* halted for two days, to refreſh his wearied troops, which were greatly diſheartened by the ſnow that had lately fallen. In order to animate them to make another effort with alacrity, from one of the higheſt hills he gave them a proſpect of the fruitful plains watered by the *Po*, the day before he decamped. He likewiſe pointed towards the

[x] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. ubi ſup.

place

place where *Rome* ſtood, which, he aſſured them, a battle or two would make them maſters of, and conſequently put a glorious period to all their toils. This inſpired them with ſuch vigour that they ſeemed to have forgot all the fatigues they had undergone, and to think of nothing but taking poſſeſſion of that haughty city, whoſe conduct towards their ſtate had been nothing but one continued ſeries of inſults ſince the concluſion of the *Sicilian* war [y].

Deſcends the Alps.

THEY therefore purſued their march; but the difficulty and danger increaſed, in proportion as they approached nearer the end of the deſcent. We are told, that, about this time *Hannibal* meditated a return home; but, from the main conduct and genius of that general, this ſeems highly improbable. To omit many particulars, they came at laſt to a path naturally very ſteep and craggy, which being made more ſo by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thouſand foot deep. In fine, *Hannibal* found it would be impoſſible for him to accompliſh his deſign without cutting a way into the rock itſelf, through which his men, horſes, and elephants, might paſs; which, with immenſe labour, he effected. Approaching therefore gradually the *Inſubrian* foot of the *Alps*, he detached ſome parties of his horſe to forage, there appearing now ſome ſpots of paſture, where the ground was not covered with ſnow. *Livy* informs us, that, in order to open and inlarge the path abovementioned, all the trees thereabouts were cut down, and piled round the rock, after which fire was ſet to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame ſoon broke out; ſo that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was ſurrounded. Then *Hannibal*, according to the ſame author, cauſed a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock; which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intenſe heat of the fire, calcined and ſoftened it. In this manner, taking a large compaſs about, in order that the deſcent might be eaſier, he cut a way along the rock, which opened a free paſſage to the forces, baggage, and elephants, as above obſerved. As *Polybius* has paſſed over in ſilence the uſe *Hannibal* made of vinegar on this occaſion, many reject that incident as fictitious. However, *Pliny* mentions one extraordinary quality of vinegar, *viz.* its being able to break rocks and ſtones, after fire had been applied to them, and found ineffectual. And that the walls, or at leaſt a ſtrong tower, of the city of *Eleuthera* in *Crete*, after a continued operation for ſeveral nights,

[y] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup.

were

were thrown down by the force of vinegar, is aſſerted by *Dio*. *Appian* likewiſe and *Ammianus Marcellinus* atteſt the fact we have, from *Livy*, here taken notice of. But, admitting this acid to be endued with ſuch a quality, it ſeems difficult to conceive how *Hannibal* could procure a quantity of it ſufficient for his purpoſe in ſo mountainous and barren a country [z].

He arrives in Inſubria.

THREE days after this, *Hannibal* gained the fruitful plains of *Inſubria*, where, taking a review of his army, he found, that, in five months and a half's march (for ſo long was it ſince he had ſet out from *New Carthage*), he had loſt, by ſickneſs, deſertion, fatigue and various engagements, thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; ſo that it amounted at preſent to no (G) more than twenty-ſix thouſand effective men. Of the ſoldiers miſſing, above twenty thouſand had periſhed ſince his departure from the *Rhodanus*. And here, that we may have a clearer idea of *Hannibal*'s march, it will be proper to give the names and diſtances of ſome of the principal places, through which that general paſſed in his way to *Italy*; which we ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe from *Polybius*. From *New Carthage* to the *Iberus* were computed two thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from the *Iberus* to *Emporium*, a ſmall maritime town, which ſeparated *Spain* from the *Gauls*, according to *Strabo*, ſixteen hundred ſtadia; from *Emporium*

[z] LIV. ubi ſup. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxiii. c. 1. ſub fin. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xv. p. 427. edit. Genev. DIO. CASS. l. xxxvi. ſub init. JUV. ſat. 10. CORN. NEP. ubi ſup.

(G) We have followed *Polybius* in this particular, ſince he tells us, he extracted this account from the column at *Lacinium*, which ſpecified the number of forces here mentioned. It is highly probable, as *Livy* followed *Polybius* in moſt points, that this column is the altar, that author tells us, *Hannibal* erected in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, whereon he engraved the general account of his great atchievements in *Greek* and *Punic* letters. We do not learn from this teſtimony of *Livy*, in what language theſe memoirs were written; but as either the *Greek* or *Punic*, or rather both, bids the faireſt for it, *Livy*'s authority confirms what we have lately ſuggeſted on that head. *Polybius*, it is certain, has been intirely ſilent as to this particular; and therefore *Livy*'s authority is not deciſive. However, with what we have lately advanced, it is nearly, if not abſolutely ſo (13).

(13) *Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l.* xxvii. *ſub fin. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xvii. *p.* 144. *not.* (D).

to

to the banks of the *Rhodanus*, ſixteen hundred ſtadia; from the *Rhodanus* to the *Alps*, fourteen hundred ſtadia; from the *Alps* to the plains of *Inſubria*, twelve hundred ſtadia. In all eight thouſand four hundred ſtadia, making much about a thouſand *Engliſh* miles [a].

Takes Taurinum

Upon *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy*, he, for ſome time, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in order to give his troops ſome reſt, they having ſuffered extremely in their paſſage over the *Alps*. He firſt took care to refreſh them, and afterwards to recruit his cavalry, that he might be ready to enter upon action. He then ſolicited the *Taurini*, who were at war with the *Inſubres*, to enter into an alliance with him. Upon their refuſal to conclude a treaty with him, he entered their territories in a hoſtile manner; and ſitting down before *Taurinum*, their capital city, after a ſiege of three days, took it by ſtorm, putting all, that made any reſiſtance, to the ſword. This ſtruck all the neighbouring *Gauls* with ſuch terror, that, coming in to him as one man, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. By this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, he had not only his army plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions, but likewiſe ſtrongly reinforced by great numbers of theſe *Gauls*, who took on in the *Carthaginian* ſervice. The reſt of the *Gauls* would, in all probability, have done the ſame thing, had they not been awed by the terror of the *Roman* arms, which were now approaching. *Hannibal* therefore thought his wiſeſt courſe would be to march up directly into their country without loſs of time, and make ſome important attempt; ſuch as might encourage thoſe, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to join him, to put themſelves under his protection [b].

And advances towards the Romans.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* received intelligence, that *Scipio* had paſſed the *Po* with his legions, and was advancing, with all poſſible celerity, to give him battle. This, at firſt, he could ſcarcely believe, thinking it impoſſible, that he ſhould return from *Gaul* to *Italy*, croſs *Etruria*, paſs the *Po*, and be ready to receive him, in ſo ſhort a time. What gave him this notion was, an information from thoſe he could confide in, that the paſſage from *Maſſilia*, now *Marſeilles*, to *Etruria* by ſea, was extremely difficult and tedious; and the way to the laſt place from the *Alps*, by land, almoſt impractable. *Scipio*, on his ſide, was as much ſurpriſed at *Hannibal*'s expeditious march and rapid progreſs. The news of his arrival in *Italy*, and the conqueſts he had already made there, ſo alarmed the

[a] Polyb. ubi ſup. p. 159. Strab. l. ii. [b] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup.

people

people at *Rome*, that they diſpatched an expreſs to *Sempronius* at *Lilybæum*, to repair, with the utmoſt expedition, to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. Having received an account of the poſture of affairs, he imbarqued immediately for *Rome* with the naval forces, leaving orders with the reſpective tribunes to draw together what troops they could out of their ſeveral gariſons, fixing a day for them to rendezvous at *Ariminum*, now *Rimini*, a town ſituated near the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, on the edge of the plains watered by the *Po* on the ſouth. *Hannibal*, beſides the method made uſe of to animate his ſoldiers formerly mentioned, in a ſet ſpeech, put them in mind of their glorious atchievements, and of the great difficulties they had ſurmounted. He told them, the *Romans* had never yet engaged men acted by deſpair, nor ſuch warriors as themſelves, who had marched from the pillars of *Hercules*, through the fierceſt nations, into the very heart of *Italy*. His own ſuperiority to *Scipio* in military experience and exploits, he inſinuated, they were not ſtrangers to. They could not but be ſenſible, he went on, that he was almoſt born, at leaſt educated, in his father *Hamilcar*'s tent; that he was the conqueror of *Spain*, of *Gaul*, of the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and, what is ſtill more, of the *Alps* themſelves; that, by a little bravery, they would make themſelves maſters of *Rome*, and conſequently of all the *Roman* acquiſitions in *Sicily*, of which that ambitious republic had deprived their anceſtors. Laſtly, he rouſed their indignation againſt the inſolence of the *Romans*, who had had the aſſurance to demand, that both he, and the other officers employed in the reduction of *Saguntum*, ſhould be delivered into their hands, in order to be put to the moſt exquiſite torture; endeavouring to inſpire them with a juſt abhorrence and deteſtation of ſuch a proud and imperious people, who imagined, that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world[c].

He defeats the Romans near the Ticinus.

IN the mean time, *Scipio*, advancing to the *Ticinus*, threw a bridge over that river, and immediately erected a fort to defend it againſt all attempts of the enemy. It is not improbable, that he called it *Ticinum*, after the name of the river, and that this was the original of the city of *Pavia*, which, in the moſt antient authors, is called *Ticinum*. Whilſt the *Romans* were employed in raiſing this fort, *Hannibal* detached *Maherbal*, with a body of five hundred *Numidian* horſe, to lay waſte the territories of thoſe nations, that were in alliance with *Rome*; but gave him orders to ſpare the *Gauls*, and excite the various princes of that people, if poſſi-

[c] Idem ibid.

ble, to a revolt. The *Roman* army, having paſſed the *Ticinus*, advanced to a village of *Inſubria*, five miles from the fort they had built, and there encamped upon ſome heights, in ſight of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, upon this motion, called in the *Numidian* detachment under *Maherbal*, and made the proper diſpoſitions to attack the enemy. Before the ſignal was given, he thought it requiſite to animate his troops with freſh promiſes; which having done, cleaving with a ſtone the ſkull of the lamb he was ſacrificing, he prayed *Jupiter* to daſh to pieces his head in like manner, in caſe he did not give his ſoldiers the rewards he had promiſed them. This rendered his troops impatient to come to blows with the enemy, eſpecially as two ill omens had juſt filled their army with terror and conſternation. In the firſt place, a wolf had ſtolen into the *Roman* camp, and cruelly mangled ſome of the ſoldiers, without receiving the leaſt harm from thoſe who endeavoured to kill it; and ſecondly, a ſwarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the *prætorium*, or general's tent. However, *Scipio* moved at the head of his forces into the plain, where *Hannibal* had drawn up his troops in order of battle; and advancing with his dartmen and cavalry to take a view of the number and poſture of the enemy, fell in with the whole body of the *Carthaginian* horſe, commanded by *Hannibal* himſelf; upon which the fight immediately began. As we have already given a full account of this battle, it will be unneceſſary to be prolix here in our deſcription of it. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that *Hannibal* poſted in the centre of his cavalry the troopers who rode with bridles, and the *Numidian* horſe on the wings, in order to ſurround the enemy; that the action was very hot and bloody, victory continuing, for a long time, in ſuſpenſe; that many troopers on both ſides, in the heat of the action, diſmounted, and fought on foot; but that at laſt the *Numidians* charged the *Romans* in flank with ſuch fury, that they broke them, put their centre into diſorder, and wounded the conſul himſelf; which obliged the *Romans*, after having loſt the greateſt part of their army, to betake themſelves to a precipitate flight. The immediate conſequence of which victory was, that *Scipio* repaſſed the *Ticinus* in great confuſion, broke down the bridge he had lately thrown croſs that river, and left ſix hundred men in the fort to the mercy of the enemy, who ſurrendered at diſcretion to *Hannibal* upon his approach. It is agreed, that *Hannibal* owed this firſt victory to his ſuperiority in cavalry, and the diſpoſition of the ground where the engagement happened, no place being

being more proper for such troops to act in, than those large open plains lying between the *Po* and the *Alps* [d].

Hannibal, having thus driven the enemy out of the field, pursued them as far as the bridge above-mentioned; but finding it broke down, he marched up the river for two days, till he came to the banks of the *Po*. Here he dispatched *Mago*, with the light *Spanish* horse, to move after the *Romans*; who, having rallied their shattered forces, and repassed the *Po*, were encamped at *Placentia*. *Asdrubal* immediately crossed that river on a bridge of boats, and was followed by *Hannibal* with the gross of the army, after he had given an audience to the deputies that came to him from several *Gallic* nations. These nations, immediately upon *Scipio*'s defeat, entering into an alliance with *Hannibal*, not only reinforced the *Carthaginians* by inlisting in their army, but supplied them plentifully with all sorts of necessaries. Having given a most kind reception to the deputies above-mentioned, and concluded a treaty with them, he pursued his march with great expedition, soon joining *Mago*, who had advanced a day's march, beyond the *Po*, towards *Placentia*, where he halted, till *Hannibal* came up. Upon the junction of their forces, the two *Carthaginian* generals advanced to *Placentia*, and offered the *Romans* battle. But they judging it proper to decline accepting the challenge, the *Carthaginians* encamped ten miles from them, where a body of *Gallic* deserters from the consul's army came over to them, after they had cut to pieces a good number of the *Romans*. As the *Boii* likewise, about the same time, were guilty of an action equally black and perfidious, *Scipio* feared a general insurrection of the *Gauls*; and therefore, removing from the neighbourhood of their country, he passed the *Trebia*, a small river which falls into the *Po*, taking post on an eminence near that river, on the frontiers of his allies. Here he encamped, being determined to remain in a state of inaction, till the arrival of his collegue *Sempronius* with the forces from *Sicily* [e].

And pursues them as far as the Trebia.

Hannibal, being apprised of the consul's departure from *Placentia*, sent the *Numidian* horse to harrass him in his march, himself moving, with the main body of the army, to support them, in case of need. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp deserted, set fire to it; which gave the consul an opportunity of making his retreat without any loss: whereas, had not the *Numidians* spent their time in so trifling an action,

[d] Idem ibid. Corn. NEP. FLOR. AUREL. VICT EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. ubi. sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 92, & seq.
[e] Idem ibid.

they might have cut off a great part of the *Roman* army. However, they made such speed, that they arrived upon the banks of the *Trebia*, before the rear of the *Romans* had intirely passed that river, and put to the sword, or made prisoners, all the stragglers they found upon their arrival there. Soon after, *Hannibal* coming up, encamped in sight of the *Roman* army, on the opposite bank; and having, by his spies, soon learned the character of *Sempronious*, who had joined *Scipio*, and, during the disorder that general laboured under by reason of his wound, had the sole command of the *Roman* forces, formed a scheme to intrap him. In fine, *Sempronius*, being of a rash, though ambitious, disposition, contrary to the sentiments of *Scipio*, was resolved, at all events, to venture an engagement with *Hannibal*. To this he was further excited by the scarcity of provisions prevailing in the *Roman* camp; whilst the *Carthaginians* enjoyed the greatest plenty and affluence, *Hannibal* having lately seized the principal *Roman* magazine at *Clastidium*, a city betrayed to him by *Publius* a *Brundusian*. As a body of *Numidians*, by *Hannibal*'s orders, were ravaging the country of the *Gauls* in alliance with the *Romans*, he detached his cavalry in quest of them, who, coming up with them, gained an inconsiderable advantage over them; which so puffed up the consul, that, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, it being now about the winter solstice, he commanded his troops to be ready at an hour's warning to pass the river, and attack the *Carthaginian* camp. *Hannibal*, in the mean time, posted *Mago*, with a detachment of two thousand horse and foot in ambuscade, on the steep banks of a rivulet running between the two camps; and then detached a body of *Numidian* cavalry to pass the *Trebia*, and insult the enemy, with orders to repass it upon the first motion of their army, and, if possible, to draw the *Romans* after them. This stratagem had the desired effect; for *Sempronius*, not being able to bear seeing himself braved in this manner, dispatched all his horse, supported by his dart-men, after the *Numidians*, himself following with the rest of the army. Upon this motion, a battle ensued, wherein, partly by the wise disposition of the *Carthaginian* forces *Hannibal* had made, partly through the great imprudence of *Sempronius*, and partly by the bravery of his troops (H). *Hannibal* intirely defeated the *Romans*, in the manner

(H) We are told by the *Roman* authors, that the *Carthaginians*, at *Hannibal*'s command, anointed their bodies with oil before the engagement began, making use of this expedient as a preservative against

manner by us already related. Almoſt the whole *Roman* army, beſides a body of ten thouſand men, who made their retreat to *Placentia*, were either ſlain, or taken priſoners. The *Gauls*, in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, ſuffered pretty much in the action; but the *Carthaginians* ſuſtained no conſiderable loſs, except that of their horſes and elephants, all of which laſt, but one, periſhed by the cold and in the battle. The *Roman* army conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand legionaries, twenty thouſand auxiliary forces, ſome companies of the *Cenomani*, and four thouſand *Roman* horſe; *Hannibal*'s of twenty thouſand *Gallic*, *Spaniſh* and *African* infantry, eight thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Balearic* ſlingers, and ten thouſand *Gallic* and *Numidian* cavalry. The *Carthaginians* purſued the routed enemy, with great ardour, as far as the *Trebia*; but did not think proper to paſs that river immediately, on account of the exceſſive cold. The next night *Scipio* decamped, and retired likewiſe with great precipitation to *Placentia* [f].

[f] POLYB. ubi ſupra, c. 72. LIV l xxi c. 55. APPIAN. de bell. Hannib. FLOR. l. ii c. 6. FRONTIN. ſtrat l. ii. c. 5. ex. 23. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 9. OROS. l. iv. c. 14. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 24. CORN. NEP. & AUREL. VICT. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 96, &c.

againſt the cold, a vaſt quantity of ſnow having fallen the day before. In like manner *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus*'s troops anointed themſelves with oil before large fires, when ſnow two cubits deep had fallen in *Armenia*. *Frontinus* inſinuates, that, on ſuch occaſions, the antients ſometimes uſed oil and wine mixed. It appears from *Virgil*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, &c. that wreſtlers increaſed their ſtrength and vigour, by applying oil to their bodies in the manner above mentioned. In alluſion to which cuſtom, the antient chriſtian writers ſometime called the Holy Spirit ΑΛΕΙΠΤΗΣ, or *The Anointer*; becauſe he ſupplies good chriſtians with an ample degree of courage and power in their ſpiritual warfare. The paſtors of the chriſtian church have likewiſe that name given them by ſome of the *Greek* fathers, on account of the aſſiſtance they afford the flocks committed to their care, in their ſtruggle with their ſpiritual enemies. That the antient *Romans*, as well as the *Carthaginians*, uſed oil for the ends juſt hinted at, is evident from many authors. *Pliny* relates, that when a perſon aſked *Auguſtus* in his extreme old age, how he came to preſerve ſuch vigour of body and mind ſo long? he anſwered, *Intus mulſo, foris oleo*, i. e. *By refreſhing myſelf inwardly with wine, and outwardly with oil* (14).

(14) *Liv. l.* xxi. *c* 53, 54 *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 71. *Flor l* ii. *c.* 6. *Frontin. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *ex.* 23. *& l.* i. *c.* 4 *ex.* 7. *Xenoph. in exped Cyr. minor l* iv *p.* 224. *Virg. Æn* v *ver.* 135 *Dion. Halicar dict. eccleſiaſt. Nazianz. orat.* xviii *de Cyprian. exul Cic.* xii. *Attic ep.* 6. *Plut. in Alex. Senec. ep.* 80. *Plin: l.* xxiii. *c.* 24.

IN

One cause of the defeat of Sempronius *was his weakness in horse.*

It is evident, that what principally contributed to the defeat of the *Roman* army, was their inferiority in horse; for the *Carthaginian* cavalry amounted to ten thousand, whereas that of the *Romans* did not exceed four thousand; and this body, small as it was, could not act with vigour, being soon thrown into confusion by the enemy's elephants. The horses could neither bear the sight nor smell of those monstrous animals, and therefore were, in the highest degree, terrified upon their approach. *Scipio* undoubtedly had acquainted *Sempronius* with the danger he was in from the enemy's superiority in horse, since he had lost the battle of *Ticinus* just before by the weakness of his cavalry, and urged this among other topics, as a reason for him to decline an engagement. But *Sempronius*, being infatuated by his rashness, as well as ambition, was deaf to all salutary admonitions, and, in consequence of this infatuation, brought upon the *Romans* the signal loss and disgrace above-mentioned [s].

The Carthaginians *operations by sea.*

The *Carthaginians*, upon *Fabius*'s declaration of war, proposed to act by sea as well as land, against the *Romans* and their allies; and therefore, besides all their military preparations above-mentioned, fitted out twenty galleys, with a thousand soldiers on board, to ravage the coast of *Italy*. Nine of these seized upon the islands of *Lipari*, and eight upon the island of *Vulcania*, the other three not being able to approach the shore, by reason of the tide's being against them. They likewise equipped a fleet of thirty-five quinqueremes, with a sufficient land-force on board, to possess themselves of *Lilybæum*. This last attempt, however, miscarried, the *Carthaginians* being defeated by the *Romans*, and losing seven of their vessels, together with seventeen hundred of their men taken prisoners, amongst whom were three *Carthaginian* noblemen. From the coast of *Sicily*, *Sempronius*, with the *Roman* and *Syracusian* squadrons, sailed to *Melita*, now *Malta*, and had the island, together with the *Carthaginian* forces in it, surrendered to him by *Hamilcar*, the son of *Gisco*, the governor. From *Melita* the consul steered his course to the island of *Vulcania*, thinking to meet with the *Carthaginian* fleet; but he was disappointed in his expectation, the *Carthaginians* having before sailed to the coasts of *Italy*, and plundered the territory of the city of *Vibo*, threatening at the same time to attack that city itself; which the consul being apprised of when he returned to *Sicily*, and likewise receiving letters from *Rome* by an express, notifying to him *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy*, with orders to return home with all possible ex-

[s] Polyb. & Liv. ubi sup.

pedition,

pedition, he found himself obliged to alter his measures. He immediately therefore dispatched *Sextus Pomponius*, with twenty-five long ships, to protect the maritime coasts of *Italy* from the insults of the *Carthaginian* squadron; and hastened himself to *Ariminum*, from whence he proceeded to the *Trebia*, where he met with the misfortune above related [h].

The transaction in Spain this campaign.

WHILST *Hannibal* was pushing on his conquests in *Italy* *Hanno*, who commanded in *Spain*, received intelligence, that the *Romans*, under the command of *Cneius Scipio*, had advanced as far as the *Iberus*, and reduced all the country betwixt that river and the *Pyrenees*. Upon this advice, *Hanno* assembled his forces, and marched to the city of *Cissa*, where he encamped in sight of the *Romans*. The vicinity of the two armies soon brought on a general action, wherein the *Carthaginians* were totally routed. *Hanno* himself was taken prisoner, together with *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* prince, intirely devoted to the *Carthaginians*. Their camp was forced, six thousand of them slain, and two thousand taken prisoners. All the heavy baggage, *Hannibal* left with *Hanno* before his departure for *Italy*, fell a prey to the *Romans*; and many of the *Spanish* nations concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with *Scipio* upon this defeat. However, this did not discourage the *Carthaginians*; for *Asdrubal*, another *Carthaginian* commander, hearing that the *Roman* seamen and marines had dispersed themselves about the country, without any order or discipline, immediately passed the *Iberus* with a body of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, fell upon them unexpectedly, and put the greatest part of them to the sword, pursuing the rest to their fleet. Nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* taking up his winter-quarters at *New Carthage*, as soon as he had ended this expedition; and the *Romans* theirs at *Tarraco*, after *Scipio* had divided the booty got from the *Carthaginians* by the late victory amongst his troops [i].

Hannibal's policy to secure the allie of the Romans.

THE *Romans*, having received an account of the two terrible blows given them by *Hannibal* upon the *Ticinus* and the *Trebia*, were struck with the utmost terror and consternation. However, they made vigorous preparations to continue the war. In the mean time, *Scipio* removed from *Placentia* to *Cremona*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters. *Hannibal*, after the action upon the *Trebia*, ordered the *Numidians*, *Celtiberians*, and *Lusitanians*, to make incursions into

[h] LIV. l. xxi. c. 17. APPIAN. in Libyc. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 22. [i] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. l. xxi. sub. fin. APPIAN. in Iberic.

the

the *Roman* territories, where they committed great depredations: and not contented with this, he formed a design to make himself master of a *Roman* fortress in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*; but miscarried in the attempt. He likewise reduced *Victumviæ*, making the garison prisoners of war, which concluded the operations of this campaign. But during his state of inaction, he took care to refresh his troops, and win the affections of the *Gauls*, as well as the allies of the *Romans*. He therefore declared to the *Gallic* and *Italian* prisoners he had taken, that he had no intention to make war upon their nations, being determined to restore them to their liberty, and protect them against the *Romans*. To confirm them in the idea he was desirous they should entertain of him, he dismissed them, without demanding the least ransom [k].

He marches into Etruria.

During the winter, *Hannibal*'s troops were reinforced by a considerable body of *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and *Etruscans*, who, for various reasons, thought proper to abandon the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, however, reposed no great trust in his auxiliaries, but rather entertained a suspicion of them; on which account he disguised himself this winter, in the manner already related. He was the better enabled to do this by the variety of languages he understood, amongst which *Zonaras* mentions the *Latin*. By this conduct he found, that the most effectual way for him to secure himself, was to change the theatre of the war, and march into *Etruria*. This he did, after a brisk rencounter with *Sempronius*, wherein many fell on both sides, as we have already observed in a former part of this history [l].

And advances to Aretium.

Hannibal having, to the great surprise of all, crossed the *Apennines*, and penetrated into *Etruria*, received intelligence, that the new consul *Flaminius* lay encamped, with the *Roman* army, under the walls of *Aretium*. Pursuant to the plan of operations laid down, he moved directly that way, in order to inform himself of the *Roman* general's capacity and designs, as well as the course and situation of the country. As his troops had been greatly harrassed by the late fatiguing march, he halted some time in the neighbourhood of *Fæsulæ* to refresh them. Here he learned the true character of *Flaminius*, that he was a good orator, but intirely ignorant of the military art: in fine, that he was rash, proud, and of

[k] Polyb. ibid. c. 72. Liv. ibid. c. 57. [l] Liv. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. l. i. c. 5, ex. 28. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 5. Appian. in Hannib. Plut. in Hannib. &c. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 98, &c.

a fierce

a fierce diſpoſition. This gave *Hannibal* no ſmall encouragement, not doubting, but he ſhould ſoon be able to bring him to a battle. *Hannibal*, in the firſt ſtep he took, ſays *Polybius*, acted like a wiſe commander, ſince it ought to be the chief ſtudy of a general to diſcover the genius of his antagoniſt, in order to take advantage of his foible. To inflame the impetuous ſpirit of *Flaminius*, the *Carthaginian* general advanced towards *Aretium*, taking the way to *Rome*, and leaving the *Roman* army behind him, deſtroying all the country, through which he moved, with fire and ſword. As that part of *Etruria* abounded with corn, cattle, all ſorts of proviſions, in fine, with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries, of life, being one of the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpots of ground in *Italy*, the *Romans* and their allies ſuſtained an incredible loſs on this occaſion.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, though *Hannibal* ſhould have lain ſtill, and given him no provocation; but when he beheld the territories of the allies of *Rome* ravaged in ſo dreadful a manner, he loſt all patience, thinking it would reflect the greateſt diſhonour upon him, ſhould he permit *Hannibal* to continue his devaſtations with impunity, and even advance to the very walls of *Rome* without oppoſition. He reſolved therefore immediately to attack the *Carthaginians*; and ſo furiouſly was he bent upon this, that when the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to prevail upon him to wait the arrival of his collegue, he ruſhed out of the council in a rage, giving orders to the army inſtantly to begin their march. *Yes truly*, ſaid he, *we ought to ſit ſtill before the walls of* Aretium, *ſince this is our native country, and here are our habitations! We ought to let* Hannibal *eſcape out of our hands, and deſtroy all the country, to the very walls of* Rome, *with fire and ſword! We ought by no means to move from hence, till the conſcript fathers ſend for* C. Flaminius *from* Aretium, *as they formerly did for* Camillus *from* Veii! He mounted his horſe in ſuch a hurry, that he fell from him; which was conſidered as a bad omen. This, however, made no impreſſion upon him. Immediately after this, a meſſenger came to acquaint him, that the enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, that the ſoldiers could not pull them out. Upon which, turning towards him, *Doſt thou bring me a letter likewiſe*, ſaid he, *from the ſenate, prohibiting me to act againſt the* Carthaginians? *Go tell them they may dig the enſigns up, if their hands are ſo benumbed with fear, that they cannot pull them out.* As though therefore he had been certain of victory,

Flaminius purſues Hannibal.

tory, he immediately decamped, approaching *Hannibal* with the utmoſt temerity, in order to attack him [m].

Hannibal *defeats the* Romans *at the lake* Thraſy-menus.

IN the mean time, *Hannibal* kept on ſtill advancing towards *Rome*, having *Cortona* on the left-hand, and the lake *Thraſymenus* on the right. At laſt, obſerving the diſpoſition of the ground to be very commodious for his purpoſe, he put himſelf into a poſture to receive *Flaminius*, who was upon the point of coming up with him. The lake *Thraſymenus* and the mountains of *Cortona* form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both ſides with hills of a conſiderable height, and cloſed at the outlet by a ſteep hill of difficult acceſs. Upon this hill *Hannibal* encamped with his *Spaniſh* and *African* troops, poſting the *Baleares* and light-armed infantry, which were drawn up in one long line, in ambuſcade, at the foot of the hills on the right ſide of the valley, and lining with the *Gallic* cavalry the left-ſide of it, in ſuch manner, that they extended as far as the entrance of the defile. *Hannibal*, having thus in the night ſurrounded the valley with his forces, lay ſtill, as though he had no intention to engage. This farther excited the conſul to fall upon the *Carthaginians* as ſoon as poſſible; for which end he ſo eagerly purſued them, that the following night he advanced to the valley, and entered it the next morning, moving with his van-guard at a ſmall diſtance from the lake *Thraſymenus* above-mentioned. *Hannibal*, now obſerving that the greateſt part of *Flaminius*'s troops marched in diſorder, and were ſo near him, that his men could not fail of doing great execution amongſt them, provided they inſtantly charged them with vigour, ordered them to be attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, at the ſame time. As the *Roman* officers could not ſee which way to lead their men, nor diſcover the enemy that charged them, by reaſon of a thick fog from the lake, the conſular army was in a moment thrown into confuſion. *Flaminius*, however, did his utmoſt to animate his men, exhorting them to cut themſelves a paſſage with their ſwords through the midſt of the enemy; but the tumult, which reigned every-where, the dreadful ſhouts of the enemy, and the fog that was riſen prevented his being ſeen or heard. However, the *Romans* ſeeing the impoſſibility of ſaving themſelves by flight, and a little recovering themſelves upon the diſſipation of the fog, for ſome time fought with unparallelled bravery; but *Flaminius* himſelf being ſlain by an *Inſubrian*, they began to give ground,

[m] POLYB. l. iii. c. 75—78—85. LIV. l. xxii. c. 7. APPIAN. de bell. Hannib. ZONAR. ubi. ſup. c. 25.

and

and at laſt betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. The *Roman* army, according to *Appian*, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; of which fifteen thouſand (twenty thouſand, ſays *Appian*) fell upon the field of battle, and ſix thouſand, that retreated to a town in *Etruria*, ſurrendered the next day at diſcretion to *Maherbal*. According to *Valerius Maximus*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*, five-and-twenty thouſand *Romans* periſhed in this action. *Hannibal* loſt only fifteen hundred men on this occaſion, moſt of whom were *Gauls*, though great numbers, both of his ſoldiers and the *Romans*, died afterwards of their wounds. He commanded the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for the body of *Flaminius*, in order to give it a decent interment; but it could not be found. He likewiſe ſolemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who had been ſlain in the action; but was at a loſs how to diſpatch a courier to *Carthage*, with an account of the glorious victory he had gained. All the other principal particulars relating to the defeat of the *Romans* at the lake *Thraſymenus*, our readers will find in a proper place.

Hannibal, being informed that the conſul *Servilius* had detached a body of four, or, according to *Appian*, eight thouſand, horſe from *Ariminum*, to reinforce his colleague in *Etruria*, ſent out *Maherbal*, with all the cavalry and ſome of the infantry, to attack him. The *Roman* detachment conſiſted of choſen men, and was commanded by (I) *Centenius* a patrician. *Maherbal* had the good fortune to meet with him, and, after a ſhort diſpute, intirely defeated him. Two thouſand of the *Romans* were laid dead upon the ſpot, the reſt retiring to a neighbouring eminence, where being ſurrounded by *Maherbal*, they were obliged the next day to ſur- Maherbal routs Centenius.

(I) We cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurpriſe, that *Iſaac Caſaubon*, in his *Latin* verſion of *Polybius* ſhould prefer the name *Centronius* to *Centenius*, ſince in the original it is *Centenius*. That very learned man might have been convinced by *Sigonius*, in his excellent *ſcholia* upon *Livy*, that, tho' ſome antient copies of this laſt author have in one place *Centronius*, *Centenius* was the name of the general here mentioned. To what *Sigonius* has ſaid, we ſhall only beg leave to add, that *Appian* and *Zonaras* both call this prætor *Centenius*; which is a confirmation of that great man's opinion (15).

(15) *Car. Sigon. ſchol. in Liv. l.* xxii. *c.* 8. *Appian. in bell. Hanib. p.* 553. *edit. Tollii, Amſt.* 1670. *Zonar. l.* viii. *c.* 25.

render at discretion. This blow, happening within a few days after the defeat at the lake *Thrasymenus*, almost gave a finishing stroke to the *Roman* affairs. *Appian* tells us, that the people in *Rome* were so alarmed on this occasion, that they expected an immediate visit from *Hannibal*; and therefore not only posted great numbers of dart-men on the ramparts to defend them, but likewise armed even the old men with the arms taken from their enemies in former wars, and hung up as trophies in their temples. *Hannibal*, however, now thinking himself so much superior to the *Romans*, that they would not be able hereafter to make head against him, did not advance to *Rome*, but moved towards the territory of *Adria*, taking his route through *Umbria* and *Picenum*. As he plundered all the country through which he marched, upon his arrival in the territory of *Adria*, he was loaded with booty. *Spoletum* he attacked in his march; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence approaching the frontiers of *Apulia*, he ravaged the adjacent territories, *viz.* the country of the *Marsi*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, together with the districts of *Arpi* and *Luceria*. The consul *Cn. Servilius* did nothing memorable this campaign. He had only a few slight skirmishes with the *Gauls*, and made himself master of an inconsiderable town. However, he thought proper to move towards *Rome*, to cover that capital from any attempts of the *Carthaginians*. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* treated the allies of the *Romans* with the utmost cruelty in this expedition, which that author attributes to the invincible aversion he had been inspired with by his father *Hamilcar* to the *Romans*.

Hannibal arms his soldiers after the Roman manner.

THE *Carthaginian* army at this time was very sickly, being troubled with a scorbutic disorder, called by the *Greeks Lemopsoros*. This seemed owing to the unwholsome encampments they had been obliged to make, and their march through so many morasses. As both the horses and men were infected with it, *Hannibal* found it absolutely necessary to repose his troops for some time in the territory of *Adria*, which was a most pleasant and fruitful country. In his various engagements with the *Romans*, he had taken a great number of their arms, with which he now armed his men after the *Roman* manner. Being now likewise master of that part of the country bordering on the sea, he found means to send an express to *Carthage*, with the news of the glorious progress of his arms. The *Carthaginians* received this news with the most joyful acclamations, at the same time coming to a resolution to reinforce, with a proper number of troops, their armies both in *Italy* and *Spain*. They also had frequent consultations how

how they might ſend them a plentiful ſupply of all neceſſaries with the utmoſt expedition, being determined to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour [n].

Hannibal, having refreſhed his army, and over-run the territory of the *Prætutii*, *Ferentani*, *Daunii*, *Meſſapii*, and, in fine, the whole province of *Apulia*, encamped near *Iboni-um*. In the mean time, *Fabius*, for his ſingular virtue and abilities ſurnamed *Maximus*, was elected dictator at *Rome*, and had the abſolute command of the *Roman* army given him. *Fabius* ordered the conſul *Servilius* to watch the motions of the *Carthaginians* by ſea, whilſt he, with the legions and his general of the horſe, advanced to *Ægæ*, to have an eye upon *Hannibal*. The cunning *Carthaginian* made a great variety of movements, and had recourſe to an infinity of ſtratagems, in order to draw the *Roman* general to a battle, which it was his higheſt intereſt to do; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. *Hannibal*, therefore, having before ravaged all the country bordering on the *Adriatic*, croſſed the *Apennines*, and entered into *Samnium*, where he likewiſe committed great devaſtations. He plundered the territory of *Beneventum*, took the ſtrong city of *Venuſia*, and laid ſiege to *Teleſia*, a town at the foot of the *Apennines*. *Fabius* ſtill kept pace with him, though he did not think proper to approach the *Carthaginians* nearer than a day's march, being determined to decline an engagement. *Hannibal*, being convinced, that a ſtate of inaction muſt prove fatal to him, in order to draw *Fabius* to a battle, marched his army into *Campania*, by the advice of ſome of the *Italian* priſoners, he had diſmiſſed after the late battle, and who now had joined him. Accordingly he ordered his guides to conduct him to the territory of *Caſinum*, being informed, that, if he could make himſelf maſter of this, he ſhould cut off all communication betwixt the *Romans* and their allies on that ſide. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, not having the true pronunciation of the *Latin*, named *Caſilinum*, inſtead of *Caſinum*, to his guides; who thereupon purſued a different route, leading him through the diſtricts of *Allifæ*, *Calatia*, and *Cales*, into that of *Stella*, where finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains and rivers, he enquired in what part of the world he was; and received for anſwer from his guides, that he ſhould lodge that night at *Caſilinum*; when diſcovering the miſtake, he put to death the principal of them, and detached *Maherbal*, with

And marches into Campania.

[n] Iidem ibid. Vide & FLOR. CORN. NEP. AUREL. VICT. EUTROP. OROS. &c. ubi ſupr. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 24. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 99, 100, &c.

a body

a body of horſe to plunder the territory of *Falernum*. That general, penetrating as far as the waters of *Sinueſſa*, deſtroyed all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword, the *Numidians* making a terrible ſlaughter of the poor country people. However, the *Campanians* continued firm in their obedience to the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, afterwards encamping on the *Vulturnus*, ravaged the whole province in a moſt dreadful manner, *Fabius* not offering to ſtir, though he beheld theſe devaſtations from the top of mount *Maſſicus*, where he had poſted himſelf to obſerve the motions of the *Carthaginian* army. This greatly incenſed both the *Roman* troops, and his general of the horſe, againſt him [o].

He cannot bring Fabius *to a battle.*

ALL methods had been now tried in vain by *Hannibal* to bring *Fabius* to a battle. He had at firſt advanced to his very intrenchments at *Ægæ*, and braved him; he had upbraided him and his troops with having loſt the valour of their anceſtors, though at the ſame time he inwardly fretted to find himſelf engaged with a general of ſo different a genius from *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; he had endeavoured to rouze him by frequent removals from place to place, by laying waſte the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would decamp with the utmoſt precipitation, and at another quite ſtop ſhort in ſome remote valley, to ſee whether he could not ruſh out and ſurpriſe him in the plain; but, notwithſtanding all his artifices, all his marches, countermarches, and fineſſes, the dictator inflexibly adhered to his firſt reſolution, and thereby gave the crafty *Carthaginian* to underſtand, that the *Romans*, inſtructed by their defeats, had at laſt made choice of a general capable of oppoſing *Hannibal* [p].

He retires from Campania.

As *Campania* was a country more agreeable to the eye, than proper for the ſubſiſtence of an army, and the *Carthaginians* would have been forced to have taken up their winter-quarters amongſt moraſſes, rocks, and ſands, had they remained any conſiderable time longer there, *Hannibal* began to think of decamping. To this he was farther excited by an apprehenſion, that the *Romans* would receive plentiful ſupplies from *Capua* and the richeſt countries in *Italy*. That he might not therefore conſume idly the proviſions he had amaſſed for the winter ſeaſon, nor loſe the immenſely rich ſpoils gotten in the provinces he had ravaged, he began his march out of *Campania* towards the decline of ſummer, and purſued it for ſome time with great expedition [q].

[o] LIV. POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſupr. PLUT. in Fab. ENN. in annal. xii. apud Var. de poet. [p] Iidem ibid. [q] Iidem ibid.

IT being natural to ſuppoſe, that *Hannibal* would return the ſame way he came, and *Fabius* being appriſed of this by his ſpies, the *Roman* general ordered a detachment of four thouſand men to advance, and poſſeſs themſelves of the paſs on mount *Eribanus*, exhorting them to behave with bravery, when an opportunity of engaging the *Carthaginians* offered. After this, *Fabius*, that he might the more eaſily annoy *Hannibal* in his march, threw another body of troops into *Caſilinum*, a ſmall town ſituated on the *Vulturnus*, which ſeparated the territories of *Falernum* from thoſe of *Capua*, and at the ſame time took poſt with the main body of his army on mount *Callicula*. From hence he ſent a party of four hundred horſe, under the command of *L. Hoſtilius Mancinus*, to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to retire upon the firſt news of their approach. *Mancinus*, paying no regard to his orders, ſkirmiſhed with ſeveral ſtraggling parties of *Numidians*, who, retiring before him, drew him on by degrees nearer the *Carthaginian* camp; which *Cartalo*, general of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, obſerving, purſued him, at the head of a good body of horſe, five miles, and at laſt coming up with him cut him off, with the greateſt part of his men. The reſt fled to *Cales*, from whence, through ſeveral by-paths, they made their eſcape to *Fabius*, bringing him the melancholy news of the diſaſter that had befallen them[r].

And with great difficulty arrives on the confines of Samnium.

Hannibal, with his forces, ſoon arrived at the foot of the mountains, where he encamped. Soon after, an action happened between him and *Fabius*, wherein he loſt eight hundred men, and the *Romans* two hundred. But here he found himſelf involved in great difficulties, being pent up in ſuch a manner, by reaſon of the *Romans* having ſeized upon *Caſilinum* and *Callicula*, that it ſeemed impoſſible for him to make his eſcape. Now he found, that his own arts were put in practice againſt him, and that he had fallen into much the ſame ſnare he had laid for *Flaminius* at the lake *Thraſymenus*. *Fabius*, in the mean time, thinking he had his enemy in his power, was making the proper diſpoſitions for an attack the next morning. At this critical conjuncture, *Hannibal*, by the aſſiſtance of two thouſand wild and tame oxen, with torches, faggots, and dry vine-branches, tied to their horns, and driven with great violence, in the dead of the night, to the top of the hills where the *Romans* lay encamped, found means to gain the paſs abovementioned, which opened a way for him to *Allifæ*. We are told, that, before he communicated this ſtratagem to his general officers, he maſ-

His ſtratagem to effect this.

[r] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN, ubi ſupra.

ſacred

sacred five thousand *Italian* prisoners, to prevent its taking air by their means, as well as to hinder their joining the enemy, if his design should miscarry. By this single contrivance, *Hannibal* eluded all the efforts of *Fabius*, and preserved both himself and his army, when they were upon the very brink of destruction. It is certainly glorious for a general to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his fame. For the particulars of this stratagem we must refer our readers to the *Roman* history [r].

His motions afterwards.

As soon as day-light appeared, *Hannibal* observed, that his light-armed troops were advanced to the summit of the mountain, on which was the defile he had forced the *Romans* to abandon by the stratagem above-mentioned. Here they met with a strong body of the *Romans*, who had ascended the hill in the night; so that they were in danger of being all cut to pieces, especially as the enemy had found means to surround them. Upon this *Hannibal* detached a party of *Spaniards* to bring them off, which he imagined them capable of doing, as they were more used to craggy rocks and precipices, as well as more active and nimble, than the *Romans*. Accordingly, the *Spaniards* charged the *Romans* with so much bravery, that they put them to flight, killed a thousand of them upon the spot, and covered the retreat of their companions in such a manner, that scarce a man was lost on this occasion [t].

Hannibal *encamps at* Gerunium

Hannibal, upon his arrival near the confines of *Samnium*, made a motion, as tho' his intention had been to pass through that province towards *Rome*; but, wheeling about on a sudden, he fell into the country of the *Peligni*, which he ravaged a second time. From thence he retired into *Apulia*, and took possession of a defenceless town, called *Gerion*; which the inhabitants abandoned upon his approach. This is *Livy*'s account. But, according to *Polybius*, who calls the place (K) *Gerunium*, making it about twenty-five miles dis-

[r] Idem ibid. PLUT. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi supra. c. 26. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 5. ex. 28. Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 106, 107.

[t] POLYB. l. iii. c. 92. LIV. l. xxii. c. 15.

(K) We believe, with *Gronovius*, that the true name of this town was *Gerunium*, and consequently that *Livy*'s text ought to be amended. This seems to appear, not only from the superior authority of *Polybius*, but likewise from *Peutinger*'s table, in which the place under consideration is called *Geronium* Other reasons might be offered, were there any occasion for them (16).

(16) *Vide Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 101. & *l.* v. *c.* 108.

tant

tant from *Luceria*, it ſtood a ſiege, and was at laſt taken by ſtorm. *Hannibal*, if we chuſe to follow the ſame author, put all the inhabitants to the ſword; but made granaries of the houſes, lodged his troops under the walls, and fortified his camp with a retrenchment. From hence he ſent two thirds of his army to gather in the corn of the province, which was extremely fertile, ordering them by turns to relieve daily the other third part that remained with him. This he had always drawn up in battalia, not only to protect the others, but likewiſe to prevent the enemy from making any attempt upon his camp. In the mean time *Fabius* being ſent for to *Rome*, left the command of the army to *Minucius*, his general of the horſe, with orders to obſerve the motions of *Hannibal* at a proper diſtance; but by no means to engage him [u].

Minucius *gains ſome ſlight advantages over* Hannibal.

Minucius, being of a contrary diſpoſition to *Fabius*, reſolved not to keep in the path, which that general had chalked out for him. Being therefore informed, that the greateſt part of the *Carthaginian* army was diſperſed over the territory of *Gerunium*, in order to forage, and that *Hannibal* himſelf lay encamped with the other part under the walls of that place, he took poſt on an eminence called *Calela*, in the neighbourhood of *Larinum*, not far from *Hannibal's* camp. *Hannibal*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach, recalled part of his foragers, and poſſeſſed himſelf of an aſcent about two miles from *Gerunium*, imagining, that this poſt would enable him to ſecure his other foragers from all inſults. The night after his arrival here, he ſent two thouſand of his light-armed troops to ſeize upon a riſing ground cloſe by the *Roman* camp; which they effected without oppoſition. But, the next morning, *Minucius* detached a body of his light-armed forces to diſlodge them from thence; which, after a briſk action, they did, putting many of them to the ſword, and diſperſing the reſt. Animated by this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, *Minucius* attacked the *Carthaginian* foragers, cut many of them to pieces, and, in a rencounter, had the advantage over *Hannibal*. Theſe things being known at *Rome*, greatly ſunk the credit of *Fabius*, and occaſioned there a general condemnation of his conduct; nay, as *Hannibal* had artfully ſpared his lands in the general devaſtation, ſome began to entertain a ſuſpicion of his having kept a ſecret correſpondence with the *Carthaginians*. The people and ſenate of *Rome*, however, did not take the command of the army

[u] POLYB. l. iii. c. 101, 102, &c. LIV. l. xxii. c. 28, 29, 30, &c. PLUT. in Fab. OROS. l. iv. c. 15. ſub fin. CIC. de offic. & in Caton.

absolutely from him; but gave *Minucius* an equal authority with the dictator. After *Fabius*'s return to the army, the two generals agreed to divide the forces, that each of them might have his separate corps; *Fabius*, on account of his superior skill in the military art, and that he might be able to preserve at least one part of the army, not being disposed to give his consent to an alternate command [w].

Fabius prevents Hannibal from cutting off his collegue

NOTHING could be more agreeable to *Hannibal*, than to hear of the disgrace of *Fabius*, whose measures he so much dreaded. He flattered himself that the dissension between the two commanders, and the rashness of *Minucius*, would throw an opportunity into his hands of embarrassing the *Roman* affairs more than ever. He resolved therefore to lay a snare for *Minucius*; which fortune soon pointed out to him a method of doing. *Fabius* encamped on the hills, after his usual manner; and *Minucius* in the plain, near the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, in the mean time observing a small rising ground between him and *Minucius*, by which either might incommode the other, formed a design to make himself master of it, not doubting but this would bring on an action between them. In order to which, he laid an ambuscade of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, divided into parties of two and three hundred men each, posted in different places near this eminence. He then commanded a body of his light-armed men to advance, and take possession of that post; which *Minucius* endeavouring to prevent, fell into the ambuscade, and had been cut off with all his men, if *Fabius* had not rushed from the hills, like a torrent, to his assistance in the critical moment, and forced *Hannibal* to retire. *Hannibal* is reported to have said on this occasion, *That he had overcome* Minucius, *and* Fabius *him*. *Hannibal*, after this action, fortified his camp, seized upon the eminence above-mentioned, drew a line round it, and then continued in a state of inaction till the following campaign [x].

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians in Spain.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, *Cneius Scipio*, having, as we observed, conquered all the *Spanish* cantons from the *Pyranees* to the *Iberus*, put his troops into winter-quarters at *Tarraco*. *Asdrubal*, however, as we at the same time

[w] Idem ibid. VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 8. ENN. ubi sup. POLYÆN. strat. l. viii. [x] Idem ibid. FRONTIN. strat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 22. Vide etiam SIL. ITAL. l. vi. VIRG. Æn. vi. DIOD. SIC. in excerptis. VALES. l. xxvi. OVID. l. ii. fast. MANIL. l. i. FLOR. l. ii. CORN. NEP. AUR. VICT. EUTROP. ubi sup. CLAUD. de bell. Get. MACROB. in Saturn. POSIDON. aliosq; plurim.

informed

informed our readers, gave the *Romans* a conſiderable blow towards the cloſe of the campaign; the conſequence of which, according to *Livy*, was, that the *Ilergetes*, who had left in *Scipio*'s hands hoſtages for their fidelity, declared for the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio*, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces, and immediately inveſted their capital city *Atbanagia*. He puſhed on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, though in the midſt of winter, that the *Ilergetes* found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to his clemency, *Aſdrubal* being then at too great a diſtance to afford them ſpeedy ſuccours. As the principal author of the revolt was fled, *Scipio* was the more readily induced to pardon them. Having therefore exacted a good ſum of money from them for their perfidy, and compelled them to give him new hoſtages for their future good behaviour, he took them again into favour. From hence he marched againſt the *Auſetani*, allies of the *Carthaginians*, ſeated near the *Iberus*, and ſat down before their metropolis. During this ſiege he drew a great body of the neighbouring *Spaniards*, particularly of the *Lacetani*, who came to the aſſiſtance of the *Auſetani*, into an ambuſcade he laid for them, putting twelve thouſand of them to the ſword, and diſperſing the reſt. However, he could not reduce the city for the ſpace of thirty days, on account of the rigour of the ſeaſon, which was ſuch, that the *Roman* engines of battery could not play upon it. At laſt, *Amuſitus*, their prince, having found means to retire to *Aſdrubal*, the gariſon delivered up the place to *Scipio* for twenty talents of ſilver; after which that general moved again into his winter-quarters. In the mean time *Aſdrubal* reinforced the ſquadron his brother had left him, with ten galleys, ſo that it now conſiſted of forty-five ſhips of the line; and gave the command of it to one *Hamilcar*, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on various occaſions. *Hamilcar*, purſuant to his orders, put to ſea, with an intention to coaſt along, till he came to the mouth of the *Iberus*, where *Aſdrubal* was to meet him at the head of the land-forces, that they might, in concert, begin the operations of the campaign. *Scipio*, receiving intelligence of their deſign, and at the ſame time hearing, that *Aſdrubal* was already in motion, immediately fitted out a fleet of five and thirty ſail, putting the flower of his land-forces on board. Upon his arrival near the mouth of the *Iberus*, he diſpatched two *Maſſilian* veſſels to reconnoitre the enemy, who brought him advice, that their ſquadron of galleys actually rode at anchor in the mouth of the river; upon which he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to attack it. *Aſdrubal*, receiving timely notice of this, drew up his army in order of

battle on the ſhore, to aſſiſt, or at leaſt to animate, his naval forces; but they were not able to withſtand the efforts of the *Romans*, who, after a warm diſpute, intirely defeated them, forced all the veſſels on ſhore, killed great numbers of the ſeamen and marines, and carried off thirty-five galleys. From this time the *Carthaginian* affairs began to wear a bad aſpect in *Spain* [y].

And gain ſeveral other advantages over them in Spain *and* Africa.

THE *Carthaginians*, receiving intelligence of this blow, equipped another fleet of ſeventy ſail with the utmoſt expedition, knowing of what vaſt conſequence it was to them to be maſters of the ſea. With this, according to *Polybius*, they put in at one of the ports of *Sardinia*, and proceeded from thence to *Piſa*; where the admiral propoſed to have a conference with *Hannibal*. But *Servilius*, who commanded a *Roman* ſquadron of an hundred and twenty galleys, prevented that intercourſe, the *Carthaginians* thinking proper to ſheer off upon his approach, and return to *Carthage*. *Servilius*, for ſome time, gave them chace; but finding himſelf not able to come up with them, he left off the purſuit, and ſteered his courſe for *Cercina*, a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of the *Regio Syrtica*; which he laid under contribution. From thence he ſailed to *Coſſyrus*, another little iſland, not far from *Carthage*; which he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, and left a gariſon in the town. After this he ſet ſail for *Sicily*, and arrived ſafe with his ſquadron in the harbour of *Lilybæum* [z].

The conſequences of the defeat in Spain.

IN the mean time, *Scipio* made a good uſe of his late naval victory. He firſt advanced to *Honoſca*, which he cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land, took it by ſtorm, and levelled it with the ground. Then he made a deſcent in *Africa*, ravaged all the country about *Carthage*, and burnt ſeveral houſes adjoining to the haven and the wall. Loaded with ſpoil, he departed from thence to *Longuntica*, where he found a vaſt quantity of *ſpartum*, a ſhrub much uſed in the navigating of ſhips, amaſſed by *Aſdrubal*, which he either carried off for his own uſe, or burnt. Afterwards he landed a body of forces in the iſland *Ebuſus*, now *Yvica*, plundered it, and burnt ſome ſtreets of its capital city; but could not reduce the town. However, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of this, and the other *Balearic* iſlands. Upon the fame of theſe exploits, *Livy* tells us, an hundred and twenty different cantons of *Spaniards* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who penetrated as far as the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*, *Aſdrubal* retiring

[y] POLYB. l. iii. c. 95. LIV. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 1. [z] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup.

before

before them into *Luſitania*, and thoſe parts of *Spain* bordering upon the ocean [a].

WHILST the *Carthaginian* affairs were in ſuch a melancholy ſituation in *Spain*, *Mandonius*, a perſon of diſtinction amongſt the *Ilergetes*, advanced to the frontiers of ſome of the allies of *Rome*, with a deſign to plunder them. *Scipio*, being appriſed of this, detached a body of three thouſand *Romans*, with ſome *Spaniſh* auxiliaries, to attack him; which they did ſo effectually, that they overthrew him, and drove him from thoſe frontiers with great loſs. Upon this, he applied to *Aſdrubal* for aſſiſtance, who preſently marched with all his forces to ſupport him. *Scipio*, being acquainted with this motion, ordered all the *Celtiberian* princes in the *Roman* intereſt to aſſemble their forces, and fall upon the *Carthaginians*. In compliance with this order, they made an irruption into the *Carthaginian* territories with a powerful army, took three fortreſſes there by aſſault, and gave *Aſdrubal* two notable overthrows, killing him above fifteen thouſand men, and taking four thouſand priſoners. Nothing further material happened in *Spain* this campaign, except that the two *Scipios* paſſed the *Iberus*, and penetrated into the *Carthaginian* dominions as far as the gates of *Saguntum*, a particular account of which has been already given [b].

Aſdrubal *reduced to great difficulties.*

BUT to return to the armies in *Italy*: *Hannibal* remained quiet in his winter-quarters, till the following ſpring, and, before the ſeaſon for action came on, had the pleaſure to hear of *Fabius*'s being recalled to *Rome*, upon the expiration of his office, which was limited to ſix months. The conſuls, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, who ſucceeded him, in all things regulated their conduct according to the model *Fabius* had laid down. Upon their arrival in the army, they cut off ſeveral parties of *Hannibal*'s foragers; but declined a general action, though he made uſe of all the art and cunning he was maſter of to draw them to one. *Hannibal* therefore found himſelf ſo ſtraightened for want of proviſions, that he had once thoughts of retiring into *Gaul*; but was diverted from this deſign by a ſuſpicion, that ſuch a retreat would look ſo much like a flight, that it might be an inducement to his allies to deſert him. His ſafety now ſeemed intirely to depend upon the meaſures the two new conſuls, *C. Terentius Varro* and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, ſhould purſue. If they ſteadily adhered to *Fabius*'s plan of operations, he muſt be irrecoverably loſt; whereas by a departure from it

Hannibal *in great diſtreſs.*

[a] Iidem ibid. [b] Iidem ibid. Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. XII. p. 110.

they

they might throw the game once more into his hands. His hopes were not a little raiſed, when he received intelligence from his ſpies, that *Varro*, in diſpoſition and genius, nearly reſembled *Sempronius*, *Flaminius*, and *Minucius*; that there was a perfect want of harmony betwixt him and his collegue *Paulus*; and that he was obtruded by the plebeians upon the ſenate, who had a very indifferent opinion of him. Notwithſtanding therefore the *Roman* army this year conſiſted of eight legions, beſides the troops of their allies, in all making about eighty-ſix thouſand effective men, he was far from deſponding, eſpecially as he believed, that however numerous it might be, two thirds of the troops compoſing it, being new levies, would not be capable of coping with his veterans. The event juſtified the ſentiments he entertained, as we ſhall ſee immediately [c].

The Romans defeat a body of Carthaginians.

Hannibal had not only learned the true character of *Varro*, but likewiſe diſcovered his grand deſign. He had received advice, that this conſul, before he left *Rome*, declared in public, that he would fall upon the enemy the very firſt opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated, ſo long as men of *Fabius*'s complexion ſhould be at the head of the *Roman* armies. He had not been long in the *Roman* camp, before one of his detachments routed a body of *Carthaginians*, killing ſeventeen hundred of them upon the ſpot; which greatly increaſed his boldneſs and arrogance. *Hannibal* conſidered this loſs as a real advantage, not doubting but it would ſpur him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely; for he was reduced to ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions at *Gerunium*, that he found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt there ten days longer; and the *Spaniards* already meditated a deſertion, which could not but prove fatal to him. But his good fortune at this criſis interpoſed, and threw in his way an antagoniſt, that extricated him out of all the difficulties in which he was involved [d].

The Roman and Carthaginian armies meet near Cannæ in Apulia.

After ſeveral movements, the two armies came in ſight of each other near *Cannæ*, a village and caſtle of *Apulia*, ſituated on the river *Aufidus*. *Hannibal* had taken the caſtle, which commanded all that part of *Apulia*, and ſeized therein one of the enemy's principal magazines, before the approach of the *Roman* army. He had likewiſe taken care to encamp in a ſmooth and open plain, proper for his cavalry, in which the main ſtrength of his forces conſiſted, to act in. *Paulus*, conſidering *Hannibal*'s great ſuperiority in horſe,

[c] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115, 116. Liv. l. xxii. c. 48, 49. Appian. in Hannib. [d] Liv. ubi ſupra.

was

was for drawing the *Carthaginians* to an irregular ſpot of ground, where the infantry might have the principal ſhare in the action, but *Varro* being of another opinion, that ſalutary deſign was dropped; which proved the total ruin of the *Romans*. As ſoon as the conſuls appeared, *Hannibal* moved towards them at the head of his horſe, and began an attack with great bravery; but the *Romans*, intermixing ſome of the legionaries with their light-armed troops, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the enemy with much fierceneſs, and, being duly ſupported by their cavalry, repulſed them with conſiderable loſs. This a little diſcouraged *Hannibal*, eſpecially as the night rendered him incapable of renewing the charge. However, to remove all impreſſions of terror, that might have ſeized upon his ſoldiers minds upon that event, he judged it expedient to re-animate them the next day by an harangue, which was to the following effect: "Return thanks "to the gods, ſaid he, for having brought the enemy hither, "that we may triumph over them; and, in the next place, "make proper acknowledgments to me, for having forced "them to come to a battle with us upon the moſt diſadvan-"tageous terms. After three glorious victories already won, is "not the remembrance of your own actions ſufficient to inſpire "you with courage? By your former renowned atchieve-"ments, you have made yourſelves maſters of the open coun-"try; but another victory will put all the cities, as well as all "the riches and power, of the *Romans* into your hands. It is "not words that we ſtand in need of, but action; and I doubt "not but, by the favour of the gods, you will ſoon find my "promiſes fulfilled, and your moſt ſanguine expectations an-"ſwered." The army receiving freſh life and vigour from this ſpeech of their general, both by their voice and geſture, declared themſelves to be intirely at his devotion. After which, remanding them all to their reſpective poſts, he commanded them to be ready the next morning to enter upon action[e].

HAVING already given a full and particular account of the battle of *Cannæ*, as well as of the diſpoſitions of both armies at that battle, we ſhall here only endeavour to revive in our readers minds a general idea of that moſt memorable event, by reciting ſome of the moſt remarkable circumſtances of it, and pointing at ſome of the principal cauſes, that determined victory to declare in favour of the *Carthaginians*[f].

The battle of Cannæ.

WE have before obſerved, that *Paulus* was for declining an engagement, being well aſſured, that a ſtate of inaction

[e] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup.

[f] Univerſ. hiſt. vol xii. p. iii, & ſeq.

muſt

muſt ruin *Hannibal*; but not being able to prevail upon his collegue to fall in with his ſentiments, he then propoſed fighting the enemy on ſuch a ſpot of ground, as would enable the infantry, in which the *Romans* were much ſuperior to *Hannibal*, to have the principal ſhare in the action; but *Varro*, hurried away by his raſhneſs and impetuoſity of mind, was deaf to both theſe ſalutary propoſals; and, being greatly exaſperated, that a party of *Numidians* ſhould dare to inſult his camp, the next day of his command, he advanced into the plains of the *Auſidus*, to attack the *Carthaginian* army. This was the very thing that *Hannibal* wiſhed for, who therefore moved towards him with great alacrity. He had before paſſed the river, and drawn up his army in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance from the *Romans*, having poſted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the (L) wind *Vulturnus*, which riſes at certain

(L) The wind *Vulturnus* blew ſouth ſouth-eaſt or ſouth-eaſt, and was the moſt common of all other winds at *Capua*. The old *Etruſcan* name of that city, as we learn from *Livy* and others, was *Vulturnus* or *Vulturnum*, being, in all probability, ſo called from its founder. This founder was undoubtedly deified by the inhabitants of his city after his death, and looked upon there, and perhaps through all *Campania*, as a tutelar deity. That the *Etruſcan* inhabitants of *Campania* worſhipped the god *Vulturnus*, or *Volturnus*, is paſt all doubt, as likewiſe that he was a deity peculiar to them As *Capua* or *Vulturnum* lay ſouth eaſt of *Etruria*, it is no wonder the *Etruſcans* ſhould call the ſouth eaſt wind, eſpecially ſince it blew ſo frequently there, *Vulturnus*; and from them that name paſſed to the *Romans*. That it was an *Etruſcan* proper name, appears both from what we have juſt obſerved, and from its beginning with the word *Vul* or *Vol*, in common with many other *Etruſcan* proper names, *viz Volumnus*, *Voltumna*, *Volta*, &c. The *Etruſcans* wrote it, in all likelihood, *Ful Turne*, or, *Fal-Turne*; ſince, inſtead of the V conſonant, they uſed the *Æolic digamma*, as appears from the *Eugubian* tables; and terminated thoſe words in E, that the *Romans* did in US Let this be admitted, and it muſt be allowed probable that *Ful*, or *Fal*, was a term of honour, ſignifying *high*, *ſublime*, &c. eſpecially as we have evinced in a former note, that this word, in the *Etruſcan* language, had that ſignification. Our notion, in this particular, will appear ſtill more agreeable to truth, if we farther conſider, that all the proper names, of which this word makes one part of the compoſition, were either applied to deities, great men, or ſomething which apparently bore an analogy to the aforeſaid ſignification. And as for the word *Turne*, or *Turnus*, that was a proper name of *Latium* in the ages preceding the *Trojan* war, when the language of that country agreed in many, if not moſt, points with the *Etruſcan*; and conſequently it might have been a proper name

tain ſtated times, ſhould blow directly in the faces of the *Romans* during the fight, and cover them with duſt. On his left he had the river *Aufidus*, and placing his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* infantry, which he poſted in the centre, with half the *African* heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the ſame line with the cavalry. Having made this diſpoſition, he cauſed the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* infantry to move towards the enemy in ſuch a manner, as to form a large creſcent, that there

name in uſe likewiſe amongſt the *Etruſcans*. Be that as it will, it is certain *Turran*, which comes extremely near it, as conſiſting of the ſame radicals, was an *Etruſcan* proper name, as we learn from an inſcription upon an antique *Etruſcan patera*. We own indeed, that *Raphael Maffæus Volatteranus* aſſerts the word *Vola* to have ſignified a *city* in the old *Etruſcan* tongue, which runs counter to what we have offered; but as this aſſertion has nothing to ſupport it but that writer's bare authority, which, in the point before us, is of no weight, we cannot adviſe our readers to pay any regard to it. That the word *Fal* or *Ful* ſignified high, as likewiſe that the old *Etruſcan* language was at firſt oriental, is confirmed by the proper name *Volatteræ*, or, as the *Etruſcans* probably wrote it, *Ful tur*, *Ful-tir*, *Fultera*, i. e. *a height* or *eminence*, or *a height* or *eminence ſtrong by its ſituation*; which exactly anſwers to the ſituation of that place, as deſcribed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* and *Strabo* (17).

Zonaras obſerves, that the wind *Vulturnus* greatly contributed to the defeat of the *Romans*; ſince, till that began to blow, which, he ſays, was about noon, the *Carthaginians* had no proſpect of victory. *Hannibal*, according to the ſame author, ſoon after he arrived upon the banks of the *Aufidus* ploughed up all the ſandy ſoil there, that, by having it more immediately expoſed to the heat of the ſun, clouds of duſt and ſand from thence might the more eaſily be blown into the faces of the *Romans* (18).

The *Sirocco*, anſwering to the *Vulturnus*, at preſent blows in ſeveral parts of *Italy* for many days together; and when this happens, the atmoſphere is extremely heated, which renders the place moſt diſagreeable, and ſometimes almoſt intolerable. A *Tramontana*, or cold north-eaſt wind, frequently ſucceeds the *Sirocco*; which occaſions a great mortality amongſt the *Italians* from the *mal di petto*, &c.

(17) *Liv. l.* iv. *& l.* xxxiv. *Dion Halicarn. l. i Serv. ad Æn.* x. *ver.* 145. *Vel. Paterc l. i Ant. Fran Gor. Muſ Etruſc. claſ. prim. p.* 53, 54, 55. *& p.* 204. *edit. Florent* 1737. *Tab. Eugubin.* 3, 4, 5 *paſſ. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* xvii *p* 133. *not.* (A) *Virg Æn* xii. *& alib Schind. pent p.* 1088. *Ant Fran. Gor. ubi ſup. p.* 113 *Raph. Maff. Volaterran. l* v. *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. l.* iii. *Strab. l.* v. *Tab.* 4 *apud Dempſt. de Etrur. reg. tom.* i. *p.* 78. (18) *Zonar. l* ix. *c.* 2.

might be no interval between them and the *African* foot, that were to ſupport them. *Aſdrubal* was poſted on the right, *Hanno* on the left, and *Hannibal*, with his brother *Mago*, commanded the main body. The *Africans*, ſays *Livy*, ſeemed to be a body of *Romans*, *Hannibal* having been enabled to arm them after the *Roman* manner by the ſpoils taken from the enemy in the battles of *Trebia* and the lake *Thraſymenus*. The *Gauls* and *Spaniards* uſed the ſame ſort of ſhields; but their ſwords were different, thoſe of the *Spaniards* being ſhort and well pointed, fit either to cut or thruſt; whereas thoſe of the *Gauls* were long and broad, deſigned for a downright cutting blow. The *Gauls* were naked from their waiſt upwards, and thereby rendered capable of giving a blow with the greater force. The *Spaniards* were clad in white linen-caſſocks, bordered with purple, after the manner of their country; which ſtrange habits, together with the vaſt ſize of body theſe nations were eminent for, exhibited an appearance, that not a little intimidated the *Romans*. Five hundred *Numidians* came over in a body to the *Romans*, with their ſhields thrown behind their backs, in the form of deſerters, before the beginning of the action. Upon their arrival at the *Roman* camp, they diſmounted and laid down all their arms, except the ſwords they had concealed under their coats of mail. The conſuls had not then time to examine them; and therefore *Varro* ordered them to be placed behind the army, till the concluſion of the engagement. Here they remained quiet, till the diſpute grew very warm, when the *Romans* were ſo preſſed on all ſides, that they could not obſerve them; but then, ſupplying themſelves with the bucklers, that lay ſcattered on the field of battle amongſt the heaps of the ſlain, and making uſe of their own ſwords, they attacked the enemy's rear, killing many, and ſtriking the reſt of the *Romans* poſted there with the greateſt terror. Thus *Hannibal*, by this refined artifice, found means to lay an ambuſcade for the enemy in a plain, and behind their backs, when ſuch a ſtratagem ſeemed abſolutely impracticable. The conſular army was diſpoſed much in the ſame manner as in other engagements: *Paulus* commanded the right wing, *Varro* the left, and the proconſuls, *Marcus Attilius* and *Cneius Servilius*, the main body. The ſignal of battle being given, both armies moved with great ardour to the attack; but the wind *Vulturnus* blew ſo ſtrongly in the faces of the *Romans*, that they had their eyes filled with duſt, and could ſcarce ſee the enemy. After the light-armed troops had engaged, *Aſdrubal*, at the head of the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* horſe in the left wing, charged the *Roman* in the right wing, commanded by *Paulus*, with ſuch fury, that, after

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ter a warm diſpute, he broke and diſperſed them; and having left, to purſue the ſcattered ſquadrons, only ſuch forces as were neceſſary to prevent them from rallying, he advanced to the relief of the main body. *Paulus*, being wounded, at the firſt onſet, by a *Balearic* ſlinger, found himſelf obliged to diſmount; which induced the cavalry under his conduct to do the ſame. *Hannibal*, obſerving this motion, is reported to have ſaid, *I would much rather the conſul had delivered his men to me bound*, intimating thereby, that he looked upon them now as in his power, and himſelf as ſure of victory. Nor can it be doubted, but that this accident was of fatal conſequence to the *Roman* cavalry poſted in the right wing. In the mean time, the *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* infantry, forming the large creſcent above-mentioned, being hotly charged by the *Roman* legions, after a brave reſiſtance, by *Hannibal*'s direction, gave ground, and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The *Romans* purſued them with the utmoſt eagerneſs and confuſion, as *Hannibal* had foreſeen; whereupon the *African* infantry, which was freſh, well-armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a ſudden towards that void ſpace, in which the *Romans*, who were already fatigued, had thrown themſelves in diſorder, and attacked them vigorouſly on both ſides, without allowing them either ſpace or time to form themſelves. While matters were in this ſituation, *Aſdrubal*, with his victorious horſe, coming up, charged the rear of the *Roman* infantry, which, being puſhed on all ſides by the enemy' horſe and foot, was at laſt almoſt intirely cut to pieces, after having fought with unparallelled bravery. Two quæſtors, twenty-one military tribunes, many who had either been conſuls or prætors, *Minucius*, late general of the horſe to *Fabius*, *Servilius*, one of the proconſuls that commanded the main body, and the conſul *Æmilius Paulus*, all fell in the action, covered with wounds and glory. Neither did the left wing of the *Roman* army meet with a much better fate; for *Aſdrubal*, according to ſome authors hinted at by *Polybius*, before he advanced to the relief of the main body, by reinforcing the right wing under *Hanno*, enabled the *Numidian* cavalry poſted there intirely to defeat it. *Varro*, the author of this terrible deſtruction, eſcaped to *Venuſia*, with only ſeventy horſe, being ſoon after joined by three hundred of the allies. Of the ten thouſand men left by *Paulus* to guard the camp, immediately after the battle, two thouſand were put to the ſword, and the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. In fine, very few of the *Romans* eſcaped either the carnage or captivity. *Hannibal*, upon a review of his forces after the battle, found, that he had loſt only four thou-

land *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and about two hundred horſe. Such was the defeat at *Cannæ*, the greateſt the *Romans* had hitherto ever received [g].

Cauſes of the defeat the Romans *received there.*

THE ſuperiority of the *Carthaginians* in horſe muſt be allowed to have been the principal cauſe of this terrible overthrow. *Hannibal*'s army conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot; whereas the *Roman* cavalry did not exceed ſix thouſand, though, in the conſular army, the infantry amounted to eighty thouſand men. The ſtrange and aſtoniſhing figure made by the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, together with the activity of the former, and fierceneſs of the latter, did not a little contribute towards throwing the enemy into confuſion, as is even allowed by *Livy* himſelf. The body of *Numidians*, that attacked the *Roman* rear, and the accident, which attended *Paulus*'s wound above-mentioned, were alſo of ſingular ſervice to *Hannibal* on that auſpicious day the battle of *Cannæ* was fought. The confidence the *Carthaginian* troops repoſed in *Hannibal*, looking upon him as a general abſolutely invincible, likewiſe animated them to a prodigious degree, and conſequently enabled them to exert themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner. *Hannibal* did his utmoſt to inſpire them with a contempt of the *Romans* on all occaſions; which had the deſired effect. We are told, that when *Mago*, whom he had ſent to view the enemy, aſſured him, that the *Romans* were extremely numerous, he replied, "As numerous as they are, I give thee my word, brother, "thou canſt not find one amongſt them, whoſe name is "*Mago*." And having thus ſaid, he burſt out into a great laughter, as did all the general officers that attended him, which induced the ſoldiers to believe, that he thought himſelf ſure of victory, and, of courſe, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that nothing could ſtand before them. The arming his *Africans* in the *Roman* manner was alſo a wiſe expedient made uſe of by *Hannibal*, as it enabled thoſe troops to attack and reſiſt the *Romans* in their own way, and, of courſe, not a little conduced to the victory. Theſe, we ſay, and many more concurring cauſes of the defeat at *Cannæ*, might be produced, and expatiated upon; but we think it ſufficient barely to have touched upon the circumſtances here mentioned, not at the ſame time forgetting to obſerve, that *Hannibal* himſelf, by the

[g] POLYB. LIV. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 10. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. APPIAN. in Hannib. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 2. ex. 7 & alib paſſ. SIL. ITAL. paſſ. PLUT. in Hannib. aliiq. quamplurim. LUCIUS. AURELIUS in lib. niem c. 46.

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wise disposition of his forces, by his singular address, presence of mind, vigilance, and personal bravery, during the heat of the action, contributed more towards this unparallelled overthrow, than all the other concurring causes that can be assigned [h].

Hannibal's *motions after his victory at* Cannæ.

THE immediate consequence of this victory, as *Hannibal* had foreseen, was a disposition of that part of *Italy*, called *The old province*, *Magna Græcia*, *Tarentum*, *Arpi*, and part of the territory of *Capua*, to submit to him. The neighbouring provinces likewise discovered an inclination to throw off the *Roman* yoke: but had a mind to see, whether *Hannibal* was absolutely in a condition to protect them, before they declared themselves. All the *Carthaginian* officers, except *Maherbal*, advised *Hannibal* to give his troops some repose after the great fatigues and hard service they had lately gone through; but *Maherbal*, on the contrary, pressed him to take directly the route to *Rome* at the head of his horse, promising him, that, within five days, they should sup in the capitol. *Hannibal* answered, That he deserved commendation for the ardour he shewed; but that an affair of such importance required mature deliberation. To whom *Maherbal* replied, "I perceive the gods have not endued the same person with "all shining talents. You know, *Hannibal*, how to con-"quer; but not how to make the best use of a victory." *Livy* (M) seems to fall in with *Maherbal*'s notion, and looks upon *Hannibal* as guilty of a capital error on this occasion; but others, as we have elsewhere taken notice, entertained different sentiments of this point of that renowned general's conduct; for which, besides those already mentioned, they assign the following reasons: 1. *Hannibal* was one of the most consummate generals antiquity ever produced; a vast military genius; a person of the greatest prudence, forecast and penetration, as the whole series of his actions, as well as the character of him, that may be gathered from the *Roman* writers themselves, prejudiced as they were, clearly demon-

[h] Iidem ibid.

(M) Most of the *Roman* historians follow *Livy* in this particular, though this adds no weight to that author's notion. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Hannibal* himself was so chagrined afterwards at his conduct on this occasion, that he fell into a deep melancholy, often crying out in a doleful tone, *O Cannæ! Cannæ!* However, *Zonaras*'s authority is not capable of overthrowing the reasons offered to prove this improbable (19).

(19) *Zonar. l.* ix. *c.* 2.

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ſtrates. It is therefore highly improbable, that, in this ſingle inſtance, he ſhould either have failed to make choice of the beſt expedients, or been wanting in readineſs to put his deſigns in execution. 2. They are diſpoſed to judge favourably of him from the authority, or, at leaſt, the ſilence, of *Polybius*, who, ſpeaking of the memorable conſequences of this famous battle, ſays, that the *Carthaginians* believed they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Rome* at the firſt aſſault; but he gives us no room to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a project was feaſible, nor that *Hannibal* did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution. 3. That, as his infantry, before the battle of *Cannæ*, did not amount to above forty thouſand men, he had not ſtrength ſufficient to undertake the ſiege of *Rome*, eſpecially as that city was very populous, ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a gariſon of two legions. This will appear in a ſtronger light, if we conſider, that his infantry muſt have been conſiderably weakened by the loſs he ſuſtained in the action at *Cannæ*, which amounted, on their part only, to five thouſand five hundred men. 4. *Hannibal* was deſtitute of battering-engines, ammunition, and all things neceſſary for the carrying on of a ſiege; and conſequently, on this account, as well as the paucity of his troops, he muſt have been incapable of attacking in form ſo large a city as *Rome*. In proof of what is here advanced, it may be obſerved, that, for want of the neceſſaries above-mentioned, even after his victory at the lake *Thraſymenus*, he miſcarried in his attempt upon *Spoletum*, a town of no great ſtrength; and after this at *Cannæ* was forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Caſilinum*, a little inconſiderable city. 5. Not any of the *Italian* nations had yet declared for him; ſo that, had he miſcarried in the attempt, he muſt have been utterly ruined. Theſe reaſons, with others that might be offered, ſeem to render dubious the opinion of thoſe, who have eſpouſed *Maherbal*'s ſide of the queſtion [1].

He advances to Capua.

WHEN *Hannibal* had thoroughly pillaged the *Roman* camp, he thought proper to march into *Samnium*, being informed, that the *Hirpini*, and other neighbouring nations, were diſpoſed to enter into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*. He firſt advanced to *Compſa*, which opened its gates to him, and admitted a *Carthaginian* gariſon. In this place he left his heavy baggage, as well as the immenſe plunder he had amaſſed. After which, ordering his brother *Mago*, with a body of troops deſtined for that purpoſe, to poſſeſs himſelf of all the fortreſſes of that country, he moved into *Campania*, the

[1] Iidem ibid. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 116. Vide & AUL. GEL. in noct Attic. l. x. c. 24 CAT. in origin. CÆL. hiſt. l. ii. PLUT. in Fab. MACROB. ſaturn. l. i. c. 4.

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moſt delicious province of *Italy*. The humanity *Hannibal* had all along ſhewn the *Italian* priſoners, as well as the fame of the complet evictory lately obtained, wrought ſo powerfully upon the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Apulians*, that they expreſſed an eager deſire of being taken under his protection; nay, even the *Campanians* themſelves, a nation more obliged to *Rome* than any in *Italy*, except the *Latins*, being ſtrangely affected with the gallant behaviour and good fortune of *Hannibal*, diſcovered an inclination to abandon their natural friends; of which the *Carthaginian* general receiving intelligence, he bent his march towards *Capua*, not doubting but that, by means of the popular faction which then prevailed there, he ſhould eaſily make himſelf maſter of that important place [k].

And has that city ſurrendered to him.

SOME of the leading men in *Capua* had offered to deliver the city into *Hannibal*'s hands immediately after the battle of the lake *Thraſymenus*; which induced that general to march his army to their frontiers, inſtead of advancing to *Rome*, as ſome think he might have done; tho', at that time, he was ſo narrowly watched by *Fabius*, that his partizans in *Capua* could not find an opportunity of executing the deſign they had formed. But, at the preſent juncture, the popular faction bearing an abſolute ſway in the city, and being intirely at the devotion of one *Pacuvius Calavius*, an ambitious nobleman, on account of his known attachment to *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* party put themſelves again in motion. *Calavius* having, by artful management, brought the ſenate under the power of the populace, and prevented the latter from maſſacring the former, as they intended to do, by this means united the whole city in favour of the *Carthaginians*; and the battle of *Cannæ* happenning ſoon after this union was effected, *Calavius* thought he might, without any obſtruction, introduce them into the city. However, three hundred *Capuan* youths being at that time ſerving the *Romans* in *Sicily*, it was agreed to ſend a deputation to *Varro*, to learn the ſituation of the *Roman* affairs, that they might not only go upon ſure grounds, but likewiſe have an opportunity of obliging the parents of the above-mentioned youths, by getting them out of the hands of the *Romans*. *Varro* continued ſtill to act in character, that is, with the utmoſt imprudence; for he repreſented the *Roman* ſtate as unable to ſupport itſelf, much leſs to furniſh them with the neceſſary ſuccours; and therefore adviſed them to make war upon the *Carthaginians* with their own forces, that, by ſuch a ſeaſonable diverſion, they might adminiſter ſome relief to their old and faithful friends. This

[k] LIV. & POLYB. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix. c 2.

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ill-judged repreſentation and advice made ſuch an impreſſion upon the deputies, that when they returned home they adviſed their fellow-citizens immediately to conclude a treaty with *Hannibal*. They therefore entered into an alliance with him upon the following conditions: That the *Campanians* ſhould be governed by their own laws; that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not arrogate to themſelves the leaſt dominion in *Capua*, but live there upon the foot of friends; and laſtly, that *Hannibal* ſhould give them three hundred *Roman* priſoners, ſuch as they ſhould chuſe, to be exchanged with the ſame number of *Capuan* youths in the ſervice of *Rome*. One *Decius Magius*, however, a perſon of diſtinction in the city, did his utmoſt to obſtruct the negotiation, by reminding his countrymen of the fatal conſequences of changing old friends with new ones, from the example of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*; nay, when the *Carthaginian* troops were about to enter the town, he would fain have prevailed upon his countrymen to ſally out upon them, and cut them to pieces, that they might thereby have made ſome ſort of reparation to the *Romans* for the great injury offered them. *Hannibal* was ſo incenſed at this conduct of *Magius*, that he inſiſted upon having him delivered into his hands; which being granted, he put him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him to *Carthage*; but being driven by ſtreſs of weather into the port of *Cyrene*, *Ptolemy Philopater* took him under his protection. *Perolla*, the ſon of *Calavius*, likewiſe for ſome time expreſſed a great averſion to *Hannibal*, and was even upon the point of aſſaſſinating him. However, *Hannibal* at laſt took peaceable poſſeſſion of *Capua*, and fixed there his winter-quarters. *Livy* tells, that *Hannibal*, in his march to *Capua*, paſſed by *Neapolis*, now *Naples*; and that a body of horſe ſallying out of the town upon one of the *Carthaginian* parties, that advanced to the walls, was drawn into an ambuſcade, and almoſt intirely cut off, with one *Hegeas*, who commanded it; but that *Hannibal* could not form the ſiege of the place; which ſufficiently juſtifies what has been hinted above. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that *Virius Sabius*, one of the *Campanian* deputies ſent to *Varro*, endeavoured to perſuade the *Capuans* to a rupture with the *Romans*, by urging, that they had now not only a fine opportunity of ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, but likewiſe of making themſelves maſters of all *Italy*; ſince *Hannibal* would undoubtedly return to *Africa*, when he had demoliſhed that proud republic he had ſo juſtly contracted ſuch an averſion to, and conclude a treaty with them upon their own terms. It was, however, agreed, our author goes on, that the ſame deputies ſhould be diſpatched

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to *Rome*, and propoſe this condition as the baſis of a future friendſhip between the two cities, *viz.* that from thenceforth one of the conſuls ſhould be a *Campanian*; which was rejected with the utmoſt indignation, and the deputies ordered immediately to depart *Rome*. *Marius Bloſius*, prætor of the city, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at *Hannibal*'s entry into *Capua*, commanding the citizens with their wives and children, in a body, to meet him at ſome diſtance from the town. The night after his entry, *Hannibal* invited *Calavius*, with his ſon *Perolla*, and *Jubellius Taureas*, an officer of uncommon merit, to ſup with him; and the day following gave the *Campanians* flattering aſſurances of making their city the metropolis of *Italy*. By theſe ſteps, and in this manner, did *Hannibal* make himſelf maſter of *Capua*; which being an event of no ſmall importance to him, and the boundary, as we may ſtyle it, of his great ſucceſs, we could not avoid being thus explicit and particular in our account of it [k].

The Carthaginians ravage the maritime part of Hiero's dominions.

WHILST *Hannibal* was puſhing on the war in *Italy* with the utmoſt vigour, the ſtate of *Carthage* ſent two fleets to the coaſts of *Sicily*. One of theſe ravaged the maritime part of *Hiero*'s territories, becauſe that prince was in alliance with *Rome*, whilſt the other ſtood off of the iſlands *Ægates*, in order to obſerve the motions of the *Romans*. The admiral of this laſt ſquadron had orders to attack *Lilybæum* both by ſea and land, as ſoon as the *Romans* advanced to the relief of king *Hiero*; of which *T. Otacilius*, the proprætor, being appriſed, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Rome* for a ſpeedy reinforcement of ſhips: but the ſenate, conſidering the deplorable condition the republic now was in, did not think proper to comply with his requeſt. He therefore found himſelf obliged to ſtand upon the defenſive, leſt he ſhould expoſe the *Roman* dominions in *Sicily* to an invaſion [l].

Hannibal *cannot prevail upon the* Romans *to redeem their countrymen taken priſoners, in the battle of* Cannæ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the implacable hatred *Hannibal* bore the *Romans*, he diſpatched *Carthalo* to *Rome*, to treat with the ſenate there about a redemption of the priſoners taken in the battle of *Cannæ*. Though the ſum demanded for theſe priſoners was far from being exorbitant, the conſcript fathers refuſed the payment of it. The reaſons alledged for this refuſal by the *Romans* have been already given; but the true one ſeems to have been the extreme poverty of the *Roman* ſtate at this melancholy juncture. *Hannibal*, upon *Carta-*

[k] LIV. l. xxiii. c. 2—11. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 3. Plut. in Hannib. [l] LIV. l. xxii. c. 56.

Io's return, sent all the *Roman* prisoners of distinction to *Carthage*, and treated the others in the manner by us related in a former part of this history [m] (N).

He dispatches Mago *to* Carthage, *with an account of his great success.*

SOON after *Capua* had made its submission, many cities of the *Brutii* opened their gates to *Hannibal*, who ordered his brother *Mago* to take possession of them. *Mago* was then dispatched to *Carthage*, with the important news of the great victory obtained at *Cannæ*, and the happy consequences of it.

[m] POLYB. l. vi. sub fin. DIOD. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Vales. LIV. ubi sup. c. 58—61. APPIAN. in. Hannib. p. 570. edit. Tollii, Amst. 1670. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 34. AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. vii. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 2. Vide BUDÆUM de ass. l. ii. GLAREAN. in EUTROP. l. iii. c. 11. & Univers. Hist Vol. XII. p. 120.

(N) *Appian* and *Zonaras* intimate, that *Hannibal* sold some of the *Roman* captives for slaves, and slew a vast number of the meaner sort of them, with whose bodies he made a bridge over a river, which facilitated a passage for his troops: But this last instance of cruelty seems highly improbable, especially considering the partiality of the historians from whom it comes, and that it is passed over in silence by *Polybius*. That excellent author, amongst other things, observes, that the senate at *Rome* imagined, that a compliance with *Hannibal*'s proposal would look like a tacit acknowledgment of his great superiority, and therefore declined closing with it. *Livy* affirms, that many of the *Roman* prisoners were bought of *Hannibal* by the *Greeks*; which may possibly be true. But that great numbers of them were put to a vast variety of the most exquisite tortures, purely to gratify the cruel and vindictive disposition of that general, as *Eutropius* suggests, will not be so easily admitted by our candid readers, for the reasons above assigned. We must beg leave to remark here, that according to *Diodorus Siculus*, none of the *Roman* captives could be forced, by the most grievous sufferings, to lift up their hands against their friends and relations, when *Hannibal* would have obliged them to act the part of gladiators, for the entertainment of his troops; though *Livy* asserts the contrary, as will further appear from what we have extracted from that historian on this occasion, in the passage of the *Universal History* here referred to. The disagreement therefore of two such eminent authors, and the silence of *Polybius* on this head, seem to evince many, if not all, the instances of cruelty laid to *Hannibal*'s charge at this juncture, to have been intirely fabulous (20).

(20) *Diod Sic. Liv. Appian. Eutrop. Zonar. ubi sup. Vide & Polyb. in loc. citat. Liv. l.* xliv. *sub fin. &c.*

Upon

Upon his arrival there, he acquainted the ſenate, that *Hannibal* had defeated ſix *Roman* generals, four of which were conſuls, one dictator, and the other general of horſe to the dictator; that he had engaged ſix conſular armies, killed two conſuls, wounded one, and driven another out of the field, with ſcarce fifty men to attend him; that he had routed the general of the horſe, who was of equal power with the conſuls; that the dictator was eſteemed as the only general fit to command an army, merely becauſe he had not had the courage to engage him. As a demonſtrative proof of what he advanced, he produced, according to ſome authors, three buſhels and a half of rings of *Roman* knights and ſenators. He likewiſe ſubjoined, that *Capua*, a city that was not only the metropolis of *Campania*, but ſince the defeat of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, of *Italy* itſelf, had ſubmitted to *Hannibal*. For ſuch unparallelled ſucceſſes, he moved, that thanks ſhould be returned to the immortal gods, and that an immediate reinforcement ſhould be ſent to *Hannibal*, who, being in the heart of an enemy's country, wanted both men and money, eſpecially as his troops muſt have greatly ſuffered in the various engagements they had had with the enemy. All ranks and degrees of people being ſtruck with an extraordinary joy on this happy occaſion, *Himilco*, the chief of the *Barcan* faction, fanſying, that a fair opportunity of inſulting *Hanno* now offered, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: *Do you ſtill*, Hanno, *repent of the war we are embarqued in with* Rome? *Forbid, by all means, the appointment of a day of thankſgiving to the immortal gods, for ſo many ſignal advantages obtained! Come, for once let us hear a* Roman *ſenator declaim in the ſenate-houſe at* Carthage! *Hanno*, notwithſtanding this provocation, without any emotion, according to *Livy*, replied, *That he ſtill entertained the ſame ſentiments as formerly, in relation to the war; that he ſhould not ceaſe blaming their invincible general's conduct, till his glorious victories had procured them a tolerable peace; that the mighty exploits, on which* Hannibal's *creatures expatiated ſo much, ſuppoſing them real, could only give him joy, in proportion as they were made ſubſervient to ſuch a peace; that, however, as it was prepoſterous in* Hannibal *to ſolicit ſuch ſuccours, as could only be deemed neceſſary for a general in deſperate circumſtances, at the ſame time that he was amuſing them with an account of the rapid conqueſts he had made, he could not help looking upon thoſe exploits as perfectly chimerical and imaginary.* Then turning to *Mago* and *Himilco*, he aſked them, *Whether a ſingle member of any one of the thirty-five tribes had come over to* Hannibal, *or any of the* Latin *nations declared for him,*

him, after the so-much cried up victory at Cannæ? To which *Mago* answering in the negative; *It is evident then, replied* Hanno, *that the* Romans *are still very strong. But, pray, what degree of courage are they inspired with? What hopes or expectations have they of carrying on the war with success, to animate them?* Of which question *Mago* professing himself incapable of giving a proper solution; *How! says* Hanno; *nothing can be more easy than this. Have the* Romans *sent embassadors to enter into a negotiation with* Hannibal? *Has any mention been made of a peace at* Rome? *No, replied* Mago. *Why then I find, subjoined* Hanno, *we we have the same happy prospect before us now, that we had the first day* Hannibal *entered* Italy. *In what a fine situation were we, when* Lutatius *gave us that memorable defeat off of the islands* Ægates, *which destroyed all our hopes, and reduced us to the necessity of suing for an ignominious peace? This may be again our case; and therefore I am for concluding an advantageous peace with* Rome, *whilst our affairs wear a tolerable aspect, lest upon some disaster, it should not be in our power to do so. Hanno* therefore, with all his adherents, opposed the continuation of the war, and consequently voted against sending *Hannibal* any succours; but the majority of the senate considering this merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy, the *Barcan* faction prevailed, and orders were given to furnish the army in *Italy* with a proper reinforcement of troops, as well as an ample supply of money and provisions. A body of forty thousand *Numidians*, with forty elephants, was first destined for that country; a large detachment of *Spanish* forces was appointed to follow the *Numidians*; and that these last troops might be ready in due time, *Mago* set out immediately for *Spain*, to raise twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse there. The *Carthaginians* proposed to recruit, with these new levies, not only *Hannibal*'s army, but that likewise which acted in *Spain* [n].

He treats with the Neapolitans, but to no purpose. Is beat by the horse of Caudium.

As soon as *Hannibal* had possessed himself of *Capua*, he attempted both by promises and menaces, to make himself master of *Naples*; but the *Neapolitans* being proof against all his efforts, he advanced to *Nola*, and summoned that city, threatening its inhabitants with the utmost extremities, if they did not immediately surrender. The senate, at least the leading men in it, was wholly in the *Roman* interest; but

[n] Liv. ubi sup. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 50. Hannib. apud Lucian. in dial. Eutrop. Zonar. & Oros. ubi sup.

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the *Carthaginians* being maſters of the open country, and in high reputation by the advantages they had gained, the populace was intirely at *Hannibal*'s devotion. The former therefore, in order to carry their point, pretended to be in a diſpoſition to ſurrender the city to *Hannibal*; but at the ſame time inſinuated, that before this could be done, it would be proper to come to ſome terms of agreement with him. Under the pretence therefore of entering into a negotiation with the *Carthaginian* general, the ſenate of *Nola* found means to ſpin out the time, and ſend, with all poſſible expedition, meſſengers to *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, acquainting him with the ſituation of affairs, and that the city would be obliged to capitulate, except he inſtantly marched to its relief. *Marcellus*, leaving *Caſilinum*, where he was then poſted, advanced to *Calatia*; and having paſſed the *Vulturnus*, moved with ſurpriſing celerity, through the diſtricts of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, in order to ſuccour *Nola*. *Hannibal* drew off upon his approach, and made a freſh attempt upon *Naples*; but without effect. After this, he laid ſiege to *Nuceria*, and ſtarved it to a ſurrender. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that the inhabitants ſhould be permitted to march out with all their cloaths, though diſarmed. Thirty ſenators, and moſt of the people of faſhion, retired to *Capua*; but were refuſed admiſſion there, becauſe they did not at firſt open their gates to *Hannibal*; but they met with a kind reception at *Cumæ*. *Hannibal* gave *Nuceria* up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, and afterwards burnt it. *Marcellus*, the *Roman* prætor, having thrown himſelf, with a body of troops, into *Nola*, was under no apprehenſion for the ſafety of that place, though the *Carthaginian* army, after the deſtruction of *Nuceria*, encamped before it. The populace ardently deſired to deliver it up to *Hannibal*; but *Marcellus* prevented the *Carthaginian* from poſſeſſing himſelf of it, by gaining over to the *Roman* intereſt *L. Bantius*, the chief of the *Carthaginian* faction. This he did, partly by the force of adulation and condeſcenſion, ordering the lictors to give him admiſſion, as often as he deſired it, and partly by dint of preſents, deſiring him to accept of a fine horſe and five hundred *bigati* (O). *Hannibal* drew up the *Carthaginian* army

(O) The *bigati*, or *nummi bigati*, were ſilver pieces of money, with the figure of a chariot drawn by a pair of horſes ſtamped upon them; and the *quadrigati*, or *nummi quadrigati*, others with that of one drawn by two pair of horſes, as we learn from *Pliny*. According to the ſame author, the *Phrygians* invented the former kind of chariots, and

army in order of battle before the walls, as *Marcellus* did the *Roman* forces within the town. His parties had frequent ſkirmiſhes with thoſe of the *Romans*, though neither ſide ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs. By his emiſſaries, he engaged the populace to ſeize upon the gates, as ſoon as *Marcellus* had ſallied out of them with his whole force, as he had received intelligence the *Roman* general deſigned to do; by which means the *Romans* would have been hemmed in betwixt the gariſon and the *Carthaginian* army, and conſequently muſt all have been cut off. *Marcellus*, being informed of this, divided his army into three bodies, which he poſted at three gates fronting the enemy; having before iſſued out an order, forbidding any of the citizens to ſtir out of their houſes. *Hannibal*, in the mean time obſerving, that no parties were poſted on the ramparts for their defence, immediately concluded, that his whole ſcheme was unravelled, and *Marcellus* now engaged with the citizens. He therefore ordered his ſcaling-ladders to be brought immediately to the walls, and began the attack. The moment this happened, *Marcellus*, at the head of a choice body of veterans, ſallying out of the middle gate, fell upon the *Carthaginians* with ſuch fury, that he put them into diſorder. *Hannibal*, little dreaming of ſuch a ſally, with ſome difficulty rallied his troops, and made head againſt the enemy. During this conflict, the two other bodies ſallied out of the other gates, and attacked the rear of the *Carthaginians*; which ſtruck *Hannibal* with ſuch terror, that he retired into his lines, and ſoon after drew off from before the town. Though the *Carthaginians*, even according to the *Roman* accounts, did not loſe much above two thouſand men on this occaſion, yet the *Romans* looked upon this action, as

and *Erichthonius* the latter. Let this be admitted, and it will ſeem to follow, that the *Romans* had theſe chariots introduced amongſt them by their neighbours the *Etruſcans*, who were deſcended from the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*, ſince they were uſed at *Rome* before that city had any intercourſe with the *Greeks*. Many *Roman denarii*, particularly of thoſe coined in the times of the republic, with ſuch images on their reverſes, are to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious. *Tacitus* and other *Roman* authors, as well as *Livy*, mention the coins we are now treating of (21).

(21) *Plin. l. xxxiii c. 3. & l. vii. c. 56. Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 4. Val. Max. l. ii. ex. 17. Plut. in prob. Roman. c. 52. Tacit. in cert. Aſtat. urb. l. iv. Tertul. de pal. Vide etiam Joan. Meurſium, de fort. Athen. apud Jac. Gronov. in ant. Græc. theſaur. v. Vol. p. 1707: & de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. diſſert. edit. Oxon. 1738.*

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one of the moſt conſiderable, in its conſequences to them, of all that happened during the whole courſe of the war, ſince it demonſtrated *Hannibal* not to be invincible. *Hannibal*, advancing to *Acerræ*, made the proper diſpoſitions to beſiege it; but the inhabitants abandoning it, he laid it in aſhes. From thence he moved to *Caſilinum*, which he immediately inveſted. The gariſon defended itſelf with inexpreſſible bravery; neither could *Hannibal* have ever made himſelf maſter of it, had not famine forced it to ſurrender. Before the *Carthaginian* general preſented himſelf before the town, he detached a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their captain *Iſalca*, to prevail upon the inhabitants, if poſſible, by fair means, to receive a *Carthaginian* gariſon; but if this could not be effected, theyhad orders to attempt ſtorming it. *Iſalca*, upon his approach, finding a profound ſilence, and no enemy appearing, imagined the place to be abandoned; and therefore made the neceſſary preparations to force open the gates: which being obſerved by two cohorts that gariſoned the city, they, according to orders received, iſſued out in a moment, repulſed the *Gætulians*, and made a great ſlaughter of them. *Maherbal* afterwards aſſaulted it with a greater force; but was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Laſtly, *Hannibal* himſelf, with his whole army, formed the ſiege of it; but loſt abundance of men, without making any conſiderable progreſs. However, he at laſt found means to ſurround almoſt the whole gariſon, in a ſally they made, with his elephants, and cut to pieces moſt of them, the reſt ſecuring their retreat by favour of the night. The next day *Hannibal*, to inſpire his troops with the greater ardour, promiſed to the ſoldier, who firſt mounted the ramparts, a golden mural crown; and declared, *That it was matter of ſurpriſe to him, that an inconſiderable town, ſituated in a plain, ſhould be able to baffle the efforts of that army, which took* Saguntum, *and defeated the* Romans *at* Cannæ, Thraſymenus, *and* Trebia. Notwithſtanding which, the gariſon made ſo vigorous a defence, that he found himſelf obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and, after leaving a ſmall body of troops to guard his lines, to put his army into winter-quarters at *Capua* [o].

IT is intimated by the *Roman* hiſtorians, that *Capua* proved the deſtruction of *Hannibal*. Here it was, according to theſe authors, that thoſe ſoldiers, who had long been inured to the greateſt

The pleaſures of Capua prejudicial to Hannibal.

[o] DION. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 14--19. PLUT. in Marcel. PAUL. OROS. l. iv. c. 16.

greateſt fatigues, and braved the moſt formidable dangers, were vanquiſhed by luxury, and a flow of pleaſures, with which the minds of the *Capuans*, who were immerſed in a profuſion of the moſt charming delights, had long been corrupted. *Livy* in particular intimates, that *Hannibal*'s delicious abode at *Capua* was a reproach to his former conduct, and infinitely more prejudicial to his affairs, than the falſer ſtep he was guilty of, in not marching directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*; for this laſt error, according to that hiſtorian, might ſeem only to have retarded his victory; whereas the former rendered him abſolutely incapable of conquering. This we ſay, is the ſentiment of *Livy*, and has been adopted by ſeveral later writers; but whether or no it is intirely agreeable to truth, will, if we conſider things with due attention, perhaps admit of ſome diſpute [r].

The principal cauſe of the declenſion of Hannibal's affairs.

FOR though we ſhould allow, that the martial genius of the *Carthaginians* was impaired by the bewitching retirement at *Capua*, yet it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the bad ſucceſs, which afterwards attended *Hannibal*'s arms, ought to be aſcribed to this, as its principal cauſe. The frequent defeats that general afterwards gave the *Romans*, the ſeveral towns he reduced in ſight of the *Roman* armies, the bravery with which he maintained himſelf in *Italy* for fourteen years after this event, in ſpite of the continued efforts of the enemy, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. But *Livy* himſelf puts this beyond diſpute; that author points out to us a cauſe of the declenſion of the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*, different from the delights of *Capua* [q].

WE have before obſerved from him, that the ſenate and people of *Carthage* ordered forty thouſand *Numidian* horſe, forty elephants, and a conſiderable body of *Spaniſh* infantry, with a proper ſum of money, to be ſent to *Italy*, in order to enable *Hannibal* to maintain and extend his conqueſts there. Had this ample ſupply been ſent him with an expedition equal to the ſpirit with which it was granted, the *Romans* would have had no opportunity of reflecting upon *Hannibal*, on account of his conduct at *Capua*. That general would, in all human probability, have obliged the haughty rival of the *Carthaginian* republic to have ſubmitted to the ſuperior force of his arms the next campaign. But, notwithſtanding the influence of the *Barcan* faction, *Hanno* and his adherents found

[r] LIV. ubi ſup. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. ZONAR. ubi ſupra, c. 3.
[q] LIV. l. xxiii. c. xiii. & c. 32. Idem, l. xxvi. Idem ibid. ZONAR. ubi ſup.

means

means to only not retard the march of the intended ſuccours, but even to diminiſh them. *Mago*, through the artifices of that infatuated party, could obtain an order for only twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and even with this body of troops, inconſiderable as it was, he was ſent to *Spain*. *Hannibal*, being thus deſerted by his country, through the intrigues of a profligate and abandoned faction, who had come to a reſolution to ſacrifice the ſtate, of which they were members, to their private reſentment, found himſelf obliged to be on the defenſive, his army being reduced to twenty-ſix thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe. As the *Romans* therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties they were reduced to, ſent every year two conſular armies into the field, fully recruited, and in good order; as neither the *Gauls* nor *Italians* were natural allies of the *Carthaginians*, and conſequently would ſcarce fail of abandoning them, as ſoon as fortune began to declare againſt them; there is no need to have recourſe to the pleaſures of *Capua*, in order to account for *Hannibal*'s being driven out of *Italy* [r].

AT the return of the ſpring, *Hannibal* drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and reſumed the ſiege of *Caſilinum*. He did not, however, puſh this on with vigour, as knowing that the place muſt ſoon ſurrender through want of proviſions. The famine raged ſo grievouſly amongſt the citizens, that they were obliged, for ſome time, to feed upon the moſt loathſome animals. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one of them gave another a hundred *Roman* denarii for a ſingle mouſe; which ſupported him, till *Hannibal* granted the garriſon a capitulation; but the perſon who ſold it, in the mean time, periſhed with hunger. *Pliny* and *Frontinus* affirm, that this mouſe was purchaſed with two hundred *Roman* denarii; and with theſe authors *Livy*, in the main, agrees. *Marcellus*, not being able to attempt raiſing the ſiege, by reaſon of an inundation of the *Vulturnus*, the troops in garriſon were forced to have recourſe to *Hannibal*'s clemency, who, induced thereto by their brave defence, permitted them to march out of the town, upon the freemen's paying ſeven ounces of gold a head. *Livy* ſays, that, till the gold was paid, the *Carthaginian* general kept them in chains; but afterwards, with great honour, conducted them to *Cumæ*. Of the *Prænestine* garriſon, which, at the beginning of the ſiege, conſiſted of five hundred and ſeventy men, near one half arrived ſafe at *Prænesle*, with their prætor *Manitius*, the reſt having been deſtroyed by ſickneſs, famine, and the other caſualties

[r] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 125, & alib.

of war. *Hannibal* reſtored *Caſilinum* to the *Campanians*, leaving there a *Carthaginian* gariſon of ſeven hundred men, to defend the place againſt the *Romans*, in caſe they ſhould think proper, after his departure, to attack it. Then, to complete the reduction of that part of *Italy*, in conjunction with the greateſt part of the *Brutii*, he laid ſiege to *Petilia*, the only city of that nation, which held out againſt him. The *Petilini* immediately applied to the *Romans* for ſuccours in the moſt preſſing manner; but the perplexed ſtate of affairs would not permit the republic to aſſiſt them. Notwithſtanding which they defended themſelves for ſeveral months againſt the reiterated attacks of the whole *Carthaginian* army, with incredible bravery and reſolution [f].

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the war was carried on with great vigour in *Spain*. For ſome time *Aſdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general there, kept himſelf upon the defenſive, not being in a condition to face either the *Roman* fleet under *Publius Scipio*, or the land-forces commanded by *Cneius*. However, at laſt receiving a reinforcement of four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, from *Carthage*, he ventured to move out of the faſtneſſes wherein he had before poſted himſelf, and advanced towards the enemy's camp. He likewiſe gave orders to have his fleet repaired, to protect the maritime parts of the *Carthaginian* provinces, and the iſlands adjacent to them, from all inſults of the enemy; but, before this was in a condition to put to ſea, he received intelligence, that ſeveral captains of ſhips had gone over to the *Romans*. Theſe captains, it ſeems, had been ſeverely reprimanded for abandoning the fleet upon the *Iberus* through cowardice the laſt year; which they not being able to brook, had, from that time, meditated a revolt from the *Carthaginians*. Not content with what they had already done, they endeavoured to excite the *Carpeſii* to a defection; in which they ſo far ſucceeded, that ſeveral towns were drawn off from their obedience to the *Carthaginians*, and another, that refuſed to join them, reduced by force. This unexpected rebellion proved very prejudicial to *Aſdrubal*, and a ſeaſonable diverſion in favour of the *Romans*; for the *Carthaginian* general, leaving the *Romans* to themſelves, advanced, at the head of his whole army, into the enemy's territories, with a deſign to attack *Caſtax*, the *Carpeſian* general, who lay encamped under the walls of the town he had lately poſſeſſed himſelf of. He there-

[f] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 20. Appian. in Hannib. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 57. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 5. ex. 20. Plut. in Marcel. & in Hannib.

fore

fore firſt ſent away his light-armed troops to reconnoitre the rebels, and draw them to an engagement, detaching immediately afterwards part of his infantry to ravage the neighbouring country, and cut off all the ſtraggling parties of the enemy, that ſhould be found diſperſed there; by which means many of the *Carpeſii* were killed, others put to flight, and their camp alarmed at the ſame time. However, their forces being very numerous, they were ſo far from being terrified at this motion, that they inſtantly iſſued out of their camp in a body, dancing and ſkipping after their manner, with an intention to fall directly upon the *Carthaginians*. This ſudden inſtance of courage ſo damped the ſpirits of *Aſdrubal*'s main body, with which he was advancing to attack *Galbus*'s camp, that he thought proper to take poſt on an eminence, in itſelf of difficult acceſs, but rendered more ſo by a river, which ſecured him from the enemy. Here he was rejoined by the two above-mentioned detachments, equally ſtruck with terror at the enemy's approach; nay, under ſuch terrible apprehenſions were the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, that, notwithſtanding their camp might have been looked upon as inacceſſible, *Aſdrubal* fortified it with an intrenchment, in order to cover it the more effectually from all attempts of the barbarians. Some ſkirmiſhes happened whilſt the two armies lay ſo near one another; but without any conſiderable loſs on either ſide. *Livy* tells us, that the *Numidian* cavalry were not ſo good as the *Carpeſian*; nor the *Mauritanian* dartmen as the *Carpeſian* targeteers, who, in activity, were equal to them, and in ſtrength, as well as courage, excelled them. *Galbus*, finding it impoſſible either to draw the enemy out of their camp, or force the intrenchment that covered it, ſeized upon *Aſena*, a town where *Aſdrubal* had fixed his principal magazine, when he firſt entered upon the *Carpeſian* frontiers, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the open country round about it. *Aſdrubal*, finding the enemy, not a little elated with their late ſucceſs, ſoon after to diſperſe themſelves in ſmall parties over the country, and to lay aſide all diſcipline, both in their detachments and thir camp, advanced out of his trenches, with his army drawn up in order of battle, and immediately fell upon them. The *Carpeſians*, not expecting ſo ſudden an onſet, being in confuſion, and having a good part of their forces then roving about the country, were eaſily routed by the *Carthaginians*, who continued the ſlaughter a great part of the day. In fine, the whole body of the barbarians in the camp, except a ſmall party, that eſcaped, by a vigorous ſally, to the mountains and woods, was put to the ſword; which threw the *Carpeſii* into ſuch a conſternation, that the next day the whole

nation submitted to *Asdrubal*. Soon after a courier arrived from *Carthage*, with orders to *Asdrubal* to begin his march for *Italy* without delay. This changed the face of affairs in *Spain*; for the *Spaniards*, upon the publication of this news, considered the *Carthaginians* as not in a condition to protect them; and of course began to turn their eyes towards the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore dispatched an express to *Carthage*, giving the republic an account how prejudicial the bare rumour of his departure had been to it; at the same time adding, that if the late orders were put in execution, the *Romans* would be masters of *Spain*, before he had passed the *Iberus*. To support what he advanced, he declared, that after he had drawn the forces assigned him out of the *Carthaginian* provinces there, neither garisons nor a general would be left capable of giving any opposition to the *Romans*; that, besides this, the natives were not well affected to the *Carthaginians*; and that therefore it would be at least proper for him to defer his march till a successor arrived in *Spain*, with a strong body of forces, to preserve the *Carthaginian* acquisitions there; since, whatever success might attend their arms against the *Romans*, the disposition of the *Spaniards* themselves would require no small number of troops to be distributed amongst them. But, notwithstanding this just remonstrance, the state of *Carthage* persisted in its former resolution, looking upon it as a matter of the utmost consequence to support *Hannibal*. However, it so far complied with *Asdrubal*'s request, as to send *Himilco*, with a competent army, and a considerable naval reinforcement, into *Spain*, to watch the motions of both the natives and the *Romans* [t].

Himilco, having transported his forces to *Spain*, took care immediately to put himself into a situation not to fear any insults of the *Spaniards*. He fortified his camp, drew his ships on shore, and surrounded them with a ditch and a wall. After this he hastened with the utmost expedition through the territories of several cantons, either open enemies to the *Carthaginians*, or disposed to be so, to *Asdrubal*'s camp, escorted by a choice detachment of horse. After he had imparted the orders of the senate to that general, and received from him instructions how to carry on the war in *Spain*, he returned to his own camp in safety, the extreme celerity, with which he posted through the territories of the above-mentioned *Spanish* cantons, not giving any of them an opportunity of discovering him. Before *Asdrubal* began his march for *Italy*, he furnished

[t] Polyb. l. viii. Liv. l. xxiii. c. 26---29. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Appian. in Iberic. Zonar. ubi supra.

niſhed himſelf with large ſums of money, which he exacted from the *Spaniards* ſubject to, and in alliance with, *Carthage*, being ſenſible, that *Hannibal* could never have reached the *Alps*, had he not been powerfully ſupported by gold. At laſt, having got all things in readineſs for the enterpriſe he was going upon, he aſſembled all his forces, and advanced to the *Iberus*. In the mean time, he received intelligence that the *Romans*, appriſed of his approach, had laid ſiege to *Ibera*, a town deriving its name from the river on which it ſtood, and the richeſt in all that part of *Spain*. To induce them therefore to raiſe that ſiege, he ſat down before another town, which had lately ſubmitted to the *Romans*. This had the deſired effect; for the *Romans*, leaving *Ibera*, immediately moved towards him, and encamped upon a ſpot about five miles diſtant from him. The conſequence of this action was a deciſive battle, wherein *Aſdrubal* gave proofs of an extraordinary military genius, though fortune declared againſt him. The *Spaniards* in his army, not reliſhing an *Italian* expedition, took to their heels at the firſt onſet; the *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* horſe made but a faint reſiſtance; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. *Aſdrubal* did all that could be expected from the moſt conſummate general; he continued to give his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind, and to animate his men by his example, till all things became deſperate; but, not being able to rally his troops, he found himſelf obliged to leave the field of battle and his camp to the enemy, together with the vaſt ſums of money he had amaſſed for the *Italian* expedition. According to *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, the *Carthaginians* had twenty five thouſand men killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, in the action. *Zonaras* intimates, that *Cneius* was ſo poſted with a body of troops, that very few of the *Carthaginians* found it poſſible to make their eſcape. After this blow, all the *Spaniards*, who had before been wavering in their fidelity to *Carthage*, declared for the victors. *Aſdrubal*, in the mean time, collecting the remains of his ſhattered army, was ſo far from being in a condition to attempt ſuccouring *Hannibal*, that, with great difficulty, he maintained himſelf in *Spain* [u].

OUR readers will eaſily perceive, that this account of the *Spaniſh* affairs, during the period we are now upon, is chiefly extracted from *Livy*; though they may at the ſame time diſcover,

Livy *partial in his relations of the transactions in* Spain.

[u] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 20. DION. SIC. l. xxvi in excerpt. Valeſ. APPIAN. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi ſup.

cover, that we have inſerted ſeveral circumſtances not taken notice of by that hiſtorian, with which we have been ſupplied by other antient writers. They are not therefore to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhould meet with ſeveral improbabilities, and even inconſiſtencies, in the relation; ſince *Livy* muſt be allowed to have been moſt unreaſonably prejudiced againſt the *Carthaginian* republic, as well as in favour of his own. *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, from whom he compiled his hiſtory, were of the ſame diſpoſition with himſelf in this particular. What truth therefore can be expected from them in a deſcription of any great tranſactions, wherein the *Carthaginians* bore a principal part? The improbabilities and inconſiſtencies juſt hinted at are ſo glaring, that they cannot eſcape the eye of any attentive reader; for which reaſon it is ſuperfluous, would the nature of our deſign permit, to recite them. However, thus much is apparent from what the above-mentioned authors have tranſmitted to poſterity in the point before us, *viz.* that the defeat of *Aſdrubal*, in a great meaſure, ruined *Hannibal*'s affairs in *Italy*, though it was not attended with ſuch fatal conſequences in *Spain* as *Livy* ſuggeſts. That hiſtorian himſelf puts this laſt obſervation beyond diſpute, in ſome ſubſequent parts of his work. How greatly then are we to regret the loſs of that part of *Polybius*'s excellent hiſtory treating of theſe campaigns in *Spain!* This, had it been extant, would undoubtedly have ſet us right in every important particular relating to them. But to return to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy* [w]:

The Carthaginians *reduce* Petilia.

Himilco, who commanded the *Carthaginian* forces before *Petilia*, carried on the ſiege of that place with great vigour, battering the walls with the utmoſt fury, and harraſſing the gariſon by continual aſſaults. However, the *Petiliani* defended themſelves in a very gallant manner, deſtroying great numbers of the beſiegers, though they were but a handful of men. But what not a little contributed to the defence of the place, was the bravery of the women, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much as the men on this occaſion. They made frequent ſallies, burnt the enemy's works, and then retired triumphantly into the town. Notwithſtanding which, *Hannibal*, having cut off all communication betwixt them and the neighbouring country, they were ſo greatly preſſed by famine, that they found themſelves obliged to ſend all the uſeleſs people out of the city, who, according to *Appian*, were immediately butchered by

[w] Liv. l. xxvi & alib.

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the *Carthaginians* in the ſight of the gariſon. At laſt, they reſolved to make a ſally with their whole force, which they accordingly did; but the greateſt part of them, through hunger and fatigue, not having ſtrength enough either to make uſe of their arms, or retire into the town, were put to the ſword. However, eight hundred of them cut their way through the enemy, and eſcaped in a body to the *Romans*, who, after the concluſion of this war, reinſtated them in their former poſſeſſions, and always took care to diſtinguiſh them by ſuch marks of eſteem, as their ſingular fidelity intitled them to [x].

AFTER the reduction of *Petilia*, *Hannibal*, having been rejoined by *Himilco*'s detachment, advanced to *Conſentia*; which ſoon ſurrendered to him. *Locri* opened its gates upon the firſt ſummons, the principal citizens having, for ſome time, kept a ſecret correſpondence with the *Brutii*, who had united themſelves with the *Carthaginian* army. *Croton*, which was in a manner, deſerted by its inhabitants, and ſeveral other cities of *Magna Græcia* did the like. *Rhegium*, though attacked by *Hannibal* with all his forces, held out bravely, and baffled all the efforts of the *Carthaginians*. *Sicily*, in the mean time, wavered in its fidelity to the *Romans*, the defeat at *Cannæ* giving it ſuch an idea of the *Carthaginian* power, that it could not avoid diſcovering an inclination to follow the example of the *Italians*. Even the family of *Hiero* was not intirely free from this diſpoſition; for *Gelon* the heir apparent to the crown of *Syracuſe*, deſpiſing *Hiero*'s old age, declared for *Hannibal*; and had not death taken him off ſo opportunely, that *Hiero* himſelf was ſuſpected of haſtening his fate, he might have made a powerful diverſion in favour of the *Carthaginians* [y]. *As likewiſe* Conſentia, Croton, Locri, *and other cities.*

Zonaras intimates, that ſomewhere about the period we are now upon, the dictator *Junius*, with a powerful corps, attended *Hannibal*, and mimicked all his motions. He encamped, decamped, refreſhed his troops at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, the ſubtle *Carthaginian* did; inſomuch, that the movements of both armies correſponded in every particular. *Hannibal*, obſerving this, immediately began to conſider, how he might reap ſome advantage from the whimſical conduct of the dictator. He was not long at a loſs for a ſtratagem on this occaſion: the firſt dark, tempeſtuous night that happened, he detached a good body of forces *Hannibal outwits the dictator* Junius.

[x] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 35. APPIAN. in VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. Plut. ubi ſup. [y] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 30. Diod. Sic. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ.

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out of his camp, ordering them to take poſt in ſome place at a ſmall diſtance from it, and to harraſs the *Romans* all night with continual ſkirmiſhes and alarms, if *Junius* made the ſame movement. With the other part of the army he repoſed himſelf in the camp till morning, and then recalled the abovementioned detachment, commanding every man of it immediately to take his natural reſt. This artifice, according to our author, had the deſired effect; for *Junius*, at the beginning of the night, obſerving a large body of troops to march out of *Hannibal*'s camp, and perceiving every thing there ſtill afterwards, imagined the whole *Carthaginian* army to have been in motion; and therefore drew all the forces out of his own camp, to obſerve the enemy. The commander of the *Carthaginian* detachment, in purſuance of his orders, kept the *Romans* in action the whole night, and then retired into the camp, to repoſe his troops. Upon *Junius*'s doing the ſame, *Hannibal*, with his freſh corps, fell upon the wearied *Romans*, now aſleep, and not dreaming of any attack, forced their camp, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. The darkneſs of the night, as well as the tempeſtuous weather, did not a little contribute to the happy ſucceſs of this ſtratagem, ſince the *Roman* general was thereby rendered incapable, either of diſcovering the number, or penetrating the deſign, of the *Carthaginians*[z].

The Carthaginians *prepare to invade* Sardinia.

In the mean time, a courier arrived at *Carthage* from the army in *Spain*, with letters from *Aſdrubal*, importing, that he had received a total defeat, and that the greateſt part of *Spain* had revolted to the *Romans*. The ſenate and people were thunderſtruck at this melancholy advice, which, for the preſent, diſconcerted all their meaſures. *Mago* was upon the point of ſetting out for *Italy*, with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and twenty elephants, beſides a pecuniary ſupply of a thouſand talents in ſilver; but his departure, upon the reception of this mortifying news, was countermanded, and he ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to embarque for *Spain* at a minute's warning. Whilſt matters were in this ferment at *Carthage*, embaſſadors arrived there from *Sardinia*, inviting the *Carthaginians*, in the name of *Harſicora*, who, at that time bore the chief ſway there, and the other *Sardinian* prime nobility, to ſend over a body of troops, in order to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. Theſe embaſſadors inſinuated, *That the* Romans *had ſcarce any forces there; that the prætor* Cornelius, *a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, had left the iſland; that a new one, perfectly raw and*

[z] Zonar. l. ix. c. 3.

unacquainted

unacquainted with the genius of the Sardi, *as well as their manners and conſtitution, was expected; that the* Sardi *were tired of the* Roman *government, and extremely incenſed againſt their imperious and avaritious maſters, for their grievous exactions the laſt year; in fine, that nothing was wanting to induce them to ſhake off the* Roman *yoke, but an encouragement thereto from ſome powerful ſtate, that would take them under its protection.* This embaſſy a little revived the drooping ſpirits of the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon immediately ſent *Mago* to *Spain* with the aboveſaid ſuccours, and diſpatched *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Calvus* [a], with the like number of forces to ſupport the *Sardi*.

Hannibal *concludes a treaty with* Philip *king of* Macedon.

WHILST the two potent republics of *Carthage* and *Rome* were thus contending for ſuperiority, the eyes of all the neighbouring ſtates were fixed upon them. Amongſt the reſt, *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, had obſerved, with great attention, the progreſs of this war. This, in point of prudence, he thought himſelf obliged to, as he was a neighbour to *Italy*, being ſeparated from it only by the *Ionian* ſea. At firſt, he was equally inclined to both parties; but finding *Hannibal* the favourite of fortune, he came to a reſolution to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the *Carthaginians*. To this end he ſent an embaſſy, with *Xenophanes*, one of his miniſters, at the head of it, to *Hannibal*'s camp in *Campania*. This embaſſy happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and was conducted to the prætor *Valerius Lævinus*, in his camp at *Nuceria*; but *Xenophanes*, by his addreſs, pretending he came to propoſe a treaty of friendſhip to the *Romans*, found means to purſue his route; and, upon arriving at *Hannibal*'s head-quarters, concluded a treaty with him, which, together with the preamble to it, was couched in the following terms: "Copy of the treaty con-
"cluded between *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthagi-*
"*nian* army, *Mago*, *Myrcan*, *Barmocar*, all the ſena-
"tors of *Carthage*, together with the whole body of
"forces then preſent, on the one ſide; and *Xenophanes*,
"ſon of *Cleomachus*, an *Athenian*, miniſter plenipotentiary
"of *Philip*, ſon of *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, the *Mace-*
"*donian* nation, and their allies, on the other. The ar-
"ticles of this treaty are agreed upon in the moſt ſolemn
"manner by both the contracting powers, in the preſence
"of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo*; of the *Dæmon* of *Carthage*,
"*Hercules*, and *Iolaus*; of *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Neptune*;

[a] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 32.

" of thoſe divinities, who are confederates with *Carthage*;
" of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Earth*; of the *Rivers*, *Meadows*,
" and *Waters*; of the tutelary deities of *Carthage*, *Macedon*,
" and *Greece*; and laſtly, of thoſe deities, who, preſiding in
" war, aſſiſt at, and ſuperintend, the ſigning of the preſent
" treaty. *Hannibal*, general of the *Carthaginian* forces,
" the ſenators above-mentioned, and the whole *Carthaginian*
" army, declare this, according to the mutual intention of
" both parties, to be a treaty of amity, by virtue of which
" the contracting powers are, from henceforth, obliged to
" treat each other as friends and brethren. In conſequence
" thereof, of this convention, king *Philip*, the *Macedo-*
" *nian* nation, and the *Greeks* their allies, engage themſelves
" to defend and ſupport, to the utmoſt of their power,
" the lords the *Carthaginians* (P), *Hannibal* their general,
" all the ſenators and forces with him, all governors of pro-
" vinces under the dominion of *Carthage*, who govern by
" the ſame laws, the people of *Utica*, and all other cities
" and nations ſubject to the *Carthaginian* empire, all who bear
" arms in their ſervice; all the cities in alliance with them in
" *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*; and all that ſhall hereafter be-
" come their allies in thoſe countries. On the other hand,
" the *Carthaginian* armies, the inhabitants of *Utica*, all the
" cities and ſtates ſubject to *Carthage*, all the *Carthaginian*
" allies, and their troops, all the nations of *Italy*, *Gaul*,
" and *Liguria*, that are in a ſtate of amity with the *Cartha-*
" *ginians*, or that ſhall hereafter enter into an alliance with
" them, ſolemnly oblige themſelves to preſerve from all in-
" juries and inſults, and ſtrenuouſly to ſupport, *Philip* king
" of *Macedon*, the *Macedonian* nation, together with the

(P) We have tranſlated here the ΟΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΙ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ of *Polybius*, *the lords the* Carthaginians, and not *the* Carthaginian *lords*; ſince the laſt expreſſion ſeems to refer only to the ſenate and the ſuffetes; whereas the former includes likewiſe the people, who, at the ſigning of this treaty, were the moſt powerful part of the republic of *Carthage*; and that this alliance was concluded by *Philip*'s miniſters with the whole republic of *Carthage*, not with the ſenate and ſuffetes, in excluſion of the plebeians, no one can doubt. So we ſee in the treaty of *Utrecht*, to omit ſeveral others of late date, the ſtates general are ſtyled *the lords the ſtates general*. However, we do not pretend to inſiſt upon the truth of this tranſlation, only offer it as a conjecture to our learned readers, leaving it to them either to admit it, or reject it, as they ſhall think proper (zz).

(zz) *Polyb. l. vii.*

" *Greeks*

" *Greeks* their allies. No clandeſtine practices ſhall be car-
" ried on by either party to the prejudice of the other. Both
" powers ſhall, with the utmoſt ſincerity and alacrity, act
" againſt the enemies of *Carthage* and king *Philip*, except
" ſuch kings, cities, or ports, as ſhall have contracted a
" friendſhip with either of them. The *Romans* ſhall be
" looked upon as a common enemy, till ſuch time as the
" gods ſhall be pleaſed happily to terminate the war already
" commenced. King *Philip*, the *Macedonian* nation, and
" the *Greeks* their allies, ſhall ſupply the *Carthaginians* with
" all neceſſaries, in order to carry on this war, in ſuch man-
" ner as ſhall be hereafter ſettled by a particular convention.
" If Heaven ſhould not vouchſafe ſucceſs to the arms of the
" high allies, but they ſhould be obliged to enter into a ne-
" gotiation with the enemy, and even conclude a peace with
" them, they ſhall all be comprehended in that treaty. The
" *Romans* ſhall never be permitted to have any footing in the
" iſland of *Corcyra*, nor to exerciſe any dominion over the
" inhabitants of *Apollonia*, *Epidamnus*, *Pharus*, *Dimalle*,
" *Parthus*, and *Atintania*. They ſhall be obliged to deliver
" up to *Demetrius Pharius* all his friends and relations, who
" ſhall be found in any part of their territories. If the *Ro-*
" *mans* ſhall hereafter declare war againſt either of the con-
" tracting powers, they ſhall mutually aſſiſt each other, as
" occaſion ſhall require. The ſame thing ſhall be done by
" both parties, if any other power comes to a rupture with
" either of them, except it be a king, ſtate, or city, with
" which the other was before in alliance. It ſhall be lawful
" either to cancel any of the articles of this treaty, or add new
" ones to it, by the mutual conſent of both parties, if it ſhall
" hereafter be judged expedient ſo to do [b].

THIS copy of the articles of the offenſive and defenſive alliance concluded betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, preſerved to us by *Polybius*, is a moſt curious and valuable fragment of antiquity, as ſerving not only to give us a good idea of the moſt noted objects of the *Carthaginian* worſhip, but likewiſe to exhibit to our view the form and manner in which that nation drew up their treaties; for it appears pretty plain from *Polybius*, that the *Carthaginians* were looked upon as the chief party concerned in this engagement; and that the preparing of the inſtrument we have given our readers here a tranſlation of, was intirely left to *Hannibal*. It likewiſe further appears, that *Livy* has not ſo much given us the articles of this treaty, as certain inferences and conclu-

[b] Polyb. l. vii.

sions drawn from those articles, some of which were, in all probability, false, taken from *Fabius Pictor*, *Valerius Antias*, and others, who in few particulars, relating to the *Carthaginians*, paid the greatest regard to truth. For these reasons, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit the insertion of a translation of the copy above-mentioned in this work, which, we doubt not, will oblige all the curious and inquisitive among our readers [c].

Philip's embassadors intercepted by the Romans.

WHEN the *Macedonian* embassadors returned home, *Hannibal* sent three ministers with them, *viz. Gisco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, in order to bring him king *Philip*'s ratification of the above-mentioned treaty. They had a vessel waiting for them, privately stationed near the temple of *Juno Lacinia* in *Calabria*; but were scarce got out to sea, when they were descried by the *Romans*. Some light galleys of *Corcyra*, being detached from the *Roman* squadron, then cruising off the coasts of *Calabria*, soon came up with them, and obliged the vessel they were on board immediately to surrender. In this emergency, *Xenophanes* had recourse to another falshood, asserting, *That all the passes and high ways in* Campania *were so guarded by the* Carthaginian *parties, that he found it impossible to go to* Rome, *as he was ordered*, but without effect; for the *Carthaginian* ministers were betrayed by their language and habits, by which means the *Romans* discovered the whole secret, sent both the *Carthaginian* and *Macedonian* embassadors prisoners to *Rome*, and diverted the impending storm this formidable league threatened them with, in the manner related by us in a former part of this history [d].

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay both by sea and land.

ABOUT this time, *Hannibal* received intelligence, that the *Campanians*, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men to act in favour of the *Carthaginians*, had been intirely defeated by *Gracchus* at *Hamæ*, to which place they had advanced, in order to seize upon *Cumæ*, with the loss of above two thousand men, together with *Marius Alfius* their commander, and thirty-four colours. He therefore, without loss of time, marched to *Hamæ*; but, upon his arrival there, found only the carcases of the *Campanians* who fell in the late action, with which the ground was strewed, the enemy having retired, immediately after the battle, to *Cumæ*. For the present, *Hannibal* re-occupied his former camp upon mount *Tifata*; but, at the solicitation of the *Campanians*, after having ravaged all the country about *Cumæ*, he laid siege to that

[c] POLYB. ubi sup. & LIV. l. xxiii. c. 33. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 12. OROS. l. iv. c. 16. [d] JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 4. LIV. ubi sup. c. 34. Vide & Univers. hist vol. xii. p. 136.

city.

city. Having applied a high moveable tower to the walls of the place, he made a vigorous assault; but the *Roman* consul, who had thrown himself into the town, having raised one upon the walls that overtopped this, and posted some men in it, who discharged a great number of flaming torches, besides a vast quantity of other combustible materials set on fire, upon the besiegers, the *Carthaginians* were put into disorder; which being observed by the garison, a strong party sallied out of the town, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as their camp, which was about a mile distant. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal* lost fourteen hundred men on this occasion upon the spot, besides forty taken prisoners. However, the next day the *Carthaginian* drew up his army in order of battle betwixt his camp and the town, in order to draw the *Romans* to an engagement; but the consul declining this, he immediately decamped, and took post again upon mount *Tifata*. Whilst these things happened, *Hanno* was defeated at *Grumentum* in *Lucania* by *T. Sempronius Longus*, and lost four thousand men upon the field of battle, besides forty-one colours. After this blow, *Hanno* abandoned *Lucania* to the enemy, and retreated into the country of the *Brutii*. Upon these repeated instances of ill success, three towns of the *Hirpini* revolted from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*, who took a thousand prisoners there, and caused them all to be sold under the spear. A little before these disasters happened, *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Calvus*, set sail from *Carthage*, with the armament under his command, for *Sardinia*; but received great damage from a storm he met with in his passage, and was obliged to put in at one of the ports of the *Balearic* islands. Here he staid a while, in order to refit his fleet; which gave the *Romans* time to make head against the *Carthaginians* in *Sardinia*, and consequently not a little contributed to the signal overthrow *Asdrubal* soon after received in that island [c].

Marcellus gains another considerable advantage over Hannibal.

Philip, king of *Macedon*, being informed, that his embassadors, together with the *Carthaginian* ministers sent by *Hannibal*, had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, sent *Heraclitus Scotinus*, *Crito Berræus*, and *Sositheus Magnes*, three noblemen he could confide in, to conclude a fresh treaty with that general. This they happily performed; but, as the summer was spent in this negotiation, *Philip* could not put himself soon enough in motion to make any diversion in favour of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* therefore now began considerably to lose ground. *Fabius*, having passed the *Vulturnus*, in conjunction with his collegue, took the cities of *Combulteria*,

[c] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 35. & seq. Plut. in Hannib.

Trebula,

Trebula, and *Anſticula*, by aſſault, making the *Carthaginian* gariſons therein priſoners of war. In the mean time, *Hannibal* kept a ſecret correſpondence with the populace of *Nola*, who were at his devotion, engaging them to deliver the city into his hands; which being communicated to *Fabius*, he ſent the proconſul *Marcellus*, with a body of troops thither, to gariſon the place, and protect the nobility, who were in the *Roman* intereſt; and, in the mean time, poſted himſelf betwixt *Nola* and the *Carthaginian* camp upon mount *Tifata*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt them. *Marcellus* likewiſe made frequent incurſions into the territories of the *Hirpini*, and the *Samnites Caudini*, where he committed great depredations. This induced the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites* to ſend deputies to *Hannibal*, reproaching him with his indolence, and telling him, That *Marcellus* ſeemed rather to be the conqueror at *Cannæ* than *Hannibal*. To whom *Hannibal* replied, That as the blow given the *Romans* at *Cannæ* had eclipſed all his other victories, ſo they ſhould ſoon ſee the glory of that obſcured by another more illuſtrious atchievement; and then, diſmiſſing them with magnificent preſents, he advanced towards *Nola*, after having left a ſufficient body of troops to guard his camp on mount *Tifata*. Upon his approach, he ſent *Hanno*, with a detachment of the forces, to perſuade the *Nolans* to ſurrender their city to the *Carthaginians*. To which end, by *Marcellus*'s permiſſion, he had a conference with *Herennius Baſſus* and *Herius Petrius*, two perſons of the firſt diſtinction in the place; but without effect. *Hannibal* therefore, ſitting down before the city, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking it with the utmoſt vigour; which *Marcellus* obſerving, ſallied out upon his forces with ſuch fury, that the action then had become general, had not the combatants on both ſides been obliged to draw off by a violent ſtorm. On this occaſion the *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, loſt thirty men; but the *Romans* not one. Two days afterwards, a bloody engagement happened within a mile of *Nola*, wherein the *Carthaginians* were worſted, being driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, and ſixteen hundred made priſoners, beſides nineteen military enſigns, two elephants, *&c.* taken, and four of the laſt-mentioned animals ſlain. A body of near thirteen hundred *Spaniſh* and *Numidian* horſe, immediately after this defeat, deſerted to the *Romans*; which was a great loſs to *Hannibal*, as theſe were ſome of his veteran troops, that had attended him in all his expeditions. *Fabius*, now laying aſide his uſual caution, penetrated into the very heart of *Campania*; and hearing of *Hannibal*'s retreat into *Apulia*,

Apulia, moved towards *Capua*, deſtroying all the country, as he advanced, with fire and ſword; which concluded the operations of this campaign in *Italy*[f].

The Carthaginians once more driven out of Sardinia.

IN the mean time, *Aſdrubal* being detained in one of the ports of the *Balearic* iſlands by the accident above-mentioned, *Manlius* landed his forces at *Caralis*, and, upon taking a review of them, found them to conſiſt of twenty-two thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe. At the head of this army he marched into the enemy's territories, and encamped near *Harſicora*, the *Sardinian* general, who, being gone into the diſtrict of the *Pellidi Sardi*, to aſſemble all the youth there able to bear arms, in order to reinforce his troops, had left his ſon *Hioſtus* to command in his abſence. *Hioſtus*, being a raſh young man, ventured an engagement with *Manlius*, wherein he had the misfortune to be overthrown, having thirty thouſand of his men killed upon the ſpot, and thirteen hundred taken priſoners. The body aſſembled by *Harſicora*, upon this melancholy news, immediately diſperſed itſelf over the fields and woods; but, at laſt, retired to a city called *Cornus*, the capital of the aforeſaid diſtrict. *Sardinia* now muſt have been totally loſt, had not *Aſdrubal* arrived in the critical moment with the forces ſent from *Carthage* for the ſupport of the *Sardi*. *Harſicora* ſoon joined him with all the *Sardinian* troops he could draw together; and, immediately after this junction, the confederates advanced into the territories of the *Roman* allies, laying waſte the whole country through which they moved. Their intention was to have marched directly to *Caralis*, and ſeized upon that capital; but *Manlius* came up with them before they could put their deſign in execution. After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes betwixt the advanced guards of the two armies, a general action enſued, wherein the *Sardi* were ſoon put to the rout; but the *Carthaginians* continued the fight with extraordinary bravery, inſomuch, that victory hung in ſuſpenſe for above the ſpace of four hours. However, they were at laſt intirely defeated, and diſperſed beyond a poſſibility of rallying. Twelve thouſand of the *Sardi*, and three thouſand *Carthaginians*, fell in this battle; ſeven hundred of both nations were made priſoners, and nineteen colours taken. *Mago*, a near relation of *Hannibal*, *Hanno*, another *Carthaginian* nobleman, the chief fomenter of all theſe troubles in *Sardinia*, and *Aſdrubal* the general, were in the number of the latter; but *Hioſtus*, the

[f] LIV. ubi. ſup. c. 38—48. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLUT. in Hannib. in Fab. & in Marcel. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46.

ſon

ſon of *Harſicora*, in that of the former, which threw his father into ſuch an exceſs of grief, that he laid violent hands on himſelf. The ſhattered remains of the *Carthaginian* and *Sardinian* army fled to *Cornus*, and, upon the firſt ſummons of the conqueror, ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the cities and fortreſſes likewiſe, either in the *Carthaginian* juriſdiction or that of *Harſicora*, in a few days made their ſubmiſſion to *Manlius*; who ſoon ſet ſail from *Caralis* for the coaſt of *Italy*, with the priſoners, as well as vaſt booty, he had acquired in this ſucceſsful expedition [g].

The Carthaginians *worſted at ſea.*

Aſdrubal had no ſooner landed his troops in *Sardinia*, as already related, than he ſent the fleet back to *Africa*, the admiral of which, in his paſſage, was attacked by a *Roman* ſquadron of fifty ſail, under the command of *T. Otacilius* the prætor; who having ravaged the maritime part of the territory of *Carthage*, was ſteering his courſe towards *Sardinia*, in queſt of this very fleet. The *Romans* took ſeven *Carthaginian* galleys, with their crews, the reſt eſcaping by ſteering off in time; and by favour of a tempeſt, that aroſe during the heat of the action. About this time *Bomilcar* arrived at *Locri* with a reinforcement of troops, forty elephants, and a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, from *Carthage*. After a ſhort ſtay here, he joined *Hanno*, who, at that time, lay encamped in the country of the *Brutii*, having narrowly eſcaped being cut off by *Appius*, who, having ſuddenly paſſed the ſtraights of *Reggio*, unexpectedly advanced to the gates of *Locri*, in order to have ſurpriſed him. *Appius* took poſt in the neighbourhood of *Locri* immediately after *Bomilcar*'s departure; ſo that the city, being abandoned by the *Carthaginians*, opened its gates to him. However, he miſſed his principal aim, and, without making any new attempts, ſoon after returned to *Meſſana* [h].

State of affairs in Spain.

The *Carthaginians*, according to *Livy*, ſuſtained this year a very conſiderable loſs in *Spain*. *Aſdrubal*, *Alago*, and *Hamilcar* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, three *Carthaginian* generals, laid liege to *Illiturgi*, which had revolted to the *Romans*. The *Romans*, with no ſmall difficulty, forced their way through the enemy's three camps, and ſupplied their allies with all things neceſſary, when they were upon the point of ſurrendering for want of ſuch a ſupply. This encouraged the *Scipios* to venture a battle with the *Carthaginians*, whoſe army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men, though theirs did not amount to above ſix-

[g] Liv. ubi. ſup. c. 40---42. Flor. l. ii. c. 6. Oros. l. iv. c. 16. Sil. Ital. l. xii. Eutrop. l. iii. Zonar. l. ix. c. 5.
[h] Liv. ubi. ſup. c. 41

teen

teen thouſand. *Aſdrubal*'s camp, being by far the moſt conſiderable, was firſt attacked by the *Romans*; which being obſerved by *Mago* and *Hamilcar*, they advanced, each of them at the head of his reſpective corps, to ſupport him. But, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, according to the ſame author, all the *Carthaginian* camps were forced, and their army overthrown, with the loſs of above ſixteen thouſand men upon the ſpot, three thouſand made priſoners, five elephants ſlain, beſides a thouſand horſes, ſixty military enſigns, and five elephants taken. The conſequence of this defeat was the raiſing of the ſiege of *Illiturgi*, from whence the *Carthaginians* retired with great precipitation to *Incibili*, and in a ſhort time found means ſo to recruit their forces out of the *Spaniſh* provinces, that they ventured another engagement with the *Scipios*; but, their unhappy fate ſtill attending them, they were routed again, and driven out of the field of battle, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men killed in the action and the purſuit. Three thouſand priſoners, above forty colours, and nine elephants, fell into the hands of the victors. After this battle, adds *Livy*, all the different nations of *Spain* revolted to the *Romans* [1].

OUR readers will be beforehand with us in obſerving with what improbabilities, not to ſay abſurdities, this narration of *Livy* is clogged. How can it be ſuppoſed poſſible for *Aſdrubal*, after the complete defeat he met with in *Spain* only the laſt year, to aſſemble another army of ſixty thouſand men ſo ſoon in the ſame country, eſpecially ſince the *Carthaginians* had reinforced their troops in *Italy*, and ſent a very conſiderable body of forces to invade *Sardinia*? If *Aſdrubal*, after the terrible blow he received laſt year, could ſcarce maintain himſelf in any part of *Spain*, as this author himſelf expreſly aſſerts, what probability is there, that, in the ſpace of a very few months only, he ſhould have become ſo prodigiouſly ſuperior in ſtrength to his conquerors the *Romans*, eſpecially ſince the *Spaniards* in general had declared againſt him? Laſtly, admitting all this to be true, can it be imagined, that immediately after the ſecond fatal overthrow mentioned here by our author, the *Carthaginian* general could form ſo numerous an army out of the *Spaniſh* nations, who had before eſpouſed the *Roman* intereſt? The inconſiſtencies couched in theſe queries are certainly ſo glaring, that it would be intirely needleſs to expatiate upon them; and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with having barely hinted at them here, as thinking this

[1] Idem ibid. Vide & FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. ut & in not. OUDENDORP. in S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 1.

sufficient to confirm what we have elsewhere observed of the partiality of this historian, or at least of those he extracted his materials from [k].

The troops in Italy *on both sides go into winter-quarters.*

No considerable movements happened during the time the troops on both sides lay in winter-quarters. The citadel of *Croton*, however, was abandoned to the people of *Locri*, allies of the *Carthaginians*, after the conclusion of the campaign. *Hannibal* took up his winter-quarters at *Arpi*, and the consul *Sempronius* his at *Luceria*. Each commander kept a watchful eye upon his antagonist, and endeavoured to animate his men, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* parties frequently skirmishing with one another [l].

Hannibal *raises commotions in* Sicily.

About this time *Hannibal* found means to raise commotions in *Sicily*, which turned out not a little to his advantage. After the death of *Hiero*, by several artful steps, he fixed his grandson *Hieronymus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Syracuse*, in the interest of the *Carthaginians*. Some authors relate, that this young prince reigned only thirteen months; that, after he came to the crown, he shewed a most abandoned disposition; and that many prodigies at *Syracuse* preceded his accession. *Polybius*, however, differs from these authors, in relation to his character; though he allows, that he was a weak and unjust prince. Soon after he had entered into a league with *Hannibal* and the state of *Carthage*, he was assassinated by the direction of *Indigemines*, one of the officers of his guards. But for the particulars of this horrid action, as well as the effect it had upon the affairs of *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, we must refer our readers to a former part of this history [m].

The Romans *gain some advantages over* Hannibal.

The *Capuans*, hearing of the vast preparations made in all the *Roman* provinces for the vigorous prosecution of this war, no less than eighteen legions being destined for the service of the current year, were thrown into a great consternation, especially as they knew themselves to be, above all others, obnoxious to the *Romans*. They therefore, in the most pressing terms, intreated *Hannibal* to move immediately to their assistance, and prevent the *Romans* from taking post before their city. *Hannibal*, in compliance with their request, advanced with all expedition to mount *Tifata* near *Capua*, where the former year he had encamped; and, after leaving one body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* to defend the advantageous spot of ground he had then possessed himself of, and another to

[k] Vide Liv. l. xxiii. c. 29 & c. 49. [l] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 1-4.
[m] Liv. ubi. sup. c. 4---8. Polyæn. l. vii. in excerpt. Vales. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 254, & seq & vol. xii. p. 137, & seq.

reinforce

reinforce the garison of *Capua*, he marched to the lake *Avernus*, under the pretence of sacrificing to the gods, but, in reality, to attempt making himself master of *Puteoli*, into which *Fabius* had, some time before, thrown a body of troops. Having ravaged the territory of *Cumæ*, as far as the promontory of *Mysenum*, he presented himself before *Puteoli*, and summoned the garison, consisting of six thousand men, to surrender; but finding the *Romans* determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood, and that the place was, in a manner, impregnable, he thought proper to retire. Soon after this repulse, the populace of *Nola*, upon his approach towards their city, sent to *Hannibal*, desiring of him some forces to defend them against the senate, who were friends to the *Romans*. But *Marcellus*, having with great difficulty passed the *Vulturnus*, reinforced the garison of *Nola* with six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and thereby prevented the *Carthaginian* from being admitted into the place. In the mean time, *Hanno*, marching out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped within three miles of *Beneventum*, upon the river *Calor*; which *Gracchus* being informed of, moved at the head of a large detachment, consisting chiefly of slaves, and pitched his tents within a mile of him. This vicinity of the two camps soon brought on a general action, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with very considerable loss. During these transactions in the neighbourhood of *Beneventum*, *Hannibal* appeard again before *Nola*; but *Marcellus*, having joined the proprætor *Pomponius*, and ordered *Claudius Nero*, with a strong body of horse, to fall upon the enemy's rear, attacked him. After a brisk dispute, the *Roman* gained the advantage, and might have intirely overthrown the *Carthaginian*, could *Nero* have executed his orders; but that commander having, by some unforeseen accident, been hindered from coming up with the enemy in time, nothing decisive happened on either side. *Hannibal* soon after drew off his forces from before *Nola*, and retreated towards *Tarentum* [n].

Hanno defeats Gracchus.

Hanno, after the disgrace he had received near *Beneventum*, retired into *Lucania*, where meeting with a body of *Romans* sent by *Gracchus* to ravage the country, he soon dispersed them, putting a great number of them to the sword, which made him some amends for his former disaster. *Fabius* and *Marcellus* now jointly carried on the siege of *Casilinum*, which they pushed so vigorously, that it was at last obliged to capi-

[n] Liv. ubi sup. c. 11--13. Univers. vol. xii. p 137, & seq. Vide & Liv. ubi sup. c. 13--18. Appian. & Plut. in Hannib.

tulate. *Fabius* granted them a capitulation, the chief article of which was, that they ſhould have leave to retire to *Capua*; but *Marcellus*, *Roman* like, broke this, maſſacring many of them, and ſending all the reſt, except fifty, that eſcaped to *Fabius*, priſoners to *Rome*. After this exploit, the *Romans*, in a very heroic manner, deſtroyed with fire and ſword the whole country of the *Caudine Sannites*, carried off from thence an immenſe quantity of plunder, and took by ſtorm the cities *Compulteria*, *Telesia*, *Compſa*, *Melæ*, *Fulſulæ*, and *Orbitanium*. *Blandæ* in *Lucania*, and *Aecæ* in *Apulia*, likewiſe underwent the ſame fate. *Hanno*, with the booty he got in the late action, arrived ſafe in the country of the *Bruttii*, the *Roman* forces in thoſe parts not being ſtrong enough to intercept him [o].

Hannibal *advances to* Tarentum, *but without any effect.*

WHILST *Hannibal* was encamped on the lake *Avernus*, five young *Tarentine* noblemen, that had been taken priſoners in the battles of the lake *Thraſymenus* and *Cannæ*, and diſmiſſed, with great politeneſs, by that general, arrived there as embaſſadors from the city of *Tarentum*. They told him, "That, in return for his kindneſs to them, they had "prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to prefer his friendſhip to "that of the *Romans*; and that they would open their gates "to him upon his preſenting himſelf before the town." *Hannibal*, relying upon this aſſurance, ſoon after advanced into the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*; but finding that nobody offered to ſtir, the proprætor *Valerius* having thrown a body of troops into the place juſt before, he bent his march to *Salapia*, ordering vaſt quantities of proviſions, amaſſed in the territories of *Metapontum* and *Heraclea*, to be brought thither. Having an intention to fix there his winter-quarters, he likewiſe ſent detachments of *Moors* and *Numidians* to carry off every thing valuable, that could be found in the diſtrict of *Salentum*, and the adjacent woody parts of *Apulia*. Amongſt other things, that were the produce of the country, they brought off a large number of wild horſes, four thouſand of which, being tamed, were very ſerviceable to *Hannibal* in the remounting of his cavalry [p].

FROM the continent of *Italy* we ſhould now paſs over to the iſland of *Sicily*, which was the theatre of very conſiderable tranſactions during this period, according to *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*. But as ſo full and ample an account of theſe tranſactions has been given in a former part of this work, that not a ſingle circumſtance of note relative thereto has been

[o] *Liv.* ubi ſup. c. 19--21. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup.
[p] *Liv.* ubi ſup. c. 13. & c. 20.

omitted,

omitted, we cannot so much as touch upon them, without being guilty of a repetition. We hope therefore it will be deemed sufficient for us to have hinted to our readers, that the affairs of *Sicily*, however interwoven with those of other nations, do most properly belong to the history of *Syracuse* [q].

The transactions in Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the losses the *Carthaginians* sustained the last year in *Spain*, *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, the beginning of this campaign, defeated a strong body of *Spaniards*; which might have been of bad consequence to the *Romans*, had not *Publius* advanced with all expedition to the *Iberus*, in order to support his confederates. The *Romans* encamped at *Castrum Altum*, a place famous for the death of the great *Hamilcar*. Though this was a fortress of great strength, and abundantly stored with provisions, *Publius*, finding all the adjacent country possessed by the enemy, and his troops greatly harrassed by their horse, soon decamped, and posted himself on a spot not so much exposed to their insults. The *Carthaginians* cut off above two thousand *Romans*, in various rencounters, during *Publius*'s short stay at *Castrum Altum*. *Publius*, soon after his arrival in his new camp, which he immediately fortified with a retrenchment, went, with a detachment of his light-armed troops, to reconnoitre some of the neighbouring places; which being observed by the *Carthaginian* general, he advanced, at the head of his forces, to attack him, and had surprised him in a plain, had he not had the precaution to retire in time to an eminence, where he defended himself, till his brother *Cneius* came to his relief. *Castulo*, a strong and noble city of *Spain*, and so strictly allied with the *Carthaginians*, that *Asdrubal* had taken him a wife from thence, now revolted to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, not discouraged at this, laid siege to *Illiturgi*, wherein was a *Roman* garison, which was in great danger of surrendering to them for want of provisions. *Cneius*, hearing of this, forced his way through the enemy's camp into the town, supplied it plentifully with every thing needful, and the next day sallying out upon the enemy, killed so many of them, that, in the two actions, they lost twelve thousand men upon the spot, and he took above ten thousand prisoners, together with thirty-two colours; and all this with a single legion only. The *Carthaginians*, being thus obliged to abandon the siege of *Illiturgi*, marched from thence to attack *Bigerra*, another city in alliance with *Rome*; but *Cneius* forced them to raise this likewise, without striking a stroke. Afterwards

[q] Idem ibid. c. 21--40. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in Marcel. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 254. & seq.

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the *Carthaginian* general moved to *Munda*, whither he was followed by the *Romans*. Here both armies engaged for four Hours, when the *Romans* would have been victorious, had not *Scipio* been wounded in the thigh by a javelin; which so disheartended his troops, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. In this action the *Carthaginian* troops, according to *Livy*, as well as the elephants, were driven back to their retrenchment, where thirty-nine of those huge animals perished by the enemy's darts. Twelve thousand *Carthaginians* lost their lives on the field of battle, and three thousand of them, with fifty-seven military ensigns, fell into the enemy's hands. Then the *Carthaginians* retreated with great precipitation to *Oringis*, and were pursued by the *Romans*. There *Cneius*, being carried in a litter, again attacked *Asdrubal*, and intirely routed him; but did not make such a carnage as in the former engagements, because the *Carthaginian* forces were not at that time so numerous. Notwithstanding all these disasters, *Mago* speedily raised such a number of recruits, as enabled his brother to look the *Romans* again in the face. Another battle ensued, wherein the *Romans* met with their usual success, Above eight thousand *Carthaginians*, with eight elephants, were slain, and about one thousand, with fifty-eight military ensigns, and three elephants, taken. *Mænicapto* and *Civismaro*, two famous kings of the *Gauls*, who came to assist their allies the *Carthaginians*, likewise fell in this battle. A vast number of gold rings, chains for the neck, bracelets, and other *Gallic* spoils, also came into the possession of the victors. The *Romans*, having now driven the enemy out of the field, advanced to *Saguntum*, forced the *Carthaginian* garison to abandon it, and then restored it to the antient inhabitants, that had survived the calamities of their country. As for the *Turdetani*, who had been the occasion of this bloody war, *Cneius* caused them to be sold by auction, and afterwards razed their city. Such is the account *Livy* has given us of the military operations this year in *Spain*; which is just as consistent with itself, as that extraordinary relation of the action near *Syracuse*, in the beginning of the first *Punic* war, *Philinus* vouchsafed his countrymen, according to which, the conquered were victors, and the conquerors vanquished; or, as the conduct of some of our neighbours in a late war, when they sung *Te Deum* for a defeat. In short, our readers will, from a cursory view of this account, be fully convinced, that consistency and impartiality are qualifications not essential even to those, who are reputed the best *Roman* historians [r].

[r] Philinus. apud. Polyb. l. i. sub. init. Liv. ubi. sup. c. 41--43. Vide & Univers. hist. vol xii. p. 137, & seq.

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THE following ſpring, *Hannibal* received intelligence, that one *Caſſius Altinius*, who abandoned the *Roman* intereſt after the battle of *Cannæ*, had offered to deliver up *Arpi* into the hands of the *Romans* for a ſum of money. This news did not at all diſpleaſe the *Carthaginian*, who had long ſuſpected *Altinius* of holding a correſpondence with the enemy; ſince ſuch a conduct could not fail of giving him an opportunity of ſeizing upon the immenſe treaſures that wealthy citizen of *Arpi* poſſeſſed; but, that he might ſeem not ſo much influenced by avarice as reſentment, as ſoon as he got *Altinius*'s riches into his coffers, he burnt his wife and children alive. This ſtory depends upon the authority of *Livy*, and is as probable as ſome of the preceding. *Appian* calls this traitor *Daſius*, and tells us that he was deſcended from *Diomedes* of *Argos*, the founder of *Arpi*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, he had like to have been deſtroyed by the *Romans*, for making ſuch a villainous propoſal to them, and afterwards wandered about as a vagabond, in continual fear of being cut off either by the *Carthaginian* or *Roman* parties. *Hannibal* immediately put a gariſon of five thouſand *Carthaginians* into the city above-mentioned, who were joined by a body of three thouſand citizens, in order to ſecure it againſt any attack of the *Romans*. However, the *Fabii*, having guarded all the avenues to it, ſurpriſed it in the manner already relate[1]. About a thouſand *Spaniards* at the beginning of the attempt, went over in a body to the *Romans*, and prevailed upon them to permit the *Carthaginian* gariſon to retire. In purſuance of the capitulation, thoſe troops were conducted by a *Roman* eſcort to *Hannibal*'s camp at *Salapia*, without the leaſt injury offered them. This is *Livy*'s account. But *Appian* relates, that the *Fabii* did not reduce *Arpi* by force, but, by means of ſome traitors, had it delivered to them; and that they put all the *Carthaginians* found therein to the ſword. Nothing further very material, except what has been already taken notice of in the *Roman* hiſtory, happened this campaign in *Italy*[c].

The campaign in Italy.

THE *Romans* this year entered into an alliance with *Syphax*, a *Numidian* prince, who had ſuddenly conceived an averſion to the *Carthaginians*. In conſequence of the treaty concluded betwixt the two powers, the *Romans* ſent *Q. Statorius* into *Africa*, to train up a body of *Numidian* infantry after the *Roman* manner. This, above all things, *Syphax* deſired, the *Numidians* having, till that time, brought only ca-

Some motions in Africa.

[c] Liv. ubi. ſup c. 45, 46, 46. APPIAN. in Hannib. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi. ſup. vol. xii. p. 137.

valry

valry into thn field ; which rendered them incapable of coping with the *Carthaginians*. *Statorius*, upon his arrival in *Numidia*, ſoon inrolled a conſiderable body of foot out of *Syphax*'s youth. Theſe he taught to keep their ranks, follow their colours, advance or retreat with order and ſwiftneſs, and, in fine, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art after the *Roman* model, ſo that in a ſhort time *Syphax* had a body of infantry, which he could intirely depend upon. The *Carthaginians*, finding their *Numidian* forces beginning to deſert in great numbers, and fearing the fatal effects ſuch a formidable union might produce, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Gala*, king of the *Maſſyli*, another *Numidian* prince, to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive alliance to him. They inſinuated, "that out of regard to his own ſafety, "he ought to join them without loſs of time, before either "*Syphax* could tranſport any troops into *Spain*, or the *Ro*-"*mans* into *Africa*; that *Syphax* was, at preſent, void of all "ſupport from the *Romans*, and might therefore be eaſily "cruſhed." *Gala*, at the inſtigation of his ſon *Maſiniſſa*, then but ſeventeen years of age, cloſed with the propoſal, and ſent an army to aſſiſt his new allies. *Maſiniſſa*, to whoſe conduct that army was committed, gave *Syphax* two ſuch total overthrows, the firſt in conjunction with the *Carthaginians*, and the ſecond with the *Maſſylian* forces only, that he found it impoſſible to make a diverſion afterwards in favour of the *Romans* [t].

The Romans *take a body of* Celtiberians *into their ſervice.*

THE tranſactions in *Spain* this year are ſcarce worth relating. Nothing of the leaſt moment paſſed there, except that the *Romans* took a body of *Celtiberians* into their ſervice, and ſent three hundred perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in *Spain* to *Italy*, to encourage a diſſertion amongſt their countrymen in *Hannibal*'s army. *Appian* relates, that this ſcheme took ſome effect; but at the ſame time intimates, that *Hannibal* himſelf made uſe of the ſame method of acting, in order to draw off the *Spaniards* incorporated with the *Roman* forces, with equal ſucceſs. The *Celtiberians*, who took on in the *Roman* ſervice, were allowed the ſame pay, that their countrymen received from the *Carthaginians* [u].

Hannibal *has* Tarentum *delivered up to him.*

THOUGH *Hannibal* ſtood upon the defenſive the laſt campaign, towards the cloſe of it, ſome inconſiderable cities of the *Salentines* ſurrendered to him. However, to compenſate this, the *Thurians* and *Conſentini* revolted from him to the *Romans*. This revolt might have been attended with more fatal conſe-

[t] APPIAN. in Iberic. LIV. ubi. ſup. c. 47, 48, 49. [u] LIV. l. xxiv. ſub. fin. APPIAN. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 16.

quences,

quences, had not *Hanno* overthrown a body of *Roman* forces under the command of *L. Pomponius Veientanus* in *Lucania*, after they had made dreadful incurſions into the country of the *Brutii*, pillaging and laying waſte all before them. The commander himſelf was taken priſoner in the action, and a great part of his men cut off; which prevented ſeveral petty ſtates from abandoning the *Carthaginian* intereſt, though a few ſmall towns of *Lucania*, after that defeat, opened their gates to *Sempronius*. In the mean time, *Philas*, who had a long time reſided at *Rome* as miniſter from *Tarentum*, a man of a turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition, retired privately from *Rome*, with ſome *Tarentine* hoſtages, whom he had aſſiſted to make their eſcape; but being cloſely purſued, they were all taken near *Tarracina*, brought back to *Rome*, whipped publicly there in the *comitium*, and afterwards thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. This barbarity extremely incenſed the *Tarentines*, who before were far from being well affected to the *Romans*. Some of their young nobility therefore, the principal of whom were *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, formed a deſign to maſſacre the *Roman* troops in gariſon, and deliver the city up to the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal*, being informed of this, moved with his forces towards *Tarentum*. As ſoon as the approach of the *Carthaginian* army reached the ears of the conſpirators, *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, with a party that they could confide in, went privately by night out of the city, under pretence of being engaged the next day in a hunting-match. *Nicon* and *Philomenes*, as had been before concerted, rode up ſo near *Hannibal*'s lines, that they were ſeized by one of his advanced guards, their aſſociates having taken care before to diſperſe themſelves in the neighbouring woods. At firſt they refuſed to give any account of themſelves; but only intimated, that they had ſomething of moment to impart to the general. Being therefore conducted to him, they deſired to have a private conference with him; which was immediately granted. They then gave him a full account of the diſpoſition of the *Tarentines*, exclaiming bitterly at the ſame time againſt the *Romans*. *Hannibal* received them with great kindneſs, commended their reſolution, loaded them with promiſes, and agreed to have a ſecond conference with them. In order to blind the *Romans*, as well as the people of *Tarentum*, and conceal the true end of this excurſion, he ordered ſeveral head of cattle to be driven out of the camp, that they might fall into the hands of his new friends, and be carried by them into the town; which being done, both the *Romans* and the citizens were extremely pleaſed at the ſucceſs that had attended

the ſuppoſed hunting-match, as well as excurſion upon the enemy (for this likewiſe *Nicon* and *Philomenes* related to them; inſomuch, that neither of them entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of what had been really tranſacted. So conſiderable a booty as they brought with them, enabled them to invite both their countrymen, and the *Romans*, to frequent entertainments; which not only paved the way to a ſecond hunting-match, but likewiſe excited great numbers of the citizens to turn marauders, in hopes of meeting with the ſame ſucceſs; and this ſerved to render the deſign of the *Tarentine* leaders ſtill more impenetrable. At the ſecond conference, *Nicon* and *Philomenes* concluded a treaty with *Hannibal* on the part of the *Tarentines*, the terms of which were to the following effect: "That the *Carthaginians* ſhould "not exact any tribute from the *Tarentines*, nor exerciſe "any dominion over them; but, on the contrary, maintain "them in the poſſeſſion of all their privileges; that they "ſhould ſend a gariſon into the city, to deliver the inhabi-"tants from the *Roman* yoke; that it ſhould be lawful for "them to plunder all the *Roman* houſes in *Tarentum*, and "put every *Roman* they could meet with to the ſword; and "laſtly, that the *Tarentines* ſhould have free acceſs to *Han-*"*nibal*, whenever they approached his camp, in order to "confer with him." By virtue of this laſt article, *Nicon* and *Philomenes* often viſited *Hannibal*; which they found it no difficult matter to do, as *Philomenes* had contracted an intimacy with *Caius Livius*, the *Roman* commandant, by the venſon he gave him, as well as the ſplendid manner in which he frequently regaled him, and won over to his intereſt the captain of the *Roman* guard poſted at the gate called *Temenis*. That he might effectually ſecure that guard, his conſtant practice was to make a preſent to the captain, as well as the ſoldiers, either of ſome veniſon he took in hunting, or ſome cattle, that he was ſupplied with by *Hannibal*; inſomuch, that he had ingreſs and egreſs at pleaſure, the gate being opened to him whenever he approached it, upon a whiſtle, or ſome other ſignal given. The heads of the conſpiracy receiving intelligence, that *Livius* had appointed a day for a feaſt, to which all his officers and friends were invited, in the muſeum, a place near the forum, they, after having held a conſultation with *Hannibal*, pitched upon that day for the execution of their deſign. According to the plan of operations agreed upon between the *Carthaginian* and his new allies, when the time drew nigh, he ordered a body of ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. To hinder the *Ro-*

mans

mans from conceiving any diſtruſt from the long ſtay he made in his preſent camp, he cauſed it to be given out, that he had, for ſome time, laboured under an indiſpoſition, which had detained him there. At laſt, his troops having ſupplied themſelves with proviſions for four days, began their march at the fourth watch of the night, with their general himſelf at the head of them. He detached a party of *Numidians* to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to advance thirty ſtadia before the reſt to ſcour the country as far as the gates of *Tarentum*, in order to prevent the enemy from diſcovering his forces, and to make them believe, that an inconſiderable party only had advanced out of the *Carthaginian* camp for the ſake of plunder. This had the deſired effect; for advice being brought to *Livius*, then in the height of his entertainment, that a detachment of *Numidians* were laying waſte the country within ſight of the town, he commanded ſome of his troops to drive them from thence the next morning, without giving himſelf any further trouble, for the preſent, about them. In the mean time, *Hannibal* contrived matters ſo, as to take poſt before the town about midnight, on the ſide of the gate *Temenis*. Whilſt affairs were in this ſituation, *Tragiſcus* and *Nicon*, *Philomenes* ſerving as a guide to *Hannibal* in this expedition, found means to ſecure all the avenues leading to the forum; which it was no difficult matter to do, *Livius* having ſo intoxicated himſelf, that he could think of nothing but taking his repoſe. *Hannibal* advertiſed his friends in the city of his arrival by a great fire, which he cauſed to be lighted; and was informed by them, that the plot within doors was ripe for execution, by the ſame ſignal, as had been before concerted betwixt them. Upon this, he ſent *Philomenes*, with a thouſand *Africans*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the gate *Temenis*. *Philomenes* acquainted the guard poſted there, that he had brought them a wild boar, and therefore deſired a ſpeedy admiſſion. Upon their opening the gate, the *Africans* entered, and put them all to the ſword; whilſt *Hannibal*, with the main body of his troops, found a paſſage thro' another gate, by *Nicon*'s aſſiſtance, into the town. All the *Carthaginian* and *Tarentine* forces met, as had been appointed, in the forum; from whence *Hannibal* ſent a detachment of two thouſand *Gauls*, divided into three bodies, each commanded by two *Tarentine* captains, into three different parts of the town, to ſecure every poſt of importance. After this diſpoſition, he iſſued out an order, injoining all the citizens not to ſtir out of their houſes; at the ſame time aſſuring them of his protection. The *Tarentines*, finding the *Carthaginians* entered, were at firſt thrown into the utmoſt conſternation;

but when some of their own nobility told them, that *Hannibal* was come to deliver them from a proud and insulting enemy, and to restore them to their former liberty, their fears soon subsided. *Livius*, upon the first alarm, being so drunk, that he was incapable of giving out his orders at so critical a conjuncture in a proper manner, withdrew himself, with his family, into the port, notwithstanding the conspirators had taken care to place a guard before his house, where getting on board a *Roman* vessel, he made his escape to the citadel. In the mean time, *Hannibal* commanded every *Tarentine* to post over his door the word TARENTINI, that the citizens might be distinguished from the *Romans*, and then gave up all the *Roman* houses to his soldiers to be plundered, with a permission to put to the sword every *Roman*, that should fall into their hands. That the *Romans* might be struck with the greater terror, as well as the more effectually massacred, *Philomenes* had caused *Roman* trumpets to be blown towards the citadel, which stood in the mouth of the harbour, as well as in other parts of the town, imagining, that this artifice would draw them thither, where troops were prepared to fall upon them. A considerable number of *Romans* lost their lives by this device; but many of them retired into the citadel, which *Hannibal* immediately blocked up. As he had drawn up his forces in order of battle, to support the detachments sent to plunder the *Romans*, if they met with any resistance, there was little blood shed on the *Carthaginian* side. When he found the city intirely at his devotion, he ordered the citizens to appear before him unarmed, and made them a speech, filled with assurances of his kind intentions towards them; which was answered with the loudest acclamations. In order to secure the city from the insults of the *Roman* garison in the citadel, *Hannibal* surrounded the former with a line, which, in a manner, cut off all communication betwixt it and the latter. However, he could not effect this without a considerable opposition from the enemy. During the time his men were at work upon it, one very brisk action happened, wherein the *Romans* were defeated, and lost a great number of men. *Hannibal*, after this, carried on the siege of the citadel with inconceivable vigour; but the *Romans*, receiving a strong reinforcement from *Metapontum*, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, and destroyed the greatest part both of their works and military machines. This made the *Carthaginians* despair of taking it at present by force; so that they drew off from before it. *Hannibal*, upon this disappointment, assembling the *Tarentines*, told them,

them, they would never become maſters of the citadel, unleſs they could cut off all ſupplies from the *Romans* by ſea. This they were ſenſible of; but as the *Romans* kept their ſhips blocked up in the port, they thought it would be impoſſible to exclude them from the dominion of the ſea. But *Hannibal*, by dint of genius, ſurmounted this difficulty; for obſerving, that ſhips of a moderate ſize might be drawn on ſhore, and conveyed through the middle of the city into the ſea on another ſide, he made uſe of this expedient to annoy the enemy. The *Tarentines* therefore, ſhutting up the citadel on all ſides, both by ſea and land, ſoon reduced the *Roman* gariſon to great extremities. *Hannibal* then, leaving ſome troops in the city, to ſupport the *Tarentines* againſt any attack or ſurpriſe of the enemy, returned to the camp he had marked out upon the *Galeſus*, immediately after he was admitted into the town. Here he continued in a ſtate of inaction, till the commencement of the next campaign [w].

Appian's *account of the reduction of* Tarentum.

ACCORDING to *Appian*, the name of the perſon, who introduced the *Carthaginians* into *Tarentum*, was *Cononeus*, and that of the *Roman* commandant *Junius*. *Cononeus*, ſays the ſame author, being extremely fond of hunting, prevailed upon the guard poſted at one of the gates to let him out and in whenever he pleaſed in the night, under the pretence, that he was obliged to purſue his favourite diverſion in the night-time, for fear of the enemy's parties. By this artifice, he found means frequently to confer with *Hannibal*, and at laſt enabled a body of *Carthaginians*, dreſſed like hunters, but with coats of mail and ſwords under their hunting habits, to take poſt in the town; who, being ſoon joined by a greater number of forces, that lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place. Five thouſand *Romans*, together with a body of *Tarentines* in the *Roman* intereſt, retired into the citadel. Theſe troops, being reinforced by half of the gariſon of *Metapontum*, repulſed the beſiegers in all their attacks, burnt their works and military machines, and deſtroyed many of their men in the frequent ſucceſsful ſallies they made. This ſo diſcouraged *Hannibal*, that he retired into *Apulia*, leaving *Hanno*, with a body of forces, to keep the place blocked up. But the *Romans*, being maſters of the ſea, received copious ſupplies of all things neceſſary, and ſtreightened both the town and the *Carthaginian* camp in ſuch a manner, that *Hannibal*, upon his return, which happened

[w] POLYB. l. viii. LIV. l. XXV. c. 7—12. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iii c. 3. ex. 6.

ſoon

soon after, found them almoſt reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. He therefore put them into a method of conveying their ſhips out of the port into the ſea on the ſouthern ſide of the city. After this, the *Tarentines* and *Carthaginians* intercepted the *Roman* convoys by ſea, and greatly diſtreſſed the gariſon. At laſt receiving intelligence, that the troops in the citadel expected a large ſupply of corn from the *Thurians*, they poſted a ſquadron of galleys at a proper place in ambuſcade, which, without much difficulty, ſeized upon the *Thurian* veſſels, and made all the crews priſoners. The people of *Thurium* therefore ſent deputies to *Hannibal* to redeem the captives, who, being by the *Tarentines* introduced to that general, found a moſt kind reception, and had their priſoners releaſed without ranſom. This made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the deputies, that ſoon after they put *Hannibal* into poſſeſſion of their city, though againſt the conſent of the inhabitants, the gariſon, upon the approach of the *Carthaginians*, retiring privately to *Brunduſium*. As the reduction of the city of *Tarentum* was an event of the utmoſt importance to *Hannibal*, and what, in all probability, not a little contributed to the protracting of this deſtructive war, we thought ourſelves obliged to give our readers, in this place, a circumſtantial account of it, though, prolix as this may ſeem to be, it is but an abridgment of that to be found in *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Appian* [x].

Hanno *defeated by the* Romans.

Whilst *Hannibal* lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, the conſuls, towards the beginning of the following year, threatened *Capua* with a ſiege. This greatly alarmed the *Capuans*, who were under dreadful apprehenſions of a famine, as the *Romans* had prevented them from cultivating their lands the preceding year. They therefore intreated *Hannibal* to ſend them a ſupply of proviſions, before the *Romans* had cut off the communication betwixt their city and the places, where the *Carthaginians* and their allies had erected magazines. Whereupon *Hanno*, in purſuance of an order received from *Hannibal*, moving out of the country of the *Brutii*, encamped upon an eminence about three miles from *Beneventum*; and having amaſſed a vaſt quantity of corn, appointed a day for the *Capuans* to ſend a proper number of waggons thither to carry it off. The conſuls being informed of this, *Fulvius* marched with all expedition to *Beneventum*, and from thence to *Hanno*'s camp, which he immediately attacked, and, by the bravery of *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Pelignian* troops, *Valerius Flaccus*, tribune of the third legion,

[x] Appian. in Hannib.

and

and *T. Pedanius*, the firſt centurion of it, carried, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. Of the *Carthaginians*, above ſix thouſand were ſlain, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners. A great number of *Campanian* peaſants, together with their waggons, and the corn *Hanno* had collected for the uſe of the *Capuans*, as well as an immenſe quantity of other plunder, fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hanno* himſelf was not in the action, but at ſome ſmall diſtance from the camp, when it happened; but, being informed of it by one *Cominius Ceritus*, he retired, with great precipitation, into *Brutium*, attended only by a few of his horſe. This blow ſo terrified the *Capuans*, that the principal of them ſeemed afraid the enemy would as eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of *Capua*, as they had before done of *Arpi*. However, in order to animate them to a vigorous defence, and protect their territory from the incurſions of the *Roman* parties, *Hannibal* ſent the garriſon a reinforcement of two thouſand men. In the mean time, the *Carthaginian* garriſon at *Tarentum*, in conjunction with the inhabitants, continued the ſiege of the citadel there, *Hannibal*, with his army, purſuing all the meaſures, that he thought neceſſary to facilitate the reduction of that place [r].

The Carthaginians admitted into Thurium.

THE body of troops left to defend *Metapontum* being ſo weakened by the large detachment ſent to the citadel of *Tarentum*, that the *Romans* there were not in a condition to make head againſt the citizens, who were well affected to the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* found means to make himſelf maſter of that city. *Appian* tells us, that the *Metapontini* put all the *Romans* to the ſword; and that *Heraclea*, a town ſituated between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, followed the example of thoſe two cities. The *Thurians* likewiſe, being nearly related to the people of the two laſt-mentioned cities, as deſcended from the *Achaians*, and highly reſenting the cruel treatment of the *Tarentine* hoſtages, meditated a revolt from the *Romans*. They therefore ſent a deputation to *Hanno* and *Mago*, who then commanded a *Carthaginian* army in *Brutium*, inviting them to come and take poſſeſſion of *Thurium*. *Atinius*, the commandant, had but a ſmall garriſon, his chief dependence being upon the townſmen, whom he had armed and diſciplined, that they might be the better enabled to ſupport him, in caſe of a viſit from the enemy. *Hanno* firſt preſented himſelf before the town with a body of infantry, whilſt *Mago*, with the cavalry, lay in ambuſcade by favour of ſome eminences, which concealed him from the enemy's parties, that were ſent to reconnoitre the *Carthaginians*. *Ati-*

[r] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 13, 14. APPIAN. in Hannib.

nius

nius therefore imagining, that he ſhould be attacked only by a body of foot, and being ignorant of the conſpiracy the *Thurians* had entered into, did not in the leaſt doubt, but that he ſhould eaſily repulſe the enemy. *Hanno*, as matters had been before concerted, retired upon the approach of the *Romans*, drawing both them and the *Thurians* inſenſibly to the foot of the eminences poſſeſſed by the *Carthaginian* horſe; who immediately ruſhing down upon them with a great ſhout, the *Thurians*, according to agreement, took to their heels, and were received by the conſpirators into the city. The *Romans* in the mean time, notwithſtanding they were charged in front, in flank, and in rear, behaved with great bravery; but being at laſt likewiſe put to flight, upon their arrival at the town, they found themſelves denied admiſſion, the conſpirators on the walls crying out, *That the* Carthaginians *being mixed with the* Romans, *would certainly enter, unleſs the gates were immediately ſhut.* They were all therefore cut to pieces, except *Atinius* with a few of his principal officers, whom the *Thurians* ſaved from the general carnage, out of the great perſonal regard they had for that commandant, on account of his mild and gentle government. After they had ſent theſe on board a galley, prepared for that purpoſe, to the next port belonging to the *Romans*, the conſpirators delivered *Thurium* into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time the conſuls moved towards *Capua*, in order to form the ſiege of that important place [z].

The proconſul Sempronius *betrayed and killed.*

Whilst the *Romans* were thus preparing to attack *Hannibal* in the moſt ſenſible part, they ſuſtained an almoſt irreparable loſs by the death of *Sempronius Gracchus*. That excellent commander, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching out of *Lucania* into the neighbourhood of *Capua*, with a body of *Volones*, to prevent the enemy from throwing any ſuccours into the place, was, by the treachery of *Flavius Lucanus*, drawn into an ambuſcade, and cut off, with all the ſmall party that attended him. *Livy* tells us, that authors do not intirely agree in their accounts of that general's death, ſome affirming, that he was maſſacred by two troops of *Numidians*, as he repeated a ſacrifice, which had been attended by a very bad omen, at ſome diſtance from the camp, before he left *Lucania*; others, that a *Carthaginian* detachment put him and three lictors, with ſome ſervants attending them, to the ſword, near the river *Calor*, in the territory of *Beneventum*, as they were going to bathe themſelves; and laſtly, others, that he fell in the manner

[z] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 15. Appian. in Hannib.

firſt

firſt related. The *Roman* writers differ likewiſe as much in the accounts they give us of his interment; ſome intimating, that *Hannibal* celebrated his funeral obſequies with great pomp and magnificence, the *Spaniards* diſtinguiſhing themſelves above any other nation in the *Carthaginian* army on that occaſion; and others, that he ſent the body to the *Roman* camp, to be interred there. Be that as it will, *Hannibal* reaped conſiderable advantage from this accident, ſince it, for ſome time, retarded the attack of *Capua* [a]

Hannibal *gives* Centenius Penula *a great defeat.*

HOWEVER, the conſuls at laſt approached that city, with an intention to inveſt it; of which the *Capuans* being informed, they ordered a detachment of foot out of the town, to make a ſally upon the enemy. As the *Romans* plundered all the country, through which they moved, that detachment, ſupported by a body of *Carthaginian* cavalry, under the command of *Mago*, fell in with a numerous party of them, ravaging the adjacent territory without any order or diſcipline. Theſe troops *Mago* routed at the firſt onſet, laid fifteen hundred of them dead upon the ſpot, took many priſoners, recovered a vaſt quantity of booty, and diſperſed the reſt. This action ſo intimidated the conſuls, that, for the preſent, they thought proper to ſtand upon the defenſive, and ſo encouraged the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans*, that they frequently inſulted the enemy. *Hannibal*, upon advice of what had happened, immediately marched to *Capua*, and attacked the *Romans*. Soon after the begining of the engagement, the quæſtor *Cornelius* appeared with the body of troops formerly commanded by *Sempronius*, to the terror of both parties, each looking upon them as enemies. Under this apprehenſion, both armies drew off from the field of battle to their reſpective camps. The conſuls, after the action, in which the *Romans* ſuffered moſt, divided their forces into two bodies, in order to oblige *Hannibal* to leave the territory of *Capua*. *Fulvius*, with one of them, retreated into the diſtrict of *Cumæ*, whilſt *Claudius* took his march into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* purſued the latter; but was not able to come up with him. However, he met with a *Roman* corps of ſixteen thouſand men, under the conduct of *M. Centenius Penula*, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions as a centurion. This officer, being introduced to the ſenate by *P. Cornelius Sulla* the prætor, had the aſſurance to tell the conſcript fathers, that, if they would truſt him with only a body of five thouſand men, he would turn the tables upon the *Carthaginians*, and give a good ac-

[a] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 16—18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 17.

count of *Hannibal*. Instead of five thousand, they assigned him eight thousand, which, by the accession of voluntiers in his march to *Lucania*, and many of the natives on his arrival there, he increased to double the number. Being a man of wonderful resolution, he engaged the *Carthaginians* upon *Hannibal*'s first offering him battle; but, not being able to cope with that general, after a fight of two hours, he was intirely defeated. As *Hannibal*, by guarding all the passes and avenues in the neighbourhood of his camp, had taken care to cut off their retreat, all the *Romans*, except a thousand men, together with their general, were slain. Notwithstanding which, *Claudius* having taken a large compass, in order to get clear of *Hannibal*, arrived once more before *Capua*, and, in conjunction with his collegue, blocked up that city [b].

As likewise the prætor Fulvius.

Hannibal, ever intent upon taking advantage of the foibles of the *Roman* generals, receiving intelligence from his emissaries in *Apulia*, that *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, being elated with some late instances of success, despised the enemy, and permitted a total relaxation of discipline to take place amongst his troops, advanced to *Herdonia*, where the *Romans* lay encamped. Upon his arrival there, he distributed three thousand light-armed troops in a woody spot of ground, which concealed them from the enemy, and detached *Mago*, with two thousand horse, to block up all the passes and defiles on that part, where he foresaw the enemy would endeavour to make off, in case they were pushed. The prætor, being a man of a fiery temper, was easily drawn by *Hannibal* into the ambuscade; where being attacked in front, in rear, and in flank, and the retreat cut off, the whole *Roman* corps, consisting of eighteen thousand men, except the prætor and two thousand, who fled as soon as they saw victory incline to the *Carthaginians*, were put to the sword. The two last blows coming, as it were, one upon the neck of the other, threw the *Roman* senate into a great consternation, and obliged them to send *M. Mitilius* and *C. Lectorius* to the consuls, with fresh instructions [c].

Hannibal *in vain attempts to excite the citizens of* Brundusium *to a revolt.*

NOTWITHSTANDING these misfortunes, the consuls, pursuant to an order received from the senate, made the necessary dispositions for forming the siege of *Capua*. *Hannibal*, after the defeat of the enemy at *Herdonia*, returned to *Tarentum*, where he attempted, both by force and persuasion, to bring the *Roman* garison in the citadel to a capitulation;

[b] Liv. ubi sup. c. 18—22. [c] Liv. ubi sup. c. 2, PLUT. in Hannib.

but

but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he turned off to *Brundusium*, to excite the citizens there to a revolt; but being disappointed in this view, he entertained some thoughts of moving towards *Capua*, at the earnest desire of the citizens, who now sent a deputation to him. At this time the transactions in the island of *Sicily* were very considerable, and the *Carthaginians* exerted themselves there, notwithstanding the numerous armies they employed in *Italy* and *Spain*. However, as the particulars of these transactions do not fall under our province, we must refer our readers for them to the history of *Syracuse*, to which they properly belong [d].

Otacilius *ravages the coasts of* Africa.

ABOUT the time of the reduction of *Syracuse*, *Otacilius* sailed with eighty quinqueremes from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*; where entering the port in the night, he took a great number of vessels laden with corn. After which, he landed a body of forces, that ravaged all the adjacent territory; and then returned on board with a very considerable booty. The *Carthaginians* giving him no obstruction in this excursion, either by sea or land, he arrived safe at *Lilybæum* three days after he left the harbour of *Utica*, with a hundred and thirty transports, that conveyed the corn and other spoils he had acquired, into that harbour. By such a seasonable supply, he was enabled to relieve the people of *Syracuse*, who, as well as the *Roman* garison there, were, at that time, threatened with a famine [e].

The transactions in Spain.

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*; one commanded by *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, another by *Mago*, and the third by *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*. The two former generals encamped close together, about five days march from the *Romans*; and the latter posted himself at *Anitorgis*, a city much nearer the enemy. This obliged the *Romans* to divide likewise their forces. *Cneius*, with one third of the *Roman* troops and a body of thirty thousand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Anitorgis*, to observe the motions of *Asdrubal* the son of *Hamilcar*. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the same river, with an intention soon to come to an engagement. *Asdrubal*, having a perfect knowledge of the *Spanish* perfidy, and being besides well skilled in the *Celtiberian* tongue, easily found means to bribe the *Celtiberian* troops to a desertion; which obliged *Cneius* to pass the *Iberus*, and to secure himself, by keeping that river betwixt him and *Asdrubal*'s army. In the mean time, *Mago* and the other *Asdrubal*, by the assi-

[d] Idem ibid. c 23. Univers. hist. vol. vii. p. 257—305. [e] Liv. ubi sup.

ſtance of *Maſiniſſa*, and *Indibilis*, regulus of the *Lacetani*, gave the *Romans* a complete overthrow, and killed *Publius*. The ſame generals and princes, with their united forces, afterwards going in queſt of *Cneius*, met with him on the top of an eminence, where, after a bloody action, they defeated him, put him to the ſword, with a great number of his legionaries, and forced the reſt to fly to *Publius*'s camp, which was guarded by a ſmall body, under the command of one of his lieutenants called *T. Fonteius*. However, the *Carthaginians*, towards the cloſe of the campaign, were unexpectedly overthrown by a young *Roman* knight named *C. Martius*, who had collected the remains of the *Roman* army, as we have elſewhere related. Acccording to *Claudius*, who tranſlated the *Annales Aciliani*, out of *Greek* into *Latin*, two *Carthaginian* camps were forced in twenty-four hours time by *Martius*, thirty-ſeven thouſand *Carthaginians* killed, eighteen hundred made priſoners, beſides many ſpoils taken, amongſt which was a ſilver ſhield, weighing an hundred and thirty pounds, with the effigies of *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, upon it. *Valerius Antias* relates, that only *Mago*'s camp was taken, when ſeven thouſand of the enemy were put to the ſword; and that, in a pitched battle, *Martius* defeated *Aſdrubal*, killing ten thouſand of his men, and making four thouſand three hundred and thirty priſoners. *Piſo* affirms, that the *Romans* drew the *Carthaginians* into an ambuſcade, and by that means cut off five thouſand of them. In ſhort, from this ſpecimen, we may form a true idea of the authors *Livy* followed; which is the reaſon of our inſerting theſe laſt particulars here. Their relations, in the point before us, are plainly refuted both by the preceding and ſubſequent operations of the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies in *Spain*, as may be collected even from *Livy* himſelf; nay, that hiſtorian, partial as he is, allows ſome of theſe to have greatly exceeded the truth in their accounts of the numbers of the ſlain, in the battles they have deſcribed; which is a tacit acknowledgment of his own partiality, and conſequently a confirmation of what, in relation to the affairs of *Spain* during this period, we have ſo frequently obſerved [f].

The Roman generals paſs on the ſiege of Capua.

In the mean time, the conſuls and the prætor *Claudius*, having drawn a line round *Capua*, puſhed on the ſiege of that important place with the utmoſt vigour. The *Capuans* at firſt made frequent ſallies, eſpecially upon the workmen employed upon the ſaid line, which was flanked with pa-

[f] Claud. Val. Antias. & Piso. apud. Liv. l. xxv. ſub fin. ut & ipſe Liv. ibid. Vide & Appian in Iberic.

rapets

rapets and towers placed at proper distances. The *Capuans*, in this distress, sent messengers to *Hannibal*, complaining, "That they were deserted by him, and upon the point of "surrendering to the *Romans*; at the same time conjuring "the *Carthaginian*, by their fidelity to him, to send them "speedy succours.". This, however, could not induce *Hannibal* to abandon the blockade of the citadel of *Tarentum*; but being at last informed by a *Numidian* horseman, who had passed through the *Roman* camp undiscovered in the night, that *Capua* was reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, with some regret he moved from his camp upon the *Galesus* near *Tarentum*, to the relief of his beloved city. Though for some time, after the arrival of the *Numidian*, he remained in a state of suspense, not knowing whether the reduction of the citadel of *Tarentum*, or the relief of *Capua*, would turn out most to his advantage, yet, out of the singular affection he bore the *Capuans*, he at last came to a resolution to succour them. It is probable likewise, that he took this step, in order to preserve his reputation amongst his allies; which, he imagined, could not be more effectually done, than by a vigorous support of those, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in his favour. Leaving therefore his baggage in *Brutium*, he advanced, with a strong body of light-armed troops, together with thirty-three elephants, towards *Capua*, taking post in a valley behind mount *Tifata*. Here he did not continue long inactive; for he first took a fort called *Galatia* by storm, and then, without loss of time, attacked the *Roman* camp, the *Capuans* at the same instant, as had been before concerted betwixt them and *Hannibal*, making a vigorous sally with their whole garison; but, after a warm dispute, both the *Carthaginians* and *Capuans* were repulsed, with considerable loss. *Livy* tells us, that in the heat of the action, the *Spaniards* and *Numidians*, together with the elephants, broke into the enemy's camp, that those huge animals, by overturning the *Roman* tents, and frighting the beasts of burden there, scattered terror where-ever they moved; and that *Hannibal*, taking advantage of this confusion, ordered some of his men, who could speak *Latin*, to cry out, "That, "since the *Roman* camp was taken, every soldier was at liber-"ty to shift for himself as well as he could, and to fly to the neighbouring mountains." However, the elephants being soon driven out of the camp by fire brought thither for that purpose, and *Hannibal*'s artifice defeated, the *Romans* recovered themselves, and obliged the enemy to retire. After this action, *Hannibal*, not being able either to draw the enemy to a battle,

battle, or force a paſſage through their camp into the town, laid aſide all thoughts for the preſent of relieving *Capua* [g].

Hannibal *advances to* Rome.

HOWEVER, that general, ever active in forming of ſchemes for the annoyance of his enemies, at laſt hit upon an expedient, which, he doubted not, would infallibly anſwer his purpoſe. He propoſed to march with ſuch expedition to *Rome*, as to preſent himſelf at the walls of that metropolis, before the *Romans* could have any notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. In order to facilitate the execution of this project, *Hannibal* ordered his troops to ſupply themſelves with proviſions for ten days, and to get ready as many tranſports as would waft them over the *Vulturnus* in one night. But, notwithſtanding the privacy with which this whole affair was tranſacted, *Fulvius* by means of his ſpies, received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s intended motion, and diſpatched a courier to *Rome*, to give the ſenate early notice of his approach. As the *Carthaginian* did not march directly to *Rome*, but took a large compaſs, and ſtayed to ravage the countries, through which he moved, the *Romans* had time to make proper diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital. However, many, even of the ſenators themſelves, were ſtruck with incredible terror at the appearance of the *Carthaginian* forces. *Hannibal*, having marched through the territories of *Fruſinum*, *Ferentinum*, *Anagnia*, *Labicum*, *Algidum*, *Tuſculum*, and *Gabii*, encamped on a commodious ſpot of ground within eight miles of *Rome*; his *Numidian* parties, that preceded the main body of the army, putting to the ſword, or taking priſoners, all the *Romans* they met with in their route. After a ſhort ſtay here, he moved to the banks of the *Anio*, about three miles from the enemy's capital; from whence, eſcorted by a choice detachment of two thouſand horſe, he advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and take a view of the ſituation of the city. But not meeting with the deſired ſucceſs, either in this excurſion, or the attempts he afterwards made, *Hannibal* retired ſix miles from *Rome*, where he pitched his tents upon the *Tutia*. From hence he went to the grove of the goddeſs *Feronia*, where ſtood a temple ſacred to her, inriched with the valuable oblations and preſents of the *Capenates*, a people inhabiting that particular diſtrict; which he plundered. *Livy* affirms, that, after *Hannibal*'s departure, great heaps of braſs were found in this grove, which his ſoldiers had left there, in the room of the treaſure they had carried from thence, out of a religious motive. According to *Strabo*,

[g] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 4---7.

a facri-

a ſacrifice was offered annually to the goddeſs *Feronia*, in the grove where ſhe was worſhipped, at the foot of the mountain *Soracte*, where her votaries walked unhurt over burning coals. On ſeveral *Roman* denarii, preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, ſhe is repreſented with a crown on her head. *Hannibal*, finding himſelf diſappointed in his views, is ſaid to have cried out, "That at one time his own will, and at another "fortune, would not permit him to take *Rome*." *Livy* ſeems to intimate, that the routes *Hannibal* took in his paſſage to *Rome*, and retreat from it, could not be aſcertained, ſome authors confounding them, though one of theſe, he believes, in his time, was certainly known. We ſhall not further expatiate upon this remarkable expedition, ſince all the particulars of moment relating to it, omitted by us here, will be found in a proper place. [h]

Capua *ſurrenders to the* Romans.

Hannibal, inſtead of marching to the relief of *Capua*, the ſiege of which his late enterpriſe could not divert the enemy from, moved with ſuch expedition to *Rhegium*, that he had like to have ſurpriſed that city. This little pleaſed the *Capuans*, who prevailed upon *Boſtar* and *Hanno*, the commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Capua* to preſs *Hannibal*, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt moving terms, to attempt raiſing the ſiege of that city. Their letters, however, had no effect; for *Hannibal* either being not able or willing to relieve the place, it was obliged to ſurrender to the *Romans*, *Seppius Læſius* being at that time the *mediaſtuticus*, or chief magiſtrate, there. *Vibius Virius*, who had been the chief author of the late revolt, put an end to his life by poiſon, as did twenty-ſeven other ſenators. In what a ſhocking and inhuman manner *Fulvius* treated the *Capuan* ſenators, both before, and even after, the conſcript fathers at *Rome* had granted them mercy, may be ſeen in a former part of this work. Nothing can give us a more lively idea of the cruelties and enormities a thirſt after power may make a ſtate capable of, than what even the partial *Livy* himſelf has tranſmitted down to poſterity on this occaſion, except the late villainous and unchriſtian behaviour of a moſt chriſtian prince, as famous for his obſervation of ſolemn treaties, as either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* were. The ſucceſs of this ſiege gave the *Romans* a viſi-

[h] LIV. ubi. ſup. c. 7—12. POLYB. l. ix. STRAB. l. v. SIL. ITAL. C. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS ZONAR. omneſq; fere al. hiſtoric. Roman. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii p. 145, & ſeq.

ble

ble ſuperiority over the *Carthaginians*, and diſpoſed the *Italian* ſtates in general to declare for their former maſters [i].

State of affairs in Spain.

SOME time after the reduction of *Capua*, *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, being encamped at a place called *Lapides Atri*, in the country of the *Auſetani*, between *Illiturgis* and *Mentiſſa*, was informed, that *Claudius Nero*, who had been employed before *Capua*, was arrived in *Spain* with a ſtrong reinforcement; and that the command of the army deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* was given to him, in the room of *L. Martius* and *T. Fonteius*. *Aſdrubal* ſoon after, by a falſe point of conduct, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up on an iſthmus in ſuch a manner, that he lay at the mercy of the enemy. However he found means to extricate himſelf out of the difficulties, in which that error had involved him, though by none of the moſt honourable methods. This event ſo changed the face of affairs in *Spain*, that no perſon of diſtinction, except *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the ſon of *Publius*, who had lately loſt his life in *Spain*, offered himſelf a candidate for the proconſulate there. He was therefore choſen proconſul for *Spain*, and ſent, with an additional body of troops, to carry on the war in that country. Soon after his arrival there, he received deputations from moſt of the *Spaniſh* nations, who diſcovered a greater inclination than ever to come to a cloſe union with the *Romans*. When *Scipio*, amidſt the applauſe and acclamations of all ranks and degrees of men at *Rome*, took upon himſelf the command of the army in *Spain*, he was ſcarce twenty-four years of age [k].

Hannibal's *affairs go to decay in* Italy, Sicily, *and* Spain.

NOTHING of moment, except what has been already related, happened further this year in *Spain*. At the end of it, *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, extended his winter-quarters as far as *Gades* and the ocean. *Mago* took up his above the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*, in the maritime parts; and *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, cantoned his body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Saguntum*. About this time, the *Carthaginians* ſent a ſquadron to *Tarentum*, to cut off all ſupplies from the *Roman* garriſon in the citadel there; but they incommoded their allies the *Tarentines* more than the enemy, ſince it was found impoſſible to convey, either by ſea or land, a quantity of proviſions ſufficient to ſupport both the people of *Tarentum*, and the forces on board the *Carthaginian* gallcys. Though the latter therefore for ſome time blocked up the citadel by ſea, they could not carry their point, the *Romans* there being am-

[i] Liv. ubi. ſup. c. 12---17. Polyb. ubi. ſup. Vide & Univ. hiſt. vol, xii. p. 149, 150. [k] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 20, &c. Polyb. l. x.

ply

ply provided with all things neceſſary, and having a large train of military engines, wherewith to annoy the enemy. *Hannibal*, now finding the *Carthaginian* affairs going ſwiftly to decay in *Italy*, as well as *Sicily* and *Spain*, could not forbear curſing *Hanno* and his faction, for the detention of thoſe ſuccours, which had ſo long been promiſed him. This, which was effected by their artifice, did not only prevent the conqueſt of *Italy*, but proved the total ruin of the *African* republic, the hitherto formidable rival of *Rome*, as will more clearly appear in the future courſe of this hiſtory [l].

The Romans take Salapia; but are defeated at ſea by the Tarentines.

THE next campaign the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of *Salapia*, by the aſſiſtance of one *Blaſius*, a *Salapian*, who had always been a ſecret well-wiſher to the *Romans*. As the particulars of this action have been already related at large, we ſhall not dwell upon them here; but only obſerve, that *Hannibal* loſt a body of his beſt horſe in it, which proved much more fatal to him, than the loſs of *Salapia*, ſince his cavalry could never after this blow, if *Livy* may be credited, make head againſt that of the *Romans*, to which it had always been before ſuperior. About this time, a *Tarentine* ſquadron, commanded by *Nicon*, defeated a *Roman* fleet, ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, under the conduct of *D. Quintius*, who was killed in the action. But, to make amends for this diſaſter, a *Roman* detachment, conſiſting of two thouſand men, fell upon four thouſand *Tarentine* foragers, and through the conduct and bravery of their leader *C. Perſius*, intirely defeated them, putting the greateſt part of them to the ſword [m].

The Romans drive four thouſand robbers from Agathyrna to Rhegium, and ravage Bruttium.

ABOUT this time the *Romans* being reſolved to chaſtiſe the *Brutians* for their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, *Lævinus*, the *Roman* general in *Sicily*, tranſported a body of four thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of robbers, from *Agathyrna* to *Rhegium*, in order to enable the gariſon of this laſt city to lay waſte the whole country of *Bruttium*. As moſt of the men, of which this corps was formed, had been guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, and committed great depredations in *Sicily* for a conſiderable period of time, the *Romans* could not have pitched upon any troops more proper to execute ſuch a deſign. *Lævinus* likewiſe ſerved another wiſe end, by ſending this band of villains to *Rhegium*; for by this means he preſerved the tranquillity and repoſe of the iſland of *Sicily*, which muſt have been greatly diſturbed by the continuance of ſuch a gang of banditti at *Agathyrna* [n].

[l] Idem ibid. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7.

[m] LIV. xxvi. c. 39. PLUT. in Marcel. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7.

[n] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 40.

Scipio takes New Carthage.

Scipio having taken care to get his naval forces in readineſs to put to ſea early in the ſpring, and appointed *Tarraco* the place of rendezvous for the forces of his *Spaniſh* allies, upon their aſſembling there, ordered the main body of the army to defile from thence to the *Iberus*, himſelf following at the head of five thouſand *Spaniards*. Here he harangued the ſoldiery, inſiſting largely upon all thoſe topics, that, he thought, would be the moſt apt to inſpire them with reſentment and reſolution. After this, leaving *M. Syllanus*, with three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, to prevent all diſorders in thoſe parts of *Spain*, he paſſed the *Iberus*, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. As almoſt all the riches of *Spain* were depoſited in *New Carthage*, a city ſituated, like *Old Carthage*, upon a peninſula, betwixt a noble port and a lake, which laſt ſerved as a fence to the weſtern and northern parts of the wall, he formed a deſign upon it. To the attack of this place he was likewiſe further excited by the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, which was capacious enough to receive any fleet, and ſo near the coaſt of *Africa*, that the *Romans*, when in poſſeſſion of it, might eaſily make a deſcent on the *Carthaginian* territories there. Upon his arrival here, *Scipio* made a ſpeech to his troops, importing, "That as all the wealth of the enemy "amaſſed in *Spain*, all their engines of battery and military "machines, all the hoſtages of the *Spaniards* to the *Carthaginians*, which alone ſecured the fidelity of the former to "the latter, together with the principal, if not only, gra-"nary the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain*, were lodged in that "city, by the reduction of it they ſhould, in a manner, ter-"minate the war, at leaſt in that part of the world, with "their proud rival." *Mago*, who, according to ſome authors, commanded in the town, or, as *Valerius Antias* will have it, *Arine*, upon *Scipio*'s approach, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence. He poſted two thouſand of the citizens in that part of the town which fronted the *Roman* camp, five hundred *Carthaginians* in the citadel, and five hundred more upon an eminence in the eaſtern part of the city. He likewiſe ordered another body to be ready to move where-ever the efforts of the enemy ſhould render their aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a moment's warning. The *Romans* did not only repulſe the enemy in a ſally they made upon them, but likewiſe purſued them with ſuch ardour, that, had not *Scipio* cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, they had entered pell-mell with the *Carthaginians* into the town. This ſo intimidated the troops in gariſon, that they abandoned many of their poſts, and, in a manner, deſerted the ramparts; which

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when *Scipio* obſerved, advancing to an eminence called *Mercurius Teutates*, he immediately ordered a vigorous attack to be made on thoſe parts of the wall, which were moſt expoſed, his fleet at the ſame time forwarding the operations of the land-forces, by aſſaulting the town on the ſea-ſide. After a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, the *Romans* carried the place ſword in hand, *Scipio* greatly animating his men, by flying from place to place to give his orders, as occaſion required; and ſome fiſhermen of *Tarraco* enabling one of his detachments to enter the town on the ſide of the *ſtagnum* or moraſs, which ſeemed almoſt inacceſſible. The commandant retired into the citadel; but was ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the *Romans*, that he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Till the ſurrender of the citadel, the ſlaughter was general; but afterwards quarter was given, the ſoldiers being chiefly intent upon plunder. The *Romans* made ten thouſand freemen, beſides a prodigious number of women, children, and ſlaves, priſoners, together with three hundred, or, according to others, ſeven hundred twenty-five *Spaniſh* hoſtages, whom the *Roman* general immediately diſmiſſed. They found in the place an hundred and twenty of the greater catapults, two hundred eighty-one of the leſſer ſort; twenty-three of the larger baliſtæ, fifty-two of the ſmaller; an inconceivable number of darts and other miſſive weapons; beſides many of the machines called ſcorpions, together with ſeventy-four military enſigns. An immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, both in money and plate, fell into *Scipio*'s hands. But as the authors *Livy* followed, particularly *Silenus* and *Valerius Antias*, greatly differed in this point, as well as with regard to the ſtrength of the *Carthaginian* gariſon, the number of captives, the quantity of ſhipping ſeized in the port, and the proviſions, naval ſtores, &c. found on board, we ſhall beg leave to refer our readers, for their further ſatisfaction on thoſe heads, to that writer himſelf, and to the circumſtantial account we have already given of this glorious action in a former part of our hiſtory [o].

THE *Carthaginians*, for ſome time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the news of the blow they had received in *Spain* by the reduction of *New Carthage*, being apprehenſive, that as ſoon

The Carthaginians ſeem to diſbelieve the Romans.

[o] POLYB. l. x. ſub init. LIV. ubi ſupra. c. 43, & ſeq. APPIAN. in Iberic. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 15. S. JUL. *Frontin.* FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 1. SIL. ITAL. l. xv. OROS. l. *hiſpan.* iv. c. 18. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 8. Vide SERV. in Virg. *Æn.* i. & *Iber.* & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 153. ut. & SILEN. & VALER. ANT. *apud* LIV. ubi ſupra.

as the *Spaniards* received intelligence of that unexpected event, they would, to a man, declare in favour of the *Romans*. But not being able long to conceal so remarkable a disgrace, they were obliged at last to own it, though they put as good a face upon the matter as they well could, in the present melancholy situation of affairs, in order to palliate their own shameful behaviour at the late attack. They gave out, "That "*Scipio* had stolen the town by surprise; that the conquest "was of little importance, notwithstanding the young com- "mander affected to cry it up as equivalent to a signal vic- "tory; and that, upon the approach of three *Carthaginian* "generals, at the head of three victorious armies, he would "presently be thrown into a panic, and have his mind in- "tirely occupied by the frightful idea of the havock lately "made in his family." Notwithstanding which suggestions, they were perfectly sensible of the great loss they had sustained, and of the fatal influence the reduction of so important a fortress must necessarily have upon their affairs. The polite as well as generous treatment the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, regulus of the *Ilergetes*, all the daughters of *Indibilis*, those of the principal *Spanish* nobility, a young lady of most attractive charms, betrothed to *Allucius*, prince of the *Celtiberians*, and *Allucius* himself, met with from *Scipio*, will more naturally fall under our observation, when we come to the history of *Spain*; for which reason we shall content ourselves with having barely mentioned it in this place [P].

Hannibal defeats the proconsul Cn. Fulvius at Herdonea.

Marcellus, after the taking of *Salapia*, advancing into *Samnium*, made himself master of *Maronea* and *Melæ*, two cities of that country, by assault. Three thousand *Carthaginian* soldiers, left there by *Hannibal*, were all either killed or taken prisoners. Two hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat, together with an hundred and ten thousand of barley, and some plunder, that the troops partook of, were found in those fortresses; but this could by no means be deemed a sufficient compensation for the great defeat *Hannibal* gave the proconsul *Cn. Fulvius* at *Herdonea* about the same time. The *Roman* general, being apprised, that the citizens of *Herdonea* shewed a disposition to abandon the *Carthaginian* interest, moved that way, to encourage them to declare themselves. *Hannibal*, by his spies, receiving intelligence of this motion, as well as the reason of it, advanced likewise into the neighbourhood of that city, with such celerity, that *Fulvius* had no notice of his approach. However, upon *Hannibal*'s offering battle to the *Romans*, an en-

[P] POLYB. LIV. & APPIAN. ubi sup.

gagement

gagement enſued, wherein the legionaries behaved with great bravery, till the *Carthaginian* found means to ſurround them with his horſe. Then they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and driven out of the field, with the loſs of thirteen thouſand men, the reſt flying to *Marcellus* in *Samnium* by different routes. After this victory, *Hannibal* burnt the city of *Herdonea*, put to death as many of the nobility, who had kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Fulvius*, as he could diſcover, and tranſplanted the body of the citizens to *Metapontum* and *Thurii*. Upon the firſt news of *Fulvius*'s overthrow, *Marcellus* moved out of *Samnium* into *Lucania*, to give a check to the progreſs of the *Carthaginian* arms, and came up with *Hannibal* near the town of *Numiſtro*. Both ſides immediately ſhewed a diſpoſition to fight, and drew up their armies in order of battle without delay. *Hannibal* poſted his right wing on an eminence, and *Marcellus* his left cloſe by the town. The action was very ſharp, but not deciſive, the night obliging both ſides to retire. *Hannibal*, not judging it expedient to renew the attack the next morning, decamped in the night, bending his march for *Venuſia*, where in a few days, the *Roman* army arrived. Some ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened here betwixt the advanced guards of both parties; but nothing of moment was undertaken by either of the generals, they being wholly employed in watching one another's motions. A conſpiracy formed againſt the *Roman* troops in *Capua*, being detected, the conſpirators received condign puniſhment. *Syphax*, about this time, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, notifying to the ſenate certain advantages he had lately gained over the *Carthaginians*, with a declaration, that no power was conſidered by him in a more hoſtile light, than the ſtate of *Carthage*, nor in a more friendly one, than that of *Rome*. Towards the cloſe of this campaign, *Hamilcar*, with a *Carthaginian* ſquadron, conſiſting of forty galleys, hovered about the coaſts of *Sardinia*, and, not meeting with any *Roman* fleet to oppoſe him, ravaged all the country about *Olbia* and *Caralis*. The *Sicilian* banditti abovementioned, about this time, did not only deſtroy with fire and ſword a good part of *Bruttium*, but likewiſe laid ſiege to the city of *Caulonia* [q].

Hannibal, having taken up his winter-quarters near *Canuſium*, uſed all poſſible means to excite the people of that city to a revolt from the *Romans*; which reaching the ears of *Marcellus*, he advanced to *Canuſium*, encamped over-againſt

Various engagements betwixt Hannibal and Marcellus.

[q] POLYB. l. x. LIV. xxvii. ſub init. APPIAN. in Hannib. PLUT. in Marcel. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

Hannibal

Hannibal, and ſoon found means to draw him to a battle. The contending armies, being ſeparated by the night, at firſt parted upon equal terms; but the next day, the encounter being renewed, *Hannibal* worſted the *Romans*. This extremely chagrined *Marcellus*, who hitherto had never received any diſgrace from the *Carthaginians*; but now, beſides the field of battle, loſt near three thouſand men, amongſt whom were four centurions and two military tribunes, together with ſix ſtandards, that were taken by the enemy. Being therefore filled with indignation and reſentment, he reſolved to venture another engagement with *Hannibal*, who, on his part, ſeemed determined not to decline the challenge. *Marcellus* poſted the left wing, and thoſe cohorts, that, in the laſt action, had loſt their colours, in front; the twentieth legion he placed to the right; and appointed *Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Claudius Nero* to command both wings, whilſt the main body was committed to his conduct. *Hannibal* poſted the *Spaniards* in front, and diſpoſed his other forces in the uſual manner. The fight was obſtinate and bloody, the *Carthaginian* elephants overthrowing many of the *Roman* ſtandards, breaking the enemy's ranks, and treading under foot ſuch a number of them, that their army muſt have been abſolutely ruined, had not *Decimus Flavius*, a military tribune, advanced boldly againſt them, at the head of a party of dartmen, who wounding moſt of thoſe huge animals by a ſhower of their *pila* diſcharged upon them, they turned upon their own men with ſuch fury, that they were thrown into diſorder; which enabled the *Romans* to drive *Hannibal* to his camp, after they had laid eight thouſand *Carthaginians* dead upon the ſpot. *Marcellus*, however, loſt above three thouſand men in the action, and had almoſt all the reſt wounded; inſomuch, that he found himſelf not capable of purſuing *Hannibal*, when his ſpies informed him, that he was retreating into *Brutium*. During theſe tranſactions, the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, and *Volſcentes*, ſubmitted to the conſul *Fulvius*, delivering all the troops *Hannibal* had left in their cities for gariſons, into his hands. *Pactius* and *Vitias* likewiſe, two of the principal noblemen amongſt the *Brutii*, endeavoured to procure for their countrymen the ſame terms that had been granted to their neighbours. *Q. Fabius*, the other conſul, about the ſame time, took by ſtorm *Manduria*, a city of the *Salentines*, making four thouſand men therein priſoners of war. After this inſtance of ſucceſs, *Fabius* ſat down before *Tarentum*. As the *Carthaginians* had then no fleets in thoſe ſeas, having ſent all their galleys to the iſland *Corcyra*, in order to aſſiſt king *Philip*, then at war with the *Ætolians*, he

he found no difficulty in making his approaches by ſea as well as by land. Whilſt theſe things happened, *Hannibal* advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to *Caulonia*; which obliged the *Sicilian* forces above-mentioned to retire to an eminence at ſome diſtance from that town [r].

Fabius had no occaſion to puſh on long the ſiege of *Taren-* Fabius
tum. An accident, that could not be foreſeen, threw that *takes* Ta-
place into his hands. It happened, that the commandant of rentum.
the *Brutian* gariſon, which *Hannibal* left for the defence of that place, fell deſperately in love with a girl, whoſe brother was a ſoldier in the *Roman* army. This perſon being informed by his ſiſter, in a letter, of the great intereſt ſhe had with the commandant, he immediately communicated the matter to *Fabius*, who ordered him to go into the city as a deſerter, and to try whether he could not, by his ſiſter's influence, prevail upon her gallant to introduce the *Romans* into the town. This was happily effected, without any great effuſion of blood, ſince the *Tarentines* found themſelves not able to make head againſt the *Romans*, after the *Brutians* had deſerted them. *Nicon* and *Democrates*, two of the *Tarentine* leaders, died glorioufly, on the bed of honour, fighting for the liberties of their country; and *Philomenes*, by whoſe agency *Tarentum* had been betrayed to *Hannibal*, was ſuppoſed to have thrown himſelf headlong from off his horſe into a well, after the end of the action. *Cartalo*, who commanded the body of native *Carthaginians* in the place, was put to the ſword, together with a good number of his men, as well as the greateſt part of the *Tarentines*, and many even of the *Brutians* themſelves, who, one would have thought, had merited better treatment. All authors agree, that the plunder taken here was immenſe, and even equal to what *Marcellus* found in *Syracuſe*. The number of ſlaves made priſoners amounted to thirty thouſand. *Fabius* took care to diſmantle *Tarentum*, and to demoliſh the wall, that ſeparated the town from the citadel. About this time *Hannibal*, having, for a conſiderable term, ſurrounded the body of *Sicilian* banditti poſted on the eminence near *Caulonia* above-mentioned, forced them to ſurrender at diſcretion [t].

THE *Carthaginians* had this year three armies in *Spain*, Aſdrubal
commanded by three of their beſt generals, *viz.* *Aſdrubal* *defeated*
the ſon of *Hamilcar*, *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, and *Mago*. *by* Scipio
Edeco, or *Edeſco*, a general of great fame amongſt the *Spa-* *in* Spain.

[r] POLYB. LIV APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi ſup. [t] Iidem ibid.
PLUT. in Fab. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. ubi ſupra.

niards,

niards, abandoning the *Carthaginian* intereſt about the beginning of the ſummer, came over to *Scipio*. His wife and children had been, for ſome time, in the *Roman* camp; but a regard to their ſafety did not ſo much induce him to act the part he had done, according to *Livy*, as that ſincere affection for the *Romans*, with which *Scipio* had inſpired all the *Spaniards*, by his great humanity, politeneſs and condeſcenſion. *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and moſt of the other *Spaniſh* reguli, charmed with the ſame amiable qualities, joined *Scipio* with all their forces. By this acceſſion of ſtrength, that general found himſelf enabled to hazard an engagement with *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Hamilcar*, who lay encamped near the city of *Bœtula*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Bæcula*. *Scipio* was impatient of delay, as fearing the junction of *Aſdrubal*, and his collegues. The *Carthaginian* diſcovered the ſame eagerneſs for a battle on his part, as finding the *Roman* army to be daily reinforced by the acceſſion of *Spaniſh* troops, and his own diminiſhed in proportion, by the continual deſertion of thoſe troops. *Scipio*, upon his approach towards the *Carthaginian* camp, detached ſome parties of his *velites* to reconnoitre the enemy, who, having fallen in with ſome of their advanced guards, defeated them, purſued them to their camp, and then returned, without any loſs, to their own army. Animated by this event, *Scipio*, the next day, attacked the *Carthaginians*, though *Aſdrubal* had taken care to poſt himſelf upon an eminence in the midſt of a plain ſurrounded ſo by a river, as to form a peninſula, the preceding night, in a moſt advantageous manner. The *Carthaginians*, for ſome time, defended themſelves with great bravery; but were at laſt totally routed, and forced to fly, according to *Livy*, with the loſs of eight thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, beſides ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe taken priſoners; though the ſame moſt conſiſtent hiſtorian had juſt before informed us, that their retreat was cut off in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for any of them to eſcape. This blow, next to the bravery of the *Roman* troops, may be attributed to the violence of the *Carthaginian* elephants, which, being galled by the enemy's *pila*, recoiled upon the forces with which they were intermixed, and ſtruck them with as much terror, as did the *Romans*. *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginian* camp up to his ſoldiers to be plundered, and releaſed all the *Spaniſh* priſoners found there without ranſom; but ordered the *Africans* to be ſold for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal*, rallying the remains of his ſhattered army, purſued his march towards the *Pyrenees*, having ſent his elephants that way before the beginning of the engagement. The *Spaniſh* princes who had entered into an alliance

alliance with *Scipio*, received conſiderable preſents, for their gallant behaviour in the late battle; *Indibilis* in particular being ordered by the *Roman* general to pick three hundred horſes, out of thoſe taken from the enemy, for his own uſe. Notwithſtanding the glorious victory *Scipio* had gained, he thought proper to retire from *Bætula*, and the *Saltus Caſtulonenſis*; which gave the other two *Carthaginian* commanders an opportunity of joining *Aſdrubal*. At a conſultation held for that purpoſe, each of theſe generals had his particular province aſſigned him. *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, was to march into *Italy*, to aſſiſt *Hannibal*, with all the *Spaniſh* forces he could draw together; *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Giſco*, was to take upon himſelf the command of the corps lately committed to *Mago*'s conduct, and to retire into *Luſitania*; but induſtriouſly to avoid an engagement; and *Mago* was ſent to the *Balearic* iſlands, with a large ſum of money, to make new levies there. *Maſiniſſa* had likewiſe a choice detachment of three thouſand horſe, being the flower of the cavalry, aſſigned him, in order to ſupport the *Carthaginian* allies, in *Hiſpania Citerior*, as well as to deſtroy the enemy's country there with fire and ſword. As *Scipio*, by his generous and affable deportment, ſeemed to be in a fair way of winning the hearts of all the *Spaniards*, it was judged neceſſary to make theſe diſpoſitions, that the *Spaniſh* ſoldiery, in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, might be drawn immediately either into *Gaul*, or the remoteſt part of *Spain*, where the *Romans* had not, as yet, got any footing. This, it was hoped, would put an effectual ſtop to that general deſertion, which then prevailed amongſt thoſe troops [r].

ALL perſons of penetration and attention, upon their peruſal of the above account, will be naturally inclined to inquire, how it was poſſible for *Aſdrubal* to have ſent all the elephants away, with the train that attended them, towards the *Pyrenees*, if many of them remained in his camp, and occaſioned a greater carnage amongſt his troops there, upon the *Romans* forcing it; how theſe troops ſhould have been hemmed in, and ſo ſurrounded on all ſides, by a victorious enemy, that their retreat was intirely cut off, and yet that many of them, nay, the greateſt part of them, ſhould have made their eſcape; how *Aſdrubal*'s army ſhould have been intirely ruined, and yet that *Scipio* immediately after the action, ſhould have been obliged to retire to *Tarraco*, which enabled the other two *Carthaginian* generals to join *Aſdrubal*, and concert

[r] POLYB. l. x. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 19——23. APPIAN. in Iberic.

with him the operations of the remaining part of the campaign, which the *Romans*, above all things, ought to have prevented; laſtly, what were the happy conſequences of this defeat, which *Scipio* is ſaid to have given the *Carthaginians*. In ſhort, from the above-recited particulars, it appears, that, to uſe ſir *Walter Raleigh*'s witty expreſſion, the *Romans* beat *Aſdrubal* out of *Spain* into *Italy*, there to join *Hannibal* with the moſt numerous *Carthaginian* army that ever appeared in that country (for ſo *Livy* repreſents it), had not a diſaſter prevented that junction. If *Polybius* countenanced ſuch relations as theſe in any manner (and even that moſt incomparable hiſtorian is not abſolutely void of weakneſs and partiality), he is ſo far to be cenſured. But to proceed:

A party of Numidians *cut off the famous* Marcellus *and diſperſe the eſcorte that attended him.*

THE next year, being the eleventh of the ſecond *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* threatened to ravage the coaſt of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, with a fleet of above two hundred ſail; of which *Scipio* being appriſed, he detached fifty galleys to cruiſe off the ports of *Sardinia*, and protect that iſland from all inſults of the enemy. The conſul *T. Quinctius Criſpinus* ſent for a large train of battering engines from *Sicily*, intending ſoon to form the ſiege of *Locri*, his fleet having already blocked that city up on the ſea-ſide. But he laid aſide that deſign on *Hannibal*'s approach to *Lacinium*, and on receiving advice, that his collegue *Marcellus* had drawn his forces from *Venuſia*, in order to join him. *Hannibal*, being appriſed that both the conſuls were encamped within three miles of one another, betwixt *Bantia*, and *Venuſia*, moved that way, pitching his tents at a ſmall diſtance from them. Notwithſtanding the ſummer was far advanced, the conſuls wrote to *L. Cincius*, ordering him to come with a fleet from *Sicily* to *Locri*, a body of *Romans* from *Tarentum* being commanded to inveſt that city by land at the ſame time. This being diſcovered to *Hannibal* by ſome *Thurians*, he placed an ambuſcade for that corps; into which having drawn them, he put two thouſand of them to the ſword, took twelve hundred priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. He afterwards decoyed the two conſuls into another ambuſcade of *Numidian* horſe, together with *M. Marcellus* ſon to one of them, and *A. Manlius*, both of them legionary tribunes, attended only by an eſcorte of two hundred and twenty horſe, of which forty were *Frigellani*, and the reſt *Etruſcans*. The brave *Marcellus*, one of them, who had acquired ſuch renown by the ſeveral advantages he got over *Hannibal*, loſt his life through the cowardice of the *Etruſcans*, who fled at the firſt onſet. But *Criſpinus*, his collegue, with the two tribunes above-

mentioned,

mentioned, *L. Arennius*, *M. Aulius*, two prefects of the *Roman* allies, and others, by their own bravery and that of the *Fregellani*, made their escape in the manner we have already related [u].

Mago, the *Carthaginian* commandant at *Locri*, found himself so pressed by *Cincius*, that he was upon the point of surrendering; but receiving advice of the blow *Hannibal* had given the *Romans*, by the slaughter of *Marcellus*, he resolved to defend the place to the last drop of blood. Soon after, an express arrived from *Hannibal*, with an account, that the *Numidian* cavalry had already begun their march for *Locri*; and that he himself, with the gross of the army, would follow them with all possible expedition. Upon the first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Mago* made a sally with his whole force upon the besiegers, and after an obstinate dispute, the *Numidians* coming up in the nick of time, forced them to abandon their works, and leave all their battering engines, and other military machines, behind them; so that *Hannibal*, upon his arrival at *Locri*, found no enemy to oppose him there. About this time, *Valerius*, the *Roman* admiral, after having ravaged the coast of *Africa*, attacked a *Carthaginian* squadron of eighty-three gallies off of *Capua*. The *Carthaginians*, not being able to withstand the efforts of the *Romans*, were soon obliged to sheer off, with the loss of eighteen ships; which *Valerius* carried off in triumph. From thence steering for *Sicily*, he arrived in a short time, with an immense booty, at *Lilybæum* [w].

Hannibal *obliges the* Romans *to raise the siege of* Locri.

THOUGH the *Carthaginians* had lately sent a fleet to assist *Philip* against the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, which, in all probability, was at this time either cruising off of the island *Corcyra*, or riding at anchor in the port there, yet we do not find, that this fleet did any important service to that prince. It neither protected his coasts from the insults of the *Roman* and *Ætolian* privateers, nor enabled him to transport any forces to *Italy*, or any other country, that it might have been his interest to have invaded. The *Carthaginians* therefore by no means observed the treaty of alliance they had entered into with that prince; which doubtless incensed him to such a degree, that he, for the future, broke off all correspondence with them. Be that as it will, it is certain he not only made a peace with the *Romans* exclusive of them,

The Carthaginians *are guilty of a breach of faith with regard to* Philip *of* Macedon.

[u] POLYB. ubi sup. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 23——30. PLUT. in Marcel. EUTROP. l. iii. 16, 17. SEX. AUREL. VICT. in Marcel. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 1.

[w] LIV. ubi sup. PLUT.

which was an apparent infraction of the late treaty, provided they had paid any regard to it, but likewise left them to cope with the *Romans* alone, both before and after his accommodation with that people; which was also contrary to the late treaty, upon the aforesaid supposition. But as the discussion of this point belongs more properly to the history of *Macedon*, we shall at present pass by every thing farther relating to it, and proceed to the *Carthaginian* affairs in *Italy*[x].

Asdrubal besieges Placentia.

Asdrubal, as we have lately observed, being obliged to abandon his camp near *Bætula*, had afterwards a conference with the other two *Carthaginian* generals, wherein the operations of the campaign were settled. In pursuance of the plan then formed, *Asdrubal* advanced towards the *Pyrenees*, at the head of the forces assigned him, with all possible expedition. The *Pyrenees*, as far as we can collect from history, he crossed, without any great difficulty, though, if *Livy* may be credited, *Scipio* had detached a body of troops to dispute the passage of that ridge of mountains with him. As the silver-mines (Q) near *Bætula* had supplied him with a very considerable quantity of treasure, upon his arrival in *Gaul*, he not only prevailed upon the *Gauls* to grant him a passage through their territories, but likewise to furnish him with a proper number of recruits. The *Ligurians* received him in the same manner, as would also the *Etruscans*, could he have advanced to their frontiers. *Asdrubal* therefore, meeting with as little opposition, and as many favourable circumstances, to facilitate and expedite his march, as he could hope for, arrived at *Placentia* sooner than either the *Romans*, or even his

[x] POLYB. & LIV. ubi sup.

(Q) *Polybius* tells us, that, near *New Carthage*, there was a silver mine so rich, that the *Carthaginians* extracted out of it every day twenty five thousand drachms of silver. *Aletes*, the discoverer of this mine, was according to the same author, deified by the *Spaniards* after his death, for the service he thereby did his country. *Aristotle* and *Posidonius* intimate, that *Spain*, in the most early ages, abounded with silver; insomuch, that the *Phœnicians* exported vast quantities of that metal from thence, which they purchased for oil and other trifles; nay, the first author assures us, that the *Phœnicians*, by this means, had not only immense quantities of plate, but that even the very anchors of their ships were made of silver. But of this more, when we come to the history of *Spain* (23).

(23) *Polyb. l.* x. *c.* 10. *Posidon. apud Diodor. Sic. l.* v. *Arist. in mir. ab. auscult.*

brother,

brother *Hannibal* himſelf, expected. But ſitting down before this place, contrary to the rules of ſound policy, and continuing the ſiege of it, he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of aſſembling all their forces to attack him, and at the ſame time, by his too great ſecurity, as well as the enterpriſe he had undertaken, prevented *Hannibal* from joining him, as he had propoſed to do, upon the firſt news of his having paſſed the *Alps*. This indolence of *Hannibal* proceeded from a notion, that *Placentia* would not be ſoon reduced, and that therefore, though they ſhould unite their forces, they could not ſpeedily enter upon any military operation. Thus *Aſdrubal* not only loſt all the advantages he might have reaped from the friendſhip of the *Arverni* and other *Gallic* nations, who had ſo greatly expedited his paſſage to *Italy*, by this ſingle ſtep, but likewiſe totally ruined the *Carthaginian* affairs in that country, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [y].

Hannibal receives ſeveral blows.

As ſoon as *Hannibal* moved out of his winter-quarters, he ordered a body of troops to march into the country of the *Salentines*, with an intention to ravage it, before the conſul *Claudius* could take the field; but this was prevented by the conduct and bravery of *C. Hoſtilius Tubulus*, who attacked the *Carthaginians* with a body of light-armed troops, and intirely defeated them, killing four thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. After this diſaſter, *Hannibal* retired into *Brutium*, to prevent his being hemmed in by the enemy, who began now to advance againſt him from ſeveral parts. In the mean time, *Tubulus*, with his forces, joined the conſular army under *Claudius* at *Venuſia*. *Hannibal*, having drawn all his garriſons out of *Brutium*, and by this means reinforced his army, marched to *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, in order to recover ſome towns, that, through fear, had revolted to the *Romans*. As, immediately after the late junction, *Claudius* had ſent a detachment, under the command of *Tubulus*, to reinforce the proconſul *Fulvius* at *Capua*, and, with the remaining corps, conſiſting of forty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, had himſelf gone in queſt of *Hannibal*, he arrived at *Grumentum* ſoon after the *Carthaginian*, and encamped within five hundred paces of him. *Claudius*, by the ſtratagem formerly mentioned, and the bravery of *C. Arunculeius*, tribune of the third legion, gave *Hannibal* another defeat here, cutting off eight thouſand of his men, and taking ſeven hundred priſoners. Four elephants were likewiſe killed, and two taken, in the action. Nine military enſigns, and ſome plunder, alſo fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who,

[y] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 41—43

according

according to *Livy*, loſt only two hundred men on this occaſion. *Hannibal*, ſoon after this blow, decamped in the night, and, by leaving a few *Numidian* horſe in his intrenchments to amuſe the enemy, made good his retreat to *Venuſia*; but here the conſul came up again with him. At this place, in another rencounter, the *Carthaginians* loſt two thouſand men; upon which *Hannibal* retired, with great precipitation, to *Metapontum*, where he was joined by *Hanno*, and from thence made the beſt of his way to *Canuſium* [z].

The conſul Claudius *moves towards his collegue.*

During theſe tranſactions, *Aſdrubal*, being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Placentia*, began his march for *Umbria*. Of this the conſul *Claudius* being informed by a letter, ſent from that general to his brother *Hannibal*, which was intercepted near *Tarentum*, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, the very flower of his troops, and poſted with incredible celerity to join his collegue *Livius*. Though no general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another, by the *Roman* laws; yet in a conjuncture of ſo delicate and important a nature as this, when the ſafety, and even the very being of *Rome* lay at ſtake, he thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed rules of war, for the welfare of his country. He had no ſooner received the letter above-mentioned from *L. Virginius*, a legionary tribune, who had eſcorted the *Carthaginian* couriers with a *Samnite* detachment to him, and read it, than he ſent it to the ſenate, at the ſame time diſpatching his orders to the *Larinates*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Prætutiani*, &c. through whoſe territories he was to paſs, to provide a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and carriages for his troops, that he might purſue his march without the leaſt interruption. As nothing could ſave *Rome*, after the junction of the two *Carthaginian* armies, in order to prevent this, he judged it proper to ſtrike ſuch a bold and unexpected blow, as would terrify the enemy; which, he imagined, might be done, could he and his collegue vigorouſly charge *Aſdrubal* with their united forces. This reflection determined him to make the movement mentioned here, after having left the command of the troops in the camp to *Q. Catius*, one of his lieutenants [a].

And joins him.

Claudius gave not the leaſt hint of his deſign to any of his officers, till he was got at ſuch a diſtance from *Hannibal*, that the communication of it to the troops could not be of any ill conſequence to him. He then only in general told them, "That he was leading them to certain victory; that his col-

[z] Idem. ibid. c. 43—45. [a] Polyb. l. xi. ſub init. Liv. ubi ſup. c. 45——49. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 9.

"legue

"legue wanted a reinforcement; that in war all depended "upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival "would disconcert all the measures of the *Carthaginians*; "and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to "them." He marched with such expedition, that in six days he arrived at *Sena*, where *Livius* lay encamped within half a mile of the *Carthaginians*. Soon after his arrival, *Asdrubal*, taking a view of the *Roman* army, discovered several shields of an antient make, that he had never seen before, many thin, lean horses, which had been greatly fatigued, and that the *Roman* army was apparently more numerous than the day before. By these, and several other circumstances, that able general suspected *Claudius* to have joined his collegue with a body of troops. This threw him into a sort of melancholy, as imagining, that *Hannibal* had been overthrown, and consequently that he came too late to support him [b].

BEFORE the arrival of *Claudius*, the prætor *L. Portius Licinius* was encamped, with some forces, at a small distance from the consul *Livius*. Immediately after that important event, a council of war was held, in which the three commanders presided. *Livius* gave his opinion, that an action, for some days, should be deferred, that *Claudius*'s troops might have time to refresh themselves, after so tedious and fatiguing a march. *Claudius* himself entertained different sentiments, imagining, that nothing could prove more fatal to the republic, than the least delay to give the enemy battle at this critical juncture. His advice was complied with, and the signal of battle accordingly given. However, *Asdrubal*, under the apprehensions above-mentioned, caused a retreat to be sounded, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting him, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the *Metaurus*, now the *Metaro*, and was preparing to cross it, when the united forces of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement, and therefore did all things, which could be expected from the presence of mind and courage of a consummate warrior. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing, composed of *Gauls*, and the weakest part of his army, in such a manner, that it neither could be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving his main battle, and right wing, consisting of *Spaniards*, all veteran troops,

The Romans *defeat* Asdrubal *upon the banks of the* Metaurus.

[b] Iidem ibid. S JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 2. ex 9.

a greater

a greater depth than front. After this hafty diſpoſition of his forces, he poſted himſelf in the centre, and firſt moved to attack the enemy's left wing, commanded by the conſul *Livius*, well knowing, that all was at ſtake, and that he muſt either conquer or die. The battle laſted a long time, and was obſtinately diſputed by both parties. *Aſdrubal* eſpecially ſignalized himſelf in this engagement, and quite compleated the glory he had acquired by a ſeries of ſhining actions. He led on his ſoldiers, who were trembling and quite diſpirited, againſt an enemy ſuperior to them both in numbers and reſolution. He animated them by his words, ſupported them by his example, and, with intreaties and menaces intermixed, endeavoured to bring back thoſe who fled; till at laſt, ſeeing that victory declared for the *Romans*, and being unable to ſurvive the loſs of ſo many thouſand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he ruſhed at once into the midſt of a *Roman* cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the ſon of *Hamilcar*, and brother of *Hannibal* c.

The victory almoſt intirely owing to the conduct and bravery of Claudius.

This victory, which *Livy* makes equal to that of *Cannæ*, was almoſt intirely owing to the bravery and activity of *Claudius*. That general flew like lightning from one part of the army to another, inſomuch, that he ſeemed to be in all places at once. Obſerving that the enemy's right wing, compoſed of *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*, the flower of *Aſdrubal*'s troops, charged the left of the *Romans* with ſuch reſolution, that fortune ſeemed to be on the point of declaring for the *Carthaginians* there, and that the enemy's elephants, after having thrown the *Roman* vanguard into confuſion, and overturned the ſtandards there, occupied the void ſpace betwixt the two armies in ſuch a manner, that it was difficult to diſcover to what party they belonged, their guides now not being capable of governing them, he cried out to his men in an angry tone, *To what purpoſe then have we made ſo long a march with ſuch expedition?* and immediately made an effort to poſſeſs himſelf of an eminence that covered the *Gauls*, in order to penetrate to the enemy on that ſide; but, finding this impoſſible, he drew out a detachment of ſome cohorts from the right wing, with which wheeling about, in order to ſuſtain *Livius*, he charged the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* in front, in flank, and

c Iidem ibid. Flor ubi ſupr. Eutrop l. iii c. 18. Sil. Ital. l xv Appian in Hannib. Sueton in Tiber. Cic in Brut. Flor. l. ii c 6 Corn. Nep. in Han ib. Sex. Aurel. Vict in Claud. & Aſd. Val. Max l v. c 1. Horat l iv od. iv Oros l. iv. c. 18. Zonar. l. ix. c. 9. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 3 ex. 8.

in

in rear, almoſt at the ſame time. This changed the face of affairs, eſpecially as ſuch an attack was unexpected, and made with the utmoſt fury. The *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* therefore, not being able to ſuſtain ſo violent a ſhock, were ſoon put to the rout, and almoſt all cut to pieces; after which the *Gauls* were, for the moſt part, maſſacred without oppoſition. The leaders themſelves deſtroyed moſt of the elephants, to prevent the deſtruction they would have occaſioned amongſt their own troops, upon whom they turned all their rage, after they were wounded by the enemy. According to *Livy*, fifty-ſix thouſand of *Aſdrubal*'s men fell in this bloody action, and near ſix thouſand were taken priſoners; though *Polybius* makes the whole loſs of the *Carthaginians* not to have exceeded ten thouſand men. Be that as it will, the *Romans* ſeemed to have been weary of killing, ſince when a perſon told *Livius*, after the battle, that it would be an eaſy matter to cut off a body of *Ciſalpine Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who had either not been in the fight, or eſcaped out of it, then flying in great confuſion, with a ſmall detachment of horſe, he anſwered, *It is fit that ſame ſhould ſurvive, to carry the enemy the news of their defeat, and our bravery.* *Livy* affirms, that the *Romans* carried off an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, as well as plunder of other kinds; but *Polybius* is ſilent on that head. This action proved deciſive, ſince we may juſtly eſteem it to have determined the fate of *Italy*, as the battle of *Zama* a few years afterwards did that of *Africa* [d].

Hannibal received no intelligence of this blow, till *Claudius* advertiſed him of it, by throwing his brother *Aſdrubal*'s head into his trenches, immediately after he arrived at the *Roman* camp near *Canuſium*. This inhumanity was the more inexcuſable, as *Hannibal* had given the *Romans* recent inſtances of a generous and noble diſpoſition, by treating with the utmoſt decency, not to ſay tenderneſs and reſpect, the bodies of *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*. That treatment, in our opinion, demonſtrates the great humanity of *Hannibal*, if not of the *Carthaginians* in general, on ſuch occaſions; as the ſavage barbarity of *Claudius* does that of the *Romans*. As *Claudius* ſent two captives in chains, which, one ſhould have imagined, would have been mortifying enough, to inform *Hannibal* of his brother's fatal overthrow, nothing can equal, vindicate, or even palliate, the ferity of that barbarian. All the glory he had acquired by his late conduct in the battle of

The inhumanity of Claudius cenſured.

[d] POLYB. & LIV. ubi ſup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. ex 15 VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 7. ex. 4.

Metaurus, which certainly ought not to be denied him, served only to render him more hateful and detestable, since nothing can be more monstrous, than such a contrast of qualities in the same person. That the fact here alledged against him, was real, is allowed by the most prejudiced *Roman* historians themselves, who seem to relate it with pleasure, and thereby reflect an eternal dishonour both upon themselves and their republic, as intimating, that they were all pleased with it, and consequently of the same disposition with *Claudius*. The justness of this reflection is confirmed by the high encomium *Valerius Maximus* passes upon the noble and humane behaviour of *Hannibal* hinted at, which ought to be looked upon as a severe reprehension of the conduct of *Claudius*. In short, we think, a more lively instance of the *Roman* disposition at this juncture, with regard to humanity and greatness of soul, than that just hinted at, does not occur in history. It is pity but we had the *Carthaginian* annals for this particular period; they would, doubtless, have set the *Romans* in their true and proper light [c].

Hannibal greatly affected at the news of his brother's defeat and death.

THE melancholy news imparted to him by *Claudius*, filled *Hannibal* with horror and sadness. He perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of *Carthage*: *It is done*, said he, according to *Horace*, in that beautiful ode, where this defeat is described, *I will no longer send triumphant messages to* Carthage! *In losing* Asdrubal, *I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune!* After this fatal event, *Hannibal* retired to the extremity of *Brutium*, where, assembling all his forces, he remained, for a considerable time, in a state of inaction, the *Romans* not daring to disturb him, so formidable did they deem him alone, though every thing about him went to wreck, and the *Carthaginian* affairs seemed not far from the verge of destruction. *Livy* tells us, it was a difficult thing to determine, whether his conduct was more wonderful in prosperity or adversity. Notwithstanding which, *Brutium* being at best but a small province, and many of its inhabitants being either forced into the service, or forming themselves into parties of banditti, so that a great part of it remained uncultivated, he found it a difficult matter to subsist there, especially as no manner of supplies were sent him from *Carthage*. The people there were as solicitous of preserving their possessions in *Spain*, and as little concerned at the situation of affairs in *Italy*, as if *Hannibal* had met with an uninterrupted

[c] Polyb Liv. Flor Val Max. Zonar. &c. ubi sup. S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l. ii, c. 9. ex. 2.

course

courſe of ſucceſs, and not the leaſt diſaſter had befallen them ſince his firſt arrival in that country [f].

AFTER *Aſdrubal*'s departure for *Italy*, *Hanno* was ſent to ſucceed him in *Spain*. The body of troops this general brought from *Africa*, in conjunction with that *Mago* commanded in *Celtiberia*, formed a conſiderable army. Theſe forces encamped in *Celtiberia*, and at ſome diſtance from them, in the ſame province, nine thouſand *Celtiberians* had poſted themſelves. *Scipio* ſent a detachment of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of *M. Syllanus* the proprætor, to attack the enemy, if an opportunity offered. The proprætor, receiving ample intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of both camps from ſome *Celtiberian* deſerters, who conducted him to that of their countrymen, was thereby enabled to gain a ſignal advantage over the enemy. He ſurpriſed the *Celtiberians*, being, for the moſt part, new-raiſed men, putting many of them to the ſword, and obliging the reſt to diſperſe in the adjacent woods, from whence they retired to their reſpective habitations. *Hanno* and *Mago*, towards the end of the action, advancing to their relief, were likewiſe defeated, and *Hanno* taken priſoner. *Mago*, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his eſcape, and, ten days afterwards, joined *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*. Theſe two commanders, with their united forces, continued, for ſome time, in the neighbourhood of *Gades* [g].

The Carthaginians worſted in Spain.

ACCORDING to ſome authors, *Scipio*, being appriſed of *Aſdrubal*'s march for *Italy*, had before ſent a conſiderable reinforcement to the conſul *Livius*, to enable him to make head againſt the *Carthaginian* forces under *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal*, provided neither of the conſular armies could hinder their junction. But the greateſt part of the *Roman* hiſtorians have omitted this circumſtance; which ſeems to invalidate the authority of thoſe writers in this particular. Be that as it will, *Scipio* had no ſooner received intelligence of the enemy's defeat in *Italy*, than he put himſelf in motion, and began to meditate the intire conqueſt of *Spain*. His brother, *L. Scipio*, being detached with a body of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to take the city of *Oringis*, on the confines of *Lower Bætica*, executed his orders with great bravery, making the *Carthaginian* garriſon and three hundred of the inhabitants, who ſhut the gates againſt him, priſoners of war, with the loſs

The Carthaginian affairs go to decay in Spain.

[f] POLYB. l. x. LIV. l. xxviii. c. 12. APPIAN. in Hannib. HOR ubi ſupra. [g] LIV. l. xxviii ſub init. APPIAN. in Iberic. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. OROS. l. iv. c. 18.

only of ninety men. *Livy* says, that the *Roman* detachment killed two thousand of the enemy in the attack; and that *Lucius*, in order to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniards*, left the citizens in possession of the town and all their effects. The territory of *Oringis* was extremely fruitful, and abounded with silver-mines. In the city itself, *Asdrubal* had long had a good number of troops, who had not a little harrassed the *Romans* and their allies, by their frequent incursions into the mediterranean parts of the country. The *Carthaginians* therefore sustained a considerable loss by the reduction of that place. *Scipio* is said to have complimented his brother highly upon this conquest, telling him, that it was equal to the taking of *New Carthage*. That general, finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no impression upon the province in which *Gades* was seated, since *Asdrubal* had placed numerous garisons in all the fortresses there, suspended the military operations till the following spring. However, *M. Valerius Lævinus* the proconsul, who commanded in *Sicily*, committed great ravages on the coasts of *Africa*, where he made a descent about this time. Having destroyed with fire and sword all the country about *Carthage* and *Utica*, he returned to *Lilybæum*, defeating, in his passage, a *Carthaginian* squadron of seventy galleys. Of these he took seventeen, sunk four, and dispersed the rest. Thus were the *Romans* victorious every-where this campaign, the *Carthaginians* not being able to cope with them either by sea or land [h].

Lucania submits to the Romans.

THE next year, *Hannibal* sent a detachment of *Numidians* to observe the motions of the *Roman* army, under the command of the consuls *Q. Cæcilius* and *L. Veturius*, in the territory of *Cosentia*. That detachment, falling in with one of the enemy's parties, which had been plundering the country, after a short dispute, routed it, and carried off the booty to *Hannibal*'s camp. But this small advantage did not make amends for the loss of *Lucania*, which submitted to the *Romans*. Nothing further worth relating happened this campaign betwixt the forces of the two contending republics in *Italy* [i].

The Carthaginian generals affairs in Spain overthrown by Scipio.

THE *Carthaginian* generals, that commanded this year in *Spain*, were *Mago* the son of *Hamilcar*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Giscо*. These two commanders, in the spring, moved from *Gades*, where it is probable, they had fixed their winter-quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it,

[h] LIV. ubi sup. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 3. ex. 5. [i] LIV. ubi supra. c. 11.

seventy,

ſeventy, thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe. Advancing with all expedition towards the *Romans*, whom they were determined to engage, they at laſt took poſt in the plains of *Silpia*, at no great diſtance from them. *Scipio*, being extremely alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a power, diſpatched in all haſte *Syllanus* to *Colcas*, a neighbouring prince, who had promiſed *Scipio* a body of auxiliary troops, to inform him of the enemy's motions In the mean time, he drew his forces out of *Tarraco*, and, being joined by ſome of his allies, advanced to *Caſtulo*, where he was ſoon met by *Syllanus*, with a reinforcement of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, from *Colcas*. From thence he marched to *Bætula*, or *Bæcula*, with an army of forty-five thouſand ſtrong. *Mago* and *Maſiniſſa*, at the head of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, fell upon the *Romans* as they were encamping, and had put them into diſorder, had not *Scipio* placed ſome troops of his horſe in ambuſcade behind an eminence, near the ſpot upon which he intended to encamp. Theſe, ſallying out upon the *Carthaginians*, obliged them at firſt to retire with precipitation; but, being afterwards duly ſupported, ſo puſhed them, that they betook themſelves to a downright flight. The light-armed troops on both ſides, for ſome time after this, ſkirmiſhed with one another; but without any conſiderable loſs. Both *Aſdrubal* and *Scipio*, for ſeveral days together, drew their forces out of their lines, ranged in order of battle, though *Aſdrubal* appeared firſt in the morning, and retired the laſt in the evening. At length *Scipio*, reſolving to give the *Carthaginians* battle, ordered his men to refreſh themſelves before day-break; and then ſent his horſe and light-armed troops to brave the enemy. *Aſdrubal* poſted the *Spaniards* in the wings, the elephants in front, and the *Carthaginians*, intermixed with the other *Africans*, in the centre. After having made this diſpoſition, he advanced towards the enemy, his cavalry in the mean time keeping their horſe in play. *Scipio* took care to protract the fight till towards noon, imagining, that the *Carthaginians* muſt wax faint by that time, as being intirely void of ſuſtenance, and conſequently that he ſhould break them without much difficulty. Accordingly then ordering his wings to advance he attacked *Aſdrubal's Spaniſh* auxiliaries in front with the legionaries, and in flank at the ſame time with the *velites*, ſuſtained by ſeveral cohorts, which were commanded to wheel about for that purpoſe. The *Spaniards*, after ſome reſiſtance, were routed, the *Carthaginian* and *African* forces not being able to ſupport them, ſince the *Spaniards*, that formed *Scipio's* main body, kept them in awe by moving towards

wards them. The elephants, as had frequently happened of late, occaſioned greater confuſion in the *Carthaginian* army, than in that of the enemy. Notwithſtanding therefore *Aſdrubal* did his utmoſt to animate his men, they were defeated, and purſued by the *Romans* to their camp, which had then been taken, had not a violent ſtorm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action [k].

Maſiniſſa *abandons the* Carthaginian *intereſt.*

The night after the battle, *Aſdrubal* cauſed his camp to be ſtrengthened by ſome additional works, as expecting the next day another viſit from the enemy. In the mean time *Altanes*, regulus of the *Turdetani*, with a conſiderable body of troops, went over to the *Romans*. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortreſſes of note ſurrendered to *Scipio*, who made their gariſons priſoners of war. As the victory lately gained by *Scipio* had intirely alienated the minds of the *Spaniards* from the *Carthaginians*, *Aſdrubal* thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had juſt before ſo fatigued his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inacceſſible to the enemy. *Scipio*, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the *Carthaginian* general, who ſo harraſſed him in his retreat, that the legionaries at laſt came up with him, and, after a faint reſiſtance, put all his men, except ſeven thouſand, to the ſword. However theſe, with *Aſdrubal* at their head, gained an advantageous poſt, where, for ſome time, they defended themſelves, till at laſt *Aſdrubal*, finding them to deſert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his eſcape to *Gades*. In the mean time, *Syllanus*, whom *Scipio* had left, with a detachment of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to block up the enemy's troops in the poſt above-mentioned, found means to draw *Maſiniſſa* their commander off from the *Carthaginian* intereſt. This unexpected event proved the total ruin of the *Carthaginians* in thoſe parts, as will hereafter more fully appear. *Mago*, after the example of *Aſdrubal*, flying to *Gades*, the remainder of the *African* forces either gradually diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring provinces, or deſerted to the *Romans*. *Maſiniſſa*, after his late conference with *Syllanus*, by the connivance of that general, paſſed over into *Africa*, with ſome of the leading men of the *Maſſyli*, in order to diſpoſe that nation to ſecond his views. However, this was done in ſuch a manner, as not to give any umbrage

[k] Polyb. l. xi. Liv. l. xxviii. c. 12—16. Appian. in Iberic S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 1. ex. 1. & l. ii. c. 3, ex. 4. aliiq; auctor. ſup. laudat.

to

to the *Carthaginians*, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of the meaſures he was going to purſue [1].

Scipio *brings over* Syphax *to the* Roman *intereſt.*

Maſiniſſa, to ſerve more effectually the party he intended ſoon to declare himſelf in favour of, made but a ſhort ſtay in *Africa*. Having prevailed on his ſubjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he haſtened to *Gades*, to confer with *Mago* and *Aſdrubal* about the future operations. *Syllanus* likewiſe retired with his body of forces to *Tarraco*, where *Scipio* had fixed his head quarters. *Scipio*, ſoon afterwards paſſing into *Africa* with two quinqueremes, perſuaded *Syphax*, king of the *Maſæſyli*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*, and enter into an alliance with *Rome*. *Aſdrubal* was then at *Syphax*'s court, and did his utmoſt to traverſe the negotiation carried on betwixt the two powers; but without effect. The three chief cities of *Spain*, beſides *Gades*, in alliance with, or ſubject to, *Carthage*, were *Illiturgis*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*. *Illiturgis* the *Romans* took by ſtorm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. *Caſtulo*, in which was a *Carthaginian* gariſon, compoſed of the fugitives, that eſcaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one *Cerdubellus* to *Marcius*, and *Himilco* the commandant, with his whole corps, made priſoners of war. *Marcius*, then paſſing the *Bætis* which the *Spaniards* called *Cirtius*, poſſeſſed himſelf of two opulent towns, which ſurrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Aſtapa*, and after a warm diſpute, made himſelf maſter of it in the manner already related. In the mean time, *Mago*, having received a reinforcement from *Africa*, as well as of ſome *Spaniſh* troops levied by *Hanno*, made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithſtanding the melancholy ſituation of his affairs. A body of *Roman* forces, encamped upon the *Sucro*, during theſe tranſactions, mutinied, a report of *Scipio*'s death, that was induſtriouſly propagated, occaſioning that commotion; but the mutineers being, by a ſeaſonable puniſhment of ſome of their ring-leaders, brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, *Marcius* attacked four thouſand of the enemy encamped upon the *Bætis*, under the command of *Hanno*, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greateſt part of them. The engaging *Syphax* to confederate with the *Romans*, was a very

[1] LIV ubi ſup. c 15, 16. POLYB. l. xi. c. 21. APPIAN. in Libyc. FLOR. l. ii. c. 6. ſub fin. VALER. MAX. l vi. c. 9. ex. 7. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10.

conſiderable

considerable point gained, though this was not effected without some difficulty. *Scipio* first sent *Lælius*, with five quinqueremes, to make proposals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. *Lælius* executed his commission with great dexterity, putting *Syphax* in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the *Romans*. Notwithstanding which, *Scipio*, as we have just observed, found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court, where, by his uncommon address, if we will believe *Livy*, he defeated the intrigues of *Asdrubal*, and put the last hand to the treaty [m].

Scipio sends Lælius to attempt the conquest of Gades.

Soon after the reduction of *Astapa*, some deserters arrived at *Gades* from *Scipio*'s camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the *Carthaginian* garison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. *Scipio* therefore detached *Lælius* with a body of light-armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time the conspiracy being discovered to *Mago*, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to *Carteia*, he descried *Lælius*'s squadron coming out of that port. The *Carthaginian* could not, for some time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the *Romans*; but this state of suspense gave *Lælius* an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coast of *Africa*, with only five triremes. However, *Lælius* missed his aim, since *Mago* had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he advanced to *Gades*; of which being apprised by the prisoners, he returned to *Carteia*, from whence he dispatched an express to *Marcius*, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders therefore, judging the siege of *Gades* too difficult an enterprise to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined *Scipio* at *New Carthage* [n].

[m] Idem ibid. Vide & Liv. ubi sup, c. 17.---31. [n] Liv. Polyb. & Appian. ubi. sup.

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THE disappointment the *Romans* had met with in their design upon *Gades*, together with the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, and revolt of the legions above-mentioned, gave *Mago* hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head against the enemy. He therefore wrote to *Carthage* for a speedy reinforcement, assuring the senate, that, if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in *Spain*. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the *Romans*, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, being offended at the *Romans*, for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of *Scipio*'s death, pillaged the territories of the *Sedetani* and *Suessetani*, allies of *Rome*. Hearing afterwards of *Scipio*'s severity to the ring-leaders of the revolting legionaries, who were *Romans*, they concluded, that *Spanish* revolters must be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by despair, they assembled a numerous army of *Celtiberians*, and advanced against *Scipio*. That general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at last found them posted in a plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, and scarce capable of containing such a number of men. Having secured the defile leading into this valley, he detached *Lælius*, with the cavalry, to take a compass round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he charged them in front with the legionaries. This disposition being made, *Scipio* attacked the reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almost their whole army to the sword. What became of them afterwards, our readers will find in a former part of this history [o].

Scipio gives the Spanish reguli a great overthrow.

THOUGH *Syllanus* and *Masinissa* had settled the preliminaries, yet, by several intervening accidents, the conclusion of a treaty betwixt the *Numidian* and the *Romans* was deferred to this time. The chief obstacle to the signing of it was, that *Masinissa* could find no opportunity of having an interview with *Scipio*, which he ardently desired. *Scipio*, being informed of this, and that *Masinissa* was at *Gades*, took a journey thither, with a good escorte, purely out of a desire to have a conference with him. *Masinissa*, receiving intelligence of this from *Marcius*, prevailed upon *Mago* to lend him, with a detachment from the island of *Gades*, to favour the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with *Scipio*. At their first interview, *Masinissa*

Scipio holds a conference with Masinissa.

[o] Idem ibid. ZONAR. l. ix c. 10. Vide & Univers hist. vol. xii. p. 166, & seq.

told the *Roman* general, "That, from the time he had so "generously and politely released his nephew, for which he "was greatly obliged to him, he had conceived a sincere af- "fection for him; that, ever since, he had wished for an "opportunity of expressing his high regard for the people of "*Rome*, which now the gods had blessed him with; that no "foreigner could be more closely attached to them than he "was, and that though he could give not sufficient proofs of "this in *Spain*, where he was a stranger, yet if the *Romans* "would transfer the war to *Africa*, where he had some in- "terest, he would convince them of the purity of his inten- "tions, and at the same time answer for the success of the "expedition." Every thing being afterwards settled to the "mutual satisfaction of both parties, *Masinissa*, in order to "blind *Asdrubal*, plundered some part of the adjacent country, and then returned to *Gades* [p].

Gades *surrenders to the* Romans.

THE *Carthaginians*, being disappointed in the diversion they expected from the mutiny of the legionaries and the rebellion of the *Spaniards*, ordered *Mago* to abandon *Spain*, and sail with all possible expedition to *Italy*. That he might be enabled the more effectually to succour *Hannibal*, he received a large sum of money to make levies in *Gaul* and *Liguria*. Before he left *Gades*, he did not only oblige the citizens to bring all their gold and silver to him, but plundered all their temples. In his passage to *Italy*, he made an attempt upon *New Carthage*; but was repulsed with great loss. From thence he sailed to the island *Pityusa*, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful supply of provisions and a good number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the *Balearic* islands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable loss. However, proceeding to the lesser one near it, that was extremely fertile, though not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and presently made himself master of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he was the more strongly induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for the *Carthaginians*, supplying him, during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand men. We must not omit observing, that the people of *Gades* shut their gates upon *Mago* after his repulse at *New Carthage*; for which affront he

[p] LIV. POLYB. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi sup.

whipped

whipped and crucified their ſuffetes, who were ſent to excuſe that conduct to him; nor that they ſurrendered to the *Romans* ſoon after he had abandoned them [q].

THE next ſummer, *Mago*, landing in *Liguria* with an army of twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, ſurpriſed *Genoa*. From thence he ſailed to the coaſts of the *Ligures Alpini*, to try whether he could not raiſe ſome commotions amongſt them. The *Ingauni*, one of their cantons, were then at war with the *Epanterii*, a ſort of highlanders, who likewiſe belonged to them. This gave *Mago* an opportunity of ſeizing upon the town and port of *Savo*, and ſtationing ten of his long ſhips there. The reſt of his fleet he ſent to *Carthage*, upon a rumour, that *Scipio* was going to tranſport a body of troops to *Africa*, in order to attack that capital. Then he joined the *Ingauni*, whoſe friendſhip he preferred to that of the other contending party, and, in concert with them, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading the common enemy. As his army ſoon grew very numerous by the acceſſion of a ſtrong body of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, the *Romans* were greatly alarmed, and made the motions already mentioned. About this time, *Cn. Octavius*, who commanded in *Sardinia*, took eighty *Carthaginian* tranſports, laden with corn and other proviſions, for *Hannibal*, as *Cælius* will have it, or with booty taken in *Etruria* and *Epanterian* captives, according to *Valerius Antias*, off of the coaſts of that iſland. As the plague made great havock both in the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* armies this year in *Brutium*, and *Hannibal* had beſides a famine to ſtruggle with, nothing material happened the campaign we are now upon in thoſe parts. *Livy* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* general, during his in action this ſummer, erected an altar near the temple of *Juno Lacinia* (*Polybius* ſays, a column or pillar near the town of *Lacinium*), upon which he engraved an account of all his great atchievements in *Greek* and *Punic* letters. Our readers will find ſome obſervations upon this monument of antiquity, which, *Polybius* aſſures us, was extant in his time, in two of our former notes [r].

Mago lands on the coaſt of Liguria.

THE following year, advice was brought to *Carthage*, that an army formed of the *Aujetani*, *Ilergetes*, and ſeveral other *Spaniſh* nations, under the command of *Indibilis*, *Mandoni-*

The Spaniſh reguli receive a ſecond defeat.

[q] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 36, 37. & ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10. [r] POLYB. l. xi. LIV ubi ſup. c. 46. CÆLIUS. & VALER. ANT. apud LIV ibid. ZONAR ubi ſup. c. 11. APPIAN. in Libyc. Univerſ hiſt. vol. xii. p. 168. See alſo before, p. 144, (D). & 159, (G).

us, &c. had been intirely overthrown by the *Romans*. *Indibilis*, it ſeems, being encouraged by *Scipio*'s departure out of *Spain*, had excited the people above-mentioned to a ſecond revolt, imagining that now an opportunity offered of rendering himſelf, with all the other reguli, independent both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. To that end he aſſembled, in a few days, an army of thirty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with which he advanced into the country of the *Sedetani*. Here the *Roman* generals, *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, gave them a total defeat, putting above thirteen thouſand of them to the ſword, in which number was *Indibilis* himſelf, and taking eight thouſand priſoners. *Mandonius* and the other authors of this revolt, being delivered up to the *Romans*, received capital puniſhment, after a confiſcation of all their effects; and then a peace was granted to the *Spaniards* upon reaſonable terms. The particulars of the laſt action, as well as a more circumſtantial account of the tranſactions this year in *Spain*, our readers will find in *Livy*, to whom for their further ſatisfaction, we refer them [f].

Lælius *makes a deſcent in* Africa.

AFFAIRS were ſcarce ſettled in *Spain*, when *Lælius* made a deſcent in *Africa* at *Hippo Regius*, and pillaged all the neighbouring territory. This ſo alarmed the inhabitants, that they diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to *Carthage*, with advice, that *Scipio*, with the *Roman* fleet, was arrived on their coaſts, and had landed at *Hippo* a ſtrong body of forces. As a rumour had, for ſome time, prevailed at *Carthage*, that *Scipio* had already paſſed into *Sicily*, the people and ſenate were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this melancholy news. The great revolution, that had happened in their affairs, the deſtruction of all their veteran troops, the incapacity of their youth for war, the defection of *Syphax*, *Maſiniſſa*, and all their other allies, together with the fickleneſs and inconſtancy of the *Africans*, from whom their auxiliary forces were to be drawn, afforded them a moſt diſmal proſpect, now their metropolis was threatened with a ſiege. However, when they received intelligence, that only *Lælius*, with an inconſiderable force, had put in at *Hippo*, in order to make an incurſion upon their territories on that ſide, their fears began to ſubſide. As ſoon therefore as they had recovered themſelves from the panic they were thrown into, they begun to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence: they ſent an embaſſy to *Syphax*, to attempt recovering that prince, as well as to ſeveral other *African* reguli, who ſhewed

[f] Vide Excerpt. e Lib. APPIAN. in Iberic. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 310.

an

an inclination to ſide with the *Romans*: they remitted a ſum of two hundred talents of ſilver to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in order to engage him to make a diverſion either in *Italy* or *Sicily*: they diſpatched orders to their generals in *Italy* to make all poſſible efforts to keep *Scipio* at home; and they ſent *Mago* a reinforcement of ſix thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, ſeven elephants, and twenty-five long ſhips, together with a large ſum of money to make new levies, that he might advance nearer *Rome*, and join *Hannibal*. *Lælius*, having had a conference with *Maſiniſſa*, wherein that prince gave freſh aſſurances of his ſincere attachment to the *Romans*, and expreſſed an ardent deſire to ſee *Scipio* in *Africa*, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, where he ſafely arrived, with the immenſe booty got in this expedition [t].

Mago receives a reinforcement.

IN the mean time, the veſſels, with the body of troops deſtined for *Italy* to reinforce *Mago*, ſailed from *Carthage*, and, after a happy voyage, put into the port of *Savo*, where they joined the other *Carthaginian* ſquadron. *Mago*, upon their arrival, acquainted the chiefs of the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* with the reinforcement and welcome diſpatches he had received from *Carthage*. He took occaſion from hence to aſſure them, "That the chief end of his coming to *Italy* "was, to ſecure to them the enjoyment of their rights and "privileges". To this he ſubjoined, "That though the ſtate "of *Carthage* would exert itſelf to the utmoſt, in order to "obtain this deſirable end, yet the ſucceſs of its endeavours "would depend upon them, as it was in their power to ena-"ble him to make a greater or leſſer figure in the field; that "as *Sp. Lucretius* and *M. Livius* would ſoon unite their "forces, a ſtrong body of auxiliaries would be neceſſary to "oppoſe ſo formidable an army." To which the *Gauls* replied, "That as one *Roman* army was hovering about their "frontiers, and another in *Etruria*, at a ſmall diſtance from "them, they could not come to ſo vigorous a reſolution as "their inclination prompted them to, ſince this would ex-"poſe their country to the ravages of the enemy; but that, "however, underhand, they would give him all the aſſiſtance "in their power. As to the *Ligurians*, they added, they "were at liberty to act as they ſhould think proper, ſince "the *Roman* armies were too remote from their borders to "have any influence upon their councils; and therefore it "was but juſt, that they ſhould openly take part in the war, "and ſupply him with what number of recruits he wanted." The *Ligurians* being of the ſame ſentiments, provided he al-

[t] Liv ubi ſup c 3, 4, 5.

lowed

lowed them two months time to raiſe men in, every thing ſucceeded according to his deſire; for the *Gauls* privately ſent him proviſions, and, by virtue of the *Carthaginian* money, the new levies went on briſkly in *Liguria*. But, notwithſtanding theſe happy beginnings, *Mago* met with the ſame fate in *Italy*, that *Aſdrubal* had done before in *Spain*, as will in a ſhort time appear [u].

Scipio *takes* Locri.

Both *Scipio* and the *Roman* ſoldiery, expreſſed great impatience to attack the enemy in the heart of their dominions. The intelligence *Lælius* brought from *Maſiniſſa* excited the general to this, as the plunder he carried off with him from *Africa* did the troops. However, they were prevented from undertaking this expedition for the preſent, by a ſucceſsful attempt upon the city of *Locri*. Some workmen, who had ſerved in the *Carthaginian* gariſon of one of the citadels there, being taken by a *Roman* party and brought to *Rhegium*, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided they received a proper reward for the danger to which they ſhould expoſe themſelves. This being agreed to, the *Romans*, by the aſſiſtance of theſe traitors, made themſelves maſters of that citadel, in which they were employed; the *Carthaginian* gariſon in the other, commanded by one *Hamilcar*, defended itſelf with great bravery, till *Hannibal* advanced from the river *Butrotus* to its relief. Upon his approach, a warm action enſued, and the *Romans* would have been totally routed, notwithſtanding *Scipio* came from *Maſiniſſa* to their aſſiſtance, had not the people of *Locri* ſupported them; but this happening, and *Hannibal* being wounded by a ſcorpion, the *Carthaginians* thought proper to draw off. *Scipio*, after the action, finding both the town and the other citadel abandoned by the enemy, placed gariſons in them; and then immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying the war into *Africa* [w].

Scipio *lands in* Africa.

During theſe tranſactions in *Italy*, the *Carthaginians* were under continual apprehenſions of *Scipio*'s making a deſcent in *Africa*. They had poſted parties on every promontory and hill bordering upon the ſea, to give them notice of the firſt appearance of the enemy, and were filled with terror upon the arrival of every expreſs, for fear he ſhould bring news of the enemy's landing. In this diſtreſs, it was the general opinion, that all poſſible attempts ſhould be made to detach *Syphax* from the *Roman* intereſt; ſince both the ſenate and people thought, that a proſpect of aſſiſtance from him would

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Polyb. l. xiii. Liv. l. xxix. c. 6—9. Appian. in Hannib.

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be the chief inducement to the *Romans* to invade their dominions in *Africa*. In order to accompliſh this, a lucky incident intervened: *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who was at *Syphax*'s court with *Scipio*, in order to negotiate an alliance with that prince, had a daughter of exquiſite charms, named *Sophoniſba*. At that time *Aſdrubal* offered this young lady in marriage to *Syphax*, thinking this would be a means of uniting him with the *Carthaginians*. He therefore now, with the ſame view, waited again upon *Syphax*; and having inflamed him with a deſcription of the beauty he was to have for his conſort, ſent for her thither from *Carthage*, to haſten the marriage. Amongſt other things, it was ſtipulated on this occaſion, that an offenſive and defenſive league ſhould be concluded betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, in conſequence of which he ſhould aſſiſt them with all his forces. *Aſdrubal*, not ſatisfied with this, as being no ſtranger to the alliance he had formerly entered into with *Rome*, nor of the variable temper of the *African* barbarians, thought proper to put him upon a meaſure, which would prevent *Scipio*'s landing in *Africa*, and conſequently hinder a future union betwixt him and the *Romans*. Whilſt therefore he was in his firſt amorous tranſports, the *Carthaginian*, by means of his daughter's ſoothing arts and endearments, prevailed upon him to write a letter to *Scipio* in *Sicily* to the following effect: "That, as "he had married *Aſdrubal*'s daughter, his intereſt was inſe- "parable from that of the *Carthaginians*; that, beſides this, "he had concluded a ſolemn treaty with that nation; that "he therefore adviſed him not to ſet his foot in *Africa*, be- "cauſe, in ſuch caſe, he could not diſpenſe with being neu- "tral; that, if he offered to move with his army to *Carthage*, "he ſhould find himſelf obliged, both out of regard to his "own native country, and that of his wife, to oppoſe him "with all his forces." This letter did not, however, produce the deſired effect; for *Scipio*, having in anſwer to it, admoniſhed him "to take care how he violated the laws of hoſ- "pitality with him, and the engagements entered into with "the people of *Rome*," ſet ſail with a formidable force for *Africa*, and landed at the *Fair Promontory* without oppoſition [x].

IT is intimated by *Appian*, that *Sophoniſba* was betrothed to *Maſſiniſſa*, who was educated at *Carthage*, and a prince of the fineſt accompliſhments. Animated by the paſſion he nouriſhed for a lady of ſuch attractive charms, according to the

[x] POLYB. l. xiv. LIV. l. xxix. c. 23. APPIAN. in Libyc. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. POLYB. ubi ſup.

ſame

fame author, he eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in *Spain* againſt the *Romans*; but this poor prince being ſtripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any conſiderable aſſiſtance to the *Carthaginians*, *Sophoniſba*, for the reaſon hinted at above, though in defiance of juſtice, honour, and public faith, was given to *Syphax*. *Livy* is ſilent as to this particular, though that ſeems to us no ſufficient argument againſt the probability of it; ſince *Maſiniſſa*'s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the *Romans* is a proof, that he was of a noble diſpoſition, and therefore could not abandon his firſt friends the *Carthaginians* without ſome grievous provocation. Poſſibly the *Roman* hiſtorian's great regard for his hero *Scipio*, whoſe character, he might think, would a little ſuffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, *Maſiniſſa* ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and contributed not a little to the deſtruction of their republic, as will moſt evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But to proceed to the war in *Africa* [y].

The Carthaginians *thrown into a great conſternation upon the news of* Scipio's *landing in* Africa.

As the *Carthaginians* had ſeen no *Roman* army in *Africa* for fifty years paſt, the alarm that *Scipio*'s deſcent occaſioned over the whole country was inexpreſſible. Where-ever that general moved, he ſcattered terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects; and *Carthage* in particular was extremely crouded on this melancholy occaſion. The gates there were ſhut in the utmoſt hurry, detachments poſted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a ſurprize; in ſhort, the ſame diſpoſitions were made, as would have been proper in caſe of an immediate ſiege. They had no commander of any repute, but *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and was as unequal to that general in his military capacity, as his raw, undiſciplined troops were incapable of oppoſing the *Roman* legionaries. Being apprized of *Scipio*'s arrival at *Utica*, with his fleet and land-force, they detached *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* nobleman, to obſtruct his landing, with a body of five hundred horſe; who, falling in with a detachment of the *Roman* cavalry, ſent by *Scipio* out to plunder, immediately attacked them; but, after a ſhort diſpute he was cut off, with a conſiderable number of his men, and the reſt diſperſed. After this action, *Scipio* laid the country waſte to the very gates of *Carthage*; and poſſeſſed himſelf of an opulent city

[y] APPIAN. ubi ſup. Vide & VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 13. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 11. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11.

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in the neighbourhood of that place, which he pillaged, and made eight thouſand of its principal citizens priſoners. Theſe firſt inſtances of ſucceſs greatly heightened the confuſion, that had before begun to reign in *Carthage*, eſpecially when it was known there, that *Maſiniſſa* had joined *Scipio* with a body of two hundred, or, as others ſay, two thouſand *Numidian* horſe. In this laſt article we have followed *Livy*; but, according to *Appian*, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* greatly careſſed *Maſiniſſa* at this time, in order to prevent the junction of his forces and the *Romans*, though, at the ſame time, they had reſolved upon his deſtruction, as ſoon as *Scipio* ſhould be driven out of *Africa*. This, continues the ſame author, *Maſiniſſa* was not ignorant of, though, in order to overcome them at their own weapons, he pretended to be intirely reconciled to thoſe two commanders, having been before at variance with them, for the reaſon above aſſigned. However, he privately informed *Scipio* of all their motions and deſigns. We might here give our readers an account of the family of *Maſiniſſa*, as well as of the principal events that had happened to him before this period, together with a deſcription of the kingdom his father governed; but all this we chuſe to reſerve for the hiſtory of *Numidia*[z].

Maſiniſſa defeats Hanno.

IN the room of the horſe lately cut to pieces, or taken priſoners, a new and more numerous body of cavalry was raiſed with all poſſible expedition, and the command of it given to another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, who advanced towards *Utica*, to obſerve the enemy's motions. But being too weak to undertake any thing againſt them, or even to prevent the adjacent country from being pillaged, he thought proper to remain inactive, till he was reinforced by ſome new levies, that his officers were making both in the *Carthaginian* territories, and thoſe of the neighbouring princes independent of them. At laſt, finding his troops to amount to four thouſand men, he took poſt in a town called *Salera*, fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Out of this place, *Maſiniſſa*, who was ſent to *Salera*, with a detachment of horſe, by *Scipio*, for that purpoſe, found means to draw him; and then, in conjunction with a choice body of *Roman* cavalry, commanded by *Scipio* himſelf, that lay in ambuſcade, charged him with ſuch vigour, that he was put to flight, a thouſand of his men falling in the action, and two thouſand being either killed or taken priſoners in the purſuit. Moſt authors relate, that *Hanno* was ſlain; but *Cælius* and *Valerius Antias*

[z] LIV. ubi ſup. c. 28 POLYB. l. xiv. APPIAN. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix c. 11. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt vol. xii. p. 176, & ſeq.

same author, he eminently distinguished himself on all occasions in *Spain* against the *Romans*; but this poor prince being stripped of his kingdom, and not in a condition, as was apprehended, to give any considerable assistance to the *Carthaginians*, *Sophonisba*, for the reason hinted at above, though in defiance of justice, honour, and public faith, was given to *Syphax*. *Livy* is silent as to this particular, though that seems to us no sufficient argument against the probability of it; since *Masinissa*'s future long uninterrupted fidelity to the *Romans* is a proof, that he was of a noble disposition, and therefore could not abandon his first friends the *Carthaginians* without some grievous provocation. Possibly the *Roman* historian's great regard for his hero *Scipio*, whose character, he might think, would a little suffer by a true relation of this fact, prevailed upon him to omit it. Be that as it will, *Masinissa* ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and contributed not a little to the destruction of their republic, as will most evidently appear in the sequel of this history. But to proceed to the war in *Africa*[y].

The Carthaginians thrown into a great consternation upon the news of Scipio's landing in Africa.

As the *Carthaginians* had seen no *Roman* army in *Africa* for fifty years past, the alarm that *Scipio*'s descent occasioned over the whole country was inexpressible. Where-ever that general moved, he scattered terror. The inhabitants of the open country retired into the towns with their effects; and *Carthage* in particular was extremely crouded on this melancholy occasion. The gates there were shut in the utmost hurry, detachments posted upon the ramparts to defend them, and parties ordered to patrol every night all over the city, to prevent a surprize; in short, the same dispositions were made, as would have been proper in case of an immediate siege. They had no commander of any reputation, but *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, who had been defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, and was as unequal to that great man in his military capacity, as his raw, undisciplin'd troops were incapable of opposing the *Roman* legionaries. Being apprized of *Scipio*'s arrival at *Utica*, with his fleet and land forces, they detached *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* general, to obstruct his landing, with a body of five hundred horse; who, falling in with a detachment of the *Roman* cavalry, sent by *Scipio* out to plunder, immediately attacked them: but, after a short dispute he was cut off, with a considerable number of his men, and the rest dispersed. After this action, *Scipio* laid the country waste to the very gates of *Carthage*; and possessed himself of an opulent city

[y] Appian ubi sup. Vide & Val. Max. l. ix. c. 13. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. l. ix. c. 11.

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[z] LIV. ubi ſup. c 28 POLYB. l. xiv. APPIAN. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix c 11. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt vol. xii. p. 176, & ſeq

affirm that he fell into the enemy's hands. After this, *Scipio* put a garison into *Salera*, and pushed on the siege of *Utica*. In the mean time, *Asdrubal* assembled an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse; but durst not approach the enemy, till the arrival of *Syphax*, who soon joined him with an army of fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. *Scipio*, being informed of this junction, raised the siege of *Utica*, after he had carried it on ineffectually for the space of forty days, and fixed his winter-quarters in such a manner, as to fear no insults of the enemy. This a little revived the drooping spirits of the *Carthaginians*, who now saw their own forces, in conjunction with those of *Syphax* their ally, superior to the *Romans* in the field [a].

State of affairs in Italy.

In *Italy* this year, *Hannibal* gained an advantage over the consul *Sempronius*; but was himself soon after defeated by that general. The loss the *Carthaginians* sustained, on this occasion, was above four thousand of their men killed on the field of battle, about three hundred taken prisoners, besides forty horses, and seven standards, that fell into the victors hands. *Hannibal*, upon this disaster, retired with his army to *Croton*. The other consul *Cethegus* in the mean time kept *Etruria* in awe, and prevented *Mago* from approaching his brother *Hannibal*. As the *Etruscans* were generally disposed to a revolt, and kept a close correspondence with *Mago*, *Cethegus* found it a difficult matter to execute the province assigned him. The *Brutians*, hearing of the great success of *Scipio* in *Africa*, for the most part abandoned the *Carthaginian* interest. Some of *Hannibal*'s garisons amongst them they put to the sword, others they expelled; and, in many places, where they could not openly declare for the *Romans*, they found means to inform the senate of their aversion to the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time, *Hannibal* came to *Petilia*, and expostulated with the citizens upon their sending ministers to *Rome*; but pretended to be satisfied with their conduct, when they strenuously denied this charge. However, to cut off all future grounds of suspicion, he put the principal inhabitants under arrest, committing them to the care of a guard of *Numidians*; and, disarming the citizens, left the defence of the place to the slaves. He treated other cities likewise with equal severity, *Thurii* in particular, with its district, which he gave up to his soldiers to be plundered, sparing only three thousand of the citizens, and five hundred peasants, whom he knew to be closely attached to the *Carthaginians*. These he transplanted, to *Croton*, where he fixed

[a] Liv. ubi sup. c, 34, 35. Appian. ubi sup.

his

his head-quarters, erected his principal magazine, and took care effectually to cover it from all attempts of the *Romans* [b].

Scipio routs Syphax and Asdrubal.

Scipio having fortified his camp, the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding their superiority, could find no opportunity of attacking him; so that both sides continued in a state of inaction, till the return of the spring. During the winter, *Scipio* attempted to draw off *Syphax* from the *Carthaginians*; but without effect. However, that prince offered to act in quality of mediator between the contending powers, provided *Scipio* would agree to this preliminary, *viz.* that both parties should recal their armies home; which, he intimated, would serve as a basis for a future treaty, and effectually secure the repose of their respective dominions. This proposal the *Roman* general, at first, rejected; but afterwards seemed to listen to it, in order to amuse the enemy, till he could find an opportunity of carrying his point. During the negotiation, *Scipio* was informed, that the *Carthaginian* camp, which consisted chiefly of wooden barracks, covered with boughs, was but very slightly fortified; and that the *Numidian* quarters, which were at some distance from the other, were intirely defenceless, the soldiers being only covered with mats, hurdles, dry leaves, and other such like combustible materials. To which his spies added, that the troops observed no order or discipline, but lay in a careless manner without their trenches. This intelligence excited him to attempt forcing their camp by some stratagem, since he found himself too weak to come to a pitched battle with them, especially as the spot they were encamped upon, was a smooth and open plain, extremely proper for their cavalry, much superior to that of the *Romans*, to act in. Having maturely weighed these particulars, he sent embassadors to the camp, to renew, as was given out, the conferences, but in reality to make such discoveries, as would favour the execution of his scheme. These embassadors were attended by some of his veteran soldiers, disguised like slaves, who had orders to move about the camp, and observe all the avenues leading to and from it, its form and situation, how far *Asdrubal* was from *Syphax*, how all the posts were occupied, and whether it would be easier to surprise it in the day-time or by night. Having informed himself of all these particulars, he immediately broke off the conferences, letting *Syphax* know, "That as his officers had, in a council "of war, declared themselves averse to all pacific measures, "and pressed him to push on the war with vigour, he found

[b] Liv. ubi. sup. c. 36. Appian. in Hannib. Oros. l. iv. c. 18.

" himself obliged in compliance with their desire, to pursue " the military operations." Such a declaration could not but extremely mortify both *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, who looked upon the treaty to be as good as concluded. However, they soon recovered themselves, and resolved to draw, if possible, the enemy out into the plain, where, they doubted not, they should be able to give a good account of them; or, if they should fail in the execution of this project, their intention was to besiege their camp both by sea and land; which they imagined themselves capable of doing. But *Scipio* took his measures so well, that he surprised them in the manner already related. *Lælius* and *Masinissa* burnt *Syphax*'s camp, as *Scipio* himself did that of *Asdrubal*. Their army was intirely ruined, only two thousand foot and five hundred horse, with the two commanders, escaping out of so great a multitude. According to *Livy*, this complete victory was, in a great measure, owing to the wise dispositions of *Masinissa*. The scene exhibited on this melancholy occasion, *Polybius* tells us, was inconceivably dreadful; which indeed may easily de admitted, if we consider the terrible havock made of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* troops. *Appian* relates, that *Syphax*, having, some time before, shamefully abandoned the *Carthaginians*, when he had advanced as far as *Utica* to their assistance, under the pretext of repelling a foreign invasion, returned soon after to succour them, and endeavoured to bring over *Masinissa*, by promising to give him which of his three daughters he pleased, and to fix him on the throne of the *Masæsyli*. The same author tells us, that *Scipio* offered sacrifices to the deities *Audacia* and *Pavor*, that his troops might behave with bravery, and not be struck with any panic terrors in the night, since they were then to begin the attack. *Asdrubal* made his escape to *Auda*, where he rallied the remains of his shattered army, consisting chiefly of mercenaries and *Numidians*; and having, by his own authority, presented a good number of slaves with their freedom, and joined them to the others, he formed a considerable corps. *Syphax* retired to an advantageous post, about eight miles from the field of battle, which he possessed himself of. *Appian* relates, that *Asdrubal* was condemned to be crucified for his ill success; which is improbable, if what *Livy* says be true, *viz.* that, soon after the last disaster, he went to *Carthage*, in order to prevent the senate and suffetes from coming into any pacific measures. Be that as it will, the suffetes having convened the senate, three motions were made: first, that embassadors should be sent to *Scipio*, to treat of a peace with that general; secondly, that *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy*, thirdly, that, in imitation of the *Ro-*

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man resolution in adversity, they should depend upon themselves and their allies, for the defence of their country, and therefore immediately reinforce their army, and apply to *Syphax* for further succours. This last, being backed by *Asdrubal* and the *Barchine* faction, was carried; in consequence of which, the new levies went on briskly, and ministers were dispatched in all haste to *Syphax*, who was prevailed upon, by the intreaties and endearments of his beloved *Sophonisba*, to join *Asdrubal* with a large body of forces. In the mean time, *Scipio* advanced to the walls of *Carthage*, and offered the citizens battle; which they thought proper to decline. As soon as *Asdrubal* had left *Auda*, it surrendered to the *Romans*. Two other towns of note likewise in that neighbourhood, which pretended to make resistance, *Scipio* carried by assault, and gave them up to his soldiers to be plundered. After this, he sat down again before *Utica*, and pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour. In the mean time, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, being joined by a good number of *Celtiberian* troops, upon a review of their army, found it to amount to thirty thousand strong, with which they moved towards *Scipio*, in order to attack him. That general, having received intelligence of their approach, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend his lines, rose from before *Utica*, and advanced to meet them. The *Roman* army was disposed in the usual manner. On the other side, *Asdrubal* posted his *Carthaginian* forces in the right wing, *Syphax*, with his *Numidians*, in the left, and the *Celtiberians* in the centre. The *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were routed at the first onset; but the *Celtiberians*, being animated by despair, fought with such resolution, that they were almost all to a man killed upon the spot. As *Scipio* had treated them with the utmost lenity after their late revolt, they were sensible the black ingratitude to him, they were now guilty of, deserved no mercy, if they fell into his hands; and finding it impossible to escape by flight, they resolved to die in the field. The obstinacy with which they, for some time, maintained the dispute, gave many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* an opportunity of saving themselves, who must otherwise have been inevitably cut off. The day after the battle, *Scipio* detached *Lælius* and *Massinissa*, with the horse and light-armed troops, to pursue *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*; whilst he himself, with the main body, reduced most of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage* c.

c LIV. l. XXX. c. 4---10. POLYB. l. xiv. APPIAN. in Libyc. DIO. CASS. in excerpt. Valef OROS. l. iv. c. 18. S. JUL. FRONTIN. strat. l. i. c. 1. ex. 3. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 20. ZONAR. ubi. sup. c. 12.

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Tunes abandoned at the approach of Scipio.

THE *Carthaginians* now looked upon their condition as desperate, expecting every moment to be besieged by *Scipio* with his victorious army. They therefore repaired the wall of the city, filled their magazines, and made all the other necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. In the mean time, the garison of *Tunes* abandoned that city at *Scipio*'s approach. Soon after the loss of this place, the *Carthaginians* sent a squadron of galleys to destroy the *Roman* fleet in the port of *Utica*; which they might have easily effected, had they not put into the harbour of *Rusicine* by the way, and staid a whole night there; which, together with their slow sailing, and the useless precaution of drawing up their fleet in order of battle, as though they had been to engage some formidable enemy, gave the *Romans* an opportunity of frustrating, in a great measure, their design. The great consternation the *Carthaginians* were thrown into by their late losses, prevented them from pursuing this enterprise with the expedition necessary to render it successful, since they imagined the *Romans* to be invincible by sea, as well as by land. However they carried off six of the enemy's galleys; which, in the present situation of affairs, elated them as much, as formerly an important victory would have done. We are told by *Appian*, that *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, surprising the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*, took one trireme and six transports; that immediately after this, *Hanno*, with a body of forces, attempted to raise the siege of *Utica*; but was repulsed with considerable loss; that, however, *Scipio*, being tired with the long siege, or rather blockade, of that place, transported all his military machines to *Hippo*; and that having ineffectually played them upon that city likewise, he burnt them all as useless, ravaged some parts of the neighbouring provinces, and entered into an alliance with others. The same author likewise intimates, that the *Carthaginians* attempted to corrupt the *Iberian* troops in the *Roman* service; but without success; their indirect practices being discovered to *Scipio* by the auspices at repeated sacrifices. We might here give our readers all the particulars, besides those already mentioned, relating to the tragical exit of *Sophonisba*, as well as the great progress made by *Lælius* and *Masinissa* at this time in *Numidia*, did we not apprehend them more properly to belong to the *Numidian* history [d].

The Carthaginians sue to Scipio for peace.

IMMEDIATELY after the last defeat, the senate and sufetes of *Carthage* came to a resolution to recall *Hannibal* from *Italy*, upon whose veteran troops, and their fleet, together

[d] POLYB. l. iv. APPIAN. ZONAR. ubi supra.

with

with the powerful assistance of *Syphax*, they were convinced, their preservation did absolutely depend. Their fleet therefore having, in the main, failed in the important enterprise above-mentioned, *Syphax* being taken prisoner, his country conquered, and *Hannibal* as yet at a great distance, they had no other resource left, than to sue to *Scipio* for peace. To this they were farther excited, by that general's encamping again at *Tunes*, within sight of their capital. They therefore deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected for that purpose out of the centumvirate, to wait upon *Scipio*. Being introduced into the *Roman* general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth, kissed his feet (in conformity, as *Livy* observes, to the practice of their ancestors the *Tyrians*), and spoke to him in the most submissive terms. They accused *Hannibal* and the *Barchine* faction, as the authors of all their calamities; they confessed themselves to have broken the peace concluded betwixt them and the *Romans*, and that they deserved whatever punishment that nation should think proper to inflict upon them. They begged, however, that their city, which had twice merited destruction, by the temerity of its citizens, might remain a monument of the *Roman* clemency, promising at the same time an implicit obedience to his commands. *Scipio* replied, "That though he "had come into *Africa*, not for peace, but conquest, "which he had, in a manner, effected, yet, that all na- "tions might see the strict justice of the *Romans*, both in "undertaking and concluding their wars, he would grant "them a peace upon the following terms: that they should deliver up all the *Roman* prisoners and deserters to him; that they should recal their armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*; that they should never set foot again in *Spain*; that they should retire out of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*; that they should put the victors in possession of all their ships, twenty only excepted, which they should be allowed to keep for their own use; lastly; that they should give to the *Romans* five hundred thousand bushels of wheat, three hundred thousand of barley, and pay five thousand talents, or, as others will have it, five thousand pound weight of silver. He gave them three days to consider of these conditions; which they feigned a compliance with, in order to gain time till *Hannibal*'s arrival. A truce being granted the *Carthaginians*, they immediately sent deputies to *Rome*, and at the same time dispatched an express to *Hannibal*, to hasten his return to *Africa*. *Appian* intimates, that, besides the articles above-mentioned, *Scipio* insisted upon a compliance with the two following: that *Masinissa* should not only keep possession of his own kingdom,

dom, but as many of *Syphax*'s territories, as he ſhould be able to conquer; and that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not extend their dominions beyond the *Foſſa Punica*. But theſe and other points, wherein that author differs from *Livy* and *Polybius*, ſeem not ſo agreeable to truth, as what has been tranſmitted to poſterity by thoſe two celebrated hiſtorians [e].

Mago overthrown in Inſubria.

During theſe tranſactions, *Mago* advanced into *Inſubria*, where he met with the *Roman* forces under the command of *M. Cornelius* and *P. Quintilius Varus*. A general action ſoon happened between the two armies, wherein the *Carthaginians* were defeated. However, *Aſdrubal*'s elephants, by their noiſe, ſmell, terrible appearance, &c. with the *Numidian* horſe, ſo puſhed the *Roman* cavalry, and his *Carthaginian* infantry charged the legionaries with ſuch bravery, that, had his *corps de reſerve*, which conſiſted of *Gauls*, done their duty againſt the *triarii*, the *Romans* muſt have been overthrown. *Mago* performed the part of a conſummate general, diſtinguiſhing himſelf greatly throughout the whole action; but being wounded in the thigh, he was obliged to be carried out of the battle, which threw his troops into ſuch confuſion, that a good part of them betook themſelves to flight. Five thouſand *Carthaginians* fell on the field of battle, and eighteen of their ſtandards were taken. But this victory coſt the *Romans* dear; for they loſt two thouſand three hundred men, beſides the beſt part of the twelfth legion. *Mago*, after having made an excellent retreat by favour of the night, returned into the country of the *Ingauni*, which was one of the maritime parts of *Liguria*, where he met a courier bringing him orders to return directly to *Carthage*. The *Ligurians*, being informed of this, received the *Romans* with open arms; and *Mago*, embarking his troops, immediately ſet ſail for *Carthage*; but his wound growing worſe, upon his arrival on the coaſt of *Sardinia*, he expired [f].

Hannibal recalled from Italy.

The *Romans* being thus every where victorious, *Conſentia*, *Uffugium*, *Vergæ*, *Beſidiæ*, *Hetriculum*, *Syphæum*, *Argentanum*, *Dampetia*, and other towns of leſs note in *Bruttium*, opened their gates to the conſul *Cn. Servilius*. This was the ſituation of affairs, when *Hannibal* was commanded to return to *Africa*. *Valerius Antias* wrote, that, juſt before his departure, *Hannibal* was defeated by *Servilius*, not far from *Croton*, and that, on this occaſion, he loſt five thouſand men. But *Livy*, partial as he is, looks upon this as little better than a downright fiction. When the meſſengers

[e] Idem ibid. [f] Polyb. & Appian. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxx. c. 18.

from

from *Africa* informed *Hannibal* of the senate's pleasure, he expressed the utmost concern and indignation, groaning, gnashing his teeth, and being scarce able to refrain from tears. "Now, said he, those persons, who have long endeavoured "to drag me out of *Italy*, by denying me proper supplies, "send me direct and explicit orders to return home. *Han-* "*nibal* is not vanquished by the *Romans*, but by the senate "of *Carthage*. *Scipio* has not so much reason to exult and "plume himself at my being forced from *Italy*, as *Hanno*, "who, for want of other means of effecting it, has com- "pleted the ruin of my family by the destruction of *Car-* "*thage*." As he had foreseen what would happen, he had prepared a proper number of vessels to transport his forces to *Africa*; which he did, after having massacred a body of *Italian* troops, that refused to accompany him, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*. Such an instance of cruelty, at that time, was not so much to be wondered at, since *Hannibal* must have been exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit a country he had been so long contending for. Never banished man, according to *Livy*, shewed so much regret in leaving his native country, as *Hannibal* did in going out of that or the enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to *Italy*, accusing gods and men for his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, if we will credit the same author, upon himself, for his not having, after the battle of *Cannæ*, advanced to the walls of *Rome* at the head of his army, still reeking with the blood of its citizens. *Appian* writes, that *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, committed unparalleled cruelties in all the cities allied with *Carthage*, before *Hannibal's* departure, permitting his men to ravish their virgins and matrons, and behaving in all respects to them, as the most inhuman enemy does to the inhabitants of all towns carried by assault. But as [illegible] whole authority, in the main, we prefer to that of *Appian*, in what he says as to this particular, we own ourselves inclined to pay no great regard to it [b].

THE *Carthaginian* embassadors, about that time, arrived *Tho Car* at *Rome*, where they met with but a very indifferent recep- *thaginian* tion. The conscript fathers, greatly dissatisfied with the ex- *breaks the* cuses made by their embassadors, in vindication of their re- *treaty* public, and the ridiculous offer of their adhering, in its name, *granted* to the treaty of *Lutatius*, thought proper to refer the decision *them.* of the whole to *Scipio*, who, being upon the spot, could best

[b] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. ubi sup. [illegible] seq. APPIAN. in Hannib.

judge what ſuited the welfare of the ſtate. However, the *Romans* plainly diſcovered, from the conduct of their miniſters on this occaſion, as well as the recalling of their troops home, that, notwithſtanding their pretended deſire of peace, the *Carthaginians* would be averſe to an accommodation, as ſoon as they received intelligence of *Hannibal*'s landing in *Africa*. They were confirmed in the ſentiments they had entertained, by the news, which, in a few days, arrived at *Rome*, viz. that the *Carthaginians*, in violation of the truce, which they themſelves had ſo earneſtly deſired, had ſeized a great number of ſhips on the coaſt of *Africa*, near the iſland *Ægimurus*, and even attacked the galley that carried the *Roman* embaſſadors to *Carthage*, in the river *Bagrada*, within ſight of *Scipio*'s camp. Such a procedure could not but exaſperate the two nations one againſt the other more than ever; the *Romans*, from the ſtrong deſire they muſt have had to revenge ſo black a perfidy; and the *Carthaginians*, from a perſuaſion that they were not now to expect a peace. For the particulars of thoſe infamous actions, as well as *Scipio*'s great generoſity and politeneſs to the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, notwithſtanding ſuch a flagrant violation of the law of nations, we muſt refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory [h].

Hannibal *makes propoſals of peace to* Scipio.

Hannibal had no ſooner landed in *Africa*, than he ſent out parties to get proviſions for the army, and buy horſes to remount the cavalry. He entered into a league with the regulus of the *Areacidæ*, a *Numidian* tribe not far from *Adrumetum*. Four thouſand of *Syphax*'s horſe, then in the ſervice of *Maſiniſſa*, came over in a body to him; but as he did not think it proper to repoſe any confidence in them, he put them all to the ſword, and diſtributed their horſes amongſt his troops. *Vermina*, one of *Syphax*'s ſons, and *Meſetulas*, another *Numidian* prince, likewiſe joined him with a very conſiderable body of horſe. Moſt of the fortreſſes in *Maſiniſſa*'s kingdom either ſurrendered to him upon the firſt ſummons, or were taken by ſtorm. *Narce*, a city of conſiderable note there, he made himſelf maſter of by a ſtratagem. *Tychæus*, a *Numidian* regulus, and faithful ally of *Syphax*, whoſe territories were famous for an excellent breed of horſes, reinforcing him alſo much about the ſame time with two thouſand of his beſt cavalry, *Hannibal* advanced to *Zama*, a town about five days march from *Car-*

[h] Liv. l. xxx c. 21. 23; APPIAN in Libyc. Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. XII. p. 170, & ſeq.

thage,

thage where he encamped. He thence ſent out ſpies to obſerve the poſture of the *Romans*. Theſe being brought to *Scipio*, he was ſo far from inflicting any puniſhment upon them, which he might have done by the rules of war, that he commanded them to be led about the *Roman* camp, in order to take an exact ſurvey of it, and then diſmiſſed them. *Hannibal*, admiring the noble aſſurance of his rival, ſent a meſſenger to deſire an interview with him; which by means of *Maſiniſſa* he obtained. The two generals therefore, eſcorted by equal detachments of horſe, met at *Nadagara*, where by the aſſiſtance of two interpreters, they held a private conference. *Hannibal*, after having flattered *Scipio* in the moſt refined and artful manner, and expatiated upon all thoſe topics, that, he thought, could influence that general to grant his nation a peace upon tolerable terms, told him, that the *Carthaginians* would willingly confine themſelves to *Africa*, ſince ſuch was the will of the gods, in order to procure a laſting peace, whilſt the *Romans* would be at liberty to extend their conqueſts to the remoteſt nations. He farther added, that, with regard to the ſincerity of his intentions, ſince the *Romans* had lately, not without reaſon, ſuſpected the *Punic* faith, he deſired him to be fully convinced of it, and to reſt aſſured, that the ſame conſtant and uniform diſpoſition *Hannibal* had ſhewn in the proſecution of this bloody war, as long as the gods permitted it, would as eminently appear in the ſtrict obſervation of a future peace; and that the *Romans* had the leſs reaſon to doubt of this, as the intereſt of the *Carthaginians* itſelf rendered ſuch a conduct on their part abſolutely neceſſary. *Scipio* anſwered, That the *Romans* were not prompted by ambition, or any ſiniſter views, to undertake either the former or preſent war againſt the *Carthaginians*, but by juſtice, and a proper regard for their allies; that the *Carthaginians* had, before his arrival in *Africa*, not only made him the ſame propoſals, but likewiſe agreed to pay the *Romans* five thouſand talents of ſilver, reſtore all the *Roman* priſoners without ranſom, and deliver up all their galleys; that the late perfidious actions of the *Carthaginians* ought to be ſo far from procuring them more favourable terms, that the *Romans* thought themſelves authorized from thence to impoſe more rigorous conditions upon them; which if he would ſubmit to, then a peace would enſue; if not, the deciſion of the diſpute betwixt them muſt be intirely left to the ſword [1].

[1] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29—32. APPIAN in Libyc.

The disposition of the Roman *and* Carthaginian *armies at the battle of Zama.*

THIS conference betwixt two of the greateſt generals the world ever produced thus ending without ſucceſs, they both retired to their reſpective camps, where they informed their troops, that not only the fate of *Rome* and *Carthage*, but that of the whole world, was to be determined by them the next day. Accordingly, in the morning, both commanders drew up their armies in order of battle; and, after endeavouring to animate their men to make their utmoſt efforts, by all the motives to bravery that could be offered, they advanced towards each other with great reſolution in the plains of *Zama*. *Scipio* poſted the haſtati, divided into ſmall battalions, with proper ſpaces between them, in front; after them, the principes divided in the ſame manner; and the rear was brought up by the triarii. The *Italian* horſe, under the conduct of *Lælius*, he placed in the left wing; and the *Numidian*, commanded by *Maſiniſſa*, in the right. By this diſpoſition, which differed ſomething from that which the *Romans* uſually made, a proper precaution was taken againſt the violence of the enemy's elephants, which would otherwiſe have undoubtedly born down the principes. He ordered his light-armed troops, who were to begin the fight, to retire into the void ſpaces between the battalions, if they found themſelves overcharged by the enemy, or puſhed by their elephants, the moſt expeditious part of them continuing their retreat till they came behind the army, thereby giving an opportunity to their wounded, or more ſlow, companions, of ſaving themſelves in the interval between the haſtati and principes, or that between the principes and triarii. *Hannibal*, on the other ſide, poſted his elephants, eighty in number, in front; behind them he placed his vanguard, conſiſting of *Ligurian*, *Gallic*, *Baleric*, and *Mauritanian* mercenaries; then followed the main battle, compoſed of four thouſand *Africans* and native *Carthaginians*, ſuſtained by a body of four thouſand *Macedonian* veterans, ſent him by king *Philip*; and, at a furlong's diſtance from them, moved thoſe brave troops, that had ſerved under him in *Italy*, forming his rear, in whom he repoſed his chief confidence. The *Carthaginian* cavalry were oppoſed to *Lælius*; and the *Numidian*, under *Tychæus*, *Mateſabar*, &c. to *Maſiniſſa* [k].

The battle of Zama.

SOME time before the beginning of the action, the *Numidian* horſe on both ſides ſkirmiſhed with inconſiderable loſs. After which, purſuant to *Hannibal*'s orders, the elephants advanced againſt the enemy; but thoſe diſtributed in the left wing, being frightened by the ſound of the trumpets and the

[k] Idem. ibid.

other

other martial music, fell foul upon their own *Numidian* horse, and put them into disorder. *Masinissa* immediately took advantage of this confusion, and, without giving them time to recover themselves, charged them with such fury, that he drove them out of the field. The elephants, that attacked the *Roman* light armed troops, being likewise repulsed, and many of them wounded, recoiled in like manner upon the *Carthaginian* horse posted in the right wing, and made such an impression upon them, that they met with the same rough treatment from *Lælius*, that the *Numidians* had before done from *Masinissa*. In the mean time, the infantry on both sides engaged with unparallelled bravery. *Hannibal's* mercenaries at first repulsed the legionaries; but these last, being duly supported by the principes, not only recovered themselves, but routed the mercenaries, and pushed them on the *Carthaginians*; which occasioned the defeat of both bodies, and, in a great measure, determined victory to declare for the *Romans*. The *corps de reserve*, formed of *Hannibal's* veterans, that had served under him in *Italy*, behaved with inexpressible intrepidity and resolution; but *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, returning from the defeat of the enemy's horse, bore down all before them, and obliged this phalanx, which before seemed impenetrable, to give way. They were therefore put to the rout, and the ground strewed with their dead bodies, most of them being killed either in the battle or the pursuit. *Appian* relates, that, during the heat of the action, *Hannibal* first engaged *Scipio*, and afterwards *Masinissa*, in single combat, wherein he had the advantage. According to the same author, the *Carthaginians* had twenty-five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. *Livy* and *Polybius* affirm, that twenty thousand of *Hannibal's* men were killed, and as many taken prisoners; as likewise, that an hundred and thirty standards fell into the enemy's hands. Some say, the *Romans* lost only two thousand men; others, that two thousand five hundred *Romans*, and a greater number of *Masinissa's* soldiers, fell in this engagement. Be that as it will, *Scipio* got a complete victory, and made himself master of *Hannibal's* camp, where he found ten talents of gold, two thousand five hundred of silver, and an immense quantity of other booty. All the remarkable particulars of this action, omitted here, our readers will find in a former part of this work [1].

[1] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. CORN. NEP. ubi sup. ZONAR. ubi sup. c. 14. EUTROP. l. iii. c. 23. PLUT. in Hannib. OROS. l. iv. c. 19. Univers. Hist. Vol. XII. p. 182, & seq.

Hannibal

Hannibal's excellent conduct at that battle.

Hannibal, having escaped to *Thon*, was soon joined by some *Brutian* and *Spanish* fugitives, who had been too swift for their pursuers; but not caring to trust himself in their hands, he fled privately to *Adrumetum*. The surprising military genius of that most renowned general never more eminently displayed itself than at the battle of *Zama*, as we learn from *Polybius*, who greatly celebrates his conduct on that occasion. *Scipio* himself likewise, according to *Livy*, passed a high encomium upon him, on account of his uncommon capacity in taking advantages, the excellent arrangement of his forces, and the manner in which he gave his orders during the engagement; but being vastly inferior to the enemy in horse, and the fate of *Carthage* obliging him, at no small disadvantage, to hazard a battle with the *Romans*, he met with the fate above-mentioned. Some consolation, however, it must have been to him to hear, that *Scipio* not only approved of his conduct, but openly declared, that he outshined himself in this glorious, though unfortunate, action [m].

A peace concluded between the Romans *and the* Carthaginians.

The senate of *Carthage*, hearing of *Hannibal*'s arrival at *Adrumetum*, dispatched messengers to him, with orders to return to *Carthage*. He obeyed these orders, and advised his countrymen to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, upon the terms they should think proper to prescribe them. To this they were the more strongly excited by the news they received of a defeat given *Vermina*, the son of *Syphax*, their ally. This blow was very considerable, fifteen thousand of that prince's men being laid dead on the field of battle, twelve hundred made prisoners, and fifteen hundred *Numidian* horses, together with seventy-two military ensigns, taken. After this overthrow, the *Carthaginians* sent ten of their principal citizens, as embassadors, to implore *Scipio*'s clemency, who told them, with a haughty air, That they might meet with him at *Tunes*. However, thirty *Carthaginian* senators, selected out of the centumvirate, waiting upon *Scipio*, and suing for peace in the most submissive terms, that general thought proper to dictate to them the following conditions: 1. The *Carthaginians* shall be governed by their own laws, and remain in possession of all their *African* dominions. 2. The *Carthaginians* shall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the *Italians*, whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. This shall be done within thirty days after the treaty is signed. 4. They shall also deliver up all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, and shall train up no more of those ani-

[m] Polyb. l. xv. Liv. l. xxx. c. 35. Appian. in Libyc.

mals

mals for the ſervice. 5. The ſenate and people of *Carthage* ſhall not engage in any war, without the conſent of the *Romans*. 6. They ſhall ſupply the *Roman* troops with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſhall ſend to *Rome*. 7. They ſhall pay the *Romans*, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand *Euboic* talents, at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to *Scipio* an hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of whom ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor truce ſhall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have reſtored to the *Romans* the ſhips and effects taken from them during the laſt truce. 10. The *Roman* armies ſhall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. 11. The *Carthaginians* ſhall reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 12. They ſhall never for the future make any levies in *Gaul* or *Liguria*. 13. They ſhall aſſiſt the *Romans* both by ſea and land, whenever they are called upon ſo to do. Theſe terms, which *Scipio* thought proper to grant the *Carthaginians*, in caſe the ſenate and people of *Rome* would ratify them, appeared ſo intolerable to the populace of *Carthage*, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houſes of the nobility. But *Hannibal*, having aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, at *Marthama*, prevented an inſurrection, and, by his influence, completed the accommodation. However, *Giſco*, an enemy to the *Barchine* faction, made a ſpeech to the ſenators, in order to diſſuade them from accepting ſuch a ſhameful peace. *Hannibal*, being highly incenſed at his preſumption, dragged him from his ſeat; which giving great offence, in order to vindicate, or, at leaſt, to palliate, ſo precipitate an action, *Hannibal* made an apology for it to the following effect. "As I "left your city at nine years of age, and did not return till "after thirty-ſix years abſence, I had full leiſure to learn the "military art, and flatter myſelf, that I have made good "improvement in it; but, with regard to your conſtitution, "it is no wonder that I am a ſtranger to it, and therefore "I muſt deſire you to inſtruct me in every branch of it". He then inſiſted upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace; adding, "that they ought to return the gods thanks for ha-"ving diſpoſed the *Romans* to grant them ſuch favourable "conditions." He likewiſe repreſented to the ſenators the importance of uniting in their ſuffrages; intimating, that it might be of fatal conſequence to the ſtate, if, by their diviſions, they ſhould throw more weight into the popular ſcale, which already did but too much preponderate. That whole

venerable

venerable assembly therefore, in order to prevent the people from taking such an affair under their cognizance, came over to his opinion, and the terms proposed by *Scipio* were accepted. Ample satisfaction having been made the *Romans* for the outrages offered their ministers, and the infraction of the late truce, the *Carthaginians* dispatched an embassy, at the head of which was *Asdrubal*, surnamed *Hædus*, or *The Kid*, to *Rome*. As he was an irreconcileable enemy to *Hannibal* and his family, he endeavoured to excuse the people of *Carthage*, by imputing the late rupture to the ambition of the *Barcine* faction, and extolled his own conduct, as well as that of *Hanno*, towards the *Romans*. He likewise expatiated upon the generosity, magnanimity, wisdom, and humanity of the *Romans*; whilst his companions endeavoured to move the senate to compassion, by exhibiting to their view the calamitous state of *Carthage* in the most lively colours. By these methods of persuation, they not only prevailed upon the conscript fathers to grant them their request, but likewise to send two hundred of their prisoners then at *Rome* to *Scipio*, with orders that they should be restored, without any pecuniary consideration, as soon as he should receive from the *Carthaginians* their ratification of the treaty. The late truce for three months, which the *Carthaginians* obtained of *Scipio*, upon the return of their embassadors, was changed into a perpetual peace, upon the terms that general had prescribed. They then, in pursuance of the treaty, delivered up to *Scipio* above five hundred ships, all which he burnt in sight of *Carthage*, to the inexpressible mortification of the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. They likewise delivered up into the hands of the *Romans* all their elephants, all the slaves, deserters, and prisoners of war. The number of these last amounted to above four thousand men. *Scipio* treated both the *Latin* and *Roman* deserters with extreme severity, ordering all the heads of the former to be struck off, and the latter to be crucified. The public funds at *Carthage* being exhausted by so long and expensive a war, the senate found it vastly difficult to raise a sum sufficient for the payment of the first tax imposed by the treaty. This threw them into a melancholy silence, and many could not even refrain from tears. *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, laughing on this occasion, was reproved by *Asdrubal Hædus*, for insulting his country in this the time of its affliction, which, he insinuated, was owing to his conduct. *Hannibal*, in reply, according to the same author, spoke to that august assembly to the following effect: "Were my heart as visible as my counte-

"nance,

" nance, you would perceive, that this laughter, which has " given ſuch offence, flows not from an exceſs of joy, but " from a mind almoſt diſtracted with the public calamities ; " nor is even this laughter ſo unſeaſonable as your abſurd " and indecent tears. Then you ought to have wept, when " your arms were taken from you, your ſhips burnt, and you " were prohibited from engaging in any foreign wars. This " was the mortal blow, that laid us proſtrate. Do not ima- " gine, that the *Romans*, out of any particular averſion to " you, have formed a ſcheme for your deſtruction. No " great city can long enjoy any repoſe. If it has no foreign, " it will ſoon meet with a domeſtic, enemy ; as the moſt ro- " buſt conſtitutions, when free from all external morbific " cauſes, are born down by their own ſtrength. You are " only ſenſible of the public calamities, as far as you " have a perſonal concern in them ; and the loſs of your " money only gives you the moſt pungent ſorrow. When " therefore *Carthage* was made the ſpoil of the victor, when " it was left diſarmed and defenceleſs amidſt ſo many pow- " erful *African* nations, who had at that time taken the " field, not a groan, not a ſigh, was heard. But now, " when a capitation-tax is demanded, you lament and be- " wail, as if all were loſt. Alas ! I greatly fear, that " the ſubject of this day's anxiety and concern will ſoon " prove the leaſt of your misfortunes." Thus ended the ſecond *Punic* war, one of the moſt remarkable mentioned in hiſtory, both on account of the viciſſitudes of fortune diſcernible in it, and the immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure it occaſioned the conſumption of. *Zonaras*, from ſome authors not now extant, tells us, it laſted only ſixteen years ; but *Livy* and *Polybius*, whoſe authority is more to be depended upon, make it to have included eighteen campaigns, and intimate it to have been terminated eighteen years after *Hannibal* came to a rupture with the *Romans* [n].

THE year after the concluſion of the laſt treaty, *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* captain, left in thoſe parts either by *Aſdrubal* or *Mago*, excited the *Inſubres*, *Cenomani*, and the *Boii*, together with the *Sallyi*, *Ilvates*, and other cantons of *Liguria*, to make an irruption into the territories of the allies of *Rome*. Of this the ſenate immediately informed the ſtate of *Carthage*, threatening at the ſame time to renew the war, if that infringer of the late treaty was not delivered up to them. What anſwer the *Carthaginians* returned to their menace, we

The Romans *force the* Carthaginians *to clap up a diſhonourable peace with* Manilius.

[n] POLYB. ubi ſup. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 36. & ſeq. APPIAN. FLOR. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. &c. ubi ſup.

no-where find; but the death of *Hamilcar*, who was ſoon after killed, in a battle he fought with *Fulvius Purpureo* the prætor, put an end to all farther diſpute betwixt the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* on this head. The peace betwixt *Carthage* and *Rome* was ſcarce ſigned, when *Maſiniſſa*, at the inſtigation of the *Romans*, unjuſtly made himſelf maſter of part of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Africa*, under pretence, that thoſe territories formerly belonged to his family. The *Carthaginians*, through the villainous mediation of the *Romans*, to which, by an article of the late treaty, they were obliged to have recourſe, found themſelves under a neceſſity of ceding thoſe countries to that ambitious prince, and entering into an alliance with him. The good underſtanding afterwards betwixt theſe two powers continued many years; but at laſt *Maſiniſſa*, through the intrigues and dark cabals of the *Romans*, as there is great reaſon to believe, violated the treaties ſubſiſting betwixt him and the *Carthaginians*, and not a little contributed to the ſubverſion of the *African* republic, as will ſoon moſt evidently appear [o].

The Carthaginians ſend fifty Euboic talents to Rome, in purſuance of the late treaty.

The following year, in the conſulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Carthaginians* ſent fifty *Euboic* talents of ſilver to *Rome*, in purſuance of the late treaty; but the ſilver not being good, the quæſtors refuſed it; and, upon examination, it being found wanting one fourth part, the *Carthaginian* miniſters were obliged to borrow a ſum of money at *Rome*, to make up the deficiency. At their requeſt an hundred of their hoſtages were releaſed, and hopes given them, that the other hundred ſhould ſoon be returned, provided they inviolably adhered to their late engagements. In the mean time, the remaining hoſtages deſiring leave to be removed from *Norba*, which they repreſented as a place very inconvenient for them to reſide in, the ſenate immediately ſent them to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. From hence they were removed to *Setia*, where their domeſtics occaſioned a commotion, which had like to have proved of ill conſequence to the *Romans*; but how this accident affected the ſtate of *Carthage*, is no-where ſaid. According to *Appian*, the trade of the *Carthaginians* began, even at this time, to flouriſh, notwithſtanding all their ſhipping had ſo lately been, in a manner, deſtroyed. A glaring inſtance this of the ſurpriſing genius of that people for commerce, even in their moſt depreſſed and miſerable condition [p]!

[o] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 10, 11, 32, & l. xl. c. 34. Zonar. l. ix. c. 15. Appian. in Libyc. [p] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 2. 26. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 16. Appian. ubi ſup.

Not

NOT long after the tranſactions juſt hinted at, *Livy* tells us, that one *Hamilcar*, a *Carthaginian* general, commanded an army of *Gauls*, that was defeated by *Cethegus*; and that this general himſelf was taken priſoner in the action; but whether any, or how many, *Carthaginian* troops aſſiſted the *Gauls* on this occaſion, or what influence that event had upon the *Carthaginian* affairs, hiſtory informs us not. In the mean time *Hannibal* kept up his credit at *Carthage*. Notwithſtanding he had failed in the execution of his grand and favourite ſcheme, the republic gave him the command of an army deſtined to act againſt ſome neighbouring *African* powers; and from *Cornelius Nepos* it ſeems probable, that he made ſome campaigns after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war. This gave ſuch umbrage to the *Romans*, that, notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians* made them a preſent of a golden crown, and thanked them in a moſt polite manner for the peace they had granted them, they refuſed to releaſe the *Carthaginian* priſoners ſtill detained in *Italy*. The ſenate, indeed, at the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who came with the compliment to *Rome*, gave leave to the *Carthaginian* hoſtages ſtill with them to reſide in what city of *Italy* they pleaſed; and aſſured the embaſſadors, that this inſtance of their republic's friendſhip was very acceptable to them. But, with regard to the priſoners, the conſcript fathers frankly told them, that they could not diſmiſs them, as long as *Hannibal*, their moſt avowed and inveterate enemy, was at the head of an army in *Africa*. Upon this remonſtrance the *Carthaginians* recalled *Hannibal* home, and conferred upon him the office of prætor; which ſeems to have been an employment of great conſideration and authority. In this poſt *Hannibal* behaved ſo as to gain univerſal applauſe. He regulated the finances in ſuch a manner, that, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate to which *Carthage* was reduced, conſiderable ſums were laid up yearly for the public ſervice, after the payment of the tax to the *Romans* impoſed by the laſt treaty, and all other deductions made. As ſuch a laudable conduct muſt have been founded upon a reformation of many abuſes, it undoubtedly drew upon him the hatred of many perſons concerned in thoſe abuſes; but neither this, nor the animoſity of the old *Hannonian* faction, which was far from being extinguiſhed, prevented him from purſuing the meaſures he thought neceſſary for the ſervice of the republic with zeal and reſolution. But he was not ſatisfied with putting the management of the finances upon a good footing. He was equally impatient of rectifying the irregularities, which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice. As the judges exerciſed the moſt cruel rapine with impunity, diſpoſing, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives, properties, and

Joins the Carthaginians at Carthage, and afterwards flies to Antiochus king of Syria.

reputations of the citizens, without the leaſt controul, ſince they held their offices for life, and mutually ſupported one another, *Hannibal* reſolved to redreſs ſo crying an evil. He therefore, by his integrity, courage, and popularity acquired thereby, effected the paſſing of a law, whereby it was enacted, that the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond their year. This ſtep greatly irritated the nobles and grandees, but extremely pleaſed the populace, of *Carthage*. His reputation and authority amongſt the latter were raiſed to a higher pitch by the method he made uſe of to complete the regulation of the finances above-mentioned. The public revenues had been embezzled by thoſe who had the management of them, and ſome of the leading men in the city. This obliged the ſenate and ſuffetes to think of levying the annual tribute, due to the *Romans*, upon the people; which ſcheme *Hannibal* prevented from being put in execution, by detecting the frauds of the officers concerned in every branch of the public revenues, as well as the colluſions of thoſe poſſeſſed of the other lucrative poſts. It is no wonder therefore, that perſons of this complexion ſhould exert their utmoſt malice to ruin a man, however laudably diſpoſed to the public, who, they had the aſſurance to pretend, deprived them of their lawful property; for in that light they conſidered their long continued peculation. In order to gratify their reſentment, they excited the *Romans* to purſue *Hannibal* to deſtruction. Accordingly *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo*, were ſent to *Carthage*, as was pretended, to accommodate all differences betwixt the *Carthaginians* and *Maſiniſſa*, but, in reality, to ruin *Hannibal*, who, they aſſerted, carried on a ſecret intelligence with king *Antiochus*, in order to concert with him the proper meaſures for proſecuting the war againſt the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, upon their arrival, notwithſtanding their ſpecious pretexts, knew the ſubject of their commiſſion, and thought it prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times. Having therefore made all the proper diſpoſitions for his departure, in order to blind his countrymen, in the duſk of the evening, he went out of the city in a foreign dreſs, attended only by two companions, ignorant of his deſign. That he might travel with the greater expedition, he had before ordered relays at proper places, by the aſſiſtance of which, paſſing the *Voconian* diſtrict, he arrived at a caſtle, or palace, of his own, between *Acholla* and *Thapſus*. From hence he was wafted over in a veſſel, that waited for him, to the iſland *Cercina*. Here he had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to conceal his retreat from *Carthage*; which had the deſired effect. The populace

populace of *Carthage*, the morning after his departure, were in a great ferment upon his abandoning the city. Some thought he was fled, others, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the *Roman* faction. However, at laſt, time diſcovered the truth, the ſenate receiving certain intelligence, that he was ſeen in the iſland *Cercina*. No ſooner did this news come to hand, than the *Roman* embaſſadors inſiſted upon the *Carthaginians* making a public declaration of their diſlike of the project he was gone upon. In order to impoſe upon the maſters of ſhips at that time in the iſland *Cercina*, he gave out, that the republic of *Carthage* had ſent him their embaſſador to *Tyre*. *Livy* tells us, that he was not ſo much affected with the proſpect of his own unhappy fate, as with that of the calamities, which threatened his country. From *Cercina* he ſteered his courſe for *Tyre*, where, upon his arrival, he was treated with all the marks of diſtinction due to his exalted merit After ſtaying ſome days here, he ſet out for *Antioch*, and had a conference with *Antiochus*'s ſon at *Daphne*, where he was celebrating ſome ſolemn diverſions. From hence he poſted to *Epheſus*, where he met with a moſt kind reception from that prince himſelf, whom he determined to enter upon a war with *Rome*, after he had been, for ſome time, in a fluctuating condition on that head. *Tully* informs us, that, during his reſidence here, a philoſopher named *Phormio*, eſteemed the beſt orator in *Aſia*, expatiated in an harangue on the duties of a general, and the rules of the military art, before him; which charming the audience, *Hannibal* was aſked his opinion of it. To which the *Carthaginian* frankly replied, "That, in "his time, he had ſeen many old dotards, but none that "came up to *Phormio*." *Stobæus* informs us, that this *Phormio* was a *Stoic* philoſopher; and that when he undertook to prove, that a wiſe man only was fit to be a general, *Hannibal* laughed, as being convinced, that a ſkill in martial affairs was to be acquired, not by theory, but by practice. The *Carthaginians*, being apprehenſive, that, by *Hannibal*'s intrigues, they might be embroiled with the *Romans*, thought proper to ſend them advice, that he was withdrawn to the court of *Antiochus*. This news not a little alarmed them; and the king might have turned ſo lucky an accident greatly to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper uſe of it [q].

[q] POLYB. l. iii. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 30. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 32—35 &c 46, 47. CIC de orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76. STOB. ſerm. 52. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 3 JUSTIN. l. xxi. c. 2.

Hannibal's

Hannibal *endeavours to embroil his countrymen with the* Romans, *but in vain.*

Hannibal's constant opinion was, that *Italy* should be made the seat of the war. To enforce this, he observed to *Antiochus*, that *Italy* would supply a foreign invader both with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and a proper number of recruits; and that if the *Romans* were permitted to transport their *Italian* forces into any foreign country, no prince or state in the world could make head against them. He offered to sail to *Carthage*, and did not doubt but he should persuade his countrymen to take up arms against the common enemy, provided the king would trust him with the command of a fleet of an hundred ships, and a body of seventeen thousand land-forces on board. With these troops, he proposed making a descent in some part of *Italy*; whilst the king himself should assemble a numerous army, and put himself in a condition to advance to his relief, whenever it should be thought convenient. Had this salutary advice been followed, *Antiochus* would not have been obliged soon after to submit to such conditions of peace, as the *Romans* thought fit to impose upon him. But, notwithstanding that prince's wrong conduct, at first he approved very much of *Hannibal*'s proposal; which induced that general to dispatch one *Ariston*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*, in order to engage the senate there more strongly in his interest. To secure the fidelity of this person, *Hannibal* made him some valuable presents, after he had furnished him with proper instructions, and promised him great rewards in *Antiochus*'s name, in case he happily executed his commission. *Ariston* was no sooner arrived at *Carthage*, than the people began to suspect the errand he came upon. As he associated only with the members of the *Barchine* faction, the suspicions, that had been entertained, were turned into a violent presumption of his guilt; so that he was seized, and called upon to clear himself; but not having the good fortune to do this to the satisfaction of the dominant party, great debates arose in the senate concerning him. Some members of that august assembly were for treating him as a spy; but others thought this might be a bad precedent, as nothing could be proved directly against him; insinuating further, that as such an action could be considered in no other light than as a violation of the laws of hospitality, the *Tyrians* would not fail making reprisals upon the *Carthaginians* residing at *Tyre*, and other trading cities in their dominions. However, the determination of this affair was deferred till the next day; which gave the crafty *Tyrian* an opportunity of making his escape in the night, after he had fixed, in several public places, papers, which fully declared the occasion of his coming to *Carthage*. The senate, to show how religiously they

they intended to obſerve the laſt treaty, immediately ſent advice of this to the *Romans* [r].

THE *Romans*, ſoon after the arrival of the expreſs with this news, nominated *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* their embaſſadors to *Antiochus*, ordering them to take *Pergamus* in their way, that they might conſer with *Eumenes*, who reſided there, a violent enemy of *Antiochus*. *Sulpicius*, was detained at *Pergamus* by an indiſpoſition; but *Villius*, in purſuance of his orders, came to *Epheſus*, where he found *Hannibal*. He had many conferences with him, paid him ſeveral viſits, and ſpeciouſly affected to ſhew him a particular eſteem on all occaſions; but his chief aim, by all this inſidious behaviour, was to render him ſuſpected, and leſſen his credit with the king; in which he ſucceeded but too well, as afterwards manifeſtly appeared. This we learn both from *Livy* and *Polybius*; the latter of which hiſtorians repreſents this application of *Villius* to *Hannibal* as a premeditated deſign, in order to deſtroy his intereſt with king *Antiochus*; and the former owns, that the affair took the ſame turn as *Villius* might have had in view by the execution of ſuch a deſign. However, the firſt author, for a very obvious reaſon, tells us, that the only end of *Villius*'s converſation with *Hannibal* was to ſound that general, and to remove any fears or apprehenſions he might be under from the *Romans*. *Claudius*, and the *Libri Græci Aciliani*, according to *Livy*, affirmed, that *Scipio* was joined with *Sulpicius* and *Villius* in this embaſſy, and even tranſmitted to poſterity ſome of the particulars that paſſed in converſation betwixt the *Roman* miniſters and *Hannibal*. According to theſe authors, *Scipio* deſired *Hannibal* to tell him, who, in his opinion, was the moſt celebrated general in hiſtory. To which the *Carthaginian* general replied, *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, becauſe, with an inconſiderable body of troops, he had defeated moſt numerous armies, and extended his conqueſts into countries ſo widely diſtant, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any man even to traverſe them. Being then aſked, who was the next to him, he anſwered, *Pyrrhus*, who firſt underſtood the art of encamping to advantage; neither did ever any commander, continued he, make a more judicious choice of poſts, or better underſtood how to draw up his forces, or was more happy in conciliating the affections and favour of mankind to him, as evidently appeared from the diſpoſition of the *Italian* troops, who were more deſirous of being under his government, than that of the *Romans*, though they had ſo long been ſubject to them. *Scipio* then demanding of him,

Hannibal confers with Villius and Scipio.

[r] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 59. 60.

whom

whom he looked upon as the third captain, he made no ſcruple of mentioning himſelf. Here *Scipio* not being able to refrain from laughing; But what would you have ſaid, added he, had you vanquiſhed me? I would, replied *Hannibal*, have ranked myſelf above *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, and all the generals the world ever produced. *Scipio* was not inſenſible to this artful and delicate flattery; which, by giving him no rival, ſeemed to inſinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in compariſon with him. This anſwer of *Hannibal* is much more probable and ingenious, than that mentioned by *Plutarch*, who makes that general to have given the firſt place to *Pyrrhus*, the ſecond to *Scipio*, and to himſelf the third; which is low, jejune, and quite deſtitute of that elegance and vivacity, which *Livy*'s relation, in conformity to *Hannibal*'s character, is ſeaſoned with [r].

Hannibal *removes ſome ſuſpicions* Antiochus *had entertained of him.*

Antiochus, having entertained a ſuſpicion of *Hannibal*, ever ſince his late conferences with *Villius*, would not, for ſome time, admit him into his councils. This ſlight, at firſt, *Hannibal* took no notice of; but afterwards, judging it expedient to inquire into the cauſe of ſuch a ſudden change in the king's conduct towards him, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himſelf, if any ill offices had been done him, he intreated that prince to diſcover to him the reaſon of his late coldneſs; which having learnt, he addreſſed himſelf to *Antiochus* in the following terms: "My father *Hamilcar*, "*Antiochus*, obliged me, in my tender infancy, at the altar, "to take an oath always to bear an implacable averſion to "the *Romans*. Animated by this hatred, I have waged war "with them ſix-and-thirty years; prompted thereto by it, "I have abandoned my native country in times of peace, and "taken ſanctuary in your dominions; fired by it, ſhould "you fruſtrate my expectations, I will fly to every part of "the globe, and endeavour to rouſe up all nations againſt "the *Romans*. If any of your favourites therefore would "incenſe you againſt me, let him accuſe me of ſome other "crime. I hate mortally the *Romans*, and am equally hated by them. For the truth of this I appeal to the manes "of my father *Hamilcar*, and all the deities, who were "witneſſes of my oath. So long therefore as you are diſpoſed to come to a rupture with the *Romans*, you may rank "*Hannibal* amongſt your beſt friends. But, if any conſiderations ſhould incline you to peace, I deſire to be intirely "excluded your councils." This ſpeech, uttered with ſuch

[r] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 14, & ſeq. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167. Plut. in Flamin. & in Pyrr.

force

force and energy, and expreſſive of ſo much ſincerity, removed all the prejudices the king had imbibed; ſo that *Hannibal* was not only reſtored to favour, but preparations made to execute the ſcheme he had formed [r].

Antiochus *deſerts* Hannibal.

THOUGH the king had come to a reſolution to give *Hannibal* the command of part of his fleet, yet, by the intrigues of his miniſters, the equipment of it was not only at firſt retarded, but even the expediency of putting the *Carthaginian* in that poſt debated in council. *Thoas* the *Ætolian* ſuggeſted, "That it was improper to weaken the kings fleet at that juncture, by undertaking, with part of it an expedition "to *Africa*; that, in caſe his majeſty's intereſt had ren- "dered neceſſary ſuch an expedition, no one would have "been more improper than *Hannibal* to have conducted it; "that it was imprudent to repoſe ſo much confidence in an "exile, a *Carthaginian*, whoſe fortune or genius might put "every day into his head a thouſand different projects; that "the fame *Hannibal* had already acquired, and which he "conſidered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for one, "who acted under the king; that the king alone ought to "be looked upon as the general and conductor of the war; "that, if *Hannibal* ſhould loſe either a fleet, or an army, "the loſs would be as great, as if a commander of leſs note "had occaſioned it; that, if ſucceſs had attended his arms, "not *Antiochus*, but *Hannibal*, would have the glory of all "the victories aſcribed to him; that ſuppoſing he ſhould "conquer the *Romans* in this war, what hopes could be en- "tertained of *Hannibal's* living peaceably as a ſubject under "him, when he was ſcarce ſatisfied with the ſupreme power "at *Carthage*? that his behaviour from his youth, having "always in his mind graſped at univerſal empire, had not "been ſuch as could induce them to believe, that he would "tamely ſubmit to any ſuperior in his old age; that, how- "ever, if he could not overcome his fondneſs for *Hannibal*, "he might make uſe of him as a counſellor and companion, "but not as a general, *&c.*" Theſe malicious ſuggeſtions, the pure effect of envy, made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Antiochus's* low and groveling mind, in which a foolid jealouſy had extinguiſhed all noble and generous ſentiments, that he dropt the above-mentioned laudable deſign, an immediate execution of which only could, at that juncture, have effectually embarraſſed the *Romans*. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* offered to ſupply the *Romans* with a thouſand buſhels of

[r] LIV. l. xxxv. c. 19. POLYB. l. xv. & l. iii. SEX. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtra. l. i. c. 8. ex. 7. JUST. l. xxxi. c. 4, 5.

wheat and five hundred thouſand of barley, as a free gift; to equip a fleet at their own expence for their ſervice; and to remit to *Rome* the whole remaining part of the ſum impoſed upon them by the late treaty immediately, though it would not have been due for many years to come by one of the articles of that treaty. The *Romans* gave their embaſſadors a kind reception, and told them, "That they ſhould only "require from their principals the ſhips, that their late en-"gagements obliged them to furniſh; that they would pay "ready money for whatever ſupplies of corn they ſhould ſend "them; and that the ſum, due to them from *Carthage*, "ſhould be paid at equal payments, in the manner ſtipu-"lated at the concluſion of the laſt peace." From this incident, we may form ſome ſort of an idea of the incredible induſtry of the *Carthaginians*, as well as of their ſurpriſing genius for trade; ſince from hence it appears, that, notwithſtanding they had been intirely exhauſted by a long, bloody, and moſt expenſive, war, notwithſtanding they had been ſtripped of the beſt part of their dominions by the *Romans* and *Maſſiniſſa*, notwithſtanding they had been deprived, in a manner, of all their ſhips, and almoſt rendered incapable, to outward appearance, of applying themſelves to any ſingle branch of commerce, they yet found means, in ten or twelve years time, to become wealthy and powerful; which could only have been the effect of a flouriſhing and extenſive trade. At what an exalted pitch of power therefore muſt they have arrived, had *Hannibal* either been duly ſupported in *Italy*, or contended with a nation of not ſuch an inflexible reſolution for the dominion of the world [r]!

Hannibal's advice to him.

SOME time after this, *Antiochus* found his affairs in ſuch a perplexed ſituation, that he was at a loſs what meaſures to purſue. In this emergency, his miniſters were obliged to have recourſe to *Hannibal*, who, in abilities, infinitely outſhone all other perſons at his court. Notwithſtanding the late affront put upon him, that renowned general, forgetting the ill uſage he had met with, appeared as much diſpoſed to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed prince with his advice, as he would have been capable, had his plan of operations been executed, of ſupporting him before by his conduct and perſonal bravery. In proof of which, he addreſſed himſelf to *Antiochus* in the following terms: "Had I been admitted into your coun-"cils ever ſince our arrival in *Greece* [s], I ſhould have de-"clared

[r] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 42. & l. xxxvi. c. 4. APPIAN. in Libyc. [s] Liv. ubi ſup. [t] Liv. ubi ſup. c. 7.

" clared my ſentiments, when an alliance with the *Achæans*,
" *Bœotians*, and people of *Eubœa*, was brought upon the
" carpet, in the ſame manner as I ſhall this day, when we
" are to conſider the expediency of a treaty with the *Theſſa-*
" *lians*. You are, above all things, to invite *Philip*, king
" of *Macedon*, to enter into an alliance with you. As to the
" *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Theſſalians*, they are not to be
" regarded, ſince they court your friendſhip through fear.
" Upon the firſt appearance of a *Roman* army, they will
" change ſides, and will be well received, as pretending to
" have been over-ruled by a ſuperior power, and acted againſt
" their natural inclinations through compulſion. Beſides,
" the aſſiſtance thoſe people can afford you, if well affected,
" is inconſiderable; whereas *Philip* has lately ſhewn himſelf
" a match for the *Romans*. You will likewiſe have the *Æ-*
" *tolians*, a ſtate, that in the late war betwixt *Philip* and the
" *Romans*, cauſed the ſcale to preponderate in favour of the
" latter, to act for you. I can therefore, provided you
" ſucceed in your negotiation, inſure you ſucceſs. But, if
" *Philip* cannot be prevailed upon to join his arms with ours,
" we may, however prevent him from aſſiſting the enemy.
" Your ſon *Seleucus* is now at *Lyſimachia*; let him advance,
" with the troops under his command, through *Thrace* to
" the confines of *Macedonia*, and lay them waſte; which
" will oblige the *Macedonian* monarch to employ all his
" forces in the defence and protection of his own dominions.
" You have now my opinion with regard to *Philip*. And
" as to the war in general, had my advice been liſtened to,
" the *Romans* would, before this time, have heard of greater
" exploits than the reduction of *Chalcis* and the caſtle of
" *Euripus*; even that *Etruria*, *Liguria*, and all *Ciſalpine*
" *Gaul*, were in a flame, and *Hannibal*, a name terrible to
" them, once more in *Italy*. However, your affairs may
" ſtill be retrieved; aſſemble all your land and ſea-officers,
" ſtation part of your fleet at *Corcyra*, in order to prevent
" the *Romans* from approaching your frontiers; order the
" other part to hover about the coaſt of *Italy* facing *Africa*
" and *Sardinia*; and do you, at the head of your army,
" march into the territory of *Byblis*. By theſe diſpoſitions,
" you will provide for the ſecurity of *Greece*, and not only
" make the enemy believe, that you have an intention to
" paſs over thither, but likewiſe be able actually to land all
" your troops there, ſhould the ſituation of affairs require it.
" However deficient I may be in other points, the viciſſitudes
" of fortune I have met with amongſt the *Romans*, enable
" to point out to you the moſt effectual way of diſ-

" treſſing them. In the execution of the plan I have " ſubmitted to your conſideration, you may depend upon " my aſſiſting you with the utmoſt zeal and activity. As " to the reſt, may the gods give you ſucceſs in this, and " all your other undertakings!" The ſpeech was received with general applauſe; but none of his ſalutary admonitions liſtened to.

Hannibal *defeated in a ſea engagement.*

AFTER *Antiochus* was forced to abandon *Europe*, by the victorious arms of the *Romans*, he retired to *Epheſus*. Here he, for ſome time, took up his reſidence, without any apprehenſions of danger, his flatterers perſuading him, that the enemy never durſt purſue him into *Aſia*. *Hannibal*, being now in great eſteem at that prince's court, thought it but juſt to undeceive him in a point of ſuch importance. He therefore told him, " That he did not ſo much doubt of an in- " vaſion of his *Aſiatic* dominions, as wonder that the *Ro-* " *mans* were not already there; that it was eaſier to tranſ- " port an army from *Greece* into *Aſia*, than from *Italy* into " *Greece*; that the *Romans* were as powerful by ſea as by " land; that a *Roman* ſquadron was ſeen, ſome time be- " fore, hovering about the promontory *Malea*; that he had " received intelligence of the departure of a freſh reinforce- " ment of ſhips, and a new general, from *Italy*," From whence he inferred, " That *Antiochus* muſt reſolve either to " abdicate his throne, or oppoſe vigorouſly a people, who " graſped at the empire of the world." As this diſcourſe of *Hannibal*, who was both the moſt able and faithful counſellor at the *Syrian* monarch's court, not a little affected the prince to whom it was directed, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for his defence; but all his efforts proved unſucceſsful. Even his fleet, under the conduct of the great *Hannibal* himſelf, was defeated by that of the *Rhodians*, commanded by *Eudamus*, off of *Sida*, on the coaſt of *Pamphylia*, and miſerably ſhattered. However, the *Rhodians* ſuffered extremely in the action, ſuſtaining almoſt as great a loſs of men and ſhips as *Hannibal*. The bad ſucceſs of this engagement was entirely owing to the ill conduct of *Apollonius*, one of *Antiochus*'s admirals, who fled, with the ſquadron he commanded, almoſt in the beginning of the fight. Notwithſtanding which, *Hannibal* made an excellent retreat, the enemy not being in a condition to purſue him. However, the *Rhodians* detached *Chariclitus* with twenty beaked ſhips to *Patara*, and *Megiſte*, a ſmall iſland with a commodious port, in the ſea of *Lycia*, prevented the junction of *Hannibal*'s ſhattered galleys with another *Syrian* ſquadron; which was a great mortification to the *Carthaginian*. In ſhort, after a ſeries

series of misfortunes, *Antiochus* found himself obliged to send *Zeusis*, the governor of *Lydia*, and his son *Antipater*, with a *carte blanche*, to the *Roman* camp, in order to procure a peace upon any terms. The article chiefly insisted upon was, that *Hannibal* should be delivered up to the *Romans*; with which *Antiochus*, being unable to defend himself, was forced to comply. However, *Hannibal*, foreseeing what would happen, had taken care to retire in time to the island of *Crete*. It appears from *Scipio Nasica*'s speech in *Livy*, that *Hannibal* was a general in the *Syrian* army at the battle of *Magnesia*; from whence, as well as from other circumstances, we have reason to believe, that he was present in all the principal actions, that happened between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* [u].

Hannibal is obliged to fly to Crete, and afterwards to Prusias king of Bithynia.

Hannibal, upon his arrival in *Crete*, took sanctuary amongst the *Gortynii*; but having brought great treasure with him, and considering the avarice of the *Cretans*, he judged it would be proper to have recourse to some stratagem, in order to secure himself, especially as he had reason to apprehend, that the *Cretans* were advertised of the riches he brought with him. He therefore filled several vessels with molten lead, just covering them over with gold and silver; which he deposited in the temple of *Diana*, in the presence of the *Gortynii*, with whom, he said, he trusted all his treasure. *Justin* tells us, that he left this there as a security for his good behaviour, and lived for some time very quietly in those parts. He, however, took care to conceal his riches in hollow statues of brass, which, according to some, he always carried along with him, or, as others will have it, exposed to view in a place of public resort, as things of little value. At last he retired to the court of *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, with whom he found means to unite several neighbouring princes and states, and so formed a powerful confederacy against *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a professed friend of the *Romans*. A rupture soon commenced betwixt them, which was followed by a great effusion of blood on both sides. During this war, *Hannibal* employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind, in a sea-fight, to destroy *Eumenes*, which, he thought, would be of the utmost consequence to him. He put into earthen vessels a vast number of the most venomous serpents, which he ordered to be collected for that purpose, commanding the greatest part of his captains to attack *Eumenes*'s ship, and throw these vessels on board him, whilst the rest stood on the defensive. The admiral galley *Hannibal* discovered, by sending out a boat,

[u] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 41. l. xxxvii. c. 23—45 & l. xxxviii. c. 58...60. Flor. l. ii. c. 8. Zonar. l. ix. c. 20.

with

with a letter to *Eumenes*; which enabled the officers above-mentioned to attack it with great fury. *Eumenes* would have been either killed or taken, had he not steered off, and been too swift for his pursuers. However, the other ships of *Pergamus* sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels were thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them; but being surrounded with the serpents, which flew out of these vessels when they were broken, they found themselves seized with such horror, that they retired in confusion to their camp on the shore. *Nepos* tells us, that *Hannibal* promised a great reward to the person that should kill *Eumenes*; that when the officer, whom he sent to him, came on board the admiral-galley, it was imagined he brought proposals of peace; that *Eumenes*, instead of this, receiving a letter full of ridicule, could not conceive what was the end of such a commission; and that, irritated hereby, he immediately began the engagement. The same author likewise intimates, that *Hannibal* gave that prince several overthrows by land, and reduced him to great straights, more by force of genius, or dint of conduct, than superiority of strength [w].

And poisons himself, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans.

The *Romans*, receiving intelligence of the important services *Hannibal* had done *Prusias*, and of the influence he had at that prince's court, sent *T. Quintius Flaminius* thither as their embassador. *Flaminius*, at his first audience, complained of the protection *Prusias* gave *Hannibal*, representing that famous general "as the most inveterate and implacable ene-"my the *Romans* ever had; as one who had ruined both "his own country and *Antiochus*, by drawing them into a de-"structive war with *Rome*." *Prusias*, in order to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, immediately sent a party of soldiers to surround *Hannibal*'s palace, that he might find it impossible to make his escape. The *Carthaginian*, having before discovered, that no confidence was to be reposed in *Prusias*, had contrived seven secret outlets in his palace, to evade the machinations of his enemies, even if they could carry their point at the *Bithynian* court; which he was actually meditating, when the above-mentioned detachment arrived. Perceiving no possibility of escaping, he had recourse to the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion; which taking in his hand, "Let us, said he, deliver the *Ro-*

[w] Corn. Nep. in Hanib c. 9, 10. Justin. l. xxxii c. 4. Liv. l. xxxix c 51. Georg. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 285. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

"*mani*

" *mans* from the diſquietude, with which they have long been " tortured, ſince they have not patience to wait for an old " man's death. *Flaminius* will not acquire any reputation " or glory by a victory gained over a betrayed and defence- " leſs perſon. This ſingle day will be a laſting teſtimony of " the degeneracy of the *Romans*. Their anceſtors gave " *Pyrrhus* intelligence of a deſign to poiſon him, that he " might guard againſt the impending danger, even when he " was at the head of a powerful army in *Italy*; but they have " deputed a perſon of conſular dignity to excite *Pruſias* im- " piouſly to murder one, who has taken refuge in his domi- " nions, in violation of the laws of hoſpitality." Then he denounced dreadful imprecations againſt *Pruſias* and his kingdom, and invoked the gods preſiding over the ſacred rites of hoſpitality; after which, drinking off the poiſon he had prepared, he expired, at ſeventy years of age. *Cornelius Nepos* intimates, that *Hannibal* deſtroyed himſelf by a ſubtle (R) poiſon, which he carried about with him in a ring for that purpoſe. *Plutarch* relates, that, according to ſome writers, he ordered a ſervant to ſtrangle him with a cloak wrapped about his neck; and others will have it, that, in imitation of *Midas* and *Themiſtocles*, he drank bulls blood. Be that as it will, his death reflected an eternal ignominy and diſgrace upon the *Romans*, whoſe inſatiable thirſt after empire had extinguiſhed all generous ſentiments, and every ſpark of virtue, in their minds [x].

THUS died *Hannibal*, the greateſt general perhaps, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, that any age ever produced; a *Hiſtorical reflection.* general, who would have utterly ſubverted the haughty *Roman* republic, had he not been ſacrificed to the reſentment of an envious, wicked, and moſt abandoned, faction. *Polybius*

[x] LIV. ubi ſup. &c. 65. PLUT. in Flamin. CORN. NEP. & JUSTIN. ubi. ſup. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 21.

(R) *Zonaras* relates, that *Hannibal* was under no apprehenſion of a ſudden violent death, though he took ſuch precautions to ſecure himſelf. This was occaſioned by an anſwer the oracle gave him, when conſulted on a certain emergency, *viz.* that he ſhould die in *Libya*. However, adds that author, the prediction was fulfilled; ſince the ſpot of ground, on which he took the fatal draught, was called *Libya*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Hannibal* died in a village of *Bithynia* called *Libyſſa*, ſituated near the ſea, where he was buried in a wooden coffin, with this inſcription upon his tomb, *Here lies* Hannibal; and that this was ſtill remaining in his time (24).

(24) *Zonar. l. ix. c.* 18. *Aurel Vict. in Hannib. ſub fin.*

ſeems

ſeems to make him a pattern for all ſucceeding commanders; and *Livy*, notwithſtanding his partiality, owns himſelf aſtoniſhed at his wonderful conduct, after the defeat of his brother *Aſdrubal*. No other general could have found means, after ſo terrible a blow, of maintaining himſelf in one of the pooreſt ſpots of *Italy*, for ſeveral years, without any reinforcement of troops, or ſupplies of proviſions from *Carthage*. The perfect harmony kept up in his army, compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, *viz.* *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, &c. differing in laws, manners, language, genius, and almoſt every other particular, even after fortune had declared againſt him, and when they were in want both of money and proviſions, was a full demonſtration of his conſummate abilities. The inviolable attachment of his new allies to him, when he was reduced to the neceſſity of making them ſuſtain almoſt the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their reſpective countries, clearly evinces the ſame thing. *Polybius* obſerves, that he over-reached moſt of the generals that oppoſed him; but was himſelf never outwitted by any of them; and ſeems to inſinuate, that it would have been much more fatal to the *Carthaginians* to have loſt him, than any of the armies he ever commanded: and indeed it ſufficiently appears, from the preceding part of this hiſtory, that he was the life and ſoul not only of the army, but likewiſe of the *Carthaginian* ſtate. In fine, by his own ſurpriſing capacity, he carried on a war againſt the moſt martial people in the world many years, in a remote country, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition made by a powerful domeſtic faction, which refuſed him ſupplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occaſions. With regard to his political character, we ſhall only obſerve, that the ſecret intelligence he held with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, the wiſe councils he gave *Antiochus*, the double regulation he introduced at *Carthage*, the potent confederacy he formed in favour of king *Pruſias*, beſides many other inſtances, that will occur to our readers, evidently prove him to have made as great a figure in the cabinet, as the field. What we have already obſerved of his facetious diſpoſition, and love for the muſes, is confirmed by *Gellius* and others. His religious and moral conduct *Livy* paints in the blackeſt colours; but the teſtimony, as to this point, *Polybius* has given of him, the humanity with which he treated the bodies of *Marcellus* and *Sempronius Gracchus*, the high reverence he expreſſed for the gods on all occaſions, his ſingular continence and uncommon wiſdom, his contempt of riches, the extraordinary temperance he was famous for, even in the midſt of

the

the greateſt affluence, when he was at the head of the ſtate of *Carthage*; theſe ſhining qualities, we ſay, and others atteſted by the beſt authors, will not permit us to give any attention to the unfair repreſentation of that prejudiced hiſtorian. *Polybius*, however, intimates, that he was accuſed at *Carthage* of avarice, and of cruelty at *Rome*; and that people were much divided in their ſentiments concerning him. This cannot appear ſtrange to any one, who conſiders, that, as he had many implacable enemies in both cities, he muſt of courſe, have been drawn by ſome of them in the moſt diſadvantageous light. But though, adds *Polybius*, we ſhould allow ſome of the defects he has been charged with true, yet it would be but fair to conclude, that they ought rather to be attributed to the difficulties with which he was obliged to ſtruggle, during the courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a war, than to his own natural diſpoſition. Beſides, he might be forced frequently to fall in with the inclinations of his officers, when they were oppoſite to his own, in order to excite them to a chearful diſcharge of their duty. Theſe it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, he could not always keep within proper bounds, conſidering the natural bent of his countrymen, any more than the ſoldiers, who fought under them. Be that as it will, *Polybius* looked upon *Hannibal* to have been a general of ſo noble and ſublime a genius, that, in his opinion, had he at firſt attacked other powers, and reſerved the *Romans* for the laſt nation to have contended with, he muſt have intirely overthrown their republic, and conſequently rendered *Carthage* miſtreſs of the world [y].

Diſputes between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa.

IT has been already obſerved, that, by one of the articles of the late treaty, the *Carthaginians* were to reſtore to *Maſiniſſa* all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the beginning of the war. To theſe *Scipio* annexed part of *Syphax*'s dominions, in order to reward the zeal and affection that prince had diſcovered for the *Romans* on all occaſions, ever ſince the commencement of his friendſhip with them. After *Hannibal*'s flight to *Antiochus*, and his emiſſary *Ariſton*'s eſcape, related above, the *Romans* began to look upon the

[y] AUL. GELL. noct. Attic l. v. c. 5. POLYB. l. xi. & alib. LIV. l xxviii. c 12. & alib paſſ JUST. l. xxxii. c. 4 DION. SIC. l. xxvi. & alib in excerptis Valeſ CORN. NEP. & AUREL. Vict. ubi ſup PLUT. in Hannib. in Marcel. in Flamin. & alib. VALER. MAX. POLYÆN. S. JUL. FRONTIN. paſſ APPIAN. in Libyc. in Iber. & in Hannib. OROS. & ZONAR paſſ. Vide etiam POLYB. in excerp legat. 33. LIV. l. xxv c 17. LUCAN. SIL ITAL. paſſ. aliosq; qu amplurim. ſcriptor. Græc. & Latin.

Carthaginians with a ſuſpicious eye, though, to prevent all diſtruſt, the latter of theſe ſtates had ordered two ſhips to purſue *Hannibal*, confiſcated his effects, razed his houſe, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. It was agreed likewiſe to notify to the *Romans* *Ariſton*'s commiſſion, as well as eſcape, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation of *Hannibal*'s deſign, by the deputies they diſpatched to *Rome*, to complain of *Maſiniſſa*'s unjuſt pretenſions. That prince, being appriſed, that *Carthage* was miſerably rent by factions, and upon but very indifferent terms with the *Romans*, on account of the two events above-mentioned, ſeized upon part of a maritime territory, which was extremely rich and fruitful, ſituated near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, called *Emporia*. Both ſides ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* on this occaſion, to ſupport the titles of their reſpective maſters to the diſtrict in diſpute. The *Carthaginians* alledged, "That this was within the "limits of their *African* dominions, as ſettled by *Scipio*; "and that this had been acknowledged by *Maſiniſſa* himſelf, "who, when he had purſued one *Aphires*, a *Numidian* "prince, making an excurſion out of his own territories, as "far as the borders of *Cyrenaica*, would not paſs through "*Emporia*, without aſking leave of the *Carthaginians*, looking upon it then as a territory indiſputably belonging to "them". To which the *Numidian* miniſters replied, "That what they ſo confidently advanced, about *Scipio*'s "ſettling the limits, was falſe; that the *Carthaginians*, in "ſtrictneſs and equity, ought only to have the ſpot of ground, "on which *Byrſa* ſtood, every other part of their *African* "dominions being taken from the natives by fraud and vio-"lence; that as to the diſtrict in queſtion, they could not "prove themſelves to have been in poſſeſſion of it ſince the "infancy of their republic, nay, that it had been any conſi-"derable time under their juriſdiction; that the *Carthaginians* "and *Numidians* had been maſters of it by turns, juſt as "ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms; and that they ho-"ped the ſenate would permit things to remain in their pre-"ſent ſituation". Hereupon the conſcript fathers thought proper to ſend *Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Minutius Rufus*, to examine the controverſy upon the ſpot. However they returned without coming to any reſolution, leaving the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they found it. Whether the commiſſioners acted in this manner of their own head, or by order of the ſenate, is not ſo certain, as that the intereſt of the *Romans* rendered a perfect harmony betwixt the contending parties then improper; for otherwiſe *Scipio*, who had deſerved ſo well of both of them

them, could by his own ſingle authority have put an end to the diſpute [z].

Maſiniſſa, not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped, over-ran a province, that his father *Gala* had taken from the *Carthaginians*, and *Syphax* from him, from whom it had returned to its former maſters, through the charms and endearments of *Sophoniſba*. The *Carthaginian* deputies pleaded the cauſe of their principals, and *Maſiniſſa* his, before the *Roman* commiſſioners, with exceeding heat. The *Carthaginians* urged, that "this territory was "theirs, both by right of inheritance, and deed of gift". "On the other hand, *Maſiniſſa* inſiſted, "that it was for-"merly part of his father's kingdom; that, in conſequence "of this title, he had taken poſſeſſion of it; and that his "pretenſions were ſo indubitable, that he only feared, leſt "the modeſty of the *Romans*, which might render them ti-"morous of indulging a friend and ally in his juſt claims "upon their common enemy, ſhould prove prejudicial to "him". The commiſſioners, in conformity to the diſpoſition of their republic, referred this diſpute, which happened ten years after the former, to the deciſion of the ſenate, and conſequently left it undetermined. However, in the conſulate of *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus*, the *Romans* effected an accommodation betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, confirming the former in the poſſeſſion of his unjuſt acquiſitions, and reſtoring to the latter an hundred hoſtages, they had, till that time, detained [a].

The Romans *accommodate the differences between them.*

Maſiniſſa, graſping at farther conqueſts, endeavoured ſoon after to embroil the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. In order to this, he concerted meaſures with the *Roman* embaſſadors in *Africa*, to prejudice the conſcript fathers againſt them. The latter did not ſcruple to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, with whom the *Romans* then were upon the verge of a war, had privately ſent embaſſadors to *Carthage*, to negotiate an alliance with that ſtate; and that the ſenate was aſſembled by night in the temple of *Æſculapius*, to confer with them: whilſt the former, in as ſtrong a manner, aſſerted, that the *Carthaginians* had diſpatched miniſters to *Perſeus*, to conclude a treaty with him. *Livy* ſeems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* would not own this; but that the *Romans*, always attentive to the inſinuations of their ene-

Maſiniſſa *endeavours to embroil the* Carthaginians *with the* Romans.

[z] POLYB. in excerpt. legat. 118. LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 61. APPIAN. in Libyc. [a] LIV. l. xl. c. 17. & c. 34. Vide & APPIAN. ubi ſupra.

mies, believed it to be true. The future conduct of that people towards *Carthage* renders *Livy*'s authority, in this point, indisputable [b].

And makes an irruption into the province of Tyca.

Not lot long after this, *Masinissa* made an irruption into the province of *Tysca*, where he soon possessed himself of above seventy, or, as *Appian* will have it, fifty, towns and castles. This obliged the *Carthaginians* to apply, with great importunity, to the *Roman* senate for redress, their hands being so tied up by an article of the last treaty, that they could not repel force by force, in case of an invasion, without the consent of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* ministers at *Rome* represented the miserable condition of their republic in the most moving terms. They declared, "That "*Masinissa* was intirely void of honour; that, without the "interposition of that august assembly, to whom they then addressed themselves, no limits could be prescribed to his "cruelty, insolence, avarice, and ambition. They therefore begged the conscript fathers either themselves to "determine the point in debate betwixt their principals "and *Masinissa*; or to suffer the former to dislodge the "latter from his conquests by force of arms; or lastly, "if they were resolved to support the *Numidian* in all his "unjust pretensions, to specify, once for all, what territories "the *Carthaginians* were to cede to him, that they might know "what hereafter they had to depend upon". To this they "subjoined, "That, if the *Carthaginians* had incurred the "displeasure of the *Romans* in any point, inadvertently since "the conclusion of the last peace, they begged they would "punish them for the offence themselves, and not leave "them exposed to the insults and vexations of *Masinissa*, since "they preferred an utter extinction to the barbarities and depredations they were forced to suffer from so merciless a "tyrant." Then throwing themselves prostrate on the earth, they burst out into tears; which making a deep impression upon the senate in their favour, *Gulussa*, *Masinissa*'s son, being then present, and called upon to vindicate his father's conduct, replied in terms to the following effect: "That he had received no instructions from his father how "to act in the present emergency, since it could not be "foreseen, that any thing would be laid to his charge; that "the *Carthaginians* had had several clandestine meetings by "night in the temple of *Æsculapius*, the object of whose "consultations was kept secret from him, after which deputies were dispatched to *Rome*; that the sole design of his fa-

[b] Liv. l. xli c. 22.

"ther's

" ther's ſending him to *Rome* was, to intreat the ſenate not " to pay any regard to the inſinuations of the common enemy " againſt him, ſince the implacable hatred they bore him " was occaſioned by the inviolable fidelity, with which he " had ſo long been attached to the *Romans*." The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, " That it would be pro- " per for *Guluſſa* to ſet out immediately for *Numidia*, in or- " der to acquaint his father with the complaints of the *Car- " thaginians* againſt him; that he ought to ſend deputies to " *Rome*, to remove all difficulties that obſtructed an accom- " modation between him and them; that they would con- " tinue to ſerve him, as they had hitherto done, but not to " the prejudice of the *Carthaginians*; that it was but juſt " the antient limits ſhould be preſerved; that the *Carthagi- " nians* ought to be maintained in the poſſeſſion of thoſe ter- " ritories, which the late treaty had allotted them." The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents. The *Romans* were prompted to act after this perfidious manner, partly by that implacable hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, and partly by the hopes of receiving ſuccours from *Maſiniſſa* in the *Macedonian* war, which they were juſt going to enter upon. The *Numidian* anſwered their expectations; for he did not only ſupply them with corn, but likewiſe ſent a body of troops, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and as many foot, with twenty-two elephants, under the command of his ſon *Miſagenes*, to their aſſiſtance. However, this proceeded rather from a motive of policy than gratitude; for he conſidered, that if the *Romans* were victorious in this war, his affairs could but remain in the ſame ſituation; whereas, ſhould they be overcome, he doubted not reducing *Carthage*, and making himſelf maſter of *Africa* e.

The vil- lainous be- haviour of the Romans *to the* Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the lamentable ſlavery under which they groaned, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome*, who acquainted the ſenate, " That their ſtate would " immediately tranſport a million buſhels of wheat, and five " hundred thouſand of barley, into what part of the world " the *Romans* pleaſed; that they were ſenſible ſuch a ſupply " was not proportioned to thoſe happy effects of the *Roman* " generoſity and goodneſs, which their principals had ſo long " experienced, neither did it correſpond with their inclina- " tions; but that they hoped it would be conſidered, by way " of atonement for this defect, that during the proſperity of " both republics, in former times, they had given frequent " inſtances of their being true and faithful allies." *Maſi-*

e LIV. l. xlii. c. 23, 24. & c. 29. APPIAN in Libyc. p. 37.

niſſa

nissa's embassadors not only offered the same quantity of corn, but likewise to reinforce the *Roman* army with another body of twelve hundred horse, attended by twelve more elephants, and to obey all the senate's commands with the utmost alacrity. But neither could the *Carthaginians*, by such an abject and mean-spirited behaviour, a sufficient indication of that low and groveling mind, which seems to have been the distinguishing characteristic of their nation, prevail upon the *Romans* to discontinue their chicane. They spun out matters to a tedious length, not permitting the ministers they employed, to adjust all disputes betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, to arrive at a decision. By this conduct they enabled the former to exhaust the latter, and consequently paved the way to the immediate destruction of a state, which to them, of all others, still appeared the most formidable [d].

Cato bears an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians.

WHATEVER villainous designs the *Romans* might have formed, they affected to shew a great regard to the principles of justice and honour. They therefore sent *Cato*, a man famous for committing enormities under the specious pretext of public spirit, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*. The latter very well knew their fate, had they submitted to such a mediation, and therefore appealed to the treaty, which had been concluded by *Scipio*, as the only rule, by which both their conduct, and that of their adversary, ought to be examined. This *unreasonable* appeal so incensed the righteous *Cato*, that he pronounced them a devoted people. As the intention of that *upright* person was not so much to forward the observation or conclusion of treaties, as to widen breaches, discover the strength and condition of *Carthage*, which was then very flourishing, notwithstanding the many blows it had received, and gratify the *Roman* ambition by all possible means, it is not so strange, that he should, even in the most absurd, though most virulent, manner, press the senate, after his return home, to destroy that city. It is much more wonderful, that a *Frenchman* should censure this conduct, when it so exactly quadrates with that of a certain court, which he cannot possibly be a stranger to, for above a century past. However, as we have more than *a bare jealousy of the growing power*, as well as ambitious designs, of that court, we may, without offence, give it as our opinion, that, in order to secure the liberties of *Europe*, as well as to introduce public faith, justice, and ho-

[d] POLYB. ubi sup. LIV. l. xliii. c. 6. APPIAN. in Libyc

nour

nour once more into the world, it is neceſſary, *that the ſtate repreſented by that court ſhould be humbled, if not deſtroyed* [e].

Some years before this time, *Carthage* was miſerably rent by three potent factions. That devoted to the *Romans* was headed by one *Hanno*, a deſcendant, as may be ſuppoſed, of the perſon, who ruined his country by not ſupporting *Hannibal*; that in the intereſt of *Maſiniſſa* by *Hannibal*, ſurnamed *Paſſer*; and that formed of the populace by *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Sannis*, and *Cartalo*. But, of late, two powerful parties had ſtruggled for the dominion of the city, one of which, called *the popular faction*, prevailed over the other, compoſed of the grandees and their adherents, and expelled forty of the ſenators. They retired to the court of *Maſiniſſa*, to excite him to a war with the *Carthaginians*, who ſent *Guluſſa* and *Micipſa*, two of his ſons, to *Carthage*, to ſolicit their return. However, the gates were ſhut upon them at their approach, leſt the people, moved by the tears of thoſe related to the exiles, ſhould grant their requeſt; nay, *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Sannis*, one of the *Carthaginian* generals, cloſely purſued *Guluſſa*, and cut off ſome of his retinue. This occaſioning a freſh rupture, *Maſiniſſa* beſieged *Oroſcopa*, in violation of the laſt treaty. *Aſdrubal*, another *Carthaginian* general, advanced to the relief of *Oroſcopa*, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, and was immediately joined by a body of ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of *Aſaſis* and *Suba*, two *Numidian* captains, who deſerted from *Maſiniſſa*. Animated by this acceſſion of ſtrength, *Aſdrubal* approached the *Numidian*, and ſkirmiſhed ſucceſsfully with ſome of the advanced guards. *Maſiniſſa*, obſerving the eagerneſs of the *Carthaginian*, retired before him, as though he was afraid of his ſuperior force, and inſenſibly drew him into a large and deſolate plain, ſurrounded with precipices, and void of all kinds of ſuſtenance. *Aſdrubal*, finding himſelf thus decoyed, poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral eminences, and prepared for an engagement; which immediately enſuing, and ending in favour of *Maſiniſſa*, the *Carthaginians* ſued for peace. In order to terminate their conteſts with that prince, the *Carthaginians* offered to yield up the territory of *Emporia*, to pay down two hundred talents of ſilver, and remit eight hundred more at a ſtipulated time to him. But *Maſiniſſa* inſiſting upon the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. It is obſervable, that the *Roman* de-

Maſiniſſa *defeats the* Carthaginians.

[e] Liv. in epit 47, 48, 49. Appian. ubi ſup c. 73 Flor. l. ii. c. 15. Vell. Paterc. l i. ſub fin. Plut. in Cato. Vide & hiſtoire des Carthagin. par M. Rollin, tom. i. p. 221.

puties,

puties, who arrived in the *Numidian* camp ſoon after the engagement, had orders to inſiſt upon a peace, in caſe the *Carthaginians* defeated *Maſiniſſa*; but to aſſure that prince of the continuance of their friendſhip, and puſh him on to the war, in caſe he was victorious. This they did in order to complete the ruin of the *Carthaginians*. How, through the vindictive diſpoſition of *Guluſſa*, and the breaking out of the plague amongſt them, the *Carthaginian* forces were almoſt utterly deſtroyed, our readers will find in a former part of this work, to which we muſt alſo beg leave to refer them for the particulars of the action juſt hinted at [f].

Cato prevails upon the Roman *ſenate to declare war againſt* Carthage.

Ever ſince *Carthage* had rejected the mediation of the *Romans*, *Cato* had made his utmoſt efforts to prevail upon the conſcript fathers to deſtroy that city. But *Scipio Naſica*, having a ſuperior influence in the ſenate, had hitherto, notwithſtanding the grievous provocation he met with from the *Carthaginians*, already related, prevented a rupture. However, the people of *Carthage*, knowing the *Romans* to be their inveterate enemies, and reflecting upon the iniquitous treatment they had met with from them ever ſince the commencement of their diſputes with *Maſiniſſa*, were under great apprehenſions of a viſit from them. To prevent this, as much as in them lay, by a decree of the ſenate, they impeached *Aſdrubal* general of the army, and *Cartalo* commander of the auxiliary forces, together with their accomplices, as guilty of high treaſon, for being the authors of the war waged againſt the king of *Numidia*. They ſent a deputation to *Rome*, to diſcover what ſentiments were entertained there of their late conduct, and to know what ſatisfaction the *Romans* required. Theſe miniſters meeting with a cold reception, other deputies were diſpatched, who returned with the ſame ſucceſs. This made the unhappy citizens of *Carthage* believe, that their deſtruction was reſolved upon; which threw them into the utmoſt deſpair. And indeed they had but too juſt grounds for ſuch a melancholy apprehenſion, the *Roman* ſenate now diſcovering an inclination to fall in with *Cato*'s meaſures. It is ſaid, that, in order to excite the conſcript fathers to a vigorous reſolution againſt the *Carthaginians*, that incendiary, after one of his moſt virulent ſpeeches, threw out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome *African* figs, whoſe ſize and beauty obſerving the ſenators to admire; *Know*, ſaid he, *that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered; ſuch is the diſtance between the enemy and us.* A-

[f] Liv. epit. 48. Appian. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 227, & ſeq.

hout

bout the ſame time the city of *Utica*, being the ſecond in *Africa*, and famous for its immenſe riches, as well as its equally capacious and commodious port, ſubmitted to the *Romans*. As the poſſeſſion of ſo important a fortreſs, which, by reaſon of its vicinity to *Carthage*, might ſerve as a place of arms in the attack of that city, enabled the *Romans* to put the deſign they had been ſo long meditating in execution, immediately after this event, they declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*, without the leaſt heſitation. In conſequence of which declaration, the conſuls *M. Manilius Nepos* and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* were diſpatched with an army and a fleet, to begin hoſtilities with the utmoſt expedition. The land-forces, deſtined to act againſt the *Carthaginians*, conſiſted of eighty thouſand foot and four thouſand choſen horſe; and the fleet of fifty quinqueremes, beſides a vaſt number of tranſports. The conſuls had ſecret orders from the ſenate, not to conclude the operations but by the deſtruction of *Carthage*, without which, the republic pretended, ſhe could not but look upon all her poſſeſſions as inſecure and precarious. Purſuant to the plan they had formed, they landed the troops firſt at *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, from whence, after receiving a proper refreſhment, it was propoſed to tranſport them to *Utica* [s].

THE anſwer brought by the laſt embaſſadors to *Carthage* had not a little alarmed the inhabitants of that city; but they were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions taken at *Rome*. They therefore ſent freſh embaſſadors thither, whom they inveſted with full powers to act as they ſhould think fit for the good of the republic, and even to ſubmit themſelves, without reſerve, to the pleaſure of the *Romans*; but the moſt ſenſible perſons amongſt them did not expect any great ſucceſs from this condeſcenſion, ſince the early ſubmiſſion of the *Uticans* had rendered it infinitely leſs meritorious than it would have been before. However, the *Romans* ſeemed to be, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied with it, ſince they promiſed them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and, in ſhort, every thing that was dear and valuable to them. This threw them into a tranſport of joy, and they wanted words to extol the moderation of the *Romans*. But the conſcript fathers immediately daſhed all their hopes, by declaring the next inſtant, *Roman*-like, that this favour was granted them upon condition, that they would ſend three hundred young *Carthaginians* of the firſt diſtinction to the prætor *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*,

The Romans make themſelves maſters of Utica, and declare war againſt the Carthaginians.

[s] LIV. APPIAN. PLUT. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 26. PLIN. l. xv. c. 18. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15.

within the ſpace of thirty days, and comply with all the orders of the conſuls. *Giſco*, ſurnamed *Strytanus*, *Hamilcar*, *Miſdes*, *Gillicas*, and *Mago*, for ſo were the embaſſadors called, durſt not make the leaſt remonſtrance againſt the ſeverity of theſe conditions, but immediately ſet out for *Carthage*, to impart them to the ſenate there. That auguſt aſſembly was filled with inexpreſſible concern, upon hearing the article relating to the hoſtages, which were conſidered as the flower, and the only hopes, of the nobleſt families in *Carthage*. They found themſelves likewiſe extremely perplexed at the ſilence of the *Romans* with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions they ſeemed willing to make, and at the vague expreſſion of *ſubmitting to all the orders of the conſuls*. However, being abſolutely incapable of coping with ſo formidable an enemy, and, at that juncture, in want of almoſt every thing, *Mago Bretius*, in a brave and eloquent ſpeech, exhorted them, for the preſent, to obey. No ſcene can be conceived more moving, than that exhibited by *Carthage*, when the hoſtages were delivered up: nothing was to be ſeen but tears, all parts, at the ſame time, echoing with groans and lamentations, but, above all, the unhappy mothers afforded a moſt mournful ſpectacle, bathing themſelves in tears, tearing their diſhevelled hair, beating their breaſts, and yelling in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage hearts to compaſſion. When the fatal moment of ſeparation was come, they accompanied their children to the ſhip, bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded, that they ſhould never ſee them more, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs, claſped them ſtrongly in their arms, and could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away by the ſailors; nay, many of them ſwam a long time after the ſhip, fixing their eyes immoveably upon it. As the embaſſadors delivered them to the conſuls, and they to *Fabius* at *Lilybæum*, before the thirty days were expired, they were not intirely without hopes of ſoftening their hard-hearted enemy; but the conſuls only told them, that, upon their arrival at *Utica*, they ſhould learn the farther orders of the republic [h].

And oblige them to deliver up all their arms.

Those miniſters no ſooner received intelligence of the *Roman* fleet's appearing off of *Utica*, than they repaired thither, in order to know the fate of their city. The conſuls however did not judge it expedient to communicate all the

[h] Polyb. l. xxxiii. in excerpt. legat. 142. Liv. in epit. xlix. Appian. & Flor. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 10. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 20.

commands

commands of their republic at once, leſt they ſhould appear ſo harſh and ſevere, that the *Carthaginians* would have refuſed a compliance with them. They firſt therefore demanded a ſufficient ſupply of corn for the ſubſiſtence of their troops. Secondly, that they ſhould deliver up into their hands all the triremes they were then maſters of. Thirdly, that they ſhould put them in poſſeſſion of all their military machines. And, fourthly, that they ſhould immediately convey all their arms into the *Roman* camp. As care was taken, that there ſhould be a certain interval of time betwixt each of theſe demands, the *Carthaginians* found themſelves enſnared, and could not reject any one of them, though they ſubmitted to the laſt, which *Cenſorinus* inſiſted upon, notwithſtanding the powerful reaſons urged againſt it, with the utmoſt reluctance and concern [1].

The Romans command the Carthaginians to abandon their city.

THE gaining of theſe points paved the way to the deſtruction of *Carthage*, though it reflected an eternal diſhonour upon the *Roman* name. *Cenſorinus*, now imagining the *Carthaginians* not capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege, commanded them to abandon their city, or, as *Zonaras* will have it, to demoliſh it, permitting them to build another eighty ſtadia from the ſea, but without walls or fortifications. Both the embaſſadors, before whom this fulminating decree was pronounced, and the people of *Carthage*, when they were appriſed of it, by their geſtures and complaints, demonſtrated the greateſt emotions of grief on this tragical occaſion; but the *Romans* remained inflexible, not ſhewing the leaſt regard to the tears and intreaties of a people, reduced to the extremes of deſpair. The embaſſadors, at one time, ſupplicated the gods with the greateſt fervor, as well as endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to excite the compaſſion of the *Romans*; and at another, they appealed to the avenging deities, whoſe ſevere eyes are ever open to fraud and villainy. The ſenators and people, upon receiving the report of the embaſſadors, for ſome time, intirely abandoned themſelves to deſpair; which was heightened by the frantic diſpoſition of the women, whoſe children had been ſent to *Rome*. In ſhort, *Carthage* was nothing now but a ſcene of horror, madneſs, and confuſion. The citizens curſed their anceſtors for not dying gloriouſly in the defence of their country, rather than concluding ſuch ignominious treaties of peace with their implacable enemies, which had been the cauſe of the deplorable condition, to which their poſterity was then reduced. They likewiſe condemned them-

[1] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. ubi ſup. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 27. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii. p. 230, & ſeq.

ſelves in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo tamely, as well as ſtupidly, delivered up their arms, and even blaſphemouſly taxed the gods themſelves with being the authors of all their misfortunes. However, nothing could make an impreſſion upon the *Romans* in their favour. But as, in a former part of our hiſtory, we have expatiated largely upon this head, we ſhall only beg leave to obſerve farther here, that, when the firſt tranſports of grief were over, and their paſſions began to ſubſide, they unanimouſly reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than comply with the barbarous orders of the *Romans*; and in conſequence of this reſolution, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of their capital city [k].

M. Rollin *cenſured.*

A certain polite [l] author takes ſome pains to ſhew, that the *Romans* did not act agreeably to the maxims of juſtice and honour in the point before us; and conſequently ſeems to inſinuate, that ſome proof, beſides the notoriety of the facts, is requiſite to evince the iniquity of their conduct on the preſent occaſion. This perhaps may be looked upon as an argument of ſome good nature, and delicacy of ſentiments; but can never be deemed one of that boldneſs, and inflexible attachment to truth, eſſential to a good hiſtorian. A writer of this kind will paint every ſpecies of vice, particularly thoſe of a moſt public and enormous nature, in their moſt proper, that is, in the moſt odious, colours. He will eſteem a perſon, who endeavours to palliate, or even touches but lightly upon, any flagrant villainy, be the actors of it who they will, as one who either inwardly approves of it, or is afraid of expoſing it; and conſequently as one ſo far diſqualified for tranſmitting to poſterity the tranſactions of former ages. It is not ſufficient, in our opinion, in order to expreſs our deteſtation of that execrable perfidiouſneſs and barbarity the *Romans* were guilty of, to ſay, "I can never believe, that ſo ſenſible, rational, and "juſt, a man as *Polybius* could have approved of the proceed-"ings of the *Romans* on the preſent occaſion. ---We do not "find here any of the characteriſtics, which diſtinguiſhed "the *Romans* antiently, that greatneſs of ſoul, that rectitude, "that utter abhorrence of mean artifices, frauds, and impo-"ſtures, which, as is ſomewhere ſaid, formed no part of the "*Roman* genius.——— Why did not the *Romans* attack "the *Carthaginians* by force? Why ſhould they declare ex-"preſly in a treaty, that they allowed them the full enjoy-

[k] Idem ibid. Flor. ubi ſup. Paul. Oros. l. iv. c. 22. M Rollin in hiſt. des Carthagin. tom. i. p. 432, 433, & ſeq. à Amſterdam, 1733. Vide & orat. Pontii Telesini, apud Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 27.

"ment

" ment of their liberties and laws, and underſtand, at the
" ſame time, certain private conditions, which proved the in-
" tire ruin of both? Why ſhould they conceal, under the
" ſcandalous omiſſion of the word *city* in this treaty, the
" black deſign of deſtroying *Carthage*, as though, beneath
" the cover of ſuch an equivocation, they could juſtly ruin it?
" In fine, why did the *Romans* not make their laſt declarati-
" on, till after they had extorted from the *Carthaginians*, at
" different times, their hoſtages and arms, that is, till they
" had abſolutely rendered them incapable of diſobeying their
" unjuſt commands? ---- *It is very dangerous to be poſſeſſed*
" *of ſo much power, as may enable one to commit injuſtice with*
" *impunity, and with a proſpect of being a gainer by it. The*
" *experience of all ages ſhews, that ſtates ſeldom ſcruple to com-*
" *mit injuſtice, when they think it will turn to their advan-*
" *tage.*" Our readers will here obſerve, that, with regard to the *Roman* nation in general, theſe reflections ſcarce carry with them more of ſatire than panegyric; and that, as to the very perſons guilty of one of the greateſt violations of public faith, attended with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, that perhaps ever happened, he only ſeems to intimate, that they did not come up to the virtues of their anceſtors; nay, he puts them upon a level with thoſe at the head of other ſtates. Such a palliation of one of the moſt atrocious public crimes to be met with in hiſtory, would be inexcuſeable in an author of any other nation than that to which he belongs; but as for his countrymen, if we ſuppoſe them to pay any deference to the conduct of their ſuperiors for above a century paſt, it is as natural for them to *talk* in this ſtrain now, as it was for the *Romans* to *act* the part they did at the time *Carthage* was deſtroyed.

The perfidious conduct of the Romans expoſed.

IN whatever light we view the villainous conduct of the *Romans* at this juncture, it muſt appear as the reſult of a complication of all the bad qualities, that can be inherent in any ſtate. Perjury, cruelty, injuſtice, pride, meanneſs of ſpirit, and even cowardice itſelf, in the higheſt degree, are ſome of the principal of them. Neither can we conceive how it ſhould enter into the head of the author juſt cited, as well as of many others, that even the anceſtors of that profligate ſet of men, we are now ſpeaking of, were ſo eminent for their *rectitude*, *greatneſs of ſoul*, and *public ſpirit*, at leaſt any of them but thoſe, who flouriſhed in the earlieſt times of the republic, deſerve ſuch a ſhining character? And that the *Roman* republic had this ſolely in view, even almoſt from its very infancy,

fancy, is evident from the moſt partial of its own hiſtorians. That *public ſpirit*, if any criminal paſſion deſerves ſuch a noble appellation, which ſerves only to cement the members of a community together, in order to enable them the more effectually to plunder and maſſacre all the reſt of their ſpecies, is, at moſt, no better than that principle, which unites a gang of robbers and aſſaſſins; and whether the *Romans* in general were not, from very remote times, actuated by ſuch a *public ſpirit* as this, will eaſily be determined by thoſe who have been but moderately converſant with their writers. The beſt therefore, in our opinion, that can be ſaid of the *Romans* of the age we are now upon, is, that they were worſe than any preceding generation of one of the moſt hypocritical, tyrannical, ambitious, and conſequently worſt, nations, we read of in hiſtory. We muſt leave it to the conſideration of our readers, whether their conduct has not been ſince equalled by that of a neighbouring nation, which has, for the beſt part of a century, been taught to diſtinguiſh between the *letter* and *ſpirit* of treaties, and which, with its liberty, ſeems to have loſt the very notion of all public virtues.

The operations of the Romans *againſt* Carthage.

BUT to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: the *Carthaginians*, having pacified *Aſdrubal*, one of their generals, who, for ſome contumelious treatment, had advanced, at the head of twenty thouſand men, almoſt to the gates of *Carthage*, in order to beſiege it, reduced moſt of the open country to their obedience. *Aſdrubal*, with his forces, poſted himſelf advantageouſly before the town, ſupplying the inhabitants daily with vaſt quantities of proviſions. At laſt the *Roman* army inveſted it, not doubting but it would fall an eaſy prey to them. *Manilius* attacked it by land, as *Marcius* did by ſea; and both of them puſhed on the ſiege with all the vigour they were capable of. But *Aſdrubal* greatly retarded their approaches, by cutting off their parties ſent to collect materials for framing the military machines; which he did, by drawing them inſenſibly into ambuſcades prepared for that purpoſe. *Manilius* therefore could make no conſiderable impreſſion on the city by land; and as *Marcius*, with the fleet, lay near the *ſtagnum* or great moraſs, the exhalations proceeding from thence, together with the heat of the ſeaſon, infected the air, and carried off great numbers of his men. The gariſon likewiſe repulſed the *Romans* in all the attacks they made, with the loſs of abundance of men, and, by their vigorous ſallies in the night, deſtroyed moſt of their works and battering engines. *Aſdrubal* alſo, by his detachments, prevented their excurſions, and intercepted their foragers; ſo that their cavalry was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. As for *Maſiniſſa*, a miſunderſtanding

ſtanding betwixt him and the *Romans* hindered the junction of their forces; ſo that the conſuls reaped no advantage from the troops of that ally. They therefore judged it expedient, at preſent, to draw off from before the town. *Marcius*, with the fleet, endeavoured to ravage the coaſts of *Africa*; but not being able to execute his deſign, he attacked the iſland *Ægimurus*, which ſurrendered to him. In the mean time, *Manilius* moved towards the ſea coaſts, to favour, as ſhould ſeem, the operations of *Marcius*; but finding him not in a capacity to undertake any thing, he returned to his former camp before the walls of *Carthage*, having been harraſſed in his march by *Himilco*, ſurnamed *Fabeas*, or, according to *Appian*, *Phameas*, general of the *Carthaginian* horſe. However, the ſiege went on very ſlowly, *Aſdrubal* cloſely attending him, and deſtroying great numbers of his men on one ſide, whilſt the beſieged made an equal havock of them on the other, by their continual ſallies. The *Romans* were only in poſſeſſion of *Saxus*, *Leptis*, *Cholla*, and *Utica*; ſo that they were not a little ſtraightened for want of proviſions. We are told by *Appian*, that *Cenſorinus* played one vaſt ram againſt the walls with ſix thouſand foot, and another with a prodigious number of rowers, whoſe officers attended, doing their duty as if in an engagement; but, though a great breach was made, he could not ſtorm the place, the *Carthaginians*, after having repulſed him, repairing it in the night. In what manner the *Carthaginians* afterwards burnt the *Roman* fleet, and *Scipio Æmilianus* ſaved the *Roman* army, when it was upon the very brink of deſtruction, may be learnt from *Appian*, as well as a former part of this hiſtory [m].

IN the mean time, *Maſiniſſa*, drawing near his end, diſpatched a courier to *Æmilianus*, to appriſe him of it, and to deſire him to divide the dominions he was poſſeſſed of betwixt his three ſons, *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa*, and *Maſtanabal*, as well as to aſſiſt them with his advice. This *Scipio* executed in the moſt prudent and equitable manner, as we ſhall ſee in the *Numidian* hiſtory. Whilſt this was tranſacting, *Manilius* reduced the ſtrong city of *Tezaga*, and gave the enemy a great defeat there, putting twelve thouſand of them to the ſword, and taking ſix thouſand priſoners. Some other places of ſtrength he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of before the concluſion of the campaign [n].

[m] LIV. APPIAN. FLOR. PLUT. AUREL. VICT: de vir. illuſtr. 58. EUTROP. OROS. ZONAR. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. xii. p 233, 234. [n] POLYB. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 175. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. APPIAN. ZONAR. OROS. ubi ſup.

THE

Phameas *deserts the* Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians lieutenant *Mancinus* conducted the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* were so strong this year, that they obtained several advantages over the *Romans*, and, towards the close of it, obliged them to raise the siege of *Hippo Zaritus*, which they had carried on the whole summer, after having burnt all their military machines. As for the siege of *Carthage*, that, for the present, seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the son of *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the *Romans* with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter, the reason of which, as well as all the most important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place [o].

Bithyas, *with a body of* Numidian *horse, comes over to the* Carthaginians

The *Carthaginian* army, having been reinforced the preceding year with a body of eight hundred *Numidian* horse, whose leader *Bithyas* had prevailed upon them to desert *Gulussa*, and the accession of some other troops from *Carthage*, began to move very early out of its winter-quarters. As it had been observed, that neither *Micipsa* nor *Mastanabal*, *Masinissa*'s other sons, had sent any supplies to the enemy, either of money or arms, notwithstanding they had, for a long time past, promised them such supplies, the *Carthaginians* resumed their former courage, scoured the open country, and put all their places of strength in the best posture of defence. The advantages they had gained at *Nepheris* and *Hippo*, and the enemy's inability to push on the siege of *Carthage*, tho' the city was, in a manner, dismantled, and the inhabitants disarmed, inspired them with a resolution to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. They sent embassadors to *Micipsa*, *Mastanabal*, and the independent *Mauritanian*

The Carthaginians *obtain some advantages over the* Romans.

Their military machines. As for the siege of *Carthage*, that, for the present, seemed to be at a stand. The besieged applied to *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the son of *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, for assistance, or at least for a diversion in their favour, by pursuing the war he was then engaged in against the *Romans* with vigour. In order the more strongly to excite him to this, they promised him powerful supplies both of money and ships. However, they received no assistance from that quarter, the reason of which, as well as all the most important events of this campaign, our readers will find related in another place [o].

[n] Appian. ubi sup. Vide & Liv. epit. l. Eutrop. l. iv. c. 10. & Zonar. ubi supra.

[o] Appian. ubi supra. Zonar. ubi sup. c. 29, 30.

princes,

princes, in order to form a powerful alliance againſt the *Romans*, inſinuating to thoſe princes, that, ſhould the *African* republic be once ſubverted by that haughty people, they muſt ſoon expect to meet with the ſame fate. *Aſdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* general without the town, about this time, deſiring the command of the troops within the city, poſſeſſed by another *Aſdrubal*, *Guluſſa*'s nephew, accuſed him falſly of a deſign to betray the republic into that prince's hands. The innocent perſon was ſo thunder-ſtruck with the accuſation, which came intirely unlooked for, that he had nothing to offer in his own defence; ſo that he was inſtantly diſpatched upon the ſpot, without any further proceſs [P].

Æmilianus *takes* Megara.

SOON after, *Piſo*, with a body of troops, reduced ſome of the inland towns, leaving *Mancinus*, with the other part of the army, to continue the ſiege of *Carthage*. *Mancinus*, obſerving one part of the wall, which, by reaſon of its rocky ſituation, ſeemed inacceſſible, not guarded, found means to ſcale it, and take poſt in the town, with three thouſand five hundred men. But the *Carthaginians* not only prevented any ill conſequences from this lodgment, but likewiſe cut off his retreat, and ſo ſurrounded him, that he muſt either have been deſtroyed, or ſtarved to a ſurrender, had not *Æmilianus* in the critical moment relieved them. This ſo diſheartened the *Carthaginians*, that they abandoned ſeveral poſts; which encouraged *Æmilianus* to make an attack upon *Megara*, a part of the city, which our readers will find already deſcribed. This was begun at midnight, by a ſelect body of troops, who had provided themſelves with axes, levers and ſcaling-ladders, being led by the general himſelf. They advanced ſeveral ſtadia without the leaſt noiſe; but at laſt gave a ſudden and general ſhout, which ſtruck the enemy, who did not expect a viſit at ſo unſeaſonable an hour, with terror. However, recovering themſelves, they oppoſed the aſſailants with ſuch bravery, that *Æmilianus* found it impoſſible to mount the ramparts; but at laſt perceiving a tower very near the walls, and of an equal height with them, but without the city, abandoned by its guards, he detached thither a party of choice troops, who by the help of pontons, made a lodgment on the walls, from whence deſcending into *Megara*, they immediately broke down the gates. Upon which *Æmilianus* entering with four thouſand of the flower of his troops, the enemy found themſelves obliged to retreat to *Byrſa*, in as great a conſternation as if the whole city had been taken, being followed even by the forces,

[P] APPIAN. ubi ſup. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. ubi. ſup. c 30.

that were encamped without the town. *Asdrubal*, finding the next morning what had happened, was extremely chagrined; and, either to gratify his resentment, or to reduce the besieged to a state of desperation, that they might behave with a greater degree of resolution in the defence of the place, massacred all the *Roman* prisoners he had taken, in the manner we have already related [q].

And fortifies his camp.

WHILST *Asdrubal* was thus venting his fury upon the *Roman* captives, and even murdering many *Carthaginian* senators, who had been so brave as to oppose his tyranny, *Æmilianus* was busy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation cross the isthmus, which joined the peninsula, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the continent of *Africa*. That part of these lines, which fronted the city of *Carthage*, was strengthened by a wall twenty-five stadia long, and twelve foot high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower was erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. The enemy, who were within a dart's cast of it, made their utmost efforts to put a stop to the work; but as the whole army was employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. The *Carthaginians* were doubly incommoded by this work; first, as it secured the *Roman* forces against their sallies; and secondly, as *Æmilianus* thereby cut off all provisions from them; which distressed them exceedingly. *Bithyas* indeed, who had been sent out to collect corn, before *Æmilianus* made himself master of *Megara*, arrived soon after the consul had perfected his lines; but he durst not venture to attack them. However, he found means to convey by sea some small quantities to *Asdrubal*, who distributed what he received amongst his troops, without any regard to the inhabitants. That general seems to have been induced to this by the opposition he met with from the senators, who, being highly incensed at his enormous cruelty to the *Roman* prisoners, as it precluded them from all hopes of mercy, and, instead of encouraging, disheartened the troops, cried out, *That such an unjustifiable proceeding was highly unseasonable at a juncture, when they were ready to sink under the pressure of the public calamities.* A famine therefore ensued, which not a little contributed to the destruction of the city [r].

[q] Polyb. in excerptis Valesii, p. 179. Appian. & Zonar, ubi sup. Univers. Hist. Vol. XII. p. 238. [r] Iidem ibid.

The

THE beſieged found themſelves already reduced to great ſtraights; but the progreſs *Æmilianus* had lately made in an attempt to ſtop up the mouth of the old harbour by a mole, that of the new one being already ſhut up by the *Roman* fleet, afforded them a much more melancholy proſpect, than any thing that had yet happened to them. Being extremely alarmed, they reſolved to take ſuch meaſures, as might, if poſſible, defeat the enemy's deſign. Setting therefore all hands to work, with an induſtry ſcarce to be parallelled, they dug a new baſon, and opened a communication with the ſea; which enabled them to make head againſt the enemy once more upon that element; for, with the ſame diligence, they fitted out a fleet of fifty quinqueremes, with a vaſt number of other veſſels, built chiefly of old materials found in their magazines. This amazing work was completed ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch an impenetrable ſecrecy, that *Æmilianus* entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it, till he ſaw their ſquadron appear at ſea. Then his ſurpriſe was ſo great, thinking it impoſſible, that ſo weak an enemy ſhould, as it were, in an inſtant become ſo formidable, that *Appian* believes, the *Carthaginians* might have totally ruined the *Roman* fleet, had they immediately attacked it. This ſeems to have been no unreaſonable ſuppoſition, becauſe, as no ſuch blow was expected, and every man otherwiſe employed, the *Carthaginians* would have found the *Roman* veſſels deſtitute of rowers, ſoldiers, and officers. However, two days after, both parties came to an action, and being greatly animated, the one by the hopes of preſerving every thing dear and valuable to them, the other of finiſhing a conqueſt, which had coſt them ſuch an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, they exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. During the heat of the action, the *Carthaginian* brigantines, gliding along under the large *Roman* ſhips, broke to pieces many of their ſterns, rudders, and oars; and, if at any time they found themſelves puſhed, they retreated with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, and returned immediately to the charge. The diſpute continued with equal ſucceſs till the evening, when the *Carthaginians* thought proper to retire, not under any apprehenſion of the enemy's ſuperiority, but in order to renew the engagement with greater advantage early the next morning. Their lighter veſſels, being extremely ſwift and numerous, ſoon occupied the harbour, and, by their multitude, ſhut up the mouth of it; ſo that thoſe of a larger ſize were excluded from thence, and obliged to take ſhelter under a very ſpacious terrace, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, and on

The Carthaginians *again worſted.*

the side whereof a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight began again early the following day with more vigour than ever, and continued till late at night; but at last, by the conduct and bravery of five galleys of *Sida*, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to retire, and sail for shelter to the city. The next morning *Æmilianus* attacked the terrace; but was repulsed with prodigious slaughter by the besieged, who burnt all his military machines. However, he afterwards carried it by assault, and having fortified it, ordered a wall to be built close to those of the city, and of equal height with them. When this was finished, he commanded four thousand men to mount it, and discharge showers of darts and javelins upon the enemy, in order both to insult and annoy them. As the troops on each side were upon a level, there was scarce a dart thrown but what did execution. The last action concluded the military operations of this campaign[f].

Lælius gives Diogene, one of the Carthaginian generals, a great overthrow.

IN order the more effectually to cut off supplies of every kind from the besieged, *Æmilianus* formed a design to reduce the places of strength the *Carthaginians* had still in their hands, particularly *Nepheris*, where they had a numerous body of forces strongly encamped, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of *Asdrubal*'s intimate friends, who, by means of the new bason above-mentioned, sent continual convoys of provisions to *Carthage*. The reduction of the other places he effected by detachments commanded by persons that he could confide in; but that of the latter was accomplished by a body of troops under the conduct of *Lælius*, supported by *Gulussa*'s *Numidian* horse. By the activity of these last, and the violence of the *Numidian* elephants, the whole *Carthaginian* army, consisting of eighty-four thousand men, was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners, except four thousand, who dispersed themselves in the neighbouring villages. This happened before *Æmilianus* resumed the operations against the city of *Carthage*, and induced the *Africans*, who were kept in awe by *Diogenes*, to abandon the *Carthaginians*[t].

Æmilianus takes Byrsa, and enters Carthage.

SOON after *Æmilianus* formed two attacks, one against *Byrsa*, and the other against the *Cothon*. Having possessed himself of the wall, which surrounded the port or *Cothon*, he threw himself into the great square of the city, that was near it; but the night not permitting him to penetrate farther, he ordered his soldiers to remain there till morning under arms.

[f] Idem ibid. & Liv. in epit. li. FLOR. l. ii, c. 15. [t] LIV. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

At

At break of day he received a reinforcement of four thouſand men from the camp, who, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, plundered the temple of *Apollo*, which was immenſely rich, and divided the booty amongſt themſelves before they could be prevailed upon to advance againſt the enemy. *Æmilianus*, by the occupation of this ſquare and poſſeſſion of the wall, being maſter of every part of the city, but *Byrſa* or the citadel, attempted to force his way to this laſt with inexpreſſible bravery. The *Carthaginians* having been greatly weakened by a famine, inſomuch, that they had been obliged to feed, for ſome time, upon human fleſh, and had ſcarce ſtrength to handle their arms, he, in ſix days, effected this. However, in the conteſt he loſt a vaſt number of men, and gained his point with the utmoſt difficulty. Moſt of thoſe who had fled into *Byrſa*, were ſo intimidated at the approach of the *Roman* army, that they ſurrendered upon the proconſul's granting them their lives. *Aſdrubal*, the commandant, ſoon after abandoned the reſt of them, and put himſelf into the hands of the *Romans*. His wife could not ſurvive ſuch an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs, cowardice, and inhumanity; and therefore, with nine hundred *Roman* deſerters, to whom *Æmilianus* had denied mercy, committed herſelf, as well as her children, to the flames, that deſtroyed both the citadel, and the famous temple of *Æſculapius* upon it. *Appian* tells us, that, before ſhe acted this tragedy, ſhe appeared in ſplendid attire, with her children, upon the walls, and addreſſed herſelf to *Scipio* in terms to the following effect: "May the gods, *Roman*, be propitious to "you, who act according to the rules of war; but may you, "and the genius of *Carthage*, take vengeance of that miſ"creant *Aſdrubal*, the betrayer of his wife, children, coun"try, and religion." Then turning to *Aſdrubal*, who ſtood by *Æmilianus*, "Abandoned villain, ſaid ſhe, and moſt "cowardly of mortals! both I, and theſe my children, ſhall "be ſoon buried in theſe flames; but as for you, great ge"neral of *Carthage*, what a ſplendid triumph will you be "reſerved to grace! What tortures may you not expect to "ſuffer!" This put a period to the ſtate of *Carthage*, and conſequently to the diſpute for the empire of the world, which had continued almoſt without intermiſſion, betwixt two of the moſt famous republics to be met with in hiſtory, for the ſpace of an hundred and eighteen years. What inſtructions the conſcript fathers at *Rome* ſent the proconſul, in relation to the total demolition of *Carthage*, and how, in conſequence of theſe inſtructions, that unfortunate city was intirely razed, the cities confederated with it diſmantled, as well as thoſe

that

that had declared for the *Romans* rewarded, and the whole country appertaining to it turned into a province, together with many other particulars relative to the catastrophe we are now upon, our readers will find recited at large in the *Roman* history [u].

He carries off an immense quantity of plunder to Rome.

THUS fell *Carthage*, in the consulate of *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*, about a hundred and forty-six years before the commencement of the christian æra; a city, whose destruction ought to be attributed more to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, composed of the most profligate part of its citizens, than to the power of its villainous rival, however formidable it might at that time appear. The treasure *Æmilianus* carried off, even after the city had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered, according to the *Roman* military law, was so immense, that it exceeded all belief, *Pliny* making it amount to four (S) millions four hundred and seventy thousand

[u] Idem ibid. & ZONAR. ubi sup. Vide etiam VALER. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. OROS. l. iv. c. 23. FLOR & AUREL. VICT. ubi sup EUTROP. l. iv. c. 12. Univers. hist. ubi sup. p. 243, & seq.

(S) This was not the only treasure *Æmilianus* met with now in *Carthage* According to *Sallust*, he preserved from the flames several valuable libraries, which he presented to the sons of *Micipsa*. The works of all the most noted *Phœnician* and *Punic* authors were undoubtedly included in these collections, some of the principal of which, besides those already mentioned, were the following:

1. *Dius*, a celebrated *Phœnician* historian, a fragment of whose work, relating to the friendly intercourse betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, has been preserved to us by *Josephus*, in the eighth book of his antiquities, and the first of his treatise against *Apion*.

2. *Eumachus*, a *Carthaginian* writer, cited by *Phlegon*, who, amongst other things, related, that, whilst the *Carthaginians* were drawing a line round *Africa Propria*, they discovered two human skeletons, deposited in two coffins, of an enormous size. One of these, according to *Phlegon*, was twenty-three cubits long, and the other twenty-four. The age in which this author lived, has not been hitherto discovered.

3. *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, who, according to *Freculphus Lexoviensis*, a chronological historian, that lived near nine hundred years ago, wrote an history of *Phœnicia*. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to *Vossius*.

4. *Hestiæus Milesius*, a compiler of *Phœnician* history, taken notice

land pounds weight of silver. The antiquity of the *Roman* conduct at the commencement, as well as through the whole

notice of by *Josephus*, in the tenth book of his *Jewish* antiquities.

5. *Hypsicrates*, a native, as should seem, of *Phœnicia*, who composed a history of that country in the *Phœnician* language A *Greek* translation of this author, done by one *Chætus*, if not the original itself, was extant in the time of *Tatian* He is likewise taken notice of by *Eusebius*, in the tenth book of his *Præparatio evangelica*.

6. *Iolaus*, a compiler of *Phœnician* history, whose works are all lost, except a few fragments, which seem intirely fabulous. From what *Bochart*, *Gesner*, and *Vossius*, have related of him, the loss of his performance is not greatly to be regretted

7. *Mochus*, or *Moschus*, a *Phœnician*, who wrote the history of his own country in his mother tongue *Chætus* above mentioned translated this piece into *Greek* *Josephus*, *Tatian*, and *Athenæus*, supply us with the short account we have of him.

8. *Moschus Sidonius*, a native of *Sidon*, who, according to *Strabo*, seems to have been the founder of the atomical philosophy.

9. *Procles*, a *Carthaginian* historian, some of whose fragments have been preserved to us by *Pausanias*.

10. *Sanchoniatho*, a *Phœnician* historian, who, according to the most received opinion, lived a little before the siege of *Troy* He extracted his history, which was written in the *Phœnician* language, partly from the records of cities, and partly from the sacred writings deposited in temples. *Philo* of *Byblus*, who, according to *Suidas*, lived in the reign of *Hadrian*, translated this history into *Greek*, some extracts of which we find in the first book of *Eusebius*'s *Præparatio evangelica* *Suidas* informs us, that he wrote one treatise of the religious institutions of the *Phœnicians*; another of *Hermes*'s physiology; and a third of the *Egyptian* theology. *Porphyry* makes him to have been of *Berytus*; but he was of *Tyre*, if we will give credit to *Athenæus*.

11 *Theodotus*, a writer of *Phœnician* history, whose performance *Chætus* translated into *Greek*. Our readers will find every thing relating to him, that antiquity has supplied us with, in *Bochart* and *Vossius* (25).

(25) *Strab. l xvi. & alib. Joseph. antiq. & cont. Apion. pass. Euseb in præp. evang pass Hestiæus Milesius apud Joseph in antiq Judaic. iii Phlegon. Trallian. de reb. mirabil. c.* 18. *Athen. deipnosoph. l. iii iv. & alib. Tatian. in orat. adverss. gent Voss de art. histor. c.* 7 *& de hist Græc. l. iii. Gesn. in biblioth. & Bochart in Chan. Suid. pass. Porphyr, adverss. christian. l iv. Vide etiam Voss de hist. Græc Bochart in Chan. Casaub animadverss in Athen. Reinec. hist. Jul Christ. Hendr. de repub. Carthagin. pass. aliosq; script. quamplurim.*

course,

courſe, of this war, is acknowledged by *Velleius* and other hiſtorians, who cannot be ſuſpected of the leaſt partiality in favour of the *Carthaginians*. In fine, *Rome*, though, in a manner, miſtreſs of the world, could not imagine herſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity, as long as even the name of *Carthage* remained; ſo true is it, that a riveted antipathy, fomented by long and bloody wars, continues even after all cauſe for fear is removed, and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. The *Romans* ordered it never to be inhabited again, denouncing dreadful imprecations againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any part of it, eſpecially *Byrſa* and *Megara*. However, all perſons who deſired it, were admitted to ſee *Carthage*, nothing affording *Æmilianus* a higher ſatisfaction, than to have people view the ruins of a city, which had contended with *Rome* for ſuperiority for ſuch a ſeries of years. The *Carthaginian* priſoners, ſent to *Rome*, were diſtributed in the various provinces of *Italy*, as already related. In confirmation of what we have advanced above concerning the duration of *Carthage*, we muſt here beg leave to obſerve, that *Syncellus* aſſerts this city to have ſtood ſeven hundred and forty-eight years, which almoſt intirely correſponds with Sir *Iſaac Newton*, *Salmaſius*, *Petavius*, &c. and therefore may be conſidered as an additional argument in favour of what thoſe great men have offered on that head [w].

Carthage afterwards rebuilt by the Romans themſelves.

ABOUT twenty-four years after this ſtately metropolis had been laid in aſhes by *Æmilianus*, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate, *C. Gracchus*, tribune of the people, in order to ingratiate himſelf with them, undertook to rebuild it, and, to that end, conducted thither a colony of ſix thouſand *Roman* citizens. The workmen, according to *Plutarch*, were terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city; which the ſenate being informed of, would have ſuſpended the attempt: but the tribune, little affected with ſuch preſages, continued carrying on the work, and finiſhed it in a few days. From hence it ſeems probable, that only a ſlight kind of huts were erected, eſpecially ſince we are told by *Velleius*,

[w] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxx. c. 11. VEL. PATERC. l. i. DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerpt. Valeſ. POLYB. in excerpt. legat. cxviii. APPIAN. ubi ſup. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. GEORG. SYNCELL. in chronograph. p. 293. Vide D. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, iii. 41. & Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. XVI. p. 532. AUG. de civ. Dei, iii. 21. THEMIST. in orat. x. de pac. ad Valent. alioſq; mult.

that

that *Marius*, after his flight into *Africa*, lived in a poor, mean condition amidst the ruins of *Carthage*, consoling himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle, and himself at the same time serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city. But whether *Gracchus* executed his design, as *Plutarch* intimates, or the work was intirely discontinued, in compliance with the senate's orders, as *Appian* suggests, it is certain this was the first *Roman* colony, that ever was sent out of *Italy* [z].

And. after various turns of fortune, is at last razed by the Saracens.

Appian relates, that *Julius Cæsar*, having landed his forces in *Africa*, to put an end to the war with *Pompey*'s adherents there, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he wrote down in his pocket-book the design he formed, on this occasion, of rebuilding *Carthage* and *Corinth*; but that being murdered soon after in the *curia* at *Rome* by the conspirators, he was not able to execute it. However, says the same author, *Augustus Cæsar*, his adopted son, finding this memoir amongst his papers, built a city at some small distance from the spot on which antient *Carthage* stood, which he called by the same name, in order to avoid the ill effects of those imprecations, which had been vented at the time of its destruction. Thither he sent a colony of three thousand men, who were soon joined by considerable numbers from the neighbouring towns. But this notion, however it may have been received by *Appian*, is not so consistent with what we find advanced by *Strabo*, who intimates, that both *Carthage* and *Corinth* were rebuilt at the same time by *Julius Cæsar*. It is certain this last author, who flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*, affirms *Carthage* in his time to have been equal, if not superior, to the largest city in *Africa*; which can scarce be admitted, if we suppose it to have been built by *Augustus*, after the conclusion of all his wars; and, till that time, it is not natural to suppose him to have built it. Be that as it will, *Plutarch* follows *Strabo*, and therefore, in opposition to *Appian*, gives a sanction to his authority. *Pliny* mentions it as a very considerable colony in his days, though the town then was not of so large an extent, as that destroyed by *Æmilianus*. *Solinus* gives us to understand, that the town built by *Gracchus* was called *Junonia*, and, for some time, of little note, agreeable to what we have hinted above. However, he informs us, that, in the consulate of *M. Antonius* and *P. Dolabella*, it

[z] APPIAN. ubi sup. PLUT. in Gracch. VELL. PATERC. l. c. 19. LIV. in epit. lx.

made such a figure, that it was esteemed the second city in the *Roman* dominions; which, in our opinion, adds some weight to the last observation of *Strabo*. It was looked upon as the capital of *Africa* for several centuries after the commencement of the christian æra. *Maxentius* laid it in ashes about the sixth or seventh year of *Constantine*'s reign. *Genseric*, king of the *Vandals*, took it *A. C.* 439, but, about a century afterwards, it was re-annexed to the *Roman* empire by that renowned commander *Belisarius*. At last the *Saracens*, under *Mohammed*'s successors, towards the close of the seventh century, so compietely destroyed it, that no other traces or footsteps of it are now to be discovered, than those we have already taken notice of in the first section of the *Carthaginian* history [y].

[y] APPIAN in Libyc. sub fin. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 833. PLUT. in Cæs. DIO. CASS. l. xliii. & l. lii. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 27. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 21. OROS. l. v. c. 12. Univers. Hist. Vol. XVI. p. 423. MERMOL. l. ii. c. 9, 10. D. BERN. ALDRET. in var. antiguedad. de Espan. Afric. y otras provinc. l. iv. c. 25. p. 619. 620.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The history of the Numidians, *to the conquest of their country by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Numidia.

The limits of Numidia.

THE limits of the region, called *Numidia*, have been differently defined by the antient geographers. *Pliny* gives that name to the tract lying between the rivers *Tusca* and *Ampsaga*; which includes the *Numidia Nova* of *Ptolemy*, together with the district of the *Cirtesii*. *Mela* affirms it to have extended from the river *Molochath* or *Mulucha*, to the borders of *Africa Propria*, which he seems to have fixed at a small distance from the city of *Cirta*. But its boundaries are certainly the best ascertained by *Strabo*, who, in conformity with what has been advanced by *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Dio*, makes it to have comprehended the kingdoms of the *Massyli* and *Masæsyli*, the last of which was bounded on the west by the *Mulucha*, as the first was on the east by the *Tusca*. *Dionysius*, *Afer*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Appian*, as well as the former historians, add no small weight to *Strabo*; for which reason, our readers will permit us to give a geographical description of *Numidia* upon the plan he has laid down [a].

Numidia had different bounds assigned it at different times.

Numidia then was limited on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the south by *Gætulia*, or part of *Libya Interior*; on the west by the *Mulucha*, which separated it from *Mauritania*; and on the east by the *Tusca*, a boundary it had in common with *Africa Propria*. If we suppose *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Mu-*

[a] PLIN. l. v. c. 3. PTOL. l. iv. c. 2. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 6 STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. POLYB. l. iii. c. 33 LIV l. xxiv. c 48 & l. xxviii c. 17. DIO. CASS. l. xli. p. 172. DIONYS. PERIEG. ver 187. SIL. ITAL. l. xvi. ver. 170, & 183. APPIAN. in civil. l. iv. p. 995, & alib.

lucha,

lucba, *Molochath*, and the preſent *Mullooïah* of the *Algerines* to be the ſame river, and the modern *Zaine* to correſpond with the antient *Tuſca*, as the learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* ſeems to have rendered probable, this tract was above five hundred miles in length, *Twunt*, the weſtern *Algerine* frontier, about fifty miles to the eaſt of the former river, being in 0° 16′ W. long from *London*, and *Tarbarka*, the antient *Tabacra*, upon the latter, in 9° 16′ to the eaſt of that city. The breadth cannot be eaſily aſcertained; but, ſuppoſing it to have been nearly the ſame with that of the preſent kingdom of *Algiers*, as there is good reaſon to apprehend it was, in the narroweſt part it muſt have been about forty miles, that being the diſtance near *Tlemſan* from the deſert or *Sahara* to the ſea-coaſt, and above a hundred in the broadeſt, *Fijel* being in N. lat. 36° 55′, and *Lowtaiah*, ſituated amongſt the mountains of *Atlas*, in 34° 50′. In the *Carthaginian* times, *Numidia* contained two conſiderable nations, the moſt powerful of which, according to *Strabo*, was called the *Maſſyli*, and the other the *Maſæſyli* or *Maſſæſyli*. The country inhabited by the *Maſſæſyli* is, by ſome authors, eſteemed a part of *Mauritania*; but *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*, whoſe authority will bear down that of all other writers in the point before us, are of another opinion. However, that it was conſidered as appertaining to *Mauritania* in after-ages by the *Romans*, we learn from *Dio*, who not only intimates this, but likewiſe aſſerts, that it had the name of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* given it by the emperor *Claudius* [b].

The extent of Numidia.

Numidia, including *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, or that of the *Maſæſyli*, extended from 34° 50 to 37° N. lat. and from 1° 15′ W. to 9° 16′ E. of *London*. *Ptolemy* is as inaccurate and erroneous in his geography of this country, as we have before ſhewn him to be in that of *Africa Propria*; for he places *The Great Promontory* in 35°, and the *Ampſaga* in 31°, 45′ N. lat. and ſo in proportion of the interjacent places, whereby that part of the coaſt is laid down nearly in an E. S. E. direction; whereas, according to the lateſt obſervations to the *Promontorium Apollinis* it is N. E. and from thence to the *Ampſaga*, inclining to the N. In ſhort, according to the ſame obſervations, *Ptolemy* differs ſo widely from the truth in the whole, that thoſe places, which he has fixed in a ſouthern inclination, ſhould have had a northern one; and *The Great Promon-*

[b] PLIN. MEL. STRAB. PTOL. &c. ubi ſup. DIO. CASS. l. lx. p. 671. IS. VOSS. in Mel. ubi ſup. Dr. SHAW's geographical obſervations of Algiers, c. 1.

tory,

tory, which he has placed 3° 15′ to the northward of the *Ampſaga*, is really 1° 37′ S. of it. Several places likewiſe of this country he has put five degrees farther ſouth, than, in fact, they are found to be. The region formerly poſſeſſed by the *Maſſyli*, from the moſt accurate obſervations of the moderns, in conjunction with the hints given us by the antients, ſeems to have extended itſelf from 34° 50′ to 37° N. lat. and from 6° 30′ to 9° 16′ E. long from *London*. From hence the ſituation and extent of the *Maſæſylian* kingdom may likewiſe be eaſily determined c.

The country of the Maſſyli.

THE country of the *Maſſyli*, *Numidia Propria*, or, as ſome authors call it, *Terra Metagonitis*, was ſeparated from the proper territory of *Carthage* by its eaſtern boundary the river *Tuſca*, and from the kingdom of the *Maſæſyli*, or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, if we will believe *Pliny*, by the *Ampſaga*. It ſeems to correſpond with that part of the province of *Conſtantia* lying between the *Zaine* and the *Wed el Kibeer*, which is above an hundred and thirty miles long, and more than an hundred broad. The ſea-coaſt of this province is, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky, anſwering appoſitely enough to the appellation given it by *Abulfeda*, viz. *El Adwah*, *the high* or *lofty*. It is far from being equal in extent to the territories that formed the kingdom of the *Maſæſyli*, though this nation is repreſented as leſs potent than the *Maſſyli* by *Strabo*. We ſhall only mention ſuch of the principal places ſeated in it, as have been taken the greateſt notice of by the antients, the bounds we have preſcribed ourſelves obliging us, at preſent, to paſs over all the reſt d.

Cirta.

THE capital of this city province, or rather kingdom, was *Cirta*, a place of very conſiderable note amongſt the antients. It ſtood about forty-eight miles from the ſea, and at a ſmall diſtance from the *Ampſaga*. According to *Strabo*, it was a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries, as well as much improved, through the great care of *Micipſa*, who invited a good number of *Greeks* to come and reſide in it. *Mela* and *Pliny* intimate, that it was likewiſe known by the name of *Sittianorum Colonia* in their time, and in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, when under the dominion of *Syphax*. The latter name it received from the colony ſettled there by *P. Sittius*, who, having been of ſingular ſervice to *Cæſar* in the *African* war, received a great extent of territory in thoſe parts, which formerly belonged to *Manaſſes*, one of *Juba's*

c PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup. d STRAB. l. ii PLIN MEL. PTOL. ubi ſup. ABULFED. in geogr. ex traduct. V. C. I. Gagnier. SHAW, ubi ſup. c. 7. & alib.

confederates,

confederates, from that prince, as we learn from *Appian* and *Dio*; for which reason we find it called *Cirta Regia* by *Ptolemy*, who names the territory adjacent to it, *the district of the* Cirtesii which he separates from *Numidia*, making it to include the cities of *Vaga*, *Macæum*, *Lares*, *Ellara*, and *Azama*. That *Cirta* was one of the largest, as well as strongest, cities of *Numidia*, is evident both from the extent of its ruins, which are still to be seen, and the commodiousness of its situation; for the greatest part of it was built upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except towards the south-west. This promontory was a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but terminating in a precipice of a northern direction, and above an hundred fathom in perpendicular. Here a beautiful landskip arose from a most agreeable variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which extended themselves to a great distance. To the eastward the prospect was bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the south east, the country was more open, entertaining the citizens of *Cirta* with a distant view of the high mountain, called at present *Ziganeah*, as well as those large and fertile eminences, whose modern name is *Seedy Rougeise*. The peninsular promontory abovementioned, in the direction we are now upon, was separated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where a rivulet, that seems to have been a branch of the *Ampsaga*, the modern *Rummel* of the *Algerines*, conveyed its stream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of most excellent workmanship. The isthmus, near which stood the principal gate of the city, is about half a stadium broad, being intirely covered at present with a series of broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins, continued down to the river, and carried on from thence over a small plain parallel to the valley above described. The most eminent fragments of antiquity still remaining are, 1. A particular set of cisterns near the centre of the city, being about twenty in number, and forming an area of fifty yards square. 2. The aqueduct, whose remains, though in a much more ruinous condition than the cisterns, sufficiently demonstrate the wealth, public spirit, and magnificence of the *Numidian* princes, who held their residence here. 3. Part of a large and noble edifice, four of whose bases, seven foot in diameter, still in their places, seem to have formed part of the portico. This stands upon the brink of a precipice to the northward, and is the place where the *Turkish* garison of *Constantina* is always posted. That name was given *Cirta* in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who repaired and adorned it, according to

Aurelius

Aurelius Victor. *Cirta* was the metropolis of *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions, that prince himſelf, his father *Gala*, and ſeveral other kings of the ſame family, reſiding there, as we learn from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Strabo* informs us, that *Micipſa* took care to render it ſo large, populous, and flouriſhing, that, in his time, it could ſend into the field an army of twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. From its name it appears to be a city of a very high antiquity, and founded by the *Phœnicians*, even before *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa*; for *Cirta* or *Certa* ſeems to have ſignified *city* in the *Phœnician* language when *Hercules* built *Carteia*, about the time that he firſt came into theſe parts, as we learn from *Heſychius*, who tells us, that one of his names was *Melicerta*, i. e. *king of* Certa, Cirta, or *the city*. We have likewiſe already obſerved, that the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, when expelled their native country by *Joſhua*, fled into *Numidia*; and that ſeveral proper names of places here were *Phœnician*; nay, we have, from ſome good authors rendered it probable, that the *Phœnicians* ſettled in *Numidia* and *Mauritania* long before the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſſed them of the land of *Canaan*. It may not be improper to add, that the ancient *Cirta* was much larger than the modern *Conſtantina*, which is about 6° 36′ eaſt of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 20′ [e].

Vaga, a large city according to *Ptolemy*, a few miles eaſt of *Cirta*. *Plutarch* calls it *Buga*, and *Salluſt Vacca*; which is the name likewiſe given it by *Silius*, *Pliny*, and St. *Auſtin*. The *Romans* placed a ſtrong garriſon here under the command of *Turpilius*, as we learn from *Salluſt* and *Plutarch* [f]. Vaga.

Lares, a town ſouth-eaſt of *Cirta*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, which ſome think different from that in the itinerary called *Laribus Colonia*, or, according to *Schottus*, *Laribum Colonia*. This place is mentioned by *Salluſt*, and other antient authors [g]. Lares.

Azama, a town which *Ptolemy* makes to be fifteen days journey diſtant from *Carthage*, lying ſouth-eaſt of *Cirta*. Some authors imagine this to be the ſame with *Zama*, a large and Azama

[e] STRAB. l. xvii p. 572. MEL. ubi ſup PLIN. l. v c. 3. DIO. CASS. l xliii ſub init APPIAN. in civil. l. iv. p. 996. LIV. l. xxx c. 12, & alib SALLUST in Jugurth. SIL. ITAL. l. iii ver. 259, & alib. PTOL. geogr. l iv c. 3 SHAW ubi. ſup. c 8 Vide etiam PLUT in Mario, p 409 HESYCH. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. ii c. 2. & Univerſ. Hiſt Vol. XVI. p 427.

[f] SALLUST. PLUT. & PTOL. ubi ſup. Vide etiam D. AUGUST. cont Donatiſt. l iii. c 6

[g] SALLUST. in Jugurth c. 90. PTOL. ubi ſup. D. AUGUST. cont. Donatiſt. l. vi. c 28

magnificent

magnificent city, and famous for the ſignal defeat *Hannibal* received near it. But this is rendered improbable by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who fix *Zama* on a ſpot at leaſt two thirds nearer *Carthage*. *Miræum* and *Ætara*, the other two places in the diſtrict of the *Cirteſii*, taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, are ſo obſcure, that it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned them [h].

Collops Magnus.

About eighteen miles from the *Ampſaga*, at the weſtern bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulf of *Stora*, ſtood the *Cullu*, or *Collops Magnus*, of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. There is nothing remaining at preſent of this antient city, but a few miſerable houſes, and a ſmall fort. The modern name is *Cull*, which, as well as the antient, might be derived from a ſmall port before it, *Culla* in *Arabic* and *Phœnician* ſignifying *a port*. At the eaſtern extremity of the ſame gulf was the *Ruſicada* of *Ptolemy*, the *Sgigata* or *Stora* of the moderns. A few ciſterns, converted at preſent into magazines for corn, are the only tokens of antiquity diſcernible in it. The antient geographers have fixed it fifty or ſixty *Roman* miles from *Cullu*; whereas in reality it was not above thirty. The adjacent rivulet ſeems to be the *Tapſas* of *Vibius Sequeſter* [i].

Tacatua.

Not many miles to the north-eaſt ſtood the *Tacatua* of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary, the *Tuckuſh* of the *Algerines*, at preſent a pleaſant village, with a fruitful country round about it. At ſome diſtance from it, in an eaſtern direction, was the *Sulluco* or *Collops Parvus* of *Ptolemy*, the modern ſmall port of *Tagodeite* [k].

Hippo Regius.

At the weſtern extremity of the gulf of *Hippo*, upon the river *Armua*, was the city of *Hippo Regius*, a place we have had occaſion to mention frequently in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory. Upon the ſpot of ground formerly occupied by that city, a great heap of ruins is ſtill to be ſeen. According to *Leo Africanus*, the city of *Bona*, or, as the *Moors* call it, *Blaid el Aueb*, *Town of Jujebs*, from the plenty of them gathered in the neighbourhood about a mile farther to the north, was built out of theſe ruins. This ſeems to be confirmed by the name *Bona*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *Hippo* or *Hippona*. It is proba-

[h] Polyb. l. xv c. 5. Liv. l. xxx. c. 29. Sallust. in Jugurth. c 57. Hirt. in B Afr. c. 91. Plin. l. v. c 4. Ptol. ubi ſup. & inſcript. vet. apud Gruter p. 364. [i] Plin. l v c. 3. Solin. c. 26. Vib. Sequest. de flumin. Ptol. ubi ſup. & Itinerar. Antonin. Shaw, ubi ſup. c. 7. [k] Plin. Ptol. Itiner. & Shaw, ubi ſup.

ble,

ble, that *Bona* has the ſame ſituation that *Ptolemy*'s *Aphrodiſium* had, ſince he places it fifteen miles to the north of *Hippo*. The ruins of *Hippo* take up a ſpace about half a league in circumference, conſiſting, as uſual, of large broken walls and ciſterns. This city was called *Hippo Regius*, becauſe it was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the *Numidian* kings, as *Silius Italicus* informs us. And indeed its commodious ſituation both for hunting and commerce, the ſalubrity of the air its inhabitants breathed, the delightful proſpect they enjoyed, which took in the ſea, a ſpacious harbour, a variety of mountains covered with trees, and plains diverſified with rivers, fountains, and fertile ſpots of ground, in a moſt beautiful manner, all at once, demonſtrate this city to be as worthy of ſuch an honour, as any other in the *Numidian* dominions. We have before ſhewn the word *Hippo* to be of *Phœnician* extraction, which is a proof that the antient inhabitants were of the ſame origin. We ſhall reſerve the deſcription of *Bona* for the hiſtory of *Algiers*, to which it will more properly belong [l].

Thabraca or *Tabraca* was a maritime city of *Numidia Propria*, ſeated on the weſtern bank of the *Tuſca*. *Mela*, *Juvenal*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Auſtin*, all make mention of it. *Pliny* inſinuates, that it was a *Roman* colony in the latter ages. The ruins of it are ſtill remaining, and out of them has ſprung the modern *Tabarca*, where there are ſeveral broken walls and ciſterns, with a ſmall fort and gariſon of *Tuniſeens*. *Bochart* ſays, that *Thabraca* was a *Phœnician* word, and equivalent to the *Latin Frondoſa*, which, he ſhews, might be properly enough applied to this place, from that verſe of *Juvenal*: Tabraca.

Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca ſaltus.
Sat. x. ver. 194 [m].

Naragara or *Nadagara*, a very antient town, ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance ſouth-weſt of *Tabraca*, on the confines of *Africa Propria*. Here towards the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, *Scipio* is ſaid to have encamped for the benefit of the water, *Hannibal* at the ſame time taking poſt Naragara.

[l] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 572. LIV. l. xxix. c. 3. PLIN. & MEL. ubi ſup. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 259. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 4. J. LEO AFRICAN. p. 211. SHAW ubi ſup. & Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 88. [m] PLIN. l. v. c. 3. POMP. MEL. l. i. c. 7. Prol. ubi ſup. J. LEO AFRICAN. p. 287. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW ubi ſupra.

upon an eminence four miles distant from him. *Polybius* seems to have called this place *Margaron*. It is supposed that some fragments of an aqueduct, and other traces of this antient city, are still to be seen [n].

Sicca. SOMEWHERE in this tract we are to look for *Sicca*, *Sicca Veneria*, or, as some will have it, *Venerea*. But, as we have taken notice of this place elsewhere, as well as the lewd customs prevailing in it, and as its situation cannot, with any precision, be ascertained, we shall drop all further particulars relating to it [o].

Thermida *Thermida*, a town of this province, where *Hiempsal*, according to *Sallust*, lost his life; but whether it stood on the borders of the *Massyli*, or remote from them, for want of sufficient light from history, we shall not take upon us to determine [p].

Suthul. *Suthul*, a city where that prince's treasure was deposited, as we are informed by the same historian. It should seem probable from some hints he gives, that it could not be very remote from *Thermida* [q].

Madaura. *Madaura*, a city, as may be inferred from St. *Austin*, in the neighbourhood of *Sicca Veneria*, *Tagaste*, and *Hippo Regius*. It was famous for the birth of *Apuleius* the *Platonic* philosopher; which is all we can say of it [r].

Sava, &c. As for *Sava*, *Gemellæ*, *Calama*, *Lambesa*, *Theveste*, *Tadutti*, *Sigus*, *Tipasa*, *Simisthu*, *Lamasba*, and an infinite number of other obscure places, mentioned chiefly, if not solely, by *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, *Peutinger*'s table, the *Notitia*, *Æthicus*, *Orosius*, and others, who lived below that period of time, to which we must here confine ourselves, as they cannot improve our idea of any single fact or circumstance relative to the history we are now upon, our readers will not only excuse a description, but even a bare enumeration of them. It will be sufficient, in order to complete our geographical description of this province, to give a succinct account of the most remarkable mountains, promontories, rivers, fountains, islands, and some of the principal curiosities of it, to which we shall beg leave to premise a word or two concerning the mediterranean part of it [s].

[n] POLYB. l. xv. LIV. l. xxx. c. 29. SHAW ubi sup. [o] Univ. Hist. Vol. XVI. p. 491. Vide & SALLUST. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup. [p] SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 12. [q] Idem ibid. c. 27. [r] APUL. MADAURENS. in metamorphos. l. ix. de Platon. philos. l. iii. & in apol. D. AUG. in confes. l. ii. c. 3. [s] Vide PTOL. Itinerar. ANTONIN. PEUTING. tab. NOTIT. ÆTHIC. OROS. &c.

WE

WE have already obſerved, that the ſea-coaſt of this province was, for the moſt part, mountainous and rocky. To which we ſhall add, that the inner or mediterranean part was diverſified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which grew leſs capable of culture, in proportion as it approached the *Sahara*. In many places, for ſeveral leagues together, nothing was to be ſeen but a ſolitary deſert, void both of all animals, and every thing proper for their ſupport; in others fruitful diſtricts, abounding with gardens producing great plenty of the moſt delicious pomegranates, apples, *&c.* afforded a moſt delightful proſpect to travellers. But the natural hiſtory, both of *Numidia Propria*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, our readers may expect in a proper place [t]. *The ſea-coaſt of this province mountainous.*

THE firſt ridge of mountains we ſhall take notice of is, that upon the borders of *Gætulia*, which terminated the country between the parallels of *Sitiſi* and *Cirta*, called by the antients *Buzara*. 2. That called *Thambes*, extending itſelf as far as *Tabraca*. 3. The *Mampſarus* of *Ptolemy*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*, which ſeparated that country, or the *Sahara*, from the *Mauritania Sitifenſis*. 4. The *Mons Audus* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mons Auraſius* of the middle age, known at preſent amongſt the *Turks* by the name *Jibbel Aureſs* or *Eureſs*. All of which will hereafter be minutely deſcribed [u]. *The mountains of it.*

THE firſt promontory that falls under our obſervation is the *Tritum* of *Strabo*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the *Ampſaga*, called at preſent the *Sebba Rous*, or *Seven Capes*, by the *Algerines*. 2. The *Hippi Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, the *Madra* of the ſea-charts, about twenty leagues eaſt of the former. It goes now among the *Algerines* by the name *Ras el Hamra*, i. e. *The Red Cape*, and has the ruins of two ſmall buildings upon it. 3. Scarce a league diſtant from the *Hippi Promontorium*, to the northward, is the *Stobarrum Promontorium* of *Ptolemy*. This was in the gulf of *Hippo*, and about a league from the city of that name [w]. *The promontories.*

OF the rivers which water *Numidia Propria*, the moſt remarkable are the following: 1. The *Ampſaga*, which ſeparated this region from that of the *Maſæſyli* or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. That river fell into the ſea about ſix leagues to the weſt of *Cullu*, and is at preſent named the *Wad el Kibber*, or *Great River*; which very well tallies with the ſignification of the word *Ampſaga*, *Apſab* importing in *Arabic*, *broad*, *The rivers.*

[t] ABULFED. & SHAW, ubi ſup. [u] PLIN. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup. [w] MELA, STRAB. & PLIN. PTOL. & SHAW, ubi ſup.

large, *ample*, &c. At present it appears to be made up of the following branches: The *Wed el Dsahab*, *River of Gold*, whose source is at *Kasbaite*, a heap of ruins sixty miles to the south-west; the rivulet of *Simmeelah*, in the same direction nearly with the *Wed el Dsahab*, but at a little more than forty miles distance; the *Wed el Hammam*, twenty miles to the west of *Constantina*; the *Wed el Sigan*, fifteen miles to the south-west from *Physgeah*; and the springs of *Hydrah*, about half that distance to the south-east. The modern geographers have generally conducted the channel of their *Ampsaga* towards the gulf of *Cull*; whereas the *Wed el Kibeer*, which truly answers to the *Ampsaga* of the antients, has no such direction, but falls into the sea six leagues to the westward. *Cellarius* seems to fix its source in that ridge of mountains, by *Ptolemy* called *Buzara*, upon the borders of the *Sahara*; which runs counter to the latest and most accurate observations. 2. The *Armua* of *Pliny*, the modern *Sei-bouse*, which emptied itself into the western extremity of the gulf of *Hippo*. This frequently lodges great quantities of roots and trunks of trees on the neighbouring shore, and, by reason of the low situation of the adjacent country, occasions frequent inundations. 3. The *Rubricatus* of *Ptolemy*, or *Ma fragg* of the *Algerines*, has its fountains on some hills, that lie at a little distance to the south of *Hippo*, its mouth being about four leagues easterly from that of the *Armua*. *Bochart* thinks, that the word *Rubricatus* is a *Latin* one, equivalent to the *Punic* or *Phœnician Sisara*, i. e. *Red* or *Purple*; and that both the river and lake so called deduced their name from that dye, the preparation of which the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* were so famous for; which notion seems to be confirmed by *Pliny* and *Dioscorides*, but particularly by *Herodotus*, who informs us, that the *Zygantes*, the antient inhabitants of this country, besmeared themselves with a liquid substance of that colour. We are told, that the mouth of this river is at present generally stopped up with a high bank of sand, raised by the north and north-east winds; so that it is seldom open, but after long and heavy rains. 4. The *Tusca*, called now the *Zaine*, the boundary of this province on the side of *Africa Propria*. It is said, that, in the language of the neighbouring *Kabyles*, or remains of the old *Africans*, the word *Zaine* denotes an *oak-tree*, and consequently approaches pretty near in signification to *Thabraca*, the *Phœnician* name of the frontier town upon this river above-mentioned. The *Zaine* has its

its ſource in the adjacent mountains; which is contrary to what *Leo* has advanced [x].

ALL the moſt noted fountains of this tract are reducible to two heads: 1. Thoſe to which the principal rivers owe their origin, that have been juſt touched upon. And, 2. That in the neighbourhood of *Zama*, whoſe waters, if drunk copiouſly, rendered the voice loud and ſonorous, according to *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This extraordinary quality, if *Bochart* may be credited, gave name both to the fountain and the town; for זמר *Zamar*, *cecinit*, *ſonorus fuit*, and in *Pihel* זמר *Zimmer*, *canere fecit*, *ſonorum eſſe fecit*, &c. plainly allude to it. The eliſion of the R was very common in oriental words adopted into other languages; as in *Vacca* from בקר *Bacar*, Μῦσα from מוסר *Muſar*, *Mappa*, from מכר *Mapar*, &c. The town of *Zamar* was ſituated near the ſource of the *Ampſaga*; and if we ſuppoſe it to have occupied the ſame ſpot of ground that *Marmol*'s *Zamor* or *Zamora* does, *Bochart*'s etymon will appear extremely probable. *Zama* was the city in which king *Juba* reſided, and was levelled with the ground by the *Romans*, according to *Strabo* [y]. *Fountains.*

THE only iſlands, as far as we can recollect, that were ever ſuppoſed to have been adjacent to this region, were, 1. The *Inſulæ Naxicæ* or *Pithecuſæ* of *Scylax*, oppoſite to *Collops Magnus*, which we apprehend rather to have belonged to *Europe* than *Africa*. 2. The iſland of *Tabraca* near the mouth of the *Zaine*, or *Tuſca*, now in the poſſeſſion of the *Genoeſe*, who pay an annual rent for it to the regency of *Algiers* [z].

THE principal curioſities of *Numidia Propria* are, 1. The large marſhy plain between *Blaid el Anev* and *Hippo*, with the river *Booemah*, which hath a bridge of *Roman* workmanſhip upon it. 2. The *Roman* inſcriptions found diſperſed all over this province. 3. The rich lead mines in the mountains of *Beni Boo-Taleb*. 4. The lukewarm ſprings, bubbling within a large ſquare baſon of *Roman* workmanſhip, which ſeem to be the *Aquæ Calidæ* or *Aquæ Tibilitanæ* of the antients, lying about ten leagues to the ſouth-weſt of *Hippo Regius*, and ſixteen to the eaſt of *Cirta* or *Conſtantina*. To which we *Curioſities of this province.*

[x] HERODOT. l. iv. PLIN. l. v. c. 3. & l. xxxv. c. 6. DIOSCORID. l. v. PTOL. ubi ſup. STRABO, MEL. SOLIN. ubi ſup. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24, & alib. J. LEO. AFRICAN. p. 287. Georg. Nubienſ. & SHAW paſſ. [y] PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2 VITRUV. l. viii. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. MARMOL. in deſcript. d'Afr. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. [z] SCYLAX CARYAND. peripl. edit Oxon. 1698. SHAW ubi ſup p 142. MARMOL. l. v. c. 54.

might

might add several others, did we not reserve them for the natural history of the kingdom of *Algiers* *.

The limits and extent of the Regio Mauſæſylorum.

THE limits and extent of the *Regio Mauſæſylorum* of *Strabo*, or the *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* of *Dio*, being that tract lying between the *Mulucha* and *Ampſaga*, is already aſcertained, by the determination of thoſe of *Numidia* in general, and *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, in particular. The length indeed of the former province much exceeded that of the latter; but its breadth was not conſiderable, being at a mean only about twenty leagues, except in that part, which bordered upon the confines of the *Maſſyli*. It lay betwixt 34° 30 and 37° N. lat. and extended from 1° 15 W. to 6° 30 E. long. from *London*, including that part of the country of the weſtern *Moors* bounded on the weſt by the *Mulloeia*, and on the eaſt by the mountains of *Trara*, the provinces of the kingdom of *Algiers* called *Tlemſan* and *Titterie*, together with the eaſtern part of that going by the name of *Conſtantina*. The principal cities (A), rivers, mountains, promontories, &c. we ſhall touch upon in the conciſeſt manner poſſible †.

Igilgili. *Igilgili*, a town of this tract, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of the *Ampſaga*, where, according to *Pliny*, *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony. *Ptolemy* places this town half a degree to the ſouthward of *Saldæ*, in a ſituation contrary to that of the modern *Jijel*, which lies twelve miles more to the northward, though Dr. *Shaw* takes this place to be the *Igilgili* of the antients. It is ſcarce to be doubted but this town was much older than the time of *Auguſtus*, becauſe the name *Igilgili*, which *Pliny* intimates it to have had in the *Auguſtan* age, was apparently not of *Roman* extraction ‡.

* PTOL. & SHAW ibid. † POLYB LIV. STRAB. MEL. PLIN APPIAN. PTOL DIO CASS. &c. ubi ſup. SHAW ibid.
‡ PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. & SHAW. ubi ſup.

(A) It is probable, that *Milline*, a town mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, muſt have been near the confines of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, or in that province; but the particular ſpot it occupied, we cannot take upon us to determine. It ſeems probable, from what we find hinted of it by *Diodorus*, to have been a place of conſiderable force, and ſituated in a populous country. As for the cities of *Tucar*, *Thelline*, *Machala*, *Sicca*, &c. they ſeem to have had their ſituation near the borders of *Africa Propria*. For a confirmation of this, we muſt refer our readers to a former note (1).

(1) *See before p.* 4, 5. *& not.* (Y), (Z).

Saldæ,

Saldæ, another place where *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* co- Saldæ.
lony. *Ptolemy* makes it to be two degrees diſtant from *Igilgili*, and the itinerary ninety-three miles; which is falſe, if, with the traveller above-mentioned, we admit the modern *Boujeiah* to be the antient *Saldæ*. As there is no manner of affinity betwixt the names *Boujeiah* and *Saldæ*, and the city, which goes by the former name, is but thirteen leagues from *Jijel*, the ſuppoſed *Igilgili* of the antients, perhaps our ſagacious readers will be inclined to believe them two diffe-
rent towns; which ſentiment we own ourſelves diſpoſed to entertain [b].

Ruſazus, another *Auguſtan* colony weſt of *Saldæ*, taken Ruſazus.
notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and the itinerary. We remember not this place to be famous in hiſtory for any remarkable tranſaction that happened in or near it [c].

Ruſucurium, a city in the neighbourhood of the former, Ruſucu-
that was highly diſtinguiſhed by the emperor *Claudius*, who rium.
conferred great honours upon it, as we are informed by *Pliny* [d].

Ruſconium, another *Roman* colony, that owed its origin Ruſconi-
to *Auguſtus*, ſeated near the mouth of the *Serbes* or *Serbetes*. um.
Ptolemy calls it *Ruſtonium*; but we apprehend, that he ought to be corrected by *Pliny*. In the itinerary we find it named *Ruſgunia Colonia*. It has been imagined, that a ſmall caſtle on cape *Temendfuſe* or *Metafus*, fifteen miles eaſt of *Algiers*, in ſituation anſwers pretty nearly to it; becauſe *Icoſium*, which is ſuppoſed to have correſponded with the preſent *Algiers*, and *Raſconium* had the ſame diſtance, and were placed in the ſame direction, according to the itinerary. If this be admitted, *Ruſconium* had a *Cothon*, ſome traces of which are ſtill remaining; and the modern *Dellys* occupies the very ſpot of ground *Ruſucurium* ſtood upon. The three towns laſt-mentioned, from their names, ſeem to have been originally *Libyan* or *Phœnician* [e].

Icoſium, whoſe ſituation has juſt been determined, may Icoſium.
ſeem to have taken up the ſpace on which *Algiers* was afterwards built, both from the conſideration already offered, and from ſome *Roman* inſcriptions found in this laſt city, taken notice of by *Cramaye* [f].

Tipaſa, a *Roman* colony, mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the Tipaſa.
itinerary: but the town was probably of higher antiquity than

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Itinerar. ANTONIN, PLIN. PTOL. Shaw, ubi ſup. & p. 53. [f] PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi ſup. GRAM. Afr illuſt. l. vii. c. 1. Geogr. Nubienſ. p 82 J LEO. AFRICAN. p. 204.

the conqueſt of *Numidia* by the *Romans*. It was forty-ſeven miles from *Icoſium*, in a north-eaſt direction; which is an additional argument in favour of *Algiers*'s being the antient *Icoſium*, and likewiſe evinces, that the preſent *Tefeſſad* is the *Tipaſa* of the old geography [g].

Jol. THE next city of conſequence on the ſea-coaſt, to the weſtward, was *Jol*, the ſeat of the younger *Juba*, who, out of the great veneration he had for *Auguſtus*, gave it the name of *Cæſarea*, according to *Eutropius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. That it had a port, and an iſland lying in the mouth of it, we are aſſured by *Strabo*; which gives us good grounds to ſuppoſe, that the modern *Sherſhell* anſwers to the *Jol* or *Julia Cæſarea* of the antients. The large circuit, and ſumptuous remains of an old city at *Sherſhell*, together with its ſituation, and many other concurring circumſtances, ſerve likewiſe to render extremely probable ſuch a ſuppoſition. For a full and ample deſcription of the port or *Cothon*, and all other particulars of note relating to *Sherſhell*, ſome of which were doubtleſs applicable to the *Numidian Jol*, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the obſervations of the ingenious traveller ſo frequently cited. We ſhall only add, that a colony was ſettled here by the emperor *Claudius*; and that *Bochart* affirms the word *Jol*, in the original languages, to ſignify *high* or *lofty*; which agrees with the ſituation of the place, and conſequently proves, that it was either founded by the *Orientals*, or by ſome of their deſcendants *.

Canucius. THE *Canucius* of *Ptolemy*, *Gunugi* of *Pliny*, and *Gunugus* of the itinerary, anſwering to the *Breſk* of the *Algerines*, ſtood about nine miles to the weſtward from *Jol*. Though this place was formerly famous, on account of a *Roman* colony planted in it by *Auguſtus*, it is now uninhabited, the violences committed by the neighbouring *Kabyles* not permitting people of any nation to make a ſettlement in it [h].

Cartenna. *Cartenna*, a very conſiderable city, ſituated, as ſhould ſeem, near the mouth of the river *Cartennus*, where *Auguſtus* ſettled the ſoldiers of the ſecond legion. *Ptolemy* placed it ſome leagues more weſterly; but the poſition he aſſigns many of his towns is ſo extremely erroneous, that he deſerves no credit, when any ſhadow of an argument can be offered againſt him. Now. *Cartenna*, in the *Phœnician* language, ſignified *the city of* Tenna; and we find a pro-

[g] PTOL. PLIN. Itinerar. SHAW, &c. ubi ſup. * STRAB. l. xvii p 571. PLIN l. v. c 2. Et PTOL. l. vii. c 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW, ubi ſup. c 3.

montory

montory ſome leagues to the eaſtward, at this day called the cape of *Tennes*, and a town named *Tnis* or *Tennis*, not far diſtant from it. It was not unuſual amongſt the moſt antient founders of cities to build them upon the banks of rivers, and to give thoſe rivers the names of the new-built towns. Of this the city and river of *Camicus* in *Sicily*, to omit many others that might be produced, is a ſufficient proof. That *Tenna*, *Tennes*, or *Tanas*, was a local proper name in *Numidia*, is not only evident from the cape above-mentioned, but from the *Tanas*, which was a river of this country, though its courſe cannot, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, be aſcertained. Whether *Tenna* or *Tennis* was the proper name of the founder, or derived from the nature of the ſoil, as the learned traveller we are ſo much obliged to ſeems to inſinuate, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. However, we hope that ingenious gentleman will not take it amiſs, if we diſſent from him, when he derives *Tanis*, the name of a moſt antient and illuſtrious city of *Egypt*, from תּיִן *tin*, *clay*, and makes this city to have been the ſame with *Peluſium*; for *Tanis*, in *Hebrew* letters, is צֹעַן *Tzaan*, or *Zoan*, and the word itſelf *Egyptian*, whoſe ſignification is intirely unknown. As for the city, it was, according to the itinerary of *Antoninus*, at leaſt forty-four *Roman* miles from *Peluſium*, and conſequently muſt have been different from it. We have deduced the word *Carteina* from the *Phœnician* language, becauſe it appears from *Procopius* and *Euſebius*, not to mention other writers, that the *Phœnicians* ſent colonies into this country in the moſt early times [i].

ON the weſtern banks of the *Carteinus*, the antients place *Arſenaria*, a town where, if *Pliny* may be credited, a *Latin* colony was planted under ſome of the firſt *Roman* emperors. As the laſt-mentioned author makes it to be three *Roman* miles from the ſea, it is probable the modern *Arzew* anſwers to it [k]. Arſenaria.

THE next maritime town of note, in a weſtern direction, is the *Quiza Xenitana*, *Quiza Colonia*, or *Quiza Municipium*, of *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and the itinerary. Dr. *Shaw* will have *Garza* to be the antient *Quiza*; which, as the ſituation aſſigned this laſt was immediately after the *Portus Magnus*, is not improbable [l]. Quiza.

[h] PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi ſup. [i] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 93. Pſal. lxxviii. 12. EUSEB. chron. p. 11. PROCOP. de bell. Vand l ii. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 29. HYDE in Peruſ. p. 23. SHAW, p. 30. [k] PLIN. ubi ſup. & SHAW, p. 23. [l] MEL. PLIN. PTOL. Itinerar. SHAW, ubi ſup.

Siga. *Siga*, an antient city of great repute, ſituated at the mouth of an harbour, and upon a river of the ſame name. According to *Pliny*, *Syphax*'s palace was here, which, together with the city itſelf, was demoliſhed in the time of *Strabo*. However, it was afterwards rebuilt, and a colony ſettled there, as we are informed by *Ptolemy*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that the *Tafna* anſwers to the river, and *Tackumbreet* to the town of *Siga*. It appears from *Scylax*, that both the city and river were known in his time, the former of which he calls *Sigum*. It was the laſt maritime place of eminence of this region, being at no great diſtance from the *Malva*, which our learned traveller has, with a good appearance of truth, endeavoured to prove the ſame river with the *Molochath* and *Mulucha* [m].

Sitifi *and* Satafi. THE firſt mediterranean cities worthy our notice, to the weſt of the *Ampſaga*, were *Sitifi* and *Sataſi*, ſixteen miles from one another. For a further account of which, our readers may have recourſe to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient writers. By their names, they ſeem to have been founded by the *Phœnicians* [n].

Auzia. *Auzia* or *Auzea*, a city of great antiquity, if, with *Menander Epheſus*, we ſuppoſe it to be the *African* city of that name founded by *Ithobaal* king of *Tyre*. *Tacitus* tells us, that it was built in a ſmall plain, ſurrounded on all ſides with barren foreſts of a vaſt extent. The ruins of this city are called by the neighbouring *Arabs Sour Guſlan*, *the walls of the antelope*, a great part whereof, flanked at proper diſtances with little ſquare towers, is ſtill remaining [o].

Tubuſuptus. *Tubuſuptus* or *Tubuptus*, a town mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which *Lipſius* takes to be the *Thubuſcus* beſieged by *Tacfarinas*, according to *Tacitus*. From what *Marcellinus* has hinted, it ſeems to have been ſituated near the *Mons Ferratus* [p].

Nabalurum, *&c.* As *Nabalurum*, *Timici*, *Uſſara*, *Tazagad*, *Auſum*, *Rebonda*, *Zaratha*, *Cbizaia*, *Lamiaa*, *Talama*, *Phloryia*, and many other towns, together with every thing relating to them, are long ſince buried in oblivion, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence,

[m] SCYLAX CARYAND. SYRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. SHAW, p. 10, 20, 21. [n] PTOL. ubi ſup. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxviii. ſub fin. & l. xxix. c. 23. D. AUGUST. epiſt. [illegible] [o] TACIT. annal. l. iv. JOSEPH antiq Jud. l. viii. c. 7. PROCOP. ubi ſup. c. 10. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24. SHAW, p. 81. [p] PLIN. & POLYB. ubi ſup. TACIT. an. iv. c. 24. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxix. c. 5. JUST. LIPS. in TACIT. ubi ſup.

and

and proceed to the principal promontories, mountains, rivers, &c. of this province, which it will be neceſſary for our readers to have a general idea of, in order to underſtand thoſe accounts of the tranſactions happening in it, that have been tranſmitted down to us by the antient hiſtorians [q].

The promontories of this province.

THE firſt promontories, that preſent themſelves to our view, are the *Audus* and *Vabar* of *Ptolemy*. The *Aſhounemonker* of the *Algerines* ſeems to anſwer to *Vabar*, having ſome traces of old ruins ſtill remaining upon it. 2. The *Promontorium Apollinis* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the *Nackos* of the *Moors*, and cape *Tennes* of the modern geographers. It deduces its name *Nackos*, i. e. *The bell*, from the figure of the grotto in the lower part of it, and is in almoſt 2° E. long. from *London*. 3. The *Promontorium Magnum* of *Ptolemy* was a large and conſpicuous cape near 1° E. of the *Malva* or *Mulucha*. This is at preſent called by ſailors *Cape Hone*, and by the inhabitants *Ras Hunneine* and *Mellack*. It lies about four leagues to the north-eaſt of *Twunt*, and is a continuation of the mountains of *Trara* [r].

The mountains.

AMONGST the mountains of note in the *Numidia Maſſæſylorum* may be ranked that high knot of eminencies, which at preſent diſtinguiſh themſelves to the ſouthward of the plains of *Sudratach*, being probably the beginning of that chain of mountains, called by the antients mount *Atlas*. 2. The *Zalacus* of *Ptolemy*, which ſeems to have had the ſame poſition as the preſent mount *Wannaſhreeſe*. 3. Mount *Malethubalus*, upon the frontiers of *Gætulia*. This is in the *Sahara*, and, if we remember right, has not its modern name brought into *Europe*. 4. The *Durdus* of *Ptolemy*, lying between the mountains of *El Callah* and *Trara*. 5. The *Mons Phuræſus*, immediately ſucceeding *Malethubalus*. 6. The *Montes Chalcorychii*, near the country of the antient *Herpiditani*, between mount *Durdus* and the *Malva* or *Mulcuha* [s].

The rivers.

THE moſt remarkable rivers taken notice of by the antients were, 1. The *Audus*, placed by *Ptolemy* at the bottom of the *Sinus Numidicus*, no traces of which are now to be ſeen. 2. The *Siſaris*, called at preſent by the *Moors* and *Algerines* the *Manſoureah*, whoſe water was probably of a red colour in antient times; for that the name imports as has been already obſerved. 3. The *Niſſava*, known at this day by the name of the river of *Boujeiah*, becauſe it empties itſelf into the ſea a little to the eaſtward of that city. It conſiſts of a number of rivulets, falling into it from different

[q] PLIN. Prol. Itinerar. &c. SHAW paſſ. [r] Idem ibid. [r] PLIN Prol. &c. ubi ſup.

directions, and has its ſource at *Jibbel Deera*, ſeventy miles up into the country to the W. S. W. 4. The *Serbetis*, now the *Yſſer*, a large river, whoſe mouth is about eight leagues from *Temendfuſe*, and lieth ſomething nearer *Ruſgunia* than *Ruſuccuræ*. We are told, that its ſources are from the mountainous diſtrict to the S. S. W. that the weſtermoſt branch of it is called *Shurffa*, after the name of the neighbouring *Arabs*; and the other *Wed el Zeitoune*, i. e. *The river of olives*, from the vaſt quantity of that fruit produced in the adjacent territory. 5. The *Savus*, a river falling into the ſea near *Pliny*'s *Icoſion*, which our learned traveller takes to have had the ſame ſituation as the *Algiers* of the moderns. If this be admitted the *Hameeſe* bids faireſt for the antient *Savus*, eſpecially as *Leo* calls this very river *Sefsaia*, a word nearly approaching to *Savus*. 6. The *Chinalaph* of *Ptolemy* is the moſt noted river of the *Algerines* who call it *Shelliff*. It ariſeth in the *Subara*, at the diſtance of eighty miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The fountains which form its ſource, from their number and contiguity, are known amongſt the *Arabs* by the name *Sebbienne Aine*, or *Sebaoun Aioun*, *The ſeventy fountains*. A minute deſcription of this river our readers will find in a proper place. 7. The *Cartennus*, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the ſtream formed by the *Sikke* and the *Habrah* anſwers. *Marmol* calls a river in this ſituation *Cirat*; which may give ſome countenance to the aforeſaid ſuppoſition. 8. The *Flumen Salſum*, at preſent called the *Wed el Mailah*, is a ſtream ſomething leſs than the *Cherwell*, as it paſſeth by *Oxford*. 9. *Aſſara*, a river mentioned by *Ptolemy*, which may poſſibly be the ſame with the *Iſſer* of *Abulfeda*. The *Iſſer* is one of the four branches, that form the *Tafna*, which our readers may find deſcribed in that curious piece we have ſo often referred them to [t].

The Iſlands adjacent to it.

The only iſlands that deſerve our attention are, 1. The *Acra* of *Scylax*, an iſland, that forms the modern port of *Harſigoone*, under which veſſels of the greateſt burden may lie in the utmoſt ſafety. 2. The *Tres Inſulæ* of *Antoninus*, ſituated about ten miles from the *Mulucha*, to the north-weſt of that river [u].

Its curioſities.

The chief curioſities worthy of notice are: 1. The ruins of a *Roman* city, called at preſent *Caſſir*, among the *Beni Ghobbers*, to the northward of *Jibbel Afroone*; upon the mountains adjacent to which the *Algerines* frequently dig up large pipes of lead, ſuppoſed to have been formerly em-

[t] Idem ibid & J. Leo African. p. 205. [u] Scylax Caryand. Itinerar. Antonin, & Shaw, ubi ſup.

ployed

ployed in conveying the excellent water thoſe parts produced to *Saldæ*. 2. The rivulet of ſalt-water, which glides through the valley *Dammer Cappy*, i. e. *The iron gate*. 3. The large ſalt-pits, five miles to the ſouthward of *Arzew*. 4. One of the fountains of the *Habrah* at *Niſrag*, where the water burſts out with a ſurpriſing noiſe and rapidity; as alſo the hot bath, and ſeveral antient ciſterns upon a branch of the *Habrah*, when it arrives within eight leagues of the ſea. 5. *Wanaſhreeſe*, a high rugged mountain, generaliy covered with ſnow, and remarkable for its mines of lead-ore, many ſleaks and ſparks of which being brought down by the river *Wed-el-Fuddah*, and left upon the banks of it expoſed to the ſun, gave occaſion to the name *Wanaſhreeſe*. 6. The *Jibbel Miniſs*, an entire mountain of ſalt. 7. The *Aquæ Calidæ Colonia* of the antients, the *Hammam* or *Bath* of *Mereega* of the moderns. All of which, with many others that we cannot touch upon here, will be accurately deſcribed in that branch of the modern hiſtory, to which they properly belong[w].

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, &c. *of the* Numidians.

The antiquity of the Numidians.

ALL the authors, famous for their reſearches into antiquity, agree, that the tract extending from the iſthmus of *Suez* to the lake *Tritonis*, was chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of *Miſraim*; and that the poſterity of his brother *Put*, or *Phut*, ſpread themſelves over all the region betwixt that lake and the *Atlantic* ocean. It is certain *Herodotus* gives great countenance to this notion; for he tells us, that the *Libyan Nomades*, whoſe territories, to the weſt, were bounded by the *Triton*, agreed in their cuſtoms and manners with the *Egyptians*; but that the *Africans*, from that river to the *Atlantic* ocean, differed almoſt in all points from them. *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Putea* near *Adrumetum*; and *Pliny* a river of *Mauritania Tingitana*, known by the name of *Fut* or *Phut*; which ſeems to confirm the above-mentioned ſuppoſition. The diſtrict adjacent to this river we find mentioned by ſome authors under the appellation of *Regio Phutenſis*; which plainly alludes to the name *Phut*. That word

[w] Geogr. Nubienſ. J. LEO AFRICAN. & SHAW, paſſ.

ſignifies

ſignifies *ſcattered* or *diſperſed*; which very well agrees with what we find related of the *Numidians* by *Mela* and *Strabo*; ſo that we may, without any ſcruple, admit the *Aborigines* of this country to have been the deſcendants of *Phut*. *Aldrete*, *Gaſpar Varreiro*, and others, think, that ſome remains of *Phut* are ſtill diſcernible in the modern *Fez*; which notion, after a peruſal of thoſe writers, our readers will perhaps think proper to eſpouſe. However, it appears from *Euſebius*, *Procopius*, St. *Auſtin*, and others, that the *Aborigines* were not the only antient inhabitants of *Numidia*, ſince the *Phœnicians*, in almoſt the earlieſt ages, ſent colonies thither. But though both theſe nations deſcended from *Ham*, they yet differed in many particulars, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve [a].

Their government.

Polybius, as has been already obſerved, informs us, that the *Carthaginians* once poſſeſſed all that part of *Africa*, extending from the confines of *Cyrenaica* to the pillars of *Hercules*; but this, we apprehend, is to be underſtood of the ſea-coaſt of that vaſt tract: for it ſufficiently appears from *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and other antient hiſtorians, that the interior *Numidia*, at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, was independent on the *Carthaginians*. It is true, the *Numidians* always aſſiſted the *Carthaginians* in their wars; but moſt of theſe forces were upon the footing of mercenaries, or of auxiliary troops, ſent in purſuance of ſolemn engagements entered into by the princes to whom they belonged. This might be proved by a great number of paſſages drawn from the authors juſt mentioned, were it in any manner neceſſary. The *Carthaginian* form of government therefore undoubtedly prevailed in every part of *Numidia* ſubject to the ſtate of *Carthage*, though, in others, abſolute monarchy took place. No one can doubt of this, who conſiders, that not only the kingdom of *Antæus*, including this country, as well as *Mauritania Tingitana*, and conſequently that of his conqueror *Hercules*, was deſpotic, but likewiſe that *Iarbas*, *Gala* (B), *Syphax*

[a] Herodot. l. iv. c. 186, 187. Ptol. l. iv. c. 1. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Euseb. de loc. Hieron. in tradit. Hebr. Eustath. in Hex. Isid. in orig. l. ix. c. 2. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 8. Strab. l. ii. Geneſ. x. 6. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Bernard Aldret. var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. l. iii. c. 6. p. 358. Gaspar. Varreiro in lib. de Ophir. Euseb. chron. p. 11. Procop. ubi ſup. D. Auguſt. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub init. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 427.

(B) We are informed by *Appian*, that there were many *reguli*, or

phax, *Maſiniſſa*, and other later princes, ruled here with an unlimited ſway. The old eaſtern governments alſo, from whence that of *Numidia* was derived, put the point here inſiſted upon beyond diſpute. As to the interior of this government, or the particular political maxims, that formed the baſis of it, we are intirely in the dark, the moſt authentic antient hiſtorians not ſupplying us with the leaſt hint relative thereto [b].

Laws. WHETHER or no any of the independent princes of *Numidia* were legiſlators, or, if ſo, what particular laws they enacted for the good of their ſubjects, hiſtory informs us not. The *Carthaginian* laws had, without doubt, their proper force amongſt all the *Numidians* under the dominion of *Carthage*. Could *Iſidore* be relied upon, ſome laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians* might poſſibly have been obſerved in ſeveral diſtricts of this country, ſince he ſeems to intimate, that thoſe nations, in antient times, planted a colony in *Numidia*, at leaſt, that there was an intercourſe betwixt them and the *Numidians*. *Salluſt* likewiſe more than inſinuates the ſame thing, ſince he affirms, that the *Perſians* ſailed hither before the *Phœnicians*, when, intermixing with the *Gætulians*, they, in conjunction with that people, formed the *Numidian* nation. To which that author ſubjoins, that neither being able to find any materials here for building of houſes, nor to carry on any commerce with the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of their different languages, and the great ſea betwixt them, the *Perſians* built them huts, tents, or cottages, of the bottoms of their ſhips inverted, which they removed from place to place; and that, from this circumſtance, they called themſelves *Numidæ*, a word which, in the *Perſic* tongue, alluded thereto. But this relation being inconſiſtent with itſelf, and the notion

[b] POLYB. LIV. DIOD. SIC. SALLUST. FLOR. APPIAN. JUSTIN. VIRG. SERV. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. EUTROPT OROS. ZONAR. CERDEN. aliiq; quamplurim. paſſ. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 425. & alib. paſſ.

or heads of tribes, in the country of the *Maſæſyli*, not much unlike the *emirs* of the preſent *Arabs*, who enjoyed a ſort of ſovereignty over their reſpective tribes, but yet acknowledged *Syphax* for their chief. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Syphax*'s government, with reſpect to theſe princes, was deſpotic, otherwiſe he could not have brought ſuch numerous armies into the field. What has here been obſerved of *Syphax*, was undoubtedly true of the other kings of the *Maſæſyli*, as well as thoſe of the *Maſſyli* (2).

(2) *Appian in Libyc. c. 6. p. c. 10. edit. Tol. Amſt.* 1670.

couched

couched therein intirely repugnant to the whole ſtream, both of ſacred and prophane antiquity, our readers will not ſcruple to reject it c.

Religion. As the firſt *Numidians*, in common with all the other *Indigenæ* of that vaſt tract between the borders of *Egypt* and the *Atlantic* ocean, were called *Libyans*, we may infer from *Herodotus*, that the principal gods they ſacrificed to, were the *Sun* and *Moon*. This is a convincing proof of their high antiquity, as clearly evincing, that the migration of the firſt colony, which peopled this country, preceded the introduction of image-worſhip into the pagan world. It is likewiſe an argument, that this colony did not conſiſt of *Perſians*, ſince the ſun only was their principal deity. Some of theſe *Numidians* alſo might probably worſhip *Triton*, *Minerva*, and *Neptune* (C), eſpecially thoſe near the confines of *Africa Propria*, as the ſame author ſeems to ſuggeſt. That part of this nation ſubject to *Carthage*, it is reaſonable to preſume, paid divine honours to the *Phœnician* and *Greek* deities, that were the objects of the *Carthaginian* worſhip, of which we have already given ſo full and ample an account. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, was an *Egyptian* deity worſhipped at *Memphis*; but whether or no the *Numidians* held him in any veneration, or indeed had any knowledge of him, we muſt leave others to decide d.

Language. From what has been juſt offered, our readers will allow it probable, that *Miſraim* and *Phut*, with their deſcendants, moved together into *Africa*; and that their poſterity inhabited contiguous regions; nay, if any credit may be given to *Herodotus*, and other authors of the beſt repute, they agreed, for many ages, in moſt particulars. *Herodotus* ſeems to in-

c Isidor in orig. l. ix. c. 2. Sallust. in Jugurth. Vide & Bernard. Aldret, en var antiguedad de Eſpan. &c. l. iii. c. 17. p. 387, 388. d Herodot l. iv. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 4 6. &ſeq. Vide etiam Herodot. l. ii. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & l. ii. c. 3.

(C) Father *Delrio* thinks, that the *Nephthuim* of *Moſes* was either the great anceſtor, or nation, of the *Numidians*. If ſo, it is very poſſible, that *Neptune*, one of the great gods of *Africa*, might have deduced his name from thence. This notion ſeems to be countenanced by St. *Jerom*, who reads it *Neptuim*; which is almoſt intirely the ſame word with *Neptunus*, after the rejection of the *Latin* termination US. *Aldrete*, a perſon of moſt profound erudition, comes into this opinion (3).

(3) *P. Delrio apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 6. ut & ipſe Aldret. ibid.*

timate,

Septentrio

Occidens

Meridies

Æquinoctialis Circulus sive Æquator

LIBYA INTERIOR, GARAMANTUM, et MELANOGÆTULORUM REGIO, AETHIOPIA SUB AEGYPTO, AETHIOPIA INTERIOR &c.

Incognita Ptolemæo

GAETULIA

Melanogætuli

Natabres

Nigritæ

Cocciani

Churitæ

Orphes

Matites

Achamæ

Perorsi

Tarualtæ

Derbici

Mimaci

Congæ

Aronceæ

Dolopes

Asfacuri

Thala

Daradæ

Elephantophagi

Cadupi seu Duppi

Daucitæ Cabitæ

Baccalitæ

Lynxamatæ

Garamantes

Libya interior

Æthiopia sub Ægypto

Æthiopia interior

ARABIA FELICIS PARS

Sinus Arabicus

Mare Rubrum

Troglodytæ

Struthophagi Pechini

Ammonitæ

Mesopotamia

Babylonia

Atlas major

Sinus Hesperius

Ichthyophagi Æthiopes

Hesperi cornu

Deorum currus

Arsaltis Mons

Cephas Mons

Thala Mons

Atlantes

Garamantes

Gir fl.

Nigir fl.

Nigris fl.

Daradus fl.

Bubrida

Stachiræ

Perphojius Portus

Thamondacana

Tucabor

Tagapola M.

Daphthitæ

Melanogætuli

Gir metrop.

Nigira metropolis

Garama metropolis

Libya p.

Alitam

Dudum

Thuppa

Rubrum

Artagira

Cirgiris M.

Bedrum

Capsa

Thabuthes

Anagnath

Gelanus

Julice

Buthurus

Tacrambada

Dolopes

Thala

Asfacuri

Mimaci

Aronceæ

Daradæ

Cadupi seu Duppi

Elephantophagi

Arsaltis Mons

Arangas M.

Gapachi S.

Nubæ Montes

Nubæ

Meroe

Napata

Axumitæ

Axumitæ

Struthophagi Pechini

Garbata M.

Calce

Mandæ

Sesara

Mare Rubrum

timate, that in his time, or at leaſt not long before it, the people, inhabiting that tract afterwards called *Numidia*, went by the general name of *Libyans*; and that the *Numidians* were then poſſeſſed of the country ſituate between the frontiers of *Egypt* and the river *Triton*, ſince he tells us, that the nation occupying that region were called *Libyan Namades*, in contradiſtinction to the *Libyans*, who extended themſelves from thence to the weſtward, as far as the *Atlantic* ocean. This obſervation we remember not to have been made by any other author. However, it ſeems to be of conſiderable conſequence; for it bids fair to prove, that the kingdoms of the *Maſſyli* and *Maſæſyli*, though of a very early date, were not called *Numidia*, till after, or at leaſt a little before, the time of *Herodotus*; and that this name was occaſioned by an irruption of a great body of the *Libyan Namades* into the countries to the weſtward of the *Triton* about the period above-mentioned. In confirmation of this notion, it may be obſerved, that no mention is made of the *Numidians* by any of the *Greek* or *Roman* hiſtorians, till about the time of *Herodotus*; which is a preſumptive argument, that they made no conſiderable figure, and conſequently did not poſſeſs territories of ſo large an extent then as afterwards. Though therefore it can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Numidia Propria* and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* were at firſt peopled by *Phut*'s deſcendants, it is probable, that neither of thoſe provinces were called *Numidia* till the age of *Herodotus*, or at leaſt not long before that age, when the *Libyan Nomades*, or *Numidians*, paſſed into them. However, in conformity to what has been aſſerted above, we muſt remind our readers, that the *Phœnicians*, in the moſt early ages, and after them the *Carthaginians*, planted colonies here. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Strabo*, by intimating, that the *Numidians* of their time agreed in ſome points with the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, add ſome weight to the hypotheſis we have juſt offered to the conſideration of the learned. From all which particulars we may conclude, that the languages ſpoken in *Numidia* were, 1. That of the *Libyan Nomades*, which, from many authors, appears to have been nearly related to the old *Egyptian*. 2. The *Carthaginian*. 3. The *Phœnician*. And 4. That of *Phut*'s immediate deſcendants, who at firſt came there, which, in ſome points, might have differed from all the reſt. That the tongue prevailing, in part of *Numidia* at leaſt, was different from the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian*, is evident from *Salluſt*, and others. However barbarous the *Numidians* might have been, ſome of them uſed letters, not very unlike

thoſe that made up the *Punic* alphabet, as appears from the legends of ſeveral antient *Numidian* coins [c] (D).

With regard to the cuſtoms of the *Numidians*, our readers will neither expect nor deſire us to be prolix on that head: neither the limits we have preſcribed ourſelves, nor the materials left us by the antients, will permit this. In order, therefore to form a general idea of theſe cuſtoms, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the principal of them were the following:

The Numidians *were divided into tribes, &c.*

1. The *Numidians* were divided into tribes, nomes, cantons, or hordes, in the ſame manner as the *Arabes Scenitæ*, and not very unlike the preſent *Tartars*; excepting that the latter form their villages, or encampments, of carts, like their anceſtors the antient *Scythians*; whereas the circular *douwars* of the *Numidians* were compoſed of their *mapalia*, with which the *hhymas*, or tents, of the modern *Bedoweens* nearly correſpond. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and others, put this point beyond diſpute. The *mapalia*, or *Numidian* tents, were ſecured from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a covering only of ſuch hair-cloth as our coal-ſacks are made of. They were all of the ſame form, oblong, reſembling the inverted bottom of a ſhip, in conformity to the deſcription *Salluſt* has given us of them. A whole tribe or horde encamped together, and, having conſumed all the produce of one fruitful ſpot, removed from thence to another, as is the cuſtom of their poſterity the *Bedoweens* at this day. As this part of *Africa* conſiſted of dry and barren ſandy deſerts, interſperſed with fruitful ſpots (for which reaſon *Strabo* compares it to a leopard's ſkin), ſuch a way of life was abſo-

[c] Herodot. l iv. Plin. l. v. c. 3. Solin. c. 26. Strab. l. ii. & l. xvii. Sallust. in Jugurth. Vide etiam Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 33. Bernard. Aldret. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 26. Spon. miſcel. erudit. antiq. fol. Lugd. 1685. p. 146. Beg. theſ. Brand. vol. i. Val. Max. l. c. i. c. i. Herodot. l. i. & l. iv. Phil. Jud. de vit. Moſ. l. i. Liban. progym.

(D) This likewiſe appears from the letter *Bomilcar* wrote to *Nabdalſa*, or *Nabadal'a*, a *Numidian* nobleman of the firſt rank; which being delivered into the hands of *Jugurtha*, occaſioned the death of *Bomilcar*, and many others, as we learn from *Salluſt*. What we have here advanced, is likewiſe countenanced by *Livy*, and other authors (4).

(4) *Salluſt. in Jugurth. c. 73, 74. Liv aliiq; ſcript apud D. Bernard. Aldret en var. antiguedad. de Eſpan. Africa, y otr. provinc. l. iii. c. 33. p. 407. Vide & Val. Max. l. i. c. 1.*

lute-

lutely neceſſary for thoſe who did not live in cities. Hence it appears, in conjunction with what we have obſerved of their language, that *nome*, agreeable to what we find advanced by *Diodorus Siculus*, St. *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Euſebius*, and others, muſt have been either an *Egyptian* or *Syriac* word, ſignifying *part*, *portion*, *diviſion*, &c. and not of *Greek* extraction, as ſome abſurdly pretend; to which add ידא *ida* or *yeda*, *place*, *limits*, *country*, &c. and the name *Numidia* is formed in a much more rational and appoſite manner, than it is poſſible for it to be upon the principles of thoſe perſons, who ſuppoſe it deduced from a language intirely unknown to the *Numidians* [f].

2. THOSE *Numidians* who lived in fixed habitations, for the moſt part dwelt in ſmall cottages, raiſed either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or built out of ſome ſuch ſlight materials, in the ſame manner as the *gurbies* of the *Kabyles* are erected at this day. The roofs were undoubtedly covered with ſtraw or turf, ſupported by reeds or branches of trees, as thoſe of the *gurbies* are. The *Numidians*, at leaſt thoſe of *Phœnician* extraction, called theſe habitations *magaria*, an explication of which word has been already given. The very learned and accurate Dr. *Shaw* informs us, that the towns or villages formed of theſe huts, are at preſent built upon eminences, and called by the *Kabyles*, whoinhabit them, *daſhkras* [g]. *Some of them lived in ſmall huts or cottages, called* magaria

3. THE *Numidians* rode without ſaddles, and many of them without bridles, whence *Virgil* calls them *Numidæ infræni*. As their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry, and they were inured to the management of horſes from their infancy, they found this no difficult thing. The cuſtom we are now upon ſuggeſts to us the meaning of the word *Metagonium* (E), the proper name of a pro- *They rode without bridles.*

[f] POMP. MEL. c. 9 STRAB. l. xvii. VIRG. georg. iii. PLIN. & SOLIN. ubi ſup. DIONYS. Af. ver. 184. LUCAN paſſ. Vide etiam FEST. AVIEN. ver. 277. SAL. in Jugurth. DIOD. Sic l. i. p. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. iii. p. 57. EPIPHAN. & CYRIL. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 24. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. ר' & alib. ALDRET. ubi ſup. l. iii c. 17. & SHAW, ubi ſup. p. 286—291.

[g] VIRG. Æn. i. & SERV. in loc. SALLUST. ubi ſup. ISIDOR. orig. l. xv. c. 22. PLIN. SOLIN. ubi ſup. ALDRET. ubi ſup l. ii. c. 2. SHAW. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol xvi p. 421, (G). Vide & FEST. CHARIS. & SIL. ITAL. l. ii.

(E) It appears from *Martial* and *Lucan*, that the cuſtom of riding without bridles prevailed more amongſt the *Maſſyli* than the *Maſeſyli*. Now, the country of the *Maſſyli* was the *Terra Metagonitis*, as has been already obſerved; which not a little ſupports the etymon we would give of *Metagonium* (F).

(F) *Martial* l. ix *Lucan* l. iv.

montory, as likewise of the country of the *Massyli*, as has been observed above. It is undoubtedly equivalent to מתג יניד *meteg ionihh*, or *meteg ioniahh*, *one that lays aside*, or *that hath laid aside, his bridle*. This is a much more natural etymology, than any that can be drawn from the *Greek* tongue [h].

They had many wives, concubines, &c.

4. ACCORDING to *Strabo*, they had many wives, concubines, &c. and consequently many children, as the *Orientals* had, tho', in other respects, they were very temperate and abstemious. Their manner of fighting and encamping we have already taken notice of; and therefore to touch upon that head here, would be intirely superfluous [i].

The king's brother succeeded to the crown in Numidia.

5. THE king's next brother, not his eldest son, succeeded him in *Numidia*, particularly in the country of the *Massyli*, This we learn from *Livy*, who, in proof of what he asserts, tells us, that *Gala*, the father of *Masinissa*, was succeeded by his next brother *Desalces* [k].

The diet of the Numidians.

6. THEIR diet consisted chiefly of herbs, grain, pulse, water, &c. and they abstained almost intirely from wine; flesh was sometimes, though not so frequently, used. To this, as well as the moderate degrees of heat and cold of their climate in summer and winter, *Appian* seems to attribute their long lives, and the large share of health they enjoyed. In conformity to nature and experience, that author assures us, that the summers in *Numidia* were not near so hot as in *India* and *Ethiopia* [l].

They use only a whip or rod on horseback.

7. THE *Numidians*, particularly the *Massyli*, did not only ride without saddles and bridles, but likewise all sorts of accoutrements, as we learn from what *Appian* relates of *Masinissa*, as well as from many other authors. This they did, in order to rush upon their enemies, or prey, with the greater force and fierceness. However, they made use of a rod or whip, with which they eaſily managed their horses, though in the midst of the hottest engagements [m].

Are clad in long garments.

8. MANY of the poorer sort of people in *Numidia* went almost naked; but the *Numidians* of any fashion wore their

[h] VIRG. Æn. in ver. 41. LIV. apud Hendreich. in Carthag. p. 559. SERV. in Virg ubi sup aliiq; mult. Vide SCHIND. lex. pent. in voc. יניח & מתג. [i] STRAB. l. xvii. SAL. in Jugurth. [k] LIV. l. xxix. c. 29. [l] APPIAN. in Libyc c. 6, 39, & 64. STRAB. l. xvii. [m] LUCAN. l. iv. LIV. l. xlv. OPPIAN. de venat. l. iv. MARTIAL. l. ix. HERODIAN. l. vii. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & LIV. l. iv. l. viii. & l. xl.

grements

garments loose, not making use of a sash or girdle. In this particular they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, and most of the other *Africans*. Hence that of *Virgil* [n].

Hic Nomadum genus, & discinctos Mulciber Afros, &c.

9. THEY were eminent for their skill in hurling the javelin, and throwing of darts, which they discharged in vast numbers upon the enemy. As they seldom or never failed doing great execution, this rendered them very formidable [o]. *Eminent for their skill in throwing of darts &c*

10. WE are told, that the *Massyli*, when at war with their neighbours, for the most part, chose to come to a general action in the night-time [p]. *Fight in the night-time.*

11. DESERTION was no crime amongst the *Numidians*, who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army as they pleased [q]. *Desertion no crime amongst them.*

12. IN fine, there must have been a great variety of customs in *Numidia*, as it was inhabited by many different nations, that were oppofite to one another in many particulars, one of which *Diodorus* calls the *Asphadelodians*, who were probably of a different cast from the rest, since he informs us, that they were as black as the *Ethiopians*. According to *Hellanicus*, this poor people, being a tribe or canton of the *Libyan Nomades*, had nothing but a cup, a pitcher, and a dagger or knife, which they constantly carried about with them, their small *mapalia* being made of *asphodelus*, great quantities of which they took care in the summer-time to be provided with, in order to have always then an agreeable shady retreat. This circumstance undoubtedly gave occasion to the name *Diodorus* calls them by, and is the chief thing, that we find remarked of them by the antient historians [r].

THE *Numidians*, that inhabited the open country, being a barbarous, rude, and illiterate people, it would be ridiculous to expect any traces of arts or sciences amongst them. The *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* indeed, who were very civilized, polite, and ingenious nations, formed, as there is reason to believe, no small part of the inhabitants of the most *Arts &c.*

[n] VIRG. Æn. l. viii. ver. 724. SERV. in loc. SIL. ITAL. l. i. PLAUT. in Pœnul. act. v. sc. 2. TERTUL. de pall. [o] APPIAN. in Libyc. SALLUST. in Jugurth. HERODIAN. l. vii. [p] NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerptis Valef. p 518, 519. [q] SALLUST. in Jugurth. [r] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. HELLANICUS apud Athen. in deipnosoph. l. ii. Vide etiam Univers. hist. vol. xvi. pass.

considerable

conſiderable cities and towns; but we have already treated amply of the arts and ſciences they were famous for. However, the proper *Numidians* ſeem to have been eminent for their ſkill in managing horſes (F), and knowledge in ſome branches of the military art. Some knowledge likewiſe of the *Egyptian* theology, polity, and philoſophical notions, we cannot well ſuppoſe them to have been deſtitute of, ſince their anceſtors had, for a ſeries of generations, an intercourſe with the poſterity of *Miſraim*; but as to the extent of any knowledge of this kind amongſt them, we are intirely in the dark. The preſent *Kabyles* and *Bedoweens*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, ſpend their time chiefly in making *hykes*, or woollen blankets and *burnooſes*, as they call cloaks or upper garments, in an employment not unlike to which poſſibly ſome of the antient ruſtic *Numidians* might have been engaged, eſpecially ſince he imagines the *Kabyles* to be the remains of the old *Africans*. As for the chronology of the *Numidians*, if they had any, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it muſt have agreed in the main with that of the nations they were derived from, and contiguous to, *viz.* the *Carthaginians*, *Phœnicians*, and moſt early *Egyptians*. In one point, however, they differed from moſt, if not all, other nations; for they computed their time by nights, and not by days, if any credit may be given to a fragment of *Nic. Damaſcenus* [f].

[f] Nic. Damascen. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 520, 521. Shaw, ubi ſup. Vide etiam quamplurim. ex auctor. ſupra laudat.

(F) Theſe horſes were very ſmall, but extremely ſwift and eaſily managed, according to *Livy* and *Strabo*. They were ſatisfied with little food, bore hunger and thirſt a long time with great patience, and underwent incredible fatigues. As they had an ugly gait, a ſtiff neck, and threw their head forward, the *Numidian* horſeman made but a ridiculous figure before the time of action; but always behaved well during the heat of the engagement. *Livy* ſeems to intimate, that, in *Hannibal*'s time, ſome of the *Numidian* cavalry uſed bridles, and were heavy-armed troops, wearing coats of mail, ſwords, ſhields, and lances; which is countenanced by *Polybius*, *Salluſt*, and others (6).

(6) *Appian & Strab. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxi. c.* 44, 46. *l. xxii. c.* 48 *Polyb. l. iii. c.* 65. *Sil. Ital. l. iv. Salluſt. in Jugurth. Iſidor. orig. l. xviii. c.* 12. *& alib. Juvenal. ſcholiaſt. Appian. in Libyc. Liv. l. xxiii. c.* 29. *Vide & Polyb. apud Juſtum Lipſium, in tract. de milit. Rom. ut & ipſum Lipſ. ibid. l. iii. dial.* 7 *&* 8.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The history of the Numidians, *from the earliest accounts of time, to the conquest of their country by the* Romans.

When the Phœnicians *came first into* Numidia.

NUMIDIA, being pretty remote from *Egypt*, as well as that part of *Libya* contiguous to it, ſeems to have been but thinly peopled before the firſt arrival of the *Phœnicians* there. When this happened, we cannot preciſely determine; but, according to *Euſebius*, who is followed by *Bochart* and other authors of good repute, it muſt have been above three hundred years before the foundation of *Carthage*. For *Ariſtotle* relates, that the *Phœnician* hiſtorians made *Utica* to be two hundred eighty-ſeven years older than *Carthage*; and *Euſebius* affirms *Hercules*, ſurnamed *Diodas* or *Deſanaus*, i. e. the *Phœnician Hercules*, to have been extremely famous all over *Africa* this very year, and to have conquered *Antæus* in the fartheſt part of *Mauritania* near *Zilis* and *Tingis*, about fifty years before. Sir *Iſaac Newton* however, not without reaſon, fixes this event nearer the time of the *Trojan* war. *Salluſt*, *Florus*, and *Oroſius* likewiſe, inform us, that this *Hercules*, whom *Salluſt* calls *Libys*, built *Capſa*. From whence we may infer, that either the kingdom of *Antæus* included *Numidia*, and even *Africa Propria*, or elſe that *Hercules* over-ran theſe countries after he had conquered *Mauritania*; the former of which notions appears to us the moſt probable. We muſt defer touching upon the war betwixt *Hercules* and *Antæus*, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Mauritanians*, though the conſequences of that war extended to the nation we are now upon [a].

No accounts of the Numidian *affairs for ſeveral of the earlieſt centuries now remaining.*

THE tranſactions of *Numidia*, during many of the earlieſt centuries, have, for a long ſeries of ages, been buried in oblivion. It is probable, however, that as the *Phœnicians* were maſters of a good part of it, they were recorded, and not unknown in the *Carthaginian* times. King *Iarbas* probably reigned here, as well as in *Africa Propria*, if not in *Mauritania* and other parts of *Libya*, when *Dido* began to build *Byrſa*; but we have elſewhere taken notice of all the principal particulars relating to that prince, handed down to

[a] ARISTOT. de mirabil. EUSEB. in chron. FLOR. l. iii. c. 1. SALLUST. in Jugurth. OROS. l. v. c. 15. Vide BOCHART. in præfat. ad Chan.

us by the antients. It appears from *Justin*, that, about the age of *Herodotus*, the people of this country were called both *Africans*, or *Libyans*, and *Numidians*; which seems to imply, that the latter name was not then of very long standing, and consequently to countenance what we have advanced above concerning the incorporation of the *Libyan Nomades* with these (G) *Africans* or *Libyans*. *Justin* likewise intimates, that, about this time, the *Carthaginians* vanquished both the *Moors*, or *Mauritanians*, and *Numidians*, who had leagued together against them; the consequence of which was, that the former were excused paying the tribute, which had been exacted from them ever since *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* by the latter. As for the part the *Numidians* acted in all the wars betwixt the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, &c. and the *Carthaginians*, we have already been so copious on that head, that our readers will not expect us to expatiate upon it here [b].

The Carthaginians *treat the* Micatanian Numidians *with great severity.*

After the conclusion of the first *Punic* war, the *African* troops carried on a bloody war three years against their masters the *Carthaginians*. The most active of all others in this rebellion, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Micatanian Numidians*. This so incensed the *Carthaginians*, that, after *Hamilcar* had either killed or taken prisoners all the mercenaries, he sent a large detachment to ravage the country of those *Numidians*. The commandant of that detachment executed his orders with the utmost rigour and severity; for he plundered all that district in a terrible manner, and crucified all the prisoners, without distinction, that fell into his hands. This filled the rest with such indignation and resentment, that both they and their posterity, ever afterwards, bore an implacable hatred to the *Carthaginians*. The conduct of the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* service, during the first *Punic* war, was such as merited the highest applause,

[b] Georg. Cedren. hist. compend. p. 140 Justin. l. xix. c. 2. Appian. in Libyc. sub init. Univers. hist. vol. xvi. pass.

(G) The *Numidians*, particularly the *Masæsyli*, lived upon herbs, roots, flesh, milk, cheese, &c. in conformity to what *Herodotus* relates of the *Libyan Nomades*, as we learn from *Appian* and *Strabo*. This adds no small weight to the hypothesis we have ventured here to submit to the consideration of the learned (7).

(7) *Appian. in Libyc. c.* 6. & 64. *Strab. l.* xvii.

as our readers will plainly perceive by consulting a former part of this history [c].

IN the consulate of the younger *Fabius* and *Sempronius* *Gracchus*, *Syphax*, king of the *Massæsyli*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. This induced *Gala*, king of the *Massylli*, to conclude a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of which his son *Masinissa* marched at the head of a powerful army to give *Syphax* battle. Being reinforced in his march by a body of *Carthaginians*, as soon as he came up with the *Massæsyli*, he engaged them. The fight was sharp and bloody; but at last *Masinissa* carried the day, putting thirty thousand of the *Massæsyli* to the sword, and driving *Syphax* into the country of the *Maurusii*, or *Mauritania*. This, for the present, gave a check both to the progress of *Syphax*'s arms, and the towering projects of the *Romans*. However, the *Massæsylian* monarch found means, some time after, to assemble another formidable army of *Massæsylians* and *Mauritanians*; which was likewise defeated and dispersed by *Masinissa*. But the face of affairs in this country was soon afterwards greatly changed [d]. Syphax defeated twice by Masinissa.

Gala dying whilst his son *Masinissa* was acting at the head of the *Numidian* troops, sent to the assistance of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, his brother *Desalces*, according to the established order of succession in *Numidia*, took possession of the *Massylian* throne. That prince dying soon after his accession, *Capusa*, his eldest son, succeeded him. But he did not long enjoy his high dignity; for one *Mezetulus*, a person of royal extraction, but an enemy to the family of *Gala*, found means to excite a great part of his subjects to a revolt; which enabled him to form a considerable corps, and bring *Capusa* to a general action; which ending in his favour, and *Capusa*, with many of the nobless, being slain, he obtained the *Massylian* crown, as the fruit of his victory. However, he did not think proper to assume the title of king, contenting himself with that of guardian or protector to *Lacumaces*, the only surviving young prince of the blood, whom he graced with the royal title. To support himself in his usurpation, he married the widow of *Desalces*, who was *Hannibal*'s niece, and consequently of the most powerful family in *Carthage*. In order to attain the same end, he sent embassadors to *Syphax*, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. In the mean time, *Masinissa*, receiving advice of his uncle's death, of his

A brief account of Masinissa's affairs before he entered into an alliance with the Romans.

[c] DIOD. SIC. l. xxvi. in excerptis Valesii. See before, 86, & seq. & alib. pass. [d] LIV. l. xxiv. c. 47, 48, 49. APPIAN. in Libyc.

couſin's ſlaughter, and of *Mezetulus*'s uſurpation, immediately paſſed over to *Afric*, and went to the court of *Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*, to ſolicit ſuccours. *Bocchar*, ſenſible of the great injuſtice offered *Maſiniſſa*, gave him a body of four thouſand *Moors* to eſcorte him to his dominions. His ſubjects, having been appriſed of his approach, joined him upon the frontiers with a party of five hundred men. The *Moors*, in purſuance of their orders, returned home, as ſoon as *Maſiniſſa* reached the confines of his kingdom; notwithſtanding which, and the ſmall body that declared for him, having accidentally met *Lacumaces* at *Thapſus*, with an eſcorte going to implore *Syphax*'s aſſiſtance, he drove him into the town, which he carried by aſſault, after a faint reſiſtance. However, *Lacumaces*, with many of his men, found means to eſcape to *Syphax*. The fame of this exploit gained *Maſiniſſa* great credit, inſomuch, that the *Numidians* flocked to him from all parts, amongſt the reſt, many of his father *Gala*'s veterans, who preſſed him to make a ſpeedy and vigorous puſh for his hereditary dominions. *Lacumaces*, having joined *Mezetulus* with a reinforcement of *Maſæſylians*, which he had prevailed upon *Syphax* to ſend to the aſſiſtance of his ally, the uſurper advanced at the head of a numerous army to offer *Maſiniſſa* battle; which that prince, though much inferior in number, did not decline. Hereupon an engagement enſued, and, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, *Maſiniſſa*, by his own conduct and bravery, and the valour of his troops, gained a complete victory; the immediate conſequence of which was a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, *Mezetulus* and *Lacumaces*, with a few that attended them, flying into the territories of *Carthage*. However, looking upon his preſent ſituation as precarious, he offered to declare *Lacumaces* the heir apparent to the crown, and treat him in a manner ſuitable to his high rank, provided he would immediately make his ſubmiſſion to him; and, after having pardoned *Mezetulus*, and reſtored to him every thing that he had forfeited by his treaſonable conduct, to take him into favour, if he would acknowledge him as his ſovereign. Both of them readily complied with the propoſal, and immediately returned home; ſo that the tranquillity and repoſe of *Numidia* would have been then ſettled upon a ſolid and laſting foundation, had not this been prevented by *Asdrubal*, who was then at *Syphax*'s court. He inſinuated to that prince, who was diſpoſed to live amicably with his neighbours, "That he was greatly miſtaken, "if he imagined *Maſiniſſa* would be ſatisfied with his hereditary countries; that he was a prince of much greater ca- "pacity and ambition, than either his father *Gala*, his uncle

Deſalc.,

" *Defalces*, or any other of his family; that he had often " discovered in *Spain* marks of a most rare and uncommon " merit; and that, in fine, unless this rising flame was ex- " tinguished before it came to too great a head, both the *Ma-* " *sæsylian* and *Carthaginian* states would be infallibly con- " sumed by it." *Syphax*, alarmed by these suggestions, advanced with a numerous body of forces into a district, which had long been in dispute between him and *Gala*, but then in the possession of *Masinissa*. This brought on a general action between those two princes, wherein the latter was totally defeated, his army dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly to the top of mount *Balbus*, attended only by a few of his horse. Such a decisive battle at the present juncture, before *Masinissa* was fixed in his throne, could not but put *Syphax* into possession of the kingdom of the *Massyli*. *Masinissa* in the mean time made nocturnal incursions from his post upon mount *Balbus*, and plundered all the adjacent country, particularly that part of the *Carthaginian* territory contiguous to *Numidia*. This district he not only thoroughly pillaged, but likewise laid waste with fire and sword, carrying off from thence an immense booty, which was bought by some merchants, who had put into one of the *Carthaginian* ports for that purpose. In fine, he did the *Carthaginians* more damage, not only by committing such dreadful devastations, but by massacring and carrying into captivity vast numbers of their subjects on this occasion, than they could have sustained in a pitched battle, or one campaign of an open and legal war. *Syphax*, at the pressing and reiterated instances of the *Carthaginians*, sent *Bocchar*, one of his most active commanders, with a detachment of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to reduce this pestilent gang of robbers, promising him a great reward, if he could bring *Masinissa* either alive or dead. *Bocchar*, watching an opportunity, fell upon them unawares, as they were straggling about the country without any order or discipline; so that he took many prisoners, dispersed the rest, and pursued *Masinissa* himself, with a few of his men, to the top of the mountain where he had taken post. As he looked upon the expedition to be in a manner ended, he did not only send many head of cattle, and the other booty that had fallen into his hands, to *Syphax*, but likewise all the forces, except five hundred foot, and two hundred horse. With this detachment he drove *Masinissa* from the summit of the hill, and pursued him through several narrow passes and defiles, as far as the plains of *Cluæa*, where he so surrounded him, that all the *Massylians*, except four, were put to the sword, and *Masinissa* himself, after having received a

dangerous wound, escaped with the utmost difficulty. As this was effected by crossing a rapid river, in which attempt two of his four attendants were drowned in the sight of the detachment that pursued him, it was rumoured all over *Africa*, that *Masinissa* had been swallowed by the stream; which gave inexpressible pleasure to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*. For some time he lived undiscovered in a cave, where he was supported by the robberies of the two horsemen, that had made their escape with him; but having cured his wound, he boldly began to advance towards his own frontiers, giving out publicly, that he intended once more to take possession of his kingdom. In his march he was joined by about forty horse, and, soon after his arrival amongst the *Massyli*, so many people flocked to him from all parts, that out of them he formed an army of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with which he did not only re-instate himself in his dominions, but likewise laid waste the borders of the *Masæsyli*. This so irritated *Syphax*, that he immediately assembled a body of troops, and encamped very commodiously upon a ridge of mountains between *Cirta* and *Hippo*. His army he commanded in person, and detached his son *Vermina*, with a considerable force, to take a compass, and attack the enemy in rear. In pursuance of his order, *Vermina* set out in the beginning of the night, and took post in the place appointed him, without being discovered by the enemy. In the mean time, *Syphax* decamped, and advanced towards the enemy, in order to give them battle. When he had possessed himself of a rising ground, that led to their camp, and concluded, that his son *Vermina* must have formed the ambuscade behind them, he began the fight. *Masinissa* being advantageously posted, and his soldiers distinguishing themselves in an extraordinary manner, the dispute was long and bloody; but *Vermina* unexpectedly falling upon their rear, and, by this means, obliging them to divide their forces, which were scarce able before to oppose the main body under *Syphax*, they were soon thrown into confusion, and forced to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. All the avenues being blocked up, partly by *Syphax*, and partly by his son, such a dreadful slaughter was made of the unhappy *Massyli*, that only *Masinissa* himself, with seventy horse, escaped to the *Lesser Syrtis*. Here he remained, betwixt the confines of the *Carthaginians* and *Garamantes*, till the arrival of *Lælius*, and the *Roman* fleet on the coast of *Africa*. What happened immediately after his junction with the *Romans*, our readers will find related at large

large in a part of this work, to which it more properly belongs [e].

Some farther particulars relating to Syphax and Maſiniſſa.

WE have already obſerved, that the *Carthaginians* loſt *Maſiniſſa* by depriving him of his dear *Sophoniſba*. That lady was verſed in various branches of literature, excellently well ſkilled in muſic, the greateſt beauty of that age, or perhaps any other, and of ſuch exquiſite charms in every reſpect, that, according to a grave author, either her bare voice, or a ſight of her, was ſufficient to captivate the moſt rigid and ſevere philoſopher. *Maſiniſſa* therefore could never forgive the mortifying affront put upon him by the ſtate of *Carthage*, when her father *Aſdrubal*, in violation of the laws of honour and public faith, was commanded to give her to *Syphax*. The *Carthaginians*, however, endeavoured to fix that prince in their intereſt, and, in order to this, prevailed upon *Syphax* to reſtore him his dominions. *Maſiniſſa*, to have his full revenge both of *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, feigned himſelf intirely ſatisfied with ſo generous a ceſſion, and outwardly expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for them, though at the ſame time he was underhand with the *Romans* meditating their ruin. *Aſdrubal* had either ſome private intelligence, or entertained a ſuſpicion, of this; which induced him to lay an ambuſcade for *Maſiniſſa* after his arrival in *Africa* from *Spain*, which that prince happily eſcaped. *Syphax*, in the mean time, acted much ſuch a part as *Maſiniſſa*; for he aſſured the *Romans* of an inviolable attachment to their intereſt, though he had entered into the ſtricteſt engagements with the *Carthaginians*, at the earneſt ſolicitations of his wife, whoſe charms he found himſelf incapable of reſiſting. The conſequences, both of his conduct, and that of his rival *Maſiniſſa*, have been already related at large. It will be ſufficient therefore in this place to obſerve, that, by the aſſiſtance of *Lælius*, *Maſiniſſa* reduced *Syphax*'s kingdom; that, according to *Zonaras*, he and *Scipio* ſo far outwitted *Hannibal* before the memorable battle of *Zama*; that, by a ſtratagem, they deprived him of ſome advantageous poſts, which, with a ſolar eclipſe happening during the heat of the action, and not a little intimidating the *Carthaginian* troops, greatly contributed to the victory the *Romans* obtained; and that at the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, he was amply rewarded by the *Romans* for the important ſervices he had done them. As for *Syphax*, after the loſs of his dominions, he was kept in confinement for ſome

[e] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29--35. APPIAN. in Libyc. See before, p. 262, & ſeq.

time

time at *Alba*, from whence being removed in order to grace *Scipio*'s triumph, he died at *Tibur* in his way to *Rome*. *Zonaras* adds, that his corpse was decently interred; that all the *Numidian* prisoners were released; and that *Vermina*, by the assistance of the *Romans*, took peaceable possession of his father's throne. However, part of the *Massylian* kingdom was before annexed to *Masinissa*'s dominions, in order to reward that prince for his singular fidelity and close attachment to the *Romans*, as has been already observed [f] (H).

As an account of all the principal transactions, in which *Masinissa* was concerned between the second and third *Punic* wars, has been already extracted from the best antient historians, we cannot here pretend to touch upon any of them, without being guilty of a repetition. Nothing therefore is further requisite, in order to complete the history of this famous prince, than to exhibit to our readers view some points of his conduct towards the decline, and at the close, of life; the wise dispositions made after his death by *Æmilianus*, in order to the regulation of his domestic affairs; and some particulars relating to his character, genius, and habit of body, drawn from the most celebrated *Greek* and *Roman* authors [g].

Masinissa forces the Carthaginians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms.

BY drawing a line of circumvallation round the *Carthaginian* army under *Asdrubal*, posted upon an eminence, *Masinissa* cut off all manner of supplies from them; which introduced both the plague and a famine into their camp. As the

[f] APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 6. LIV. l. xxx. c. 43. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 11, 12. POLYÆN. strat. l. viii. c. 16. ex. 7. Univers. Hist. Vol. XII. p. 186. [g] Univers. Hist. Vol. XII. & before past.

(H) This seems to be countenanced by the epitomizer of *Livy*, who gives us sufficiently to understand, that *Syphax*'s family, for a considerable term after the conclusion of the second *Punic* war, reigned in one part of *Numidia*; for he intimates, that *Archobarzanes*, *Syphax*'s grandson, and probably *Vermina*'s son, hovered, with a powerful army of *Numidians*, about the *Carthaginian* frontiers, a few years before the third *Punic* war broke out, in order, as should seem, either to cover them, or enable the *Carthaginians* to make an irruption into *Masinissa*'s territories. *Cato*, however, pretended, that these forces, in conjunction with those of *Carthage*, had a design to invade the *Roman* dominions, which he urged as a reason to induce the conscript fathers to destroy the *African* republic (8).

(8) *Liv. epit. l. xlviii.*

body

body of *Numidian* troops employed in this blockade was not near so numerous as the *Carthaginian* forces, it is evident, that the line here mentioned must have been extremely strong, and consequently the effect of great labour and art. The *Carthaginians*, finding themselves reduced to the last extremity, concluded a peace upon the following terms, which *Masinissa* dictated to them: 1. That they should deliver up all deserters. 2. That they should recal their exiles, who had taken refuge in his dominions. 3. That they should pay him five thousand talents of silver, within the space of fifty years. 4. That their soldiers should pass under the *jugum*, each of them carrying off only a single coat. As *Masinissa* himself, though between eighty and ninety years of age, conducted the whole enterprise, he must have been extremely well versed in fortification, and other branches of the military art. His understanding likewise he must have retained to the last. This happened a short time before the beginning of the third *Punic* war [h].

SOON after, the consuls landed an army in *Africa*, in order to lay siege to *Carthage*, without imparting to *Masinissa* their design. This not a little chagrined him, as it was contrary to the former practice of the *Romans*, who, in the preceding war, had communicated their intentions to him, and consulted him on all occasions. When therefore the consuls applied to him for a body of his troops to act in concert with their forces, he made answer, "That they should "have a reinforcement from him, when they stood in need "of it." It could not but be provoking for him to consider, that, after he had extremely weakened the *Carthaginians*, and even brought them to the brink of ruin, his pretended imperious friends should come to reap the fruits of his victory, without giving him the least intelligence of it [i]. Masinissa disgusted at the Romans.

HOWEVER, his mind soon after returned to its natural bias, which was in favour of the *Romans*. Finding his end approaching, he sent to *Æmilianus*, then a tribune in the *Roman* army, to desire a visit from him. What he proposed by this visit, was to invest him with full powers to dispose of his kingdom and estate, as he should think proper, for the benefit of his children. The high idea he had entertained of that young hero's abilities and integrity, together with his gratitude and affection for the family into which he was adopted, induced him to take this step; but, believing that He dies.

[h] APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 40, 41. LIV. & POLYB. pass.

[i] Idem ibid. c. 55, 56.

death

death would not permit him to have a perſonal conference with *Æmilianus* upon this ſubject, he informed his wife and children, in his laſt moments, that he had impowered him to diſpoſe, in an abſolute manner, of all his poſſeſſions, and to divide his kingdom amongſt his ſons. To which he ſubjoined, "I require, that whatever *Æmilianus* may de-"cree, ſhall be executed as punctually, as if I myſelf had "appointed it by my will." Having uttered theſe words, he expired, at above ninety years of age [k].

Some particulars relating to his character.

THIS prince, during his youth, had met with ſtrange reverſes of fortune, as appears from ſeveral preceding parts of this hiſtory. However, ſays *Appian*, being ſupported by the divine protection, he enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity for a long ſeries of years. His kingdom extended from *Mauritania* to the weſtern confines of *Cyrenaica*; from whence it appears, that he was one of the moſt powerful princes of *Africa*. Many of the inhabitants of this vaſt tract he civilized in a wonderful manner, teaching them to cultivate their ſoil, and to reap thoſe natural advantages, which the fertility of ſome parts of their country offered them. He was of a more robuſt habit of body than any of his cotemporaries, being bleſt with the greateſt health and vigour, which was doubtleſs owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he inceſſantly ſuſtained. We are informed by *Polybius*, that ſometimes he ſtood upon the ſame ſpot of ground from morning till evening, without the leaſt motion, and at others continued as long in a ſitting poſture. He would remain on horſeback for ſeveral days and nights together, without being ſenſible of the leaſt fatigue. Nothing can better evince the ſtrength of his conſtitution, than his youngeſt ſon, named *Stemba!*, *Sthemba*, or *Stembanus*, who was but four years old at his deceaſe. Though ninety years of age, he performed all the exerciſes uſed by young men, and always rode without a ſaddle. *Pliny* tells us, that he reigned above ſixty years. He was an able commander, and much facilitated the reduction of *Carthage*. *Plutarch* from *Polybius* obſerves, that, the day after a great victory won over the *Carthaginians*, *Maſiniſſa* was ſeen ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread. *Suidas* relates, that to the laſt, he could mount his horſe without any aſſiſtance. According to *Appian*, he left a numerous

[k] APPIAN. ubi ſup. c. 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. ZONAR. l. ix. c 27. p. 464, 465. See before. p. 319.

merous well-disciplined army, and an immense quantity of wealth (I), behind him [1].

Masinissa, before his death, gave his ring to his eldest son *Micipsa*; but left the distribution of all his other (K) effects and possessions amongst his children, as has been just observed, intirely to *Æmilianus*. Of fifty-four sons, that survived him, only three were legitimate, *viz.* *Micipsa*, *Gulussa* and *Mastanabal*. *Æmilianus*, arriving at *Cirta* after he had expired, divided his kingdom, or rather the government of it, amongst these three, though to the others he gave considerable possessions. To *Micipsa*, who was a prince of a pacific disposition

Æmilianus arrives at *Cirta* after his father's death, and divides his kingdom amongst his three sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Mastanabal*.

[1] Univers. hist. vol. xii. & before. pass. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. VAL MAX. ubi sup. STRAB. l. xvii. POLYB. in fragm. p. 1013. edit. Casaub. 1619. PLIN. l. vii. c 40. PLUT. in comment. an. sen. gerend. sit resp. p. 791. CIC. de senect. SUID. in voc. Μασσιασσης. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. POLYB. in excerp. Vales. p. 175. LIV. epit. l. ZONAR. aliiq; plur.

(I) We are farther told, that *Masinissa* always went bare headed, even though the weather was never so severe; and that, in his extreme old age, he could sit on horseback for four-and twenty hours together, without being in the least fatigued. Some authors say, that he was a pious prince, and sent back to *Melita* or *Malta* a large quantity of ivory, which had been brought him from thence out of *Juno*'s temple, as a present by his admiral. It is added, that he caused inscriptions in *Numidian* letters to be engraven on some of the pieces of this ivory, importing, that he willingly returned it, as soon as he knew it belonged to the goddess. *Valerius Maximus* says, that, not being able to repose any confidence in any of his children, officers, &c. he endeavoured to secure himself from the attempts of his enemies by a guard of dogs. He sustained as many toils, at near ninety years of age, as any man in his dominions His subjects he trained up in the military art, instead of permitting them to plunder and ravage the country, as had frequently happened before his time. The inscriptions above-mentioned are a further proof, that the *Numidians* had an alphabet of their own (9).

(K) It is said, that *Masinissa* was served in earthen ware, after the *Roman* fashion; but all the strangers at his table in plate. The second service, or desert, was adorned with golden baskets, in conformity to the *Italian* custom, so ingeniously worked, that they resembled those made of twigs, rushes, &c. *Greek* musicians likewise attended his entertainments (10).

(9) *Cic. de senect.* *Val. Max.* *l.* i. *c* 1. *l* viii *c* 13. *Solin.* c. 13. (10) *Ptol comment. l.* viii *apud Athen. deipnosoph. l.* vi.

and the eldeſt ſon, he aſſigned *Cirta*, the metropolis, for the place of his reſidence, in excluſion of the others. *Guluſſa*, the next to him, being a prince of a military genius, had the command of the army, and the tranſacting of all affairs, relating to peace or war, committed to his care. And *Maſtanabal*, or according to *Livy* and *Salluſt*, *Manaſtabal*, the youngeſt, had the adminiſtration of juſtice, an employment ſuitable to his education, allotted him. They enjoyed in common the immenſe treaſures *Maſiniſſa* had amaſſed, and were all of them dignified by *Æmilianus* with the royal title. After he had made theſe wiſe diſpoſitions, that young nobleman departed from *Cirta*, taking with him a body of *Numidian* troops, under the conduct of *Guluſſa*, to reinforce the *Roman* army, that was then acting againſt the *Carthaginians* [m].

Maſtanabal *and* Gaulſa *die ſoon after their father* Maſiniſſa.

Maſtanabal and *Guluſſa* died ſoon after their father, as appears from the expreſs teſtimony of *Salluſt*. We find nothing more remarkable of theſe princes, beſides what has been already related, than that the latter continued to aſſiſt the *Romans* in the third *Punic* war; and that the former was pretty well verſed in the *Greek* language. *Micipſa* therefore became ſole poſſeſſor of the kingdom of *Numidia*. In his reign, and the conſulate of *M. Piautius Hyſſæus* and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, according to *Oroſius*, a great part of *Africa* was covered with locuſts, which deſtroyed all the produce of the earth, and even devoured dry wood; but at laſt they were all carried by the wind into the *African* ſea, out of which being thrown in vaſt heaps upon the ſhore, a plague enſued, which ſwept away an infinite number of animals of all kinds. In *Numidia* only perithed eight hundred thouſand men, and in *Africa Propria* two hundred thouſand: amongſt the reſt, thirty thouſand *Roman* ſoldiers quartered in and about *Utica*, for the defence of the laſt province. At *Utica* in particular the mortality raged to ſuch a degree, that fifteen hundred dead bodies were carried out of one gate in a day. *Micipſa* had two ſons *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, whom he educated in his palace, together with his nephew *Jugurtha*. That young prince was the ſon of *Maſtanabal*; but his mother having been only a concubine, *Maſiniſſa* had taken no great notice of him. However, *Micipſa*, conſidering him as a prince of the blood, took as much care of him, as he did of his own children [n].

[m] APPIAN. ubi ſupra, c 63, 64. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. LIV. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 27 p 464, 465. ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. l. vi. [n] SALLUST. in Jugurth. c. 5. LIV. epit. l. APPIAN. in Libyc. OROS. l. v. c. 11.

Jugurtha

Jugurtha poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. He was very handſome, endued with great ſtrength of body, and adorned with the fineſt intellectual endowments. He did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf, with perſons of his age, in running, riding, hurling the javelin, and other manly exerciſes, ſuited to the martial genius of the *Numidians*; and, though he ſurpaſſed all his fellow-ſportſmen, there was not one of them but loved him. The chace was his only delight; but it was that of lions, and other ſavage (L) beaſts. *Salluſt*, to finiſh his character, tells us, that he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf [o].

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections at firſt charmed *Micipſa*, who thought them an ornament to his kingdom. However, he ſoon began to reflect, that he was conſiderably advanced in years, and his children in their infancy; that mankind naturally thirſted after power; and that nothing was capable of making men run greater lengths than a vicious and unlimited ambition. Theſe reflections ſoon excited his jealouſy, and determined him to expoſe *Jugurtha* to a variety of dangers, ſome of which, he entertained hopes, might prove fatal to him. In order to this, he gave him the command of a body of forces, which he ſent to aſſiſt the *Romans*, who were at that time beſieging *Numantia* in *Spain*. But *Jugurtha*, by his admirable conduct, did not only eſcape all theſe dangers, but likewiſe won the eſteem of the whole army, and the friendſhip of *Scipio*, who ſent a high character of him to his uncle *Micipſa*. However, that general gave him ſome prudent advice in relation to his future conduct, obſerving, no doubt, in him certain ſparks of ambition, which, if lighted into a flame, he apprehended, might, one day, be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences [p].

[o] SALLUST. ubi ſup. FLOR. l. iii. c. 1. [p] SALLUST. ubi ſup. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 9.

(L) *Salluſt* ſeems to intimate, that many of the natives of *Numidia* were deſtroyed by theſe wild beaſts; for he ſays, that the *Numidians* were ſo healthy, and of ſuch robuſt conſtitutions, that almoſt all of them attained to old age, except thoſe who either fell in war, or were devoured by wild beaſts, ſcarce any diſeaſe ever proving fatal to them (11).

(11) *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.*

Jugurtha's treachery and cruelty.

BEFORE this last experiment, *Micipsa* had endeavoured to find out some method of taking him off privately; but his popularity amongst the *Numidians* obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of this nature. After his return from *Spain*, the whole nation almost adored him. The heroic bravery he had shewn there, his undaunted courage, joined to the utmost calmness of mind, which enabled him to preserve a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness, a circumstance rarely to be met with in persons of his age, and, above all, the advantageous testimonials of his conduct given him by *Scipio*, attracted an universal esteem; nay, *Micipsa* himself, charmed with the high idea the *Roman* general had entertained of his merit, changed his behaviour towards him, resolving, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. He therefore adopted him, and declared him joint heir with his two sons (M) to the crown. Finding, some few years afterwards, that his end approached, he sent for all three to his bed side, where, in presence of the whole court, he desired *Jugurtha* to recollect with what extreme tenderness he had treated him, and consequently to consider how well he had deserved at his hands. He then intreated him to protect his children on all occasions, who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now, by their father's bounty, become his brethren. In order to fix him the more firmly in their interest, he likewise complimented him upon his bravery, address, and consummate prudence. He further insinuated, that neither arms nor treasures constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are neither won by arms nor gold, but by real services and an inviolable fidelity. "Now where, "continued he, can we find better friends than in brothers? "And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his re- "lations, repose any confidence in, or depend upon, stran- "gers?" Then addressing himself to *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*, "And you, said he, I injoin always to pay the highest reve- "rence to *Jugurtha*, endeavour to imitate, and, if possible, "surpass, his exalted merit, that the world may not hereaf-

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that though *Micipsa* had many children, his three favourite sons were *Adherbal*, *Hiempsal*, and *Micipsa*. The same historian likewise adds, that he was the most clement of all the *Numidian* monarchs; and that he sent for a great number of Greeks, eminent in all branches of literature, particularly philosophy, by whose instructions he became a most celebrated philosopher (12).

(12) *Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Valef.* p. 385, 386.

"ter

" ter obſerve *Micipſa*'s adoped ſon to have reflected greater " glory upon his memory than his own children." Soon after, *Micipſa*, who, according to *Diodorus*, was a prince of an amiable character, expired. Though *Jugurtha* did not believe the king to ſpeak his real ſentiments with regard to him, yet he ſeemed extremely pleaſed with ſo gracious a ſpeech, and made him an anſwer ſuitable to the occaſion. However, that prince at the ſame time was determined within himſelf to put in execution the ſcheme he had formed at the ſiege of *Numantia*, which was ſuggeſted to him by ſome factious and abandoned *Roman* officers, with whom he there contracted an acquaintance. The purport of this ſcheme was, that he ſhould extort the crown by force from his two couſins, as ſoon as their father's eyes were cloſed; which, they inſinuated, might eaſily be effected by his own valour, and the venality of the *Romans*. Accordingly, a ſhort time after the old king's death, he found means to aſſaſſinate *Hiempſal* in the city of *Thermida*, where his treaſures were depoſited, and drive *Adherbal* out of his dominions. That unhappy prince found himſelf obliged to fly to *Rome*, where he endeavoured to engage the conſcript fathers to eſpouſe his quarrel; but, notwithſtanding the juſtice of his cauſe, they had not virtue enough effectually to ſupport him. *Jugurtha*'s embaſſadors, by diſtributing vaſt ſums of money amongſt the ſenators, brought them ſo far over, that a majority palliated his inhuman proceedings. When thoſe embaſſadors therefore declared, that *Hiempſal* had been killed by the *Numidians*, on account of his exceſſive cruelty; that *Adherbal* was the aggreſſor in the late troubles; that he was only chagrined, becauſe he could not make that havock amongſt his countrymen he would willingly have done; and intreated the ſenate to form a judgment of *Jugurtha*'s behaviour in *Africa* from what he had ſhewn at *Numantia*, rather than from the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, by far the greateſt part of the ſenate diſcovered themſelves prejudiced in his favour. A few, however, that were not loſt to honour, nor abandoned to corruption, inſiſted upon bringing him to condign puniſhment; but, as they could not prevail, he had the beſt part of *Numidia* allotted him, and *Adherbal* was forced to reſt ſatisfied with the other [q].

Jugurtha, finding now, by experience, that every thing was venal at *Rome*, as his friends at *Numantia* had before informed him, thought he might purſue his towering projects without any

He bribes the Roman ſenate, and maſters

[q] SALLUST. & FLOR. ubi ſup. EUTROP. l. iv. c. 26. OROS. Adherbal. l. v. c. 15.

any obſtruction from that quarter. He therefore, immediately after the laſt diviſion of *Maſiniſſa*'s dominions, threw off the maſk, and attacked his couſin by open force. As *Adherbal* was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and almoſt in all reſpects the reverſe of *Jugurtha*, he was by no means a match for him. The latter therefore pillaged the former's territories, ſtormed ſeveral of his fortreſſes, and over-ran a good part of his kingdom without oppoſition. *Adherbal*, depending upon the friendſhip of the *Romans*, which his father, in his laſt moments, aſſured him would be a ſtronger ſupport to him than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe, diſpatched deputies to *Rome*, to complain of theſe hoſtilities. But, whilſt he loſt his time in ſending thither fruitleſs deputations, *Jugurtha* overthrew him in a pitched battle, and ſoon after ſhut him up in *Cirta*. During the ſiege of this city, a *Roman* commiſſion arrived there, in order to perſuade both parties to an accommodation; but finding *Jugurtha* untractable, the commiſſioners returned home, without ſo much as conferring with *Adherbal*. A ſecond deputation compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, with *Æmilius Scaurus*, preſident of the ſenate, at their head, landed ſome time after at *Utica*, and ſummoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. That prince at firſt ſeemed to be under dreadful apprehenſions, eſpecially as *Scaurus* reproached him with his enormous crimes, and threatened him with the reſentment of the *Romans*, if he did not immediately raiſe the ſiege of *Cirta*. However, the *Numidian*, by his addreſs, and the irreſiſtible power of gold, as was afterwards ſuſpected at *Rome*, ſo mollified *Scaurus*, that he left *Adherbal* at his mercy. In fine, *Jugurtha* had at laſt *Cirta* ſurrendered to him, upon condition only, that he ſhould ſpare the life of *Adherbal*; but the mercileſs tyrant, in violation of the laws of nature and humanity, as well as the capitulation, when he had got poſſeſſion of the town, ordered him to be put to a moſt cruel death. The merchants likewiſe, and all the *Numidians* in the place capable of bearing arms, he cauſed, without diſtinction, to be put to the ſword [r].

He corrupts Beſtia *and* Scaurus.

Every perſon at *Rome*, inſpired with any ſentiments of humanity, was ſtruck with horror at the news of this tragical event. However, all the venal ſenators ſtill concurred with *Jugurtha*'s miniſters in palliating his enormous crimes. Notwithſtanding which, the people, excited thereto by *Caius Memmius* their tribune, who bitterly inveighed againſt the venality of the ſenate, reſolved not to let ſo flagrant an inſtance

[r] Idem ibid. Liv. ep. lxiv.

of

of villainy go unpuniſhed. This diſpoſition in them induced the conſcript fathers likewiſe to declare their intention to chaſtiſe *Jugurtha*. In order to this, an army was levied to invade *Numidia*, and the command of it given to the conſul *Calpurnius Beſtia*, a perſon of good abilities, but rendered unfit for the expedition he was to go upon by his inſatiable avarice. *Jugurtha*, being informed of the great preparations making at *Rome* to attack his dominions, ſent his ſon thither to avert the impending ſtorm. The young prince was plentifully ſupplied with money, which he had orders to diſtribute liberally amongſt the leading men. But *Beſtia*, propoſing to himſelf great advantages from an invaſion of *Numidia*, defeated all his intrigues, and got a decree paſſed, ordering him and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unleſs they were come to deliver up the king himſelf, and all his territories, to the republic by way of dedition; which decree being notified to them, they returned, without ſo much as having entered the gates of *Rome*; and *Beſtia* ſoon after landed with a powerful army in *Africa*. For ſome time he carried on the war there very briſkly, reduced ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and took many *Numidians* priſoners. But, upon the arrival of *Scaurus*, whoſe character has been already given in the *Roman* hiſtory, a peace was granted *Jugurtha* upon advantageous terms. That prince coming from *Vacca*, the place of his reſidence, to the *Roman* camp, in order to confer with *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*, and the preliminaries of the treaty being immediately after ſettled between them in private conferences, every body at *Rome* was convinced, that the prince of the ſenate and the conſul had ſacrificed to their avarice the good of the republic. The indignation therefore of the people in general diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. *Memmius* alſo fired them with his ſpeeches. It was therefore reſolved to diſpatch the prætor *Caſſius*, a perſon they could confide in, to *Numidia*, to prevail upon *Jugurtha* to come to *Rome*, that they might learn from the king himſelf which of their generals and ſenators had been ſeduced by the peſtilent influence of corruption. Upon his arrival there, he found means to bribe one *Babius Salca*, a man of great authority amongſt the plebeians, but of inſatiable avarice, by whoſe aſſiſtance he eſcaped with impunity nay, by the efficacy of gold, he did not only elude all the endeavours of the people of *Rome* to bring him to juſtice, but likewiſe enabled *Bomilcar*, one of his attendants, to get *Maſſiva*, an illegitimate ſon of *Micipſa*, aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of *Rome*. That young prince was adviſed by many *Romans* of probity, well-wiſhers to the family of *Maſiniſſa*, to apply for the kingdom of *Numidia*; which coming to *Jugurtha*'s

ears,

ears, he prevented the application by this execrable ſtep. However, he was obliged to leave *Italy* immediately. He departed *Rome* with paſſing that ſevere reflection upon the venality of its infamous citizens already mentioned [r].

Obliges the Roman army to paſs under the jugum, *and quit* Numidia.

Jugurtha had ſcarce ſet foot in *Africa*, when he received advice, that the ſenate had diſannulled the ſhameful peace concluded with him by *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*. Soon after, the conſul *Albinus* tranſported a *Roman* army into *Numidia*, flattering himſelf with the hopes of reducing *Jugurtha* to reaſon before the expiration of his conſulate. In this, however, he found himſelf deceived; for that crafty prince, by various artifices, ſo amuſed and impoſed upon *Albinus*, that nothing of moment happened that campaign. This rendered him ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country, after the example of his predeceſſors. His brother *Aulus*, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, was ſtill more unſucceſsful; for, after riſing from before *Suthul*, where the king's treaſures were depoſited, he marched his forces into a defile, out of which he found it impoſſible to extricate himſelf. He therefore was obliged to ſubmit to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the *jugum*, with all his men, and to quit *Numidia* intirely in ten days time, in order to deliver his troops from immediate deſtruction. The avaricious diſpoſition of the *Roman* commander prompted him to beſiege *Suthul*, the poſſeſſion of which place, he imagined, would make him maſter of all the wealth of *Jugurtha*, and conſequently paved the way to ſuch a ſcandalous treaty. However, this was declared void as ſoon as known at *Rome*, as being concluded without the authority of the people. The *Roman* troops retired into *Africa Propria*, which they had now reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and there took up their winter-quarters [s].

Defeated by Metellus.

In the mean time, *Caius Mamilius Limetanus*, tribune of the people excited the plebeians to inquire into the conduct of thoſe perſons, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Jugurtha* had found means to elude all the decrees of the ſenate. This put the body of the people into a great ferment; which occaſioned a proſecution of the guilty ſenators, that was carried on for ſome time, with the utmoſt heat and violence. *Lucius Metellus* the conſul, during theſe tranſactions, had *Numidia* aſſigned him for his province, and conſequently was appointed general of the army deſtined to act againſt *Jugurtha*. As he perfectly diſregarded wealth, the *Numidian* found him ſuperior to all his temptations; which was a great mortification to him.

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Sallust. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. ubi ſup.

To

To this he joined all the other virtues, which conſtitute the great captain; ſo that *Jugurtha* found him in all reſpects inacceſſible. That prince therefore was now forced to regulate his conduct, according to the motions of *Metellus*, with the greateſt caution, and exert his utmoſt bravery, in order to compenſate for that hitherto favourable expedient, which now began to fail him. *Marius*, *Metellus*'s lieutenant, being likewiſe a perſon of uncommon merit, the *Romans* reduced *Vacca*, a large, opulent city, and the moſt celebrated mart in *Numidia*; defeated *Jugurtha* in a pitched battle; overthrew *Bomilcar*, one of his generals, upon the banks of the *Muthullus*; and, in fine, forced the *Numidian* monarch to take ſhelter in a place rendered almoſt inacceſſible by the rocks and woods with which it was covered. However, *Jugurtha* ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, exhibiting all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of a conſummate general, to whom deſpair adminiſters freſh ſtrength, and ſuggeſts new lights. But his troops could not make head againſt the *Romans*; they were again worſted by *Marius*, though they obliged *Metellus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Zama*. *Jugurtha* therefore, finding his country every-where ravaged, his moſt opulent cities plundered, his fortreſſes reduced, his towns burnt, vaſt numbers of his ſubjects put to the ſword, and taken priſoners, began to think ſeriouſly of coming to an accommodation with the *Romans*. His favourite *Bomilcar*, in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, but who had been gained over to the enemy by *Metellus*, obſerving this diſpoſition, found it no difficult matter to perſuade him to deliver up his elephants, money, arms, horſes, and deſerters, in whom the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, into the hands of the *Romans*. Some of theſe laſt, in order to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, retired to *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, and liſted in his ſervice. But *Metellus* ordering him to repair to (N) *Tiſidium*, a city of *Numidia*, there to receive farther directions, and he refuſing a compliance with that order, hoſtilities were renewed with greater fury than ever. Fortune now ſeemed to declare in favour of *Jugurtha*: he retook *Vacca*, and maſſacred the *Roman* garriſon, though *Turpilius*, the commandant, found means

(N) This city ſeems to have been ſituated either upon the borders of *Africa Propria*, or in that province, ſince *Metellus* diſtributed his troops in winter-quarters there, after the concluſion of the campaign (13).

(13) *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.*

to make his escape. However, soon after a *Roman* legion seized again upon it, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost severity. About this time, one of *Masanabal*'s sons, named *Gauda*, whom *Micipsa*, in his will, had appointed to succeed to the crown, in case his two legitimate sons and *Jugurtha* died without issue, wrote to the senate in favour of *Marius*, who was then endeavouring to supplant *Metellus*; the occasion and effect of which solicitation has already been related. That prince, having his understanding impaired by a declining state of health, fell a more easy prey to the base and infamous adulation of *Marius*, who, after having soothed his vanity, assured him, that, as he was the next heir to the crown, he might depend upon being fixed upon the *Numidian* throne, as soon as *Jugurtha* was either killed or taken, which must in a short time happen, when he once appeared at the head of the *Roman* army with an unlimited commission. Soon after *Bomilcar* and *Nabdalsa* formed a design to assassinate *Jugurtha*, at the (O) instigation of *Metellus*; but this being detected, *Bomilcar*, and most of his accomplices, suffered death, as our readers will find in another part of this work. The plot, however, had such an effect upon *Jugurtha*, that he enjoyed afterwards no tranquillity or repose. He suspected persons of all denominations, *Numidians* as well as foreigners, of some black designs against him. Perpetual terrors sat brooding over his mind; insomuch, that he never got a wink of sleep, but by stealth, and often changed his bed in a low, plebeian manner. Starting from his sleep, he would frequently snatch his sword, and break out into the most doleful cries. So strongly was he haunted by a spirit of fear, jealousy, and distraction [u].

Jugurtha, having destroyed great numbers of his friends, on suspicion of their having been concerned in the late conspiracy, and many more of them deserting to the *Romans* and *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, found himself, in a manner, destitute of counsellors, generals, and all persons capable of

Copies a letter from a friend to him.

[u] Idem ibid. Liv. epit. lxv. Plut. in Mar. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 11.

(O) *Frontinus* relates, that *Metellus* endeavoured to secure *Jugurtha*'s person, not to assassinate him, which, he insinuates, might have been more easily effected. But as this runs counter to *Sallust*, who is superior, in point of authority, to *Frontinus*, this historical fragment deserves not much credit (14).

(14) *S. Jul. Frontin Strat. l. i. c. 8. ex. 8.*

assisting

aſſiſting him in carrying on the war. This threw him into a deep melancholy, which rendered him diſſatisfied with every thing, and made him fatigue his troops with a variety of contradictory motions. Sometimes he would advance with great celerity againſt the enemy, and at others retreat with no ſmall ſwiftneſs from them. Then he reſumed his former courage; but ſoon after deſpaired either of the valour or fidelity of the forces under his command. All his movements therefore proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt he was forced by *Metellus* to a battle. That part of the *Numidian* army *Jugurtha* commanded behaved with ſome reſolution; but the other fled at the firſt onſet. The *Romans* therefore intirely defeated them, took all their ſtandards, and made a few of them priſoners. Not many of them were ſlain in the action, ſince, as *Salluſt* obſerves, the *Numidians* truſted more to their heels than their arms for ſafety in this engagement [w].

Metellus purſued *Jugurtha* and his fugitives to *Thala*, a place we have formerly deſcribed. His march to this place, being through vaſt deſerts, was extremely tedious and difficult; but being ſupplied with wooden veſſels of all ſizes taken from the huts of the *Numidians*, which were filled with water brought by the natives, who had ſubmitted to him, he inveſted that city. He had no ſooner ſat down before it, than a moſt copious ſhower of rain, a thing very uncommon in thoſe deſerts, proved a great and ſeaſonable refreſhment to his forces, who, animated thereby, as though the gods had declared for them, prepared to attack the town with ſuch vigour, that *Jugurtha*, with his family and treaſures depoſited therein, thought proper to abandon it. After a brave defence, it was reduced, the gariſon, conſiſting of *Roman* deſerters, ſetting fire to the king's palace, and conſuming themſelves, together with every thing valuable to them, in the flames. *Jugurtha*, being now reduced to great extremities, retired into *Gætulia*, where he formed a conſiderable corps. From thence he advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, and engaged *Bocchus*, king of that country, whoſe daughter he had married, to enter into an alliance with him; in conſequence of which, having reinforced his *Gætulian* troops with a powerful body of *Mauritanians*, he turned the tables upon *Metellus*, and obliged him to keep cloſe within his intrenchments. *Salluſt* informs us, that *Jugurtha* bribed *Bocchus*'s miniſters to influence that prince in his favour; and that having obtained an audience, he inſinuated, that, ſhould *Numidia* be ſubdued,

Metellus *takes* Thala

[w] SALLUST. LIV. PATERC. OROS. ubi ſup. EUTROP. ubi ſup. c. 27.

Mauritania must be involved in its ruin, especially as the *Romans* seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. In support of what he advanced, he produced several instances very apposite to the point in view. However, the same author seems to intimate, that *Bocchus* was determined to assist *Jugurtha* against his enemies by the slight the *Romans* had formerly shewn him. That prince, at the first breaking out of this war, sent embassadors to *Rome*, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance to the republic; which, though of the utmost consequence to it at that juncture, a few of the most venal and infamous senators, who were abandoned to corruption, prevented from taking effect. This undoubtedly wrought more powerfully upon *Bocchus* in favour of *Jugurtha*, than the relation he stood in to him; for both the *Moors* and *Numidians* adapted the number of their wives to their circumstances, so that some had ten, twenty, &c. to their share. Their kings therefore were unlimited in this particular, and of course all degrees of affinity, resulting to them from marriage, had little force. It is observable, that the posterity of those antient nations have the same custom prevailing amongst them at this day *.

And endeavours to draw off Bocchus from the interest of Jugurtha.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in *Numidia*, when *Metellus* received advice of the promotion of *Marius* to the consulate. What effect this news had upon that excellent, tho' much injured, commander, has been already observed. But, notwithstanding the injurious treatment he met with on this occasion, he generously endeavoured to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, though this would facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for his rival. To this end embassadors were dispatched to the *Mauritanian* court, who intimated to *Bocchus*, "That it would be highly imprudent to come to a rupture "with the *Romans* without any cause at all; that he had "now a fine opportunity of concluding a most advantageous "treaty with them, which was much preferable to a war; "that, whatever dependence he might place upon his riches, "he ought not to run the hazard of losing his dominions by "embroiling himself with other states, when he could easily "avoid this; that it was much easier to begin a war, than "to end it, which it was in the power of the victor alone "to do; that, in fine he would by no means consult the "interest of his subjects, if he followed the desperate for-"tunes of *Jugurtha*." To which *Bocchus* replied, "That, "for his part, there was nothing he wished for more than

* Idem ibid. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & BERN. ALDRET. ubi sup. p. 400, 401, & seq.

"peace;

" peace; but that he could not help pitying the deplorable " condition of *Jugurtha*; that if the *Romans* therefore would " grant that unfortunate prince the same terms they had of- " fered him, he would bring about an accommodation." *Metellus* let the *Mauritanian* monarch know, that it was not in his power to comply with what he desired. However, he took care to keep up a private negotiation with him till the new consul *Marius's* arrival. By this conduct he served two wise ends; for, first, he prevented thereby *Bocchus* from coming to a general action with his troops; which was the very thing *Jugurtha* desired, as hoping that this, whatever the event might be, would render a reconciliation betwixt him and the *Romans* impracticable. Secondly, this inaction enabled him to discover something of the genius and disposition of the *Moors*, a nation, of whom the *Romans*, till then, had scarce formed any idea, which, he imagined, might be of no small service, either to himself or his successors, in the future prosecution of the war[r].

Jugurtha, being informed, that *Marius*, with a numerous army, was landed at *Utica*, advised *Bocchus* to retire, with part of the troops, to some place of difficult access, whilst he himself took post upon another inaccessible spot with the remaining corps. By this measure, he hoped the *Romans* would be obliged to divide their forces, and consequently be more exposed to his efforts and attacks. He likewise imagined, that, seeing no formidable body appear, they would believe the enemy in no condition to make head against them; which might occasion a relaxation of discipline; the usual atendant of a too great security, and consequently produce some good effect. However, he was disappointed in both these views; for *Marius*, far from suffering a relaxation of discipline to take place, trained up his troops, which consisted chiefly of new levies, in so perfect a manner, that they were soon equal in goodness to any consular army that ever appeared in the field. He also cut off great numbers of the *Gætulian* marauders, defeated many of *Jugurtha's* parties, and had like to have taken that prince himself prisoner near the city of *Cirta*. These advantages, though not of any great importance, intimidated *Bocchus*, who now made overtures for an accommodation; but the *Romans*, not being sufficiently satisfied of his sincerity, gave no great attention to them. In the mean time, *Marius* pushed on his conquests, reducing several places of less note, and at last resolved to besiege *Capsa*. That this en- Marius *reduces* Capsa.

[r] SALLUST. VEL. PATERC. & PLUT. ubi sup. Univers. hist. vol. xii. p. 374.

terprise

terprise might be conducted with the greater secrecy, he suffered not the least hint of his design to transpire, even amongst any of his officers. On the contrary, in order to blind them, he detached *A. Manlius*, one of his lieutenants, with some light-armed cohorts, to the city of *Lares*, where he had fixed his principal magazine, and deposited the military chest. Before the lieutenant left the camp, that he might the more effectually amuse him, he intimated, that himself, with the army, should take the same route in a few days; but, instead of that, he bent his march towards the *Tanais*, and, in six days time, arrived upon the banks of that river. Here he pitched his tents for a short time, in order to refresh his troops; which having done, he advanced to *Capsa*, and made himself master of it, in the manner we have already related. As the situation of this city rendered it extremely commodious to *Jugurtha*, whose plan of operations, ever since the commencement of the war, it had exceedingly favoured, he levelled it with the ground, after it had been delivered up to the soldiers to be plundered. The citizens likewise, being more strongly attached to that prince than any of the other *Numidians*, on account of the extraordinary privileges he indulged them with, and, of course, bearing a more implacable hatred to the *Romans*, he put to the sword, or sold for slaves. The true motive of the consul's conduct on this occasion seems here to be assigned, though we are told by *Sallust*, in conformity to the *Roman* genius, that neither avarice nor resentment prompted him to so barbarous an action, but only a desire to strike a terror into the *Numidians* [2] (P).

The

[2] Sallust. Liv. Flor. Plut. Eutrop. Oros. ubi sup.

(P) *Sallust* does not only inform us, that the *Numidians* lived after much the same manner as the *Libyan Nomades* of *Herodotus*, but likewise that they were called *Nomo-Numidæ*; which seems to confirm what we have hinted above concerning the etymon of the word *Numidia*. He likewise tells us, that these *Nomo-Numidæ* increased so exceedingly, that they over-stocked their original country; and therefore a great multitude of them were obliged to make an irruption into the country afterwards from them called *Numidia*, where they settled. This piece of history the same writer affirms to have been extracted from some *Punic* books belonging to king *Hiempsal*. From whence it may be inferred, that what has been advanced by *Herodotus* concerning the irruption of the *Libyan Nomades* into *Numidia*, is probably true, since it is attested by the *Punic* writers themselves, though it must be owned, that where these

THE *Numidians*, ever after this exploit, dreaded the very name of *Marius*, who now, in his own opinion, had eclipsed the glory of all his predeceſſor's great atchievements, particularly the reduction of *Thala*, a city, in ſtrength and ſituation, nearly reſembling *Capſa*. Following his blow, he gradually preſented himſelf before moſt of the places of ſtrength in the enemy's country, many of which either opened their gates, or were abandoned, at his approach, being terrified with what had happened to the unfortunate citizens of *Capſa*; others, taking by force, he laid in aſhes; and, in ſhort, filled the greateſt part of *Numidia* with blood, horror and confuſion. The operations of the campaign were concluded by the reduction of a caſtle, that ſeemed impregnable, ſeated on the *Mulucha*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his treaſures (Q). In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, not being able to prevail upon *Bocchus*, by his repeated ſolicitations, to advance into *Numidia*, where he found himſelf greatly preſſed, was obliged to have recourſe to his uſual method of bribing the *Mauritanian* miniſters, in order to put that prince in motion. He alſo promiſed him a third part of his kingdom, provided they could either drive the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or get all the *Numidian* dominions confirmed to him by treaty [a].

Jugurtha prevails upon Bocchus to aſſiſt him.

So conſiderable a ceſſion could not fail of engaging *Bocchus* to ſupport *Jugurtha* with his whole power. The two (R) *African* monarchs therefore, having joined their forces, ſurpriſed *Marius* near *Cirta*, as he was going into winter-quarters. The *Roman* general was ſo puſhed on this occaſi-

They are both defeated by Marius, upon which Bocchus delivers up Jugurtha to the Romans.

[a] SALLUST. FLOR. PLUT. ubi ſup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9. ex. 3.

thoſe authors contradict *Herodotus*, and the generality of the beſt hiſtorians, ſuch a degree of credit is not due to them (15).

(Q) Notwithſtanding the immenſe treaſures *Jugurtha* had been in poſſeſſion of, ſo late as ſome years after the death of *Gala*, father to *Maſiniſſa*, a great part of the *Numidians*, all thoſe at leaſt inhabiting the open country, had no gold or ſilver money. However, they were not very ſenſible of this defect, ſince it was ſupplied by their flocks and herds, as we are informed by *Livy* (16).

(R) *Frontinus* ſays, that *Jugurtha* never began a battle with the *Romans* till towards evening, that, if he ſhould happen to be defeated, he might eſcape by favour of the night (17).

(15) *Herodot. ubi ſup* l. iv. *Salluſt. in bell. Jugurth.* (16) *Liv.* l. xxix. c. 31. (17) *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat.* l. ii. c. 1. ex. 13.

on,

on, that the barbarians thought themſelves certain of victory, and doubted not but they ſhould be able to extinguiſh the *Roman* name in *Numidia*; but their incaution and too great ſecurity enabled *Marius* to give them a total defeat, which was followed four days after by ſo complete an overthrow, that their numerous army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand men, by the acceſſion of a powerful corps of *Moors*, commanded by *Bocchus*'s ſon *Volux*, was intirely ruined. *Sylla*, *Marius*'s lieutenant, moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt action, which laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. *Bocchus*, now looking upon *Jugurtha*'s condition as deſperate, and not being willing to run the riſk of loſing his dominions, clapped up a peace with *Rome*. However, the republic gave him to underſtand, that he muſt not expect to be ranked amongſt its friends, till he had delivered up into the conſul's hands *Jugurtha*, that inveterate enemy of the *Roman* name. The *Mauritanian* monarch, having entertained a high idea of an alliance with that ſtate, reſolved to ſatisfy it in this particular, and was confirmed in his reſolution by one *Dabar*, a *Numidian* prince, the ſon of *Maſſugrada*, and deſcended, by his mother's ſide, from *Maſiniſſa*, who, being cloſely attached to the *Romans*, and extremely agreeable to *Bocchus*, on account of his noble diſpoſition, had defeated all the intrigues of *Aſpar*, *Jugurtha*'s miniſter. Upon *Sylla*'s arrival at the *Mauritanian* court, the affair there ſeemed to be intirely ſettled. However, *Bocchus*, who was for ever projecting new deſigns, and, like the reſt of his countrymen, in the higheſt degree perfidious, debated within himſelf, whether he ſhould ſacrifice *Sylla* or *Jugurtha*, who were both then in his power. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and combated by a contrariety of ſentiments. The ſudden changes, which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, his air, and his whole perſon, evidently ſhewed how ſtrongly his mind was agitated; but at laſt he returned to his firſt deſign, to which the bias of his mind ſeemed naturally to lead him. He therefore delivered up *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*, to be conducted to *Marius*, who, by that ſucceſsful event, happily terminated this dangerous war. The kingdom of *Numidia* was now reduced to a new form: *Bocchus*, for his important ſervices, had the country of the *Maſæſyli* contiguous to *Mauritania*, aſſigned him, which, from this time, took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia Propria*, or the country of the *Maſſyli*, was divided into three parts, one of which was given to *Hiempſal*, another to *Mandreſtal*, both deſcendants of *Maſiniſſa*, and the third the *Romans* annexed to *Africa Propria*, or the *Roman* province, adjacent to it. What became

came of *Jugurtha*, after he had graced *Marius*'s triumph (S), at which ceremony he was led in chains, together with his two ſons, through the ſtreets of *Rome*, our readers will find related at large in a former part of this work [b].

Jugurtha's two ſons ſurvived him, but ſpent their lives in captivity at *Venuſia*. However, one of them, named *Oxyntas*, was, for a ſhort time, releaſed from his confinement by *Aponius*, who beſieged *Acerræ* in the war between the *Romans* and the *Italian* allies. That general brought this prince to his army, where he treated him as king, in order to draw the *Numidian* forces off from the *Roman* ſervice. Accordingly thoſe *Numidians* no ſooner heard, that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; which obliged *Julius Cæſar*, the conſul, to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and ſend them back into *Africa*. Some few years after this event, *Pompey* defeated *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, killing ſeventeen thouſand of their men upon the ſpot. Not ſatisfied with this victory, that general purſued the

Tranſactions in Numidia *after the death of* Jugurtha.

[b] SALLUST. ubi ſup. LIV. epit. lxvi. PLUT. in Mar. & in Syl. DIO CASS. l. xliii. APPIAN. de bell. civ. FLOR. EUTROP. & OROS. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. STRAB. l. xvii. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xii p. 359, & ſeq. VEL. PATERC. l. iii. c. 12.

(S) According to *Plutarch*, *Marius*'s triumph happened on the firſt day of *January*, which began the year amongſt the *Romans*, when *Jugurtha* was expoſed to the view of the people. The populace was extremely pleaſed with that ſight, the *Numidian*, by his valour and conduct, having rendered himſelf terrible to the *Romans*; nay, *Florus* intimates, that he was looked upon by them as a ſecond *Hannibal*. *Plutarch* adds, that the day he was led in triumph, he fell diſtracted; that, when he was afterwards thrown into priſon, whilſt ſome tore off his cloaths, and others his golden pendent, with which they pulled off the tip of his ear, he was greatly diſcompoſed; and that yet, full of horror, when he was caſt naked into the dungeon, he forced a ſmile, crying out, *O heavens! how intolerably cold is this bath of yours!* In this place he ſtruggled for ſome time with extreme hunger, and then expired. The barbarous death he was put to, notwithſtanding his own inhuman diſpoſition, will remain an eternal monument of the *Roman* cruelty and ingratitude. *Mithridates* therefore juſtly reproached the lords of the world with their infamous barbarity to the grandſon of *Maſſiniſſa*, a prince that contributed as much to the deſtruction of that rival *Carthage* as either of the *Africani* (18).

(18) *Juſt.* l. xxxviii. c. 6. *Plut. in Mario.*

fugitives to their camp, which he ſoon forced, put *Domitius* to the ſword, and took *Hiarbas* priſoner. He then reduced that part of *Numidia* which belonged to *Hiarbas*, who ſeems to have ſucceeded *Mandreſtal* above-mentioned, and gave it to *Hiempſal*, a neighbouring *Numidian* prince, deſcended from *Maſiniſſa*, who had always oppoſed the *Marian* faction. For a particular account of the treacherous reception *Hiempſal*, or his ſon *Mandreſtal*, gave young *Marius*, *Cethegus*, *Lectorius*, and others of the ſame party, when proſcribed by *Sylla*, and forced to ſeek an aſylum at his court, we muſt refer our readers to *Plutarch* and *Appian* c.

Cæſar treats Juba in a very indecent manner.

Suetonius informs us, that a diſpute happened at *Rome* between *Hiempſal* and one *Maſintha*, a noble *Numidian*, whom it is probable, he had, in ſome reſpect, injured, when *Julius Cæſar* firſt began to make a figure in the world. This is a plain demonſtration, that *Numidia* was, at that time, in reality, ſubject to the *Romans*, ſince the ſubjects there could then apply to the *Romans* for redreſs, even from their ſovereign. The ſame author adds, that *Cæſar* warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of *Maſintha*, and even groſly inſulted *Juba*, *Hiempſal*'s ſon, when he attempted to vindicate his father's conduct on this occaſion. He pulled him by the beard, than which a more unpardonable affront could not be offered an *African*, and reproached him with being a tributary dependent prince. In ſhort, he ſcreened *Maſintha* from the inſults and violence of his enemies; from whence a reaſon may be aſſigned for *Juba*'s adhering ſo cloſely afterwards to the *Pompeian* faction d.

Juba defeats Curio, one of Cæſar's lieutenants

In conſequence of the indignity *Cæſar* had offered *Juba*, and the diſpoſition it had occaſioned, that prince did *Cæſar* great damage in the civil wars betwixt him and *Pompey*. By a ſtratagem he drew *Curio*, one of his lieutenants, to a general action, which it was his intereſt at that time to have avoided. He cauſed it to be given out all over *Africa Propria* and *Numidia*, that he was retired into ſome remote country at a great diſtance from the *Roman* territories. This coming to *Curio*'s ears, who was then beſieging *Utica*, it hindered him from taking the neceſſary precautions to prevent a ſurpriſe. Soon after, the *Roman* general receiving intelligence, that a ſmall body of *Numidians* was approaching his camp, he put himſelf at the head of his forces, in order to attack them, and, for fear they ſhould eſcape, began his march in the night, looking upon himſelf as ſure of victory. Some of their advanced

c Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. p. 376. & 388. Liv. ep. lxvii. Plut. in Mar. in Syl. & in Pomp. d Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 71.

guards

guards he ſurpriſed aſleep, and cut them to pieces, which ſtill further animated him. In ſhort, about day-break he came up with the *Numidians*, whom he attacked with great bravery, though his men were then faſting, and vaſtly fatigued by their forced and precipitate march. In the mean time, *Juba*, who immediately after the propagation of the rumour above-mentioned, had taken care to march privately, with the mean body of the *Numidian* army, to ſupport the detachment ſent before to decoy *Curio*, advanced to the relief of his men. The *Romans* had met with a great reſiſtance before he appeared; ſo that he eaſily broke them, killed *Curio*, with a good part of his troops upon the ſpot, purſued the reſt to their camp, which he plundered, and took many of them priſoners. Moſt of the fugitives, who endeavoured to make their eſcape on board the ſhips in the port of *Utica*, were either ſlain by the purſuers, or drowned. The remainder fell into the hands of *Varus*, who would have ſaved them; but *Juba*, who arrogated to himſelf the honour of this victory, ordered them all to be put to the ſword [e] (T).

THIS

[e] CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. c. 7, 8. DIO, l. xli. ad ann. U. C. 705. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. 2. p. 455. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat l. ii. c. 5. ex. 40.

(T) *Cæſar*, who gives us the particulars of this action, intimates, that *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, receiving continual reinforcements from his maſter, who kept at a ſmall diſtance from him, at laſt overpowered the *Romans*, though they behaved with great bravery; that *Sabura* cut off *Curio*'s retreat, by poſting ſome parties of his horſe upon ſeveral eminences near the field of battle; that, in conſequence of this, almoſt the whole *Roman* corps, commanded by *Curio*, was cut to pieces; and that part of the body of troops, left with the quæſtor *Rufus* to guard the camp, made their eſcape to *Sicily*. In other points, for the moſt part, he agrees with *Dio*, whom we have here choſen to follow. *Appian* inſinuates, that this defeat happened near the banks of the *Bagrada*; that *Juba* cauſed a rumour to be induſtriouſly propagated, that he was returned home, to repreſs the courſes of ſome neighbouring nations, who frequently made incurſions into his dominions, and had only ſent *Sabura*, with a ſmall body of troops, to obſerve the enemy. This, adds the ſame author, occaſioned the deſtruction of almoſt two intire *Roman* legions, with a body of horſe, velites, and ſlaves. *Appian* alſo relates, that, upon the news of *Curio*'s overthrow, *Flamma*, the *Roman* admiral, fled, without taking any of the runaways on board; that many of them, with *Pollio*, a *Roman* commander, had embarked ſome merchant ſhips, in order to make their eſcape on board them, that they immediately ſunk, whilſt others were thrown overboard

Cæſar *overthrows* Scipio, Juba, *and* Labienus.

THIS victory infuſed new life and vigour into the *Pompeian* faction, who thereupon conferred great honours upon *Juba*, and gave him the title of king of all *Numidia*. But *Cæſar* and his adherents declared him an enemy to the ſtate of *Rome*, adjudging to *Bocchus* and *Bogud*, two *African* princes intirely in their intereſt, the ſovereignty of his dominions. *Juba* afterwards, uniting his forces with thoſe of *Scipio*, reduced *Cæſar* to great extremities, and would, in all probability, have totally ruined him, had he not been relieved by *Publius Sittius* (U). That general, having formed a conſiderable corps, conſiſting of *Roman* exiles, and *Mauritanian* troops ſent him by *Bocchus*, according to *Dio*, or, as *Cæſar* will have it, *Bogud*, made an irruption into *Getulia* and *Numidia*, whilſt *Juba* was employed in *Africa Propria*. As he ravaged theſe countries in a dreadful manner, *Juba* immediately returned with the beſt part of his army, to preſerve them from utter deſtruction. However, *Cæſar*, for the ſake of the money they brought with them; and laſtly, that *Juba*, having placed a great number of the unhappy priſoners, that fell into his hands, upon the walls of *Utica*, cauſed them to be pierced with darts. Though *Varus* did his utmoſt to prevent this inhuman maſſacre, he could not prevail. After the end of the action, *Curio*'s head was cut off, and carried, as an agreeable preſent, to *Juba* (19).

(U) *Appian* gives us the following account of this *P. Sittius*: Being accuſed of a certain crime at *Rome*, he abandoned that city before his trial came on, and aſſembled a body of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, with which he paſſed over into *Africa*. Upon his arrival there, he found the reguli of that country engaged in bloody wars amongſt themſelves. Sometimes he aſſiſted one of theſe princes, and ſometimes another, victory always declaring for him, whoſe intereſt he eſpouſed. This rendered his name terrible to the *Moors* and *Numidians*, inſomuch that he eaſily made the ſcale preponderate in favour of *Cæſar*, and was rewarded by that general, after the reduction of *Africa*, with a large extent of territory formerly belonging to one *Manaſſes*, a *Numidian* prince, who had aſſiſted *Juba*. The other part of this diſtrict was given to *Bocchus*. *Sittius* ſettled the troops, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves under his conduct here; but was afterwards cut off by treachery. This was effected by *Arabio*, *Manaſſes*'s ſon, who, after *Julius Cæſar*'s death, ſent for thoſe *Africans* to aſſiſt *S. Pompeius* in *Spain*. Theſe *Africans*, returning ſome time after, diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, joined *Labio* to diſpatch *Sittius*, and likewiſe to drive *Bocchus* out of the territory he had uſurped from him (20).

(19) *Cæſ. de bell. civil.* l. ii. c. 7, 8. *Appian. de bell. civil.* l. ii. c. 455, 456. (20) *Appian ibid.* l. iv. c. 620, 621.

knowing

knowing his horſe to be afraid of the enemy's elephants, did not think proper to attack *Scipio* in the abſence of the *Numidian*, till his own elephants, and a freſh reinforcement of troops hourly expected, arrived from *Italy*; which acceſſion of ſtrength, he imagined, would enable him to give a good account, both of the *Roman* forces, with which he was to cope, and the barbarians. In the mean time, *Scipio* diſpatched reiterated expreſſes to (W) *Juba* to haſten to his aſſiſtance, but could not prevail upon him to move out of *Numidia*, till he had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of all the *Roman* dominions in *Africa*, if they could from thence expel *Cæſar*. This immediately put him in motion; ſo that, having ſent a large detachment to make head againſt *Sittius*, he marched with the reſt of his troops to aſſiſt *Scipio*. However, *Cæſar* at laſt overthrew *Scipio*, *Juba*, and *Labienus*, near the town of *Thapſus*, and forced all their camps. As *Scipio* was the firſt ſurpriſed and defeated, *Juba* fled into *Numidia*, without waiting for *Cæſar's* approach; but the body of *Numidians* detached againſt *Sittius*, having been broken and diſperſed by that general, none of his ſubjects there would receive him. Abandoned therefore to deſpair, he ſought death in a ſingle combat with *Petreius*, and, having killed him, cauſed himſelf to be diſpatched by one of his ſlaves [f] (X).

AFTER this deciſive action and the reduction of *Africa Propria*, *Cæſar* made himſelf maſter of all *Numidia Propria*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, appointing *Criſpus Salluſtius* to govern it in quality of proconſul, with private inſtructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and, by that means, put it out of their power ever to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. However, *Bocchus* and *Bogud* ſtill preſerved a ſort of ſovereignty in the country of the *Maſæſyli* and *Mau-*

Cæſar *reduces* Numidia *to the form of a province.*

[f] A. HIRT. de bell. African. c. 3, 4, 5, & ſeq. APPIAN. ubi ſup. l. iv. p. 620, 621. DIO, l. xliii. PLUT. in Cat. & Caſ.

(W) *Juba*, according to *Dio*, pretended to aſſiſt *Pompey*, not out of a motive of reſentment, but becauſe he was a defender of the ſenate and people of *Rome*. But princes frequently, in the place of the real cauſe, ſubſtitute the pretext (21).

(X) *Hirtius* intimates, that *Juba* killed *Petreius* in this combat, and was himſelf afterwards diſpatched by his ſlave. *Oroſius* relates, that *Petreius* run himſelf through with his ſword; and that *Juba* hired a perſon to kill him; but *Appian*, *Eutropius*, and *Dio*, aſſure us, that they ſlew each other (22).

(21) *Dio*, *l.* xli. (22) *Appian. de bell. civil.* p. 490. *Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 16. *ſub fin. Eutrop. l.* vi. *c.* 23. *Dio*, *l.* xliii.

riania,

ritania, since the former of those princes, having deserted *Cæsar*, sent an army into *Spain* to assist the *Pompeians*; and the latter, with his forces, determined victory to declare for *Cæsar* at the ever memorable battle of *Munda*. *Bogud*, afterwards siding with *Antony* against *Octavius*, sent a body of forces to assist him in *Spain*; at which time the *Tingitanians* revolting from him, *Bocchus*, with an army composed of *Romans* in the interest of *Octavius*, who passed over from *Spain* into *Africa*, and his own subjects, possessed himself of *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Bogud* fled to *Antony*, and *Octavius*, after the conclusion of the war, honoured the inhabitants of *Tingi* with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. He likewise confirmed *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, or the country of the *Masæsyli*, in the possession of *Tingitania*, which he had conquered, as a reward for his important services. In this he imitated the example of his great predecessor *Julius Cæsar*, who divided some of the fruitful plains of *Numidia* among the soldiers of *P. Sittius*, who had conquered great part of that country, and appointed *Sittius* himself sovereign of that district. *Sittius* (Y), as has been intimated above, having taken *Cirta*, killed *Sabura*, *Juba*'s general, intirely dispersed his forces, and either cut off, or taken prisoners, most of the *Pompeian* fugitives, that escaped from the battle of *Thapsus*, highly deserved to be distinguished in so eminent a manner. After *Bocchus*'s death, *Mauritania* and the *Masæsylian Numidia* were, in all respects, considered as *Roman* provinces, according to *Dio*; which seems to evince, that the hostilities *Bocchus* committed against *Carinas*, whom *Octavius* had appointed governor of *Spain*, mentioned by *Appian*, were not attended with any bad consequences, either to himself or to the *Romans*, since he continued on the throne of the *Masæsylian Numidia* and *Mauritania* as long as he lived. What happened to *Bogud* after he was driven out of his dominions, as also a brief account of the younger *Juba* (Z), his son *Ptolemy*, and *Tacfarinas*, who gave the *Romans* no

(Y) We learn from *Hirtius*, that *Sittius*, or, as he calls him, *Sitius*, greatly distressed *Juba* before the battle of *Thapsus*, by possessing himself of a castle situated on a hill, where that prince had a very considerable magazine (z3)

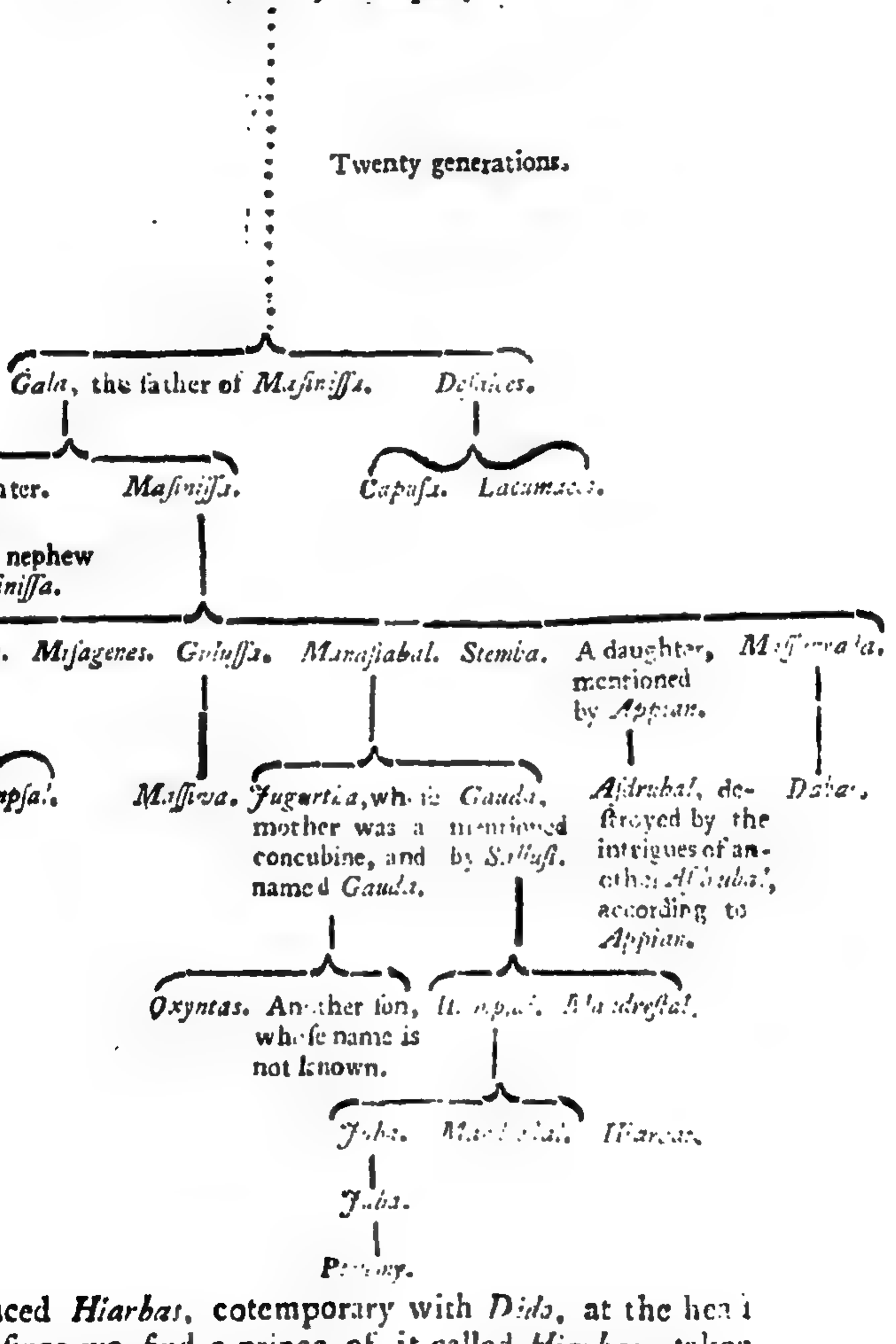
(Z) As *Massinissa*'s family makes so considerable a figure, both in the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* history, it will not be amiss to exhibit to our readers view as full an account of it as can be drawn from antiquity; which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to them.

(z3) *A. Hirt. de bell. Afric. c.* 5.

Hiarbas

no ſmall trouble in the reign of *Tiberius*, with other remarkable particulars relating to the period and country we are now upon, our readers will naturally expect to find in the hiſtory of the *Moors* or *Mauritanians* [g].

[g] A. HIRT. ubi ſup. & de bell. Alex. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hiſp. DIO, l. xliii. xlix. l. STRAB. l. iii. FLOR. ubi ſup.



We have placed *Hiarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, at the head of this family, ſince we find a prince of it called *Hiarbas*, taken notice of by *Plutarch*, as likewiſe, becauſe it appears from *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Euſtathius*, that the *Mazyes*, *Hiarbas*'s ſubjects, were *Numidians* (24).

(24) *Liv. Appian. Sueton. Salluſt. Dio Caſſ. Cæſ. Hirt. Plut. Juſtin. Steph. Byzant. Euſtath. aliiq; ſcript. plurim.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The history of the Mauritanians, *to the intire reduction of their country by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

Description of Mauritania.

Description of Mauritania.

MAURITANIA, or, as it is called by *Strabo Maurusia*, and the country of the *Maurusii*, was bounded on the east by the *Malva* or *Mulucha*; on the west by the *Atlantic* ocean; on the south by *Gætulia*, or *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. This kingdom, being reduced to a *Roman* province in the reign of *Claudius*, had the name of *Mauritania Tingitana* given it by that prince, as we are informed by *Dio*. From *Pliny*, and some inscriptions in *Gruter*, it likewise appears, that it was called by the *Romans* at that time, as well as afterwards, simply *Tingitania*, from its principal city *Tingi*, in order to distinguish it from *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. If we may judge from what has been already observed of *Numidia* and *Africa Propria*, the antients were not over-accurate in their descriptions of this country. However, all their faults cannot be discovered, much less corrected, since no modern accounts of the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, answering nearly to the *Tingitania* of the antients, can be intirely depended upon. All that can be done is, to make use of the best lights, that have been hitherto afforded us [a].

Limits and extent of Mauritania.

THOUGH *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, then was considerably broader than *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, the corresponding parts of mount *Atlas*, or the confines of *Gætulia*, lying more to the southward, yet *Pliny* and *Martianus*, according to the latest observations, exceed the truth, when

[a] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 570. DIO CASS. l. lx. p. 771. PLIN. l. v. c. 2. Vet. inscript. apud GRUTER. p. 492. n. 7. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1.

they

Septentrio

HISPANIAE PARS

MARIS MEDITERRANEI

sive INTERNI PARS

Gades

SINUS

Fretum Herculeum

GADITANUS

OCEANUS

ATLAN

Regnum Bogudis

TINGITANA

Bocchi Regnum

Massaesyli

CAESARIENSIS

MAURETANIA

Numidae

Cirta

Carthago

AFRICAE

PROPRIA

Sufibus

Sufetula

Thambes Mons

Misulam

Nacmusii

Nasabutes

Nisibes

Sabubure

Campus Sitaphitus

Atlas mons

Pomaria Insula

Tamaclet

Tamacina

Beccanum hemeum

Saviga

Fita

Agmathe

Barca Le

LIBYA INTERIOR

Vacuatae

Tropicus Cancri

ATLAS MAJOR MONS

Meridies

MAURETANIA. NUMIDIA. GÆTULIA &c

they affirm the greateſt breadth of the *Mauritaniæ* to be four hundred and ſixty-ſeven, or four hundred and ſeventy-three miles. The length of this region we may make a tolerable eſtimate of, by obſerving that the *Malva* or *Mullooïah*, its eaſtern limit, about 1° 15′ W. of *London*, is ſomething above two hundred and forty miles diſtant from the *Atlantic* ocean. Some of the modern geographers make the kingdom of *Fez* to be two hundred and ſeventy miles long, and that of *Morocco*, from cape *Non* to the mountains which divide it from *Segelmeſſa*, above three hundred and ſeventy; but this computation, with reſpect to the antient *Tingitania*, is undoubtedly more erroneous than that of *Pliny*, which amounts only to an hundred and ſeventy miles. The longitude and latitude of the ſouthern limits of *Tingitania* cannot be aſcertained for want of a proper light from the old geographers; but *Septa*, the preſent *Ceuta*, its moſt advanced city to the northward, is about 35° 58′ N. latitude, and about 6° W. longitude from *London*. The *Al-Magreb Al-Achſa* of *Abulfeda* includes the *Mauruſia* of *Strabo*, or the country we are now upon, and part of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, as it extends from the *Atlantic* ocean, which he calls the ſea *Almohit*, to *Tlemeſan*. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Ptolemy* places the *Atlas Major*, his ſouthern boundary of this kingdom, at a vaſt diſtance from the ſouthern limits aſſigned it by *Pliny*, in the deſerts of *Gætulia* or *Libya Interior*. But it appears from what has been already advanced, as well as the beſt relations of modern travellers, that this ridge of mountains, if real, could not have appertained to *Tingitania* [b].

Whence ſo called.

Mauritania and *Mauruſia* are names of this region derived from the *Mauri*, an antient people inhabiting it, frequently mentioned by the old hiſtorians and geographers. Authors are not agreed amongſt themſelves about the origin of this word. *Salluſt* affirms it to be a corruption of the word *Medi*; but this is by no means probable. Dr. *Hyde* deduces it from מעברי *Mabri* or *Mav'ri*, *one that lies near*

[b] STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. MARTIAN. de duab. Mauritan. Geogr. Nubienſ. in clim. 3. ISM. ABULFED. ex traduct. V. Cl. Joan Gagnier. MARMOL. en l'Afrique, l iv. J LEO AFRIC. paſſ. L'Afrique en pluſieures cartes nouvelles, &c. par le ſieur SANSON D'ABBEVILLE, &c. à Paris, 1683. Nouvelle methode pour aprendre la geographie univerſ. par le ſieur DE LA CROIX, &c. à Paris, 1705. LUYTS introd. ad geograph. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692. Atl. geogr. vol. iv. MOLL's geogr in the kingd. of Morocco and FEZ. SHAW's geograph obſervations relating to the kingdom of Alg. p. 9. See alſo MORERY, and a new geographical dictionary publiſhed at Lond. 1737.

the paſſage, as he thinks the ſtraights of *Hercules* might properly enough be called. *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis* and *Manilius* think the name ought to be derived from the black, dark, ſwarthy colour of the people to which it was applied; but none of theſe etymons ſeem ſo eaſy and natural as that of *Bochart*, who makes *Maurus* to be equivalent to מאהור *Mahur*; or, as an eliſion of gutturals in the oriental languages is extremely common, *Maur*, i. e. *one from the weſt*, or *a weſtern perſon*, ſince *Mauritania* was weſt of *Carthage* and *Phœnice*. However, in our opinion, it would ſound better ſtill, ſhould we ſay, *one that comes from the end*, or *utmoſt limit of* Africa, or *the boundary of our voyages*, as both the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, for ſeveral ages, might have ſaid of the *Tingitanians*; for the ſtraights or pillars of *Hercules* limited the weſtern voyages of thoſe nations for a conſiderable period of time, as is evident from a variety of the beſt authors. It is not improbable, that this country, or at leaſt a good part of it, was firſt called *Phut*, ſince it appears from *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, that a river and territory not far from mount *Atlas* went by that name. From the *Jeruſalem Targum* it likewiſe appears, that part of the *Mauri* may be deemed the offspring of *Lud* the ſon of *Miſraim*, ſince his deſcendants, mentioned *Gen.* x. are there called מרימאני *Mauri* or *Mauritani*. We have already evinced, that this region, as well as the others to the eaſt of it, had many colonies planted in it by the *Phœnicians*. *Procopius* tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white ſtone were to be ſeen there, with the following inſcription in the *Phœnician* language and character upon them: *We are the* Canaanites *that fled from* Joſhua *the ſon of* Nun, *that notorious robber*. *Ibnu Rachich*, or *Ibnu Raquiq*, an *African* writer cited by *Leo*, together with *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus Callixtus*, aſſerts the ſame thing. How, in after-ages, that vaſt tract, extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean, came to be called *Barbary*, our readers will be informed in another place [c].

[c] Polyb. l. iii. c. 33. Salluſt. in Jugurth. paſſ Hirt. de bell African. Liv. l. xxi. c. 22. & alib. Strab. l. xvii. Tacit. paſſ Horat. Lucan Sil. Ital & al. quampiurim ſcript. Græc. & Latin. Hyde in Peritſ. p. 48. Manil. l. iv. Isid. Hispalens. l. ix c 12. & l. xiv. c. 5. Val. Schind. lex. pent. in voc לוד *Lud* & אהור *Ahur* vel *Aur*. Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. x. Eſai. c. xlii D' Hieronym. in Eſai. c. xli. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l ii. c 10. p. 257. Evagr. l. iv. c. 18. Niceph. Callist. l. xvii. c. 12. Theophan. in hiſt. miſcel. Inni Raquiq apud ſ. Leo African. part. v. Aldret. l. iii. c. 15.

The

THE *Mauritanians*, according to *Ptolemy*, were divided into ſeveral cantons or tribes. The *Metagonitæ* were ſeated near the ſtraights of *Hercules*. The *Succoſii*, or *Cocoſii*, according to *Bertius*, took up the coaſt of the *Iberian* ſea. Under theſe two petty nations, the *Maciſes*, *Verues*, and *Verbicæ*, or *Vervicæ*, ſettled themſelves. The *Saliſæ* or *Salinſæ* were ſituated lower, towards the ocean; and ſtill more to the ſouth the *Volubiliani*. The *Maurenſii* and *Hirpiditani* poſſeſſed the eaſtern part of this country, which was terminated by the *Mulucha*. The *Angaucani* or *Iangacaucani*, *Nectiberes*, *Zagrenſii*, *Baniubæ*, and *Vacuatæ*, extended themſelves from the ſouthern foot of *Ptolemy*'s *Atlas Minor* to his *Atlas Major*; which is all that he has intimated of them. *Pliny* mentions the *Baniuræ*, whom father *Hardouin* takes to be *Ptolemy*'s *Baniubæ*; and *Mela* the *Atlantes*, whom he repreſents as poſſeſſed of the weſtern parts of this region. The names of the different clans of *Numidians* we have poſtponed, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Gætulians*, ſince the latter nation was ſo intermixed with the former towards the *Roman* times, that it is difficult to determine to which of them ſome clans belong [d].

Tingis, or *Tingi*, the metropolis, as ſhould ſeem, of *Tingitania*, was a city of great antiquity. According to *Mela*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*, *Antæus*, cotemporary with *Hercules*, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundations of it. *Procopius* ſeems to intimate, that *Tingi* was built before the time of *Joſhua*, ſince he tells us, that the *Gergeſites*, *Jebuſites*, and other *Canaanitiſh* nations, or tribes, erected a caſtle in a city, where *Tingis*, or as he calls it, *Tigiſis*, ſtood. Dr. *Hyde* therefore is miſtaken, when he affirms *Procopius* to have aſſerted, that the *Gergeſites*, *Jebuſites*, &c. were the founders of *Tingis*. *Pliny* inſinuates *Antæus* to have had a palace at *Lixus* or *Lixos*, though he tells us, that the giant was buried at *Tingis*. This ſeems likewiſe confirmed by *Plutarch*, who adds, that his ſepulchre was ſtill remaining there in the time of *Sertorius*, who, paying no regard to the tradition that prevailed amongſt the inhabitants, cauſed it to be opened, and took out of it a corpſe ſixty cubits long. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians* called it *Tingir*, *Tiggir*, *Tagger*, &c. which, in their language, ſignified an *emporium*: and it muſt be owned; that the ſituation of *Tingis* was extremely commodious for carrying on a general trade; which we may, from this circumſtance, reaſonably Tingis.

[d] MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. HARDOUIN. in Plin. ubi ſup. SALLUST. in Jugurth. & ALDRET. l. iii. c. 31.

preſume the *Tingitanians* did, eſpecially as *Pliny* ſeems to inſinuate, that to ſome branches of commerce they actually applied themſelves. *Bochart*'s notion therefore receives ſome weight from theſe conſiderations, as alſo from the modern name of this city, *Tangier*, which we cannot help believing to have been of *Phœnician* extraction. If we ſuppoſe the antient *Tingis* to have occupied the ſpot on which *Tangier* at preſent ſtands, it was very near the ſtraights of *Hercules*, at the bottom of a gulph of the weſtern ſhore. We are informed by *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, that the *Romans* drew a colony from this place into the neighbourhood of *Carteia*, a town on the other ſide of the ſtraights; on which account *Pliny* abſurdly calls it *Julia Traducta*, that name being properly applicable to the colony deduced from thence to *Spain*, to which *Strabo* gives the appellation of *Julia Joza*, of the ſame import with the former, *Joza* in *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Phœnician*, being equivalent to the *Latin Traducta*. We find it likewiſe named by *Ptolemy* and *Marcianus* ſimply *Tranſducta*. Some writers will have *Ptolemy* to have called *Tingis Cæſarea*; but this is a controverted point. However, that geographer ſeems to have looked upon *Tingis* as the moſt noted and uſual proper name of the city we are now upon. *Tangier*, ſuppoſed to be the antient *Tingis*, is in 6° 30′ W. longitude from *London*, and in N. latitude 35° 56′ [d].

Zelis or *Zilis*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of *Tingis*, ſituated near a river of the ſame name. The inhabitants of this city were tranſported to *Spain*, as we learn from *Strabo*, and a colony of *Romans* or *Italians* tranſplanted thither, as ſhould ſeem, in their room, according to *Pliny*. The kings of *Mauritania*, after the planting of that colony, exerciſed no juriſdiction over *Zelis*, it being under the dominion of the *Roman* governor of *Spain*. Some authors imagine, that the modern *Arzilla* anſwers to *Zelis*; which if we admit, it ſtood about ſeventy miles from the ſtraights of *Hercules*. *Marmol* ſays, that *Arzilla* was built by the *Romans*; but this we muſt not give credit to, if it ſhould be thought proper to countenance the aforeſaid ſuppoſition; for if *Zelis*

[d] Pomp. Mel. l. ii. c. 5. Plin. ubi ſup. Solin. c. 24. Procop & Hyde, ubi ſup. Plut. in Sertor. Strab. l. iii. & alib. Plin Mel. Ptol. Martian. & al. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 24. Moll. De la Croix, &c. ubi ſup. Vide & Christ. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. ii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 7. ut & Isaac. Voss. atq; Jacob. Gronov. in Mel. l. ii. c. 6.

did

did not owe its origin to the *Indigenæ* of this country, it was undoubtedly of *Phœnician* extraction [c].

Lixus or *Lixos* seems to have been a place of considerable repute in the earliest ages, since according to *Pliny*, *Antæus* had a palace, and therefore probably resided here. This circumstance renders it likely, that *Lixus* was superior to *Tingis* itself in point of antiquity. But some authors seem to have confounded these two cities, as we shall find, by comparing the names given the former by *Artemidorus*, *Eratosthenes*, and *Strabo*, with *Pliny*. However, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Eratosthenes* to that of the others in this point, since it is supported by *Pliny*. *Lixus* therefore and *Tingis*, in consequence of this preference, we must look upon as two different cities. *Pliny* relates, that *Hercules* vanquished *Antæus* near this place, which he makes to have been in the neighbourhood of the gardens of the *Hesperides*, and thirty-two miles distant from *Zelis*. The same author intimates, that a *Roman* colony was settled here likewise by *Claudius*. As *Lixius* was called by different writers *Linx*, *Linga*, *Tinga*, *Tingi*, in all probability it was mistaken by some antient historians or geographers for *Tingis*; and therefore *Pliny* might be imposed upon by some of the authors he extracted his materials from, when he affirmed *Antæus* to have had his royal palace at *Lixos*, since it is more natural to suppose, that he resided at *Tingis*. The learned *Aldrete* asserts the word *Lixus* to be derived from לחישן *lachisu*, or נהרא לחישן *nahara lachisu*, *incantation*, or the *river of incantation*. In support of this sentiment he observes, with the antients, that the town stood near the banks of a river of the same name; and that such wonderful things had been related of *Antæus*, as well as his tomb, by various authors, that, to all those who believed them, he must appear as a magician. *Bochart* derives it from לישׁ a *lion*, because such animals were common in *Mauritania*. But it may be further observed in favour (A) of *Aldrete*, that the inhabitants of this country were supposed to have an uncommon skill in sorcery and magic, as appears not only from *Virgil*

Lixus.

[c] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 569. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. l. iv. c. 1. ANTONIN. in itinerar. ALDRET. ubi sup. l. iv. c. 3. Vide & CELLAR. l. iv. c. 7. p. 933. edit. Lipsi. 1732.

(A) In order to strengthen this conjecture, *Aldrete* observes, that the word *Tingin*, in *Arabic*, approaches pretty near the signification of *Lixus*; an observation which, we believe, has escaped all other writers (1).

(1) *Vide Aldret. in loc. citat.*

and

and *Silius*, but likewise from what we find related of *Sidius Geta* by *Dio*. The river *Lixus* is mentioned both in the *periplus* of *Hanno*, and that of *Scylax*, as also by *Ptolemy* and *Stephanus*. *Pliny* seems to turn this river into an æstuary, which, by its winding course, he makes to resemble a dragon or serpent, intimating that it gave rise to the fable of the dragon guarding the golden apples of the *Hesperides*. Some learned men will have the present *Larache* to be the antient *Lixus*; and it must be owned, that the situation of that place gives great countenance to such a supposition [f].

Thymiaterion.

At some distance from *Lixus*, to the southward, *Hanno*, in his *periplus*, says, he built a city, which he called *Thymiaterion*. In *Scylax*, the name is *Thymiaterias*; and in *Stephanus*, *Thymiateria*. *Bochart* believes the *Punic* name to have been דמיאתיריה *Dumathiria*, i. e. *a city situated in a plain*. *Hanno* himself justifies this etymology, as the reader will find, by consulting his *periplus*; for which reason he will not scruple giving his assent to it. Though this city was situated on the sea-coast, somewhere to the south of *Lixus*, the spot, on which it stood, cannot now be precisely determined [g].

Sala.

Pliny mentions *Sala*, a town near a river of the same name, not far from the *Atlantic* ocean, at a considerable distance from *Lixus*. All that he observes of this town is, that the district adjacent to it was desert, infested with vast herds of elephants, and the excursions of the *Autololes*, a tribe of *Gætulians*. The situation, as well as name, of this place, sufficiently indicates it to be the modern *Sallee*, a city famous for its corsairs, who sometimes commit great depredations in the *Mediterraneum* [h].

Rutubis.

The port of *Rutubis*, where, it is probable, a town stood, was two hundred and thirteen miles south of *Lixus*. At some distance from this were the *Mons Solis*, the port of *Mysocaras*, the promontories of *Hercules* and *Usadium*; and the frontiers of the *Autololes*. These frontiers terminated *Mauritania* to the south; and *Ptolemy* has undoubtedly carried them much

[f] Hanno Carthag. in peripl Plin. ubi sup. Artemidor. & Eratosth. apud Strabon. l. xvii. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. & alib. Dio, l. ix. Virg. Sil. Ital. Pomp. Mel. Suid. &c. apud Aldret. l. iv. c. 9. ut & ipse Aldret. ibid Scylax. Caryand. in peripl. Ptol. ubi sup Steph Byzant. de urb. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 37. Vide Is. Casaub. in Strab. ubi sup.

[g] Hanno, Scylax, Steph. Byzant. Bochart. ubi sup.

[h] Mel. & Plin. ubi sup. Ptol ibid. Vide J. Leo African. Marm, Cellar. Moll, De la Croix, &c.

farther

farther in that direction, than is consistent with truth. As for *Tamusiga*, *Suriga*, and other obscure places mentioned by that geographer, extending still farther to the south, is it sufficient just to have taken notice of them. Thus much for the principal maritime towns of *Tingitania*, bordering on the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean [i].

THE first maritime town to the eastward of *Tingis*, seems to be the *Exiliſſa* of *Ptolemy*. *Marmol* takes the *Ceuta* of the moderns to correspond with this place, as it does likewise, in all probability, with the *Septa* and *Arx Septensis* of *Procopius*. That author, together with *Isidorus Hispalensis* and others, insinuates this name to have been derived from the seven hills, called the *Septem Fratres* by *Mela*, in its neighbourhood. *Exiliſſa*, *Septa*, or *Ceuta*, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the *Goths*, as we shall see, when we come to the history of that nation [k]. Exiliſſa.

Ruſadir, a city and haven, taken notice of by *Pliny*, not far from the country of the *Maſæſyli*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ryſſadirum*; and, from the itinerary, there seems to have been a *Roman* colony settled in it. Some authors will have *Melila* or *Melillo*, lately in the possession of the *Spaniards*, to be the *Ruſadir* or *Ryſſadirum* of the antients. If so, it stood upon a plain at the bottom of a gulf, and was commanded by a mountain on the west side [l]. Ruaſdir.

THE first inland town, meriting any attention, near the frontiers of the *Maſæſyli*, was the *Aſcurum* of *Hirtius*. According to that author, this place was of some consequence, since *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania Tingitana*, had a strong garison in it, which sallying out upon a body of the *Pompeians*, repulsed them with great slaughter, driving many of them into the sea, and the rest on board their ships. No traces of this city, as far as we can recollect, are now remaining [m]. Aſcurum.

Molochath, or *Mulucha*, and *Galapha*, which *Ptolemy* places in *Tingitania*, must belong to *Numidia*, if the (B) *Molochath* Molochath *and* Galapha.

[i] PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. ut & POLYB. apud Plin. ibid. [k] MEL. PTOL. & MARÆ. ubi. sup. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l.ii. ISIDOR. HISPALENS. l. xv. c. 1. Vide etiam ANTONIN. MARTIAN. alioſq; apud Aldret. l. iii. c. 31. [l] PLIN. l. v. c. 2. PTOL. ubi sup. ANTONIN. itinerar. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c. [m] HIRT. de bell. African. c. 23.

(B) This appears from *Florus* and *Frontinus*, who affirm the fortress of *Mulucha* to have been in *Jugurtha*'s dominions, and consequently in *Numidia*. *Sallust* likewise confirms this, when he gives us an account of the siege and reduction of that place by the *Romans* in

lochath, *Mulucha*, and *Malva*, be the same river, as Dr *Shaw* has rendered probable; and therefore we shall say nothing more of them here [n].

Herpi. *Herpes*, a town upon the *Mauritanian* bank of the *Mulucha*, lying at a considerable distance from the city *Molochath* in a northern direction. As to any further particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark [o].

Volubilis, Gilda, *and* Prisciana. *Mela* ranks *Volubilis*, *Gilda*, and *Prisciana*, amongst the principal inland towns of *Tingitania*. *Ptolemy* says, that *Volubilis* was one of the most noted places of this country; and the itinerary makes it a *Roman* colony. From various authors it appears to be the *Fez* of the moderns. *Gilda* is taken notice of likewise by *Stephanus*, as a city of good repute. They were all situated in the heart of the country; but the spots of ground, occupied by them, cannot, with precision, be ascertained. However, *Marmol* asserts, that *Mequinez*, answers to *Gilda*, which he corruptly calls *Silda* [p].

Tocoloſida. A little to the south of *Volubilis* stood the *Tocoloſida* of *Ptolemy*. According to *Marmol*, *Amergue*, a city three leagues from the river *Eguile*, in the province of *Habat*, answers to the ancient *Tocolosida*; but, as that author is very inaccurate, we cannot, in this particular, intirely depend upon him [q].

Trifidis. The *Trifidis* of *Ptolemy*, according to that geographer, could not be far from the neighbourhood of *Tocoloſida*. *Marmol* says, that it was built by the *Romans*, which we can scarce believe, upon a rising ground. The same author intimates, that *Aben Gezar*, in his geography, will have it to have been built by the giants, some of whose bones, of an enormous size, he asserts to have been taken out of several antient tombs in his time.

Gontiana. *Gontiana* stands south-west of *Tocoloſida*, near the river *Sala*, and not far from mount *Atlas*. *Marmol* informs us,

[n] Ptol. ubi sup. Shaw's geogr observ. relat. to the kingd. of Alg p 10—16. [o] Ptol. ubi sup. [p] Ptol. ubi sup Mel. l. ii ex emend Is Vossii. Steph. Byzant de urb. Antonin. itinerar. Malmol Harris in biblioth. Moll. [q] Ptol. & Marmol, ubi sup.

in the *Jugurthine* war. From *Cellarius*, in conformity to the old geographers, it seems probable, that *Galapha* was south east of *Mulucha*; and therefore, that what has been observed of the former, holds more strongly with regard to the latter (z).

(z) *Flor. l iii c . S Jul. Frontin. strat. l iii. c. 9. ex. 3. Sallust. in Jugurth. Cellar. geograph. ant. l. iv. c. 7.*

that

that a ſmall town, by the *Moors* called *Gamaa*, upon the road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, is the antient *Gontiana*; as likewiſe, that this place, though ſtrong by nature, has, for ſome time, been almoſt entirely depopulated and demoliſhed [r].

Banaſa. *Banaſa*, *Banaſſa*, or *Banaſa Valentia*, was ſeated in the neighbourhood of the river *Subur*, at a very conſiderable diſtance, in a northern direction, from *Gontiana*. *Pliny* ſeems to intimate, that *Banaſa* was ſeventy-five miles from *Lixus*, thirty-five from *Volubilis*, and as many from the *Atlantic* ocean. That author, in the ſame place, ſays, that *Babba*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Babba Julia Campeſtris*, was an inland town, forty miles from *Lixus*; and that *Auguſtus* planted a *Roman* colony there. This likewiſe the curious may find confirmed by the legends on ſome antique coins exhibited by *Goltzius* [s].

Chalce. *Chalce* or *Chalca*, a city of *Mauritania Tingitana*, mentioned by *Scylax* and *Hecatæus*; but in what part of that region we are to look for it, cannot now be determined. *Ptolemy* takes notice of a town called *Carcome* or *Carcoma*; which *Bochart* will have to be the *Chalce* of *Scylax* and *Hecatæus*, ſince thoſe two words are of the ſame import in the *Syriac* and *Greek* languages. They ſignify *braſs* or *copper*; which ſeems to intimate, that this place was near ſome copper-mine, from whence it deduced its name: and that there was a famous copper-mine in *Tingitania*, appears from *Strabo*. *Ptolemy* makes his *Carcoma* to be not very remote from *Jol*, or *Julia Cæſarea*, but betwixt it and *Gades*. However, the inaccuracy of that geographer in many points, will not permit us to infer from thence, that this place, which he aſſerts to be a maritime city, is to be ſought for in *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. On the contrary, we can ſcarce doubt of its having appertained to *Tingitania*, from what we find advanced by *Strabo*. To what has been ſaid we may add, that *Polybius* cenſures *Polybiſtor*, for affirming *Chalcea* to be the proper name of a *Libyan* city, ſince, according to him, the copper mine above-mentioned only was ſo called [t].

Calamintha. *Calamintha*, a town of *Libya*, probably of *Mauritania*, taken notice of by *Herodotus* and *Hecatæus*, whoſe ſituation is unknown. However, *Bochart* has ventured to aſſert, that it ſtood on an eminence or riſing-ground. This notion has

[r] Idem ibid. [s] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. GOLTZ. apud Cellar. l. iv. c. 7. [t] SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. HECAT. perieg. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. STRAB. & PTOL. ubi ſup. POLYB. & HERODOT. apud Steph. & BOCHART. ubi ſup.

been ſuggeſted to him by the word itſelf; for he looks upon *Calamintha* to be equivalent to the *Syriac* or *Phœnician* גלמיחא *galmitha*, an *eminence* or a *city built upon an eminence*. From hence he likewiſe infers, that it muſt have been of a *Phœnician* original [u].

Marmol's inaccuracy.

We muſt here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Marmol* has diſcovered his inaccuracy, not to ſay ignorance, in many particulars; for he has either corrupted ſeveral of *Ptolemy*'s names of cities, or aſſigned names, pretended to be taken from *Ptolemy*, to ſeveral places, that are not to be found in his geography, as will appear to every one, who will be at the trouble to compare theſe two authors. His comparative geography is likewiſe frequently not to be relied upon; for which reaſon we have made but few extracts from him. As for *Vobrix*, *Thicath*, *Ceuta*, and many more inconſiderable towns mentioned by the antient geographers, which are ſcarce ever taken notice of in hiſtory, nay, all traces of which are in a manner, loſt, we have thought proper to paſs them over in ſilence; neither are we apprehenſive, that, for this, it will be deemed neceſſary to make any apology [w].

Rivers of Tingitania

The firſt river of *Tingitania*, if it does not appertain to *Numidia*, is the *Malva*, *Malvana*, *Chylemath*, *Molochath*, or, *Mulucha*; for it went by all theſe names. That theſe names denoted the ſame river, will appear from a careful examination of what the old geographers have advanced on this head. *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, give the ſame ſituation to the *Chylemath* and *Mulucha*, making it the common boundary of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. *Strabo* alſo affirms his *Molochath* to ſeparate the country of the *Maſæſyli*, i. e. *Numidia*, from *Mauritania*, i. e. *Tingitania*; and laſtly, the author of the itinerary, who was coemporary with *Ptolemy*, poſitively aſſerts, that the *Malva*, or *Malvana*, limited the two *Mauritaniæ*, i. e. *Tingitania*, and that part of *Numidia* joining to it. From whence, as it does not appear from hiſtory, that the limits of thoſe two kingdoms were ever changed, but, on the contrary, probable that they never were, we may fairly infer, that the above-mentioned variety of names points out one and the ſame river, the *Mullocha* of the preſent weſtern *Moors*. 2. The next river, meriting any attention, is the *Thaluda*, *Taluda*, or *Tamuda* of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, which emptied itſelf into the *Mediterranean*, conſiderably nearer the ſtraights than the former. *Pliny* repreſents this as navi-

[u] Herodot. & Hecat. apud Steph. Byzant. de urb. Bochart. ubi ſup. [w] Piol & Marmol, paſſ. Vide etiam Albert. l. iii. c. 31 p. 457.

gable.

gable, and consequently as a considerable river. The different names given it by different geographers, seem to countenance what we have just offered in relation to the *Mulucha* (C). 3. The river *Zelis*, or *Zilia*, near the city of the same name, already mentioned. 4. The *Lixus*, already taken notice of, when we gave some account of the city so called. *Scylax*, in his *periplus*, mentions a river not far from the *Lixus* but betwixt it and the straights, which, *Salmasius* thinks, ought to be called *Adonis*; but as to its course, or indeed any particulars at all relating to it, we are intirely in the dark. 5. The *Subur*, a large and navigable river, fifty miles from the *Lixus*. It passed by the city of *Banasa*, as has been lately observed. 6. The *Sala*, which took its course, according to *Pliny*, near the confines of the *Sahara*. 7. The *Duus*, *Casa*, *Asama*, *Phthuth*, and other rivers either in, or upon, the borders of *Libya Interior* (D), recited by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are intirely unknown to us, as indeed they were to those geographers themselves * (E).

THE

* STRAB: MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. & alib. ANTONIN. itinerar. SCYLAX. CARYAND. in peripl. ex emend. Claud. Salmasii.

(C) *Ptolemy*'s *Vallona* discharged itself into the sea not far from the narrowest part of the straights of *Gibraltar*, near the place where the town *Alcazar Saguir*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Moll*, *Alcazar Quivir*, i. e. *the great palace*, at present stands. It appears to us not improbable, that the present rivers *Sebou*, *Gueron*, *Ommirabih*, and *Sus*, answer to the *Subur*, *Sala*, *Duus*, and *Cusa*, of *Ptolemy*. Our readers may possibly be of the same opinion, when they have diligently examined *Ptolemy*'s geographical description of that part of *Mauritania* contiguous to the *Atlantic* ocean, and maturely weighed what has been advanced in a former note (3).

(D) To these may be added, from *Ptolemy*, 1. Mount *Diur*, which might possibly have been near the river of the same name. 2. Mount *Phocra*, extending from the *Atlas Minor*, to *Rusadir*, between the promontories *Metagonitis* and *Sestiarium*. The modern name of this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, is *Jibbel el Hadeth*, i. e. the *mountain of iron*, according to *Ortelius*. 3. The *Durdus*, already mentioned in the history of *Numidia* (4).

(E) That *Ptolemy* knew little of the geography of this part of *Mauritania*, is generally acknowledged; but will most evidently appear from several circumstances, which we shall beg leave to throw together here. 1. *Darodt* or *Darodus*, is evidently the same name with *Dorath*, which *Ptolemy* makes to be the name of a town upon

(3) *Ptol. Marmol, Moll, &c. ubi sup.* (4) *Ptol. ibid. Ortel. aliiq; geograph.*

Promontories.

The chief capes or promontories of *Tingitania* were the following: 1. The *Metagonitis* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Metagonium* of *Strabo*. This promontory, *Marmol* tells us, in his time was called cape *Casasa*, having a town of the same name built upon it. *Strabo* intimates, that a considerable extent of territory, whose soil was of a dry and sandy nature, in the neighbourhood of this promontory, went by the same name amongst the *Mauritanians*. This was different from the *Terra Metagonitis* of *Pliny*, and the *Metagonium* of *Mela*, near the mouth of the *Ampsaga*. For their farther satisfaction on this head, we must refer our curious readers to the learned *Lucas Holstenius*, who has favoured the world with a particular account of both the *Metagonia*, in his notes upon *Ortelius*. 2. The *Sestiarium promontorium* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Rusladi* of the *Itinerary*. 3. The *promontorium Oleastrum*, so called, according to some, from the prodigious number of wild olives

the *Diur*; as therefore that river, which is the southern limit of the kingdom of *Sus*, is at this day called *Darodt*, or *Darodus*, by the *Moors*, it must be allowed, that *Ptolemy*'s *Dorath*, not far from the borders of *Gætulia*, was a river, and probably that which he calls *Diur*. 2. As this was the southern limit of the country we are now upon, supposing it to extend as far to the southward as even the present kingdom of *Sus* does, the river *Phtuth* must be to the north of it, and not to the south, as *Ptolemy* asserts; agreeably hereto, *Marmol* makes *Tensift*, the next river to the *Darodus*, in a northerly situation, to be the *Phtuth* of *Ptolemy*. 3 As the mouth of the *Darodus* lies in about twenty eight degrees north latitude, about four degrees and a half from the tropic of *Cancer*, it must have been in nearly the same latitude with *Ptolemy*'s *Promontorium Usadium*, and, consequently, much farther to the southward than he extends the *Diur*. 4. Even the *Promontorium Usadium*, the *Mons Solis*, *Portus Mysocaras*, *Portus Herculis*, *Tamusiga*, and all the other places he has fixed to the south of the *Diur* either are to be placed to the northward of it, or else, in antient times, belonged to *Libya Interior*, and not *Tingitania*. 5 From *Marmol*, *Gramaye*, and some of the most accurate modern observations, it appears, that the towns of *Surига* and *Vala*, rivers *Una*, *Signa*, *Sala*, &c. to which *Ptolemy* assigns a southern situation in respect of the *Diur*, or *Darodus*, are really north of it

Some of our readers may possibly imagine, that *Ptolemy*'s *Daradus*, or *Dara*, which he places in about fifteen degrees north latitude, was the same river, as the modern *Darodi*, or *Darodus*, which in Mr *Senex*'s map of *Africa*, is likewise called *Dra*. But admitting this supposition, *Ptolemy* will be out in the parallel he assigns it about thirteen degrees; which is a greater error than any of the preceding (5).

(5) *Marmol. Gramaye. De la Croix, Mouette, Dapper, Moll, &c. passim.*

growing

growing upon it. 4. The *Phœbi promontorium.* 5. The cape *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Ampeluſia*, not far from *Tingis*, taken notice of by *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo.* The moderns call it cape *Spartel.* From *Mela* and *Bochart* it appears, that *Cotes* and *Ampeluſia* were words of the ſame import in the *Phœnician* and *Greek* languages; and that they were deduced from the grapes the promontory abounded with. 6. *Mons Solis*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and *Uſadium*, of which *Ptolemy* has handed down to us nothing but the bare names [y].

AMONGST the principal mountains of *Mauritania Tingitana* we are to rank, 1. *Abyle*, *Abyla*, *Abila*, *Abina*, *Abinna*, or *Abenna*, for ſuch a variety of names it had, a mountain on the *African* ſide of the ſtraights of *Hercules*, called by the antients one of *Hercules*'s pillars. *Abinna* and *Abenna* ſeem to have been names given it by the *Arabs*, and the others it received from the *Phœnicians.* They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by *Aldrete*, and *Bochart.* It has been mentioned by *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Ptolemy*, *Silius Italicus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Feſtus Avienus*, and others. If we are not miſtaken, it is now called, by our countrymen, *Apes Hill*; an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the antients, or, at leaſt, the country adjacent to it. 2. The *Septem Fratres* of *Mela*, and the *Heptadelphi* of *Ptolemy*, almoſt contigious to *Abyla.* 3. Mount *Cotta*, not far from the *Lixus.* 4. That remarkable chain of hills called mount *Atlas*, which, according to *Oroſius*, ſeparated the fruitful land from the barren, or, in the ſtyle of the natives, the *Tell* from the *Sahara.* The antients likewiſe inform us, that theſe mountains were known by the names *Dyris*, *Adyris*, *Dyrim*, and *Adderim*, i. e. great, high, lofty, or *the Southern limit*, as mount *Atlas* is generally eſteemed to be with reſpect to *Tingitania* and *Numidia.* However, Dr. *Shaw* aſſures us, that the part of this long-continued ridge of mountains, which fell under his obſervation, in height could not ſtand in competition either with the *Alps* or *Apennines.* He tells us, that if we conceive a number of hills, uſually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or ſix hundred yards, with an eaſy aſcent, and ſeveral groves of fruit and foreſt-trees, riſing up in a ſucceſſion of ranges one behind another; and that if to this proſpect we here- *Mountains*

and add a rocky precipice of a ſuperior eminence, and difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide or ſummit of it a mud-walled *Daſhkrah*, or village of the *Kabyles*; we ſhall

[y] STRAB MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS ad Ortel. p. 121. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

than

then have a juſt and lively idea of theſe mountains, without paying any regard to the nocturnal flames, melodious ſounds, or the laſcivious revels, of ſuch imaginary beings, as the antients have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to this place [z].

Ports. The chief ports of this country were. 1. The *Ruſadir* of *Pliny*, or *Ryſſadirum* of *Ptolemy* already mentioned. The *Itinerary* makes the town here a *Roman* colony, and tells us, that the neighbouring promontory was from thence denominated cape *Ruſſadi*. 2. That at the bottom of the *Sinus Emporicus*, where there ſeems to have been a town furniſhed with inns, warehouſes, and all manner of accommodations for the *Phœnician* merchants, who frequented this place from almoſt the earlieſt ages to the time of *Auguſtus*. *Pliny* calls the bay the *Sinus Saguti*, which *Bochart* would willingly have read *Sinus Saguri*; ſince that lection would enable him to deduce the word from סחור, *ſachur*, *mercator*, the ח being frequently amongſt the *Orientals*, pronounced as the ג, of which he produces ſome inſtances, and conſequently to aſſign it the ſame ſignification as *Emporicus*. 3. *Cotes*, *Cottes*, or *Cotta*, a port or bay mentioned by *Scylax*, which may poſſibly have been in the neighbourhood of cape *Cotta* above-mentioned; and if ſo that author has not given it a right ſituation, ſince he places it between cape *Mercury* and the ſtraights of *Hercules*. 4. *Ruſibis*, or *Rutubis*, an harbour taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in the ſouth weſtern part of *Mauritania*, between the rivers *Coſa* and *Diur*. 5. *Myſocaras*, a port ſome miles to the ſouth of *Ruſibis*, not far from the river *Phthuth*. This was the ſouthern port of *Mauritania*, mentioned by the antients, being almoſt contiguous to the northern confines of *Gætulia* [a].

Iſlands. We ſhall now proceed to the principal iſlands, on the coaſt of *Tingitania*, which were known to the old geographers: 1. The *Tres Inſulæ*, of the *Itinerary* already mentioned, where there is now good [illegible] for ſmall veſſels, were ſituated to the north-weſt of the [illegible], at the diſtance of ten miles. 2. *Gezira*, or rather *Yezirah*, a ſmall iſland in the river *Lixus*, about three leagues [illegible] to *Marmol* and *Leo*, from the ſea, and thirty from [illegible] of *Fez*. *Pliny* tells us, that in his time this iſland [illegible] with olives; and inti-

[z] Idem ibid. Festus Avi[illegible], Ammian Marcellin. Orosius, [illegible], Tzetzes, aliiq; mult. Videat Bochart. & Shaw [illegible] Schind Bochart. & Shaw [illegible] Piol Antonin, itinerar[illegible] Agrip. comment. apud Plin. l. v[illegible]

[illegible]ates,

mates, that the antients placed the gardens of the *Heſperides* here. He farther relates, that there was an altar, ſacred to *Hercules*, ſtill remaining in it when he wrote. *Aldrete* believes, that this iſland, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in proceſs of time, laid intirely under water, and at laſt converted into that lake called, by the *Spaniards*, *Laguna grande*, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of *Larache*. 3. *Ptolemy*'s *Pœna* and *Erythia* (F), two ſmall obſcure iſlands in the *Atlantic* ocean, oppoſite to the tract between his *Major* and *Minor Atlas*. 4. The *Inſulæ Purpurariæ*, which *Pliny* aſſures us faced the country of the *Autololes*. The natives of theſe iſlands were famous for dying that colour called the *Gætulian* purple, which brought great advantage to king *Juba*, who according to the ſame author, firſt diſcovered them. Father *Hardouïn* aſſerts, that they are the iſlands called at this day *Madera* (G), and *Porto Santo*, being induced

(F) The iſland *Erythia* is now called *Mogador*, and has a caſtle in it of conſiderable ſtrength. This is defended by a gariſon of two hundred men, who are poſted there to ſecure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which 'tis about five miles diſtant (6).

(G) *Madera*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Madeira*, is an iſland of the *Atlantic* ocean, betwixt thirty-two and thirty-three deg. north lat. about ſixty miles broad, ſeventy-five long, and an hundred and eighty in circumference. Though it ſeems to have been known to the antients, yet it lay concealed for many generations; and was at laſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſe*, commanded by Don *Juan Zarco*, and Don *Triſtano Vaz*, *A. D.* 1419. Others maintain, that one *Juan Machen*, an *Engliſhman*, diſcovered it in the year of our Lord 1344. Be that as it will, the *Portugueſe* took poſſeſſion of it in the year above-mentioned, and are ſtill almoſt the only nation inhabiting it. The modern name *Madera* or *Madeira*, was derived from the vaſt ſtore of wood with which it was ſtocked; the *Portugueſe*, at their firſt landing, finding it little better than a thick foreſt. In order, therefore, to render the ground capable of cultivation, they ſet fire to this wood, which, according to their writers, occaſioned a conflagration of ſeven years continuance. It is now very fertile, producing in great abundance, the richeſt wine, ſugar, the moſt delicious fruits, eſpecially oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, together with corn, honey, and wax. It alſo abounds with boars and other wild beaſts, as likewiſe with all ſorts of fowls, beſides numerous groves of cedar trees. The air of *Madera* is more temperate than that of the *Canaries*; and conſequently its condition cannot be inferior

(6) *Moll, de la Croix, &c.*

induced thereto by *Pliny*, who places them betwixt the *Straights* and the *Fortunate Islands*. 5. The *Insulæ Beatæ* (H), or *Fortunatæ*, of *Statius Sebosus*, *Juba*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*.

to that of any of those islands. The towns are *Monchico*, *Santa Croce*, and *Funzal*, its metropolis, so called from the prodigious quantity of *fennel* at first found growing in its neighbourhood It is now the see of a bishop, who is suffragan to the archbishop of *Lisbon*; and the seat of a *Portugueze* governor. Notwithstanding father *Hardouin*'s opinion, some authors make it the *Cerne*, or *Cerne Atlantica*, of the antients. If this be admitted, it was famous for the production of those hawks so well known in *Massylia*, according to *Pliny*. As that author places this *Cerne* in the *Atlantic* ocean, and from the circumstance just mentioned it appears to have been not remote from *Massylia*, such a sentiment cannot well be deemed intirely groundless. Whichever of these notions we espouse, *Madera* seems formerly to have appertained to *Mauritania*.

Porto Santo lies at a small distance from *Madera*, and is under the jurisdiction of the same bishop and governor as *Madera* It is only eight miles in compass; but the soil is extremely fruitful. 'Tis remarkable, that this island produces the best honey and wax in the world.

Besides the two aforesaid islands, there is another called by the *Spaniards Isla Desierta*, i e. the *desolate island*, seven miles distant from the eastern coast of *Madera*. But this being inconsiderable, on account of the sterility of its soil, and its small extent, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it (7).

(H The *Fortunate islands*, or, as they are at present called, the *Canary Islands*, are seven in number. They lie to the southward of *Madera*, west of the southern coast of *Mauritania*, and betwixt twenty-seven and thirty degrees north lat. Their names are *Palma*, *Hierro*, *Gomera*, *Teneriffe*, *Gran Canaria*, *Fuerteventura*, and *Lanzarote*. *Palma* and *Hiero* lie most to the west Their soil is rich; they have good pasture ground, produce excellent wine, sugar, &c. and abound in fruit. They have each of them a town of the same name. The first is seven Leagues long, six broad, and twenty-two in circumference; the latter ten leagues long, seven broad, and twenty-six round. *Hierro* has a commodious haven; and *Palma* a *volcano* that emits vast quantities of sulphureous matter, as we learn from *Juan Nunez de Pena*. On the western point of *Hierro* most modern geographers place the first meridian. *Gomera*, situated to the south of *Palma*, is very fruitful, affording plenty of grain, apples, sugar, and wine, with pastures for numerous

(7) *Plin. l. v. c. 8. l. vi. c. 37. & alib. Vide etiam Marmol, Dav. Vof. ad Mel. Mall, Purg, & Hakluyt, tom ii p. 2, &c.*

herds

Strabo. *Ptolemy* gives theſe iſlands too ſouthern a ſituation, affirming them to lie on the coaſt of *Libya Interior*, whereas

herds of cattle. It takes up twenty-two leagues in compaſs, and has a conſiderable town of the ſame name, beſides a very capacious harbour. *Teneriffe*, to the eaſt of *Hierro*, is ſaid to be ſixty miles long. In it there is a famous mountain, called the *Pico* of *Teneriffe*, frequently covered with ſnow; which renders it probable, that this iſland was *Pliny*'s *Nivaria*, and *Ptolemy*'s *Ninguaria* The *Pico* is an aſcent of about fifteen miles, and five in perpendicular height. We are told, that when theſe iſlands were diſcovered by M. *Jean de Betancourt*, a *French* gentleman, for Don *Juan* king of *Caſtile*, in 1405. the inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were under ſeveral kings, who lived in caves; and that they kept the bodies of their anceſtors dried like mummies. The towns in it are, *St Chriſtopher de la Languna*, *Santa Cruz*, *Rotava*, or *Oratava*, *Rialejo*, and *Garachico* *Canaria*, or *Gran Canaria*, had the ſame name amongſt the antients, as we learn from *Pliny*; ſo that 'tis probable, it was not given by the *Spaniards*, as ſome writers ſuggeſt; as likewiſe, that ſome knowledge of it has been retained all along from the *Roman* times, ſince the name aſſigned it by the *Romans* has been preſerved to the preſent times. It is eleven leagues broad, twelve long, thirty eight in compaſs, and about thirty from cape *Boſador* Its ſituation is eaſt of *Teneriffe*, and its capital city *Palma*, *Palmes*, or *Canaria* In fertility it equals, at leaſt, if it does not exceed, any of the others. *Fuerteventura* is eaſt of *Gran Canaria*, and about twenty-five leagues from the continent of *Africa* 'Tis likewiſe fruitful, and has four towns, *Turaſala*, *Lanagala*, *Pozo Negro*, and *Fuerteventura*. *Lanzarote*, north of the former, and in all points anſwering to the reſt, has three towns, *Cayas* or *Lanzarote*, *Puerto de Naos*, and *Puerto de Cavallos*. Though the ſeven are the principal iſlands that go under the name of the *Canaries*, yet there are ſeveral others in the neighbournood of leſs note; as the *Iſla de los Lobos*, ſituated between *Fuerteventura* and *Lanzarote*; the *Salvaticæ* lying farther towards the north-weſt; beſide *Rocca Gratioſa*, *Santa Clara*, and *Alagranza*, on the north of *Lanzarote*. They are all ſubject to the king of *Spain*; and *Canaria* is the ſee of a biſhop, ſubject to the metropolitan of *Sevil*. *Canaria* formerly produced a ſort of dates, and pine apples, in conſiderable plenty, according to *Pliny*. In the rivers alſo of theſe iſlands grew the plant *Papyrus*, as in the *Nile*, if the ſame author may be credited From the cuſtom of preſerving the bodies of their anceſtors, in the manner above mentioned, it ſeems probable, that the antient inhabitants of *Teneriffe* were either a colony of the *Ethiopians*, or deſcended from the firſt progenitors of that people; ſince, that ſuch a cuſtom prevailed in very early times amongſt them, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (8).

8) *Diod Sic. l. iii p. 148. Ed. Rhodoman Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Hakluyt, Herbert, Moll, Atl geogr &c.*

they are in the ſame parallel with the ſouthern part of *Mauritania*, according to *Strabo* (l) ; which ſeems to tally with the beſt modern accounts and obſervations. The antients did not agree in fixing the number of theſe iſlands ; *Marcellus* made them ten ; ſeven of which he affirms to have been ſacred to *Proſerpina*, and the other three to *Pluto*, *Ammon*, and *Neptune*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* from *Juba*, relate, that there were ſix of them ; and *Seboſus*, as well as *Plutarch*, only two. One of them *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call *Ombros*, *Ombrios*, and *Pluvialia* ; the former author, two others *Junonia* ; the latter *Junonia*, and *the inacceſſible iſland*. The other three *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, according to *Iſaac Voſſius*, named *Capraria*, *Canaria*, and *Ninguaria*, or *Nivaria*. *Ombrios* was uninhabited, and deſtitute of water at all times, but when it rained ; from which circumſtance it derived it name. This iſland produced a ſort of canes, ſome of which were black, and others white ; out of the former the *Mauritanians* expreſſed a liquor of a bitter taſte ; and out of the latter a pleaſant kind of drink. In one of the *Junonians* there was a ſmall temple built of ſtone *Capraria* abounded with monſtrous lizards. *Nivaria* was always covered with ſnow ; and *Canaria* overrun with dogs of an enormous ſize, two of which were preſented to king *Juba*. From hence they had their names aſſigned them. They all abounded with apples, and other ſorts of fruit, as well as honey and all kinds of birds. Their rivers were full of the *Siluri*, a kind of ſhad-fiſh, *&c.* In ſhort, the antients ſo highly eſteemed them, on account of their happy climate, ſalubrious air, and fertile ſoil, that they ſtyled them the *fortunate iſlands*, and fixed here their *Elyſian* fields b.

Curi-

b Ptol. ubi ſup. & l iv. c 6. Plin. l. vi. c 32. Statius Sebosus, & Juba apud Plin. ibid Strab ſub init. Marcellus in Æthiopic apud Proclum, l. i in Timæ Plut. in Sertor. Solin c. 24. Is Voss. ad Mel. l. iii. c. 10. & Jacob Perizon. ad Ælian l. iii. c. 18. Vide etiam Joan. Hardouin. ad Plin. ubi ſup. & Aldret. l. iv. c. 9

(l) The beſt modern obſervations tally with *Strabo*, if, with that author and *Ptolemy*, we extend the ſouthern limits of *Mauritania*, as far to the ſouthward as within three degrees, or leſs, of the tropic of *Cancer* ; but if, with the moderns, we will not allow it to reach beyond the mouth of the *Darodus*, in nearly twenty-eight degrees north latitude, the *Inſulæ Fortunatæ* will ſeem to have partly appertained to *Gætulia*. For our part we are inclined to believe, that part of the kingdom of *Sus* and *Morocco*, particularly the

CURIOSITIES, moſt worthy obſervation, were, 1. The vines, grapes, reeds, *&c.* towards the confines of *Libya Interior*, of a moſt prodigious and incredible ſize, mentioned by *Strabo*. 2. The trees growing in the iſland *Ombrios*, or *Pluvialia*, and the liquor extracted from them; which ſome learned men have imagined to be the ſugar-canes and moloſſus of the moderns. 3. The river in the ſouthern parts of *Tingitania*, which overflowed all the adjacent country, and fertilized it in the ſame manner as the *Nile* did *Egypt*; for, that there was ſuch a river in this diſtrict, appears from the beſt modern obſervations compared with *Strabo*. 4. The ſeveral remarkable ruins of *Roman* antiquties ſtill remaining. 5. The narrow deſcent of many fathom deep, a few miles from *Tangier*, which leads into a ſort of cave, from whence are paſſages into ſubterraneous apartments, deſigned undoubtedly by the antients as repoſitories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and ſtatues with *Punic* inſcriptions upon them. We ſhall reſerve all other curious particulars for the hiſtory of the *Sharifs* in *Fez* and *Morocco* [c]. *Curioſities.*

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, &c. *of the* Mauritanians.

THAT the deſcendants of *Phut* firſt peopled *Mauritania*, as well as the tract between the *Triton* and the *Mulucha*, has been already obſerved from various authors. That the *Phœnicians* likewiſe planted colonies here in very early ages, appears from the teſtimonies already produced. To which we may add, that from *Hirtius*, *Appian*, and *Dio*, as explained by *Aldrete*, it may be inferred, that the *Arabs* are to be ranked amongſt ſome of the moſt antient inhabitants of this country. Their authority is ſupported *The antiquity of the* Mauritanians.

[c] STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. J. LEO AFRICAN. MARMOL, DE LA CROIX, MOLL, &c.

the province of *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, together with the diſtrict contiguous to the town of *Meſſa*, belonged to the *Gætulians*, as will be rendered probable when we come to the hiſtory of that people (9).

(9) *Vid. Strab. Plin. Ptol. De la Croix, Moll, alioſq; geogr. ſup. laudat.*

by that of the *African* hiſtorians, or rather a tradition of the *Africans*, as we learn from *Leo* and *Marmol*. The *Mauritanians* bordering on the confines of *Gætulia*, particularly thoſe in the neighbourhood of the *Pharuſii*, who were probably intermixed with them, might have been the progeny of the *Perſians*, whom ſeveral authors of repute affirm to have ſettled here in very remote times. As the *Egyptians*, in the reign of *Ammon*, conquered the *Atlantides*, a nation ſeated on mount *Atlas*, we may look upon them likewiſe as progenitors of the antient *Mauritanians*. Should it be admitted, that any number of *Perſians* ever fixed their habitations in ſo remote a region, 'tis likely, that they either attended *Hercules* in his *Libyan* expedition, as ſeveral writers aſſert, or formed part of the body of *Arabs* above-mentioned; for that they came by ſea, in the manner related by *Salluſt*, is utterly improbable. Be that as it will, that the *Pharuſii* deduced their origin from the *Perſians* ſeems to be inſinuated by the near reſemblance of the word *Pharuſii* to a name given the *Perſians* in ſcripture, *viz.* פרס *Paras* *Paras* (K), *Pharas*, or *Pharus*; for it may be pronounced all theſe ways. This ſeems not a little to ſupport the authority of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and others. As the *Perſian* and *Indian* dominions were contiguous, it is no wonder we ſhould find the antient *Mauri*, conſidered as the attendants of *Hercules*, call'd *Indians* by *Strabo*. According to *Leo*, ſome of the *Moors*, and other *Africans* in his time, believed themſelves to be deſcended from certain tribes of *Sabæans*, a people of *Arabia Felix*, who were chaſed out of their native country either by the *Aſſyrians* or *Ethiopians*. Others, if we may credit the ſame author, gave out, that their anceſtors were driven out of *Aſia* by a powerful enemy, and purſued into *Greece*; from whence they made their eſcape into *Barbary*, leaving their purſuers in poſſeſſion of the country they laſt abandoned: but this, he adds, was to be underſtood only of the white nations inhabiting ſome parts of weſtern *Barbary* and *Numidia*. *Marmol* relates from the *African* hiſtorians, that five tribes of *Sabæans* under the conduct of *Melec Iſrraqui* king of *Arabia Felix*, firſt ſpread themſelves over ſome of the eaſtern parts of *Barbary*, and that *Tut*, the

(K) It may not be improper, in order to ſtrengthen what is here obſerved, to take notice, that פרסי *Pharſi*, a *Perſian*, approaches very near the word *Pharuſii*; eſpecially if we give it a *Perſian Chaldee*, or *Syriac*, termination. From the parts of Scripture in which the word is uſed, it appears pretty plain, that it was a *Perſian* proper name; and from others, that the *Hebrews* called *Perſia Elam*, and the *Perſians Elamites* 10).

(10) *Nehem. c. xii. v.* 23.

grandſon

grandson of *Cham*, settled first in *Tingitania*, giving name to the *Tuteii*, a people of that region. The *African Tut*, we apprehend, must either be *Phut*, one of *Ham's* younger sons, or *Lud*, his grandson. Nothing absurd is implied in the last supposition; for it appears, from the *Jerusalem Targum*, in conjunction with the sacred historian, that *Lud*, the son of *Misraim*, may be considered as one of the first planters of *Mauritania* [d].

Govern-ment.

IT is generally imagined, that absolute monarchy prevailed in *Mauritania* from the earliest ages, as well as in *Egypt* and *Numidia*. *Bocchar*, *Bocchus*, and *Bogud*, from what we find related of them by the *Roman* historians, seem to have governed here with an uncontroulable sway; which is a sufficient intimation, that their predecessors likewise were despotic. However, we must observe from *Appian*, that several tribes of *Moors*, whom he calls αὐτόνομοι, were governed by their own laws, or, at least, under the direction of their own chiefs and leaders, in opposition to that form of government, which was established in the greatest part of the country we are now upon. The independent *Arabs*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, who are seated in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and sometimes hover about the frontiers of the empire of *Morocco*, may probably be the posterity of these free-born *Moors*. Be that as it will, most of the provinces of *Mauritania*, if not the whole region, were subject to one prince in the reign of the elder *Dionysius*. This we learn from *Justin*, who says, that *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* nobleman, in order to attain the sovereignty of *Carthage*, to which he then aspired, had recourse to the king of the *Mauri* for assistance. *Appian* insinuates, that not only in *Numidia*, whilst regal government flourished there, but likewise in other neighbouring parts of *Africa*, and therefore probably *Mauritania*, several *reguli*, or heads of the *Kabyles*, as they now are called, were engaged in bloody wars one with another; which evidently implies, that they must have exercised a sovereign power. Notwithstanding which, the great figure the *Mauri* or *Maurusii* made in *Africa*, that name extending even to the borders of *Africa Propria*, before the *Romans* grew formidable

[d] See before c. 1. Sect. 2, 3. HIRT. de bel. Afric. APPIAN. de bel civil. l. 4. DIO, l. xlviii. J. LEO AFRICAN. l. i MARMOL, l. i c. 1. &c. POMP. MEL. l. iii. c. 10. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. STRAB l. xvii. SALLUST in Jugurth. DIOD. SIC. l. iii p. 132, 133. edit Rhodoman. EST c. i. ver. 3. DAN. c. vi. ver 9. & ver. 29. Targ. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. ALDRET. l. iii. c. 24.

midable there, as appears from *Juſtin*, is a ſufficient indication, that moſt of them were united under one common head. The names *Mauritania Propria* or *Tingitania* received from thoſe of its kings, *viz. Bogudiana*, &c. clearly demonſtrate the vaſt extent of power they enjoyed. The form of government in uſe, from the remoteſt antiquity, amongſt theſe nations that firſt ſent colonies hither, evinces the ſame thing; as does that of the antient *Numidians*, who agreed with their neighbours the *Mauruſii* in almoſt all points whatſoever [e].

Laws. That ſome of the *Mauritanians* had laws, or at leaſt certain political maxims and inſtitutions, which ſerved as rules for the conduct of their chiefs, may be naturally inferred from *Appian*; but none of theſe have been conveyed down to us. Nay, the *Mauritanian* monarchs themſelves, however abſolute, might have had ſome immutable laws, to ſteer their political courſe by, as we find the *Medes* and *Perſians* had. *Appian*'s ἀνόμοι, juſt mentioned, ſeem to ſuggeſt ſuch a thing, or, at leaſt, that laws were not intirely unknown in *Mauritania* [f].

Religion. *Neptune* ſeems to have been one of the principal objects of adoration in this country, which is a ſufficient proof, that the *Napthuhim* or *Nephthuhim*, of *Moſes*, extended themſelves into it; though the firſt ſeat of that people might probably, as *Bochart* and *Arius Montanus* imagine, have been in *Marmorica* and *Cyrene*. This deity and his wife *Neptys* might receive their names from hence, *Neptune*, *Neptys*, and *Naphthuim*, ſignifying the king, queen, and people, of the ſea-coaſt. 'Tis certain, that the *Egyptians* called the exterior parts of the earth promontories, and whatever bordered upon the ſea, and was waſhed by it, *Neptys*. The *Sun* and *Moon* likewiſe, in common with the other *Libyan* nations, they paid religious honours to. That they offered human ſacrifices to their gods, in imitation perhaps of the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, or ſome other antient nation, from whom their anceſtors came, is aſſerted by *Seneca*. From what *Nonnus* and others have advanced, it ſeems probable, that *Bac-*

[e] Liv. l. xxix. c. 29. Sallust. in Jugurth. Plin. l. v c. 2. Hirt. de bell. Alex. Strab. l. xvii. Dio, l. xli. & alib. Appian in Libyc. lxvii. Plut. in Cæſ. in Pomp. in Anton & alib Justin. l. xxi. c. 4. Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. Justin. ubi ſup. & l. xix c. 2. Plin. ubi ſup. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv c. 5 & c. 7. Aldret. ubi ſup. & l. iv. c. 20. Dr Shaw in pref p 8. & alib. [f] Appian. in Libyc. lxvii. Est. c. i. ver. 19. & c. viii. ver. 8. Dan. c. vi. ver. 8, 12, 15.

chus

chus was worſhipped by the *Mauritanians*, eſpecially as the *Indians* and *Arabs* adored him in a moſt particular manner. In ſhort, we are to form a notion of the *Mauritanian* religion from that of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, and *Carthaginians*, already deſcribed, as well as from that of the old *Arabs*, which we hope ſoon to give our readers a ſuccinct account of. What peculiarities, in this particular, the *Mauritanians* had, as doubtleſs they had ſome, have many ages ſince been buried in oblivion. However, it ſeems probable from *Mela*, that they either worſhipped *Antæus*, or paid divine honours to his ſhield [g].

THE *Mauritanian* language undoubtedly differed from the *Numidian* in ſuch a manner only, as one dialect of the ſame tongue does from another; ſo that there is no room for us to be prolix on this head. As for the *Mauritanian* character, that ſeems to have been the ſame with the *Numidian*, thoſe letters on the coins formerly mentioned bearing an equal relation to the inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. What has been juſt obſerved of the religion of the people we are now upon, *viz.* that it bore a near reſemblance and affinity to thoſe of the nations from whom the *Mauritanians* deduced their origin, will hold equally ſtrong with regard to their language. The tongue of the preſent *Kabyles* Dr. *Shaw* has given us a ſpecimen of, and poſſibly ſome traces of that of the antient *Moors* are ſtill remaining in it; but of this we are far from being certain. However, ſeveral words of the *African* vocabulary, which that learned and ingenious gentleman has obliged the world with, are reducible from the *Oriental* languages, whatever he may inſinuate to the contrary (L). *Language.*

The

[g] HERODOT. l. ii. APOLLODOR. paſſ. PIND. in Pyth. od. iv. APOLLON. Argonaut. l. iv. PLUTARCH. de Iſid. NON Dionyſiac iii. v. 28. Gen. c x. ver 13. D. HYERONYM. quæſt. Hebr. in Gen. c. x. ver. 13. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIOD. SIC. l. v. p. 233. PAMPHUS apud Pauſan. l vii. c. 21. PLUT. de Iſid. DIONYS. HALICARN ant. Rom l. i. &c. SENEC in Octav. NON. in Dionyſiac. ubi ſup & alib. DIONYS in Perieg. v. 623. HERODOT. l. i. MEL. l. iii. c. v. Vid. ALDRET. & NEWT. in chronol. paſſ.

(L) The very learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* poſitively aſſerts, that there is no affinity *at all* betwixt what may be ſuppoſed to be the primitive words in the *Shawiah*, as the preſent *African Kabyles* call their language, and the words which convey the ſame meaning in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues. From whence he ſeems to infer, that this language bore no relation at all to any of thoſe that

are

The *Arabesca*, at present spoken in *Fez* and *Morocco*, as well as over all other parts of *Barbary*, was not so much derived from the *Saracens*, who over-ran this vast tract, as the antient inhabitants of *Numidia* and *Tingitania*. The *Punic* tongue, not very remote from the *Arabic*, prevailed through that part of *Africa*, extending from the *Triton* to the *Atlantic* ocean, even to the time of St. *Augustin* [h].

Customs. 1. THE *Mauritanians*, as well as the other *Africans*, from what *Hyginus* insinuates, seem to have fought only with clubs, till one *Belus*, the son of *Nepune*, as that author calls him, taught them the use of the sword. Sir *Isaac Newton* makes this *Belus* to have been the same person with *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, who over-ran a great part of the then known world. 2. All persons of distinction in *Mauritania* went richly attired, wearing much gold and silver in their cloaths. They took great pains in cleansing their teeth, and curled their hair in a curious and elegant manner. They combed their beards, which were very long, and always had their nails pared extremely close. When they walked out in any numbers, they never touched one another, for fear of disconcerting the curls into which their hair had been formed. 3. The *Mauritanian* infantry, in time of action, used shields made of elephants skins, being clad in those of lions, leopards,

[h] HENDREICH. BOCHART. ALDRET pass. SHAW's physical and miscellaneous observat. relat. to the kingd. of Alg. and Tun. p. 288. & E 52.

are now called the *Oriental* languages; and that it is difficult, if not impossible, even to form any conjectures about it. But that there is a possibility *at least*, if not a good degree of probability, of deducing it from the eastern tongues, will best appear from the following *Showiahan* words:

1 *Akel, to see*, may naturally be deduced from חכל *hhacal, red, coloured*, &c. or עקל *Akal, be understood, perceived*, &c. 2. *Athrair, a mountain*, from אחר *Athar, a place*, and הר, *har, a hill*. 3 *Allen, the eye*, from the *Arabic* article *al, the*, and עין *ein*, or *en, eye* 4 *Aman, water*, from מין *main*, or *man, waters*, and ה *ha, the*, i. e. המין *Hamain*, or *Haman, the waters*. 5 *Elkaab, the earth*, from the *Arabic* article *al, the*, and קאב *kaa, barren soil* 6 *Assa, to day*, from עשי *ain*, or *assa, the time from noon to the next day break*. As all the other *Showiahan* words we have examined are equally deducible from the *Oriental* languages, we doubt not but Dr. *Shaw*'s whole *Showiahan* vocabulary may be deemed of *Oriental* extraction (11).

(11) *Vid. Schind. lex. pent. & Gol. lex. Arabic.*

and

and bears, which they kept on both night and day. 4. The cavalry of this nation was armed with broad ſhort lances, and carried targets or bucklers, made likewiſe of the ſkins of wild beaſts. They uſed no ſaddles, nor any accoutrements. Their horſes were ſmall and ſwift, had wooden collars about their necks, and were ſo much under the command of their riders, that they would follow them like dogs. The habit of theſe horſemen was not much different from that of the foot abovementioned, they conſtantly wearing a large tunic of the ſkins of wild beaſts. The *Phutæi*, of whom the *Mauritanians* were a branch, were eminent for their ſhields, and the excellent uſe they made of them, as we learn from *Homer*, *Xenophon*, *Herodotus*, and Scripture. Nay, *Herodotus* ſeems to intimate, that the ſhield and helmet came from them to the *Greeks*. 5. Notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, the poorer ſort of the *Mauritanians* never took care to manure the ground, being ſtrangers to the art of huſbandry, but roved about the country in a wild ſavage manner, like the antient *Scythians* or *Arabes Scenitæ*. They had tents, or *mapalia*, ſo extremely ſmall, that they could ſcarce breathe in them. Their food was corn, herbage, *&c.* which they frequently did eat green, without any manner of preparation; being deſtitute of wine, oil, and all the elegancies, as well as many neceſſaries, of life. Their habit was the ſame both in ſummer and winter, conſiſting chiefly of an old tattered, though thick, garment, and over it a courſe, rough, tunic; which anſwered probably to that of their neighbours the *Numidians*, already deſcribed. Moſt of them lay every night upon the bare ground, though ſome of them ſtrewed their garments thereon, not unlike the preſent *African Kabyles* and *Arabs*, who, according to Dr. *Shaw*, uſe their *hykes* for a bed and covering in the night. 6. If the moſt approved reading of a paſſage in *Horace* may be admitted, the *Mauritanians* ſhot poiſoned arrows, which clearly intimates, that they had ſome ſkill in the art of preparing poiſons, and were excellent dartmen. This laſt obſervation is countenanced by *Herodian* and *Ælian*, who intirely come into it, affirming them to have been in ſuch continual danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, that they durſt not ſtir out of their tents or *mapalia* without their darts. Such perpetual exerciſe muſt render them exceedingly ſkilful in hurling that weapon. 7. The *Mauritanians* ſacrificed human victims to their deities, as the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, &c. did. This is not only probable from the authorities produced in the *Carthaginian* hiſtory, but from the expreſs teſtimony of *Seneca* and *Euſebius*. 8. As the other cuſtoms of the nation we are now upon coincide with thoſe of

the *Numidians* already related, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the *Numidian* history [i].

Arts. WITH regard to the arts and sciences of the *Mauritanians*, we have not much to say. The country-people were extremely rude and barbarous, as appears from what has been just laid down. Those inhabiting cities must undoubtedly have had, at least, some smattering in the literature of the several nations they deduced their origin from. That the *Mauritanians* had some knowledge in naval affairs, seems probable, not only from the intercourse they had with the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, as well as the situation of their country, but likewise from *Orpheus*, or *Onomacritus*, who asserts them to have made a settlement at the entrance into *Colchis*, to which place they came by sea. Magic, sorcery, divination, &c. from what has been observed in the last section, they appear to have applied themselves to in very early times. *Cicero* and *Pliny* say, that *Atlas* was the inventer of astrology and the doctrine of the sphere, *i. e.* he first introduced them into *Mauritania*. This, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, gave rise to the fable of *Atlas*'s bearing the heavens upon his shoulders. The same author relates, that *Atlas* instructed *Hercules* in the doctrine of the sphere and astrology, or rather astronomy, who afterwards brought those sciences into *Greece*. Some say, that *Neptune*, and others, that *Atlas*, first fitted out a fleet, and invented tall ships with sails. Be that as it will, it is generally acknowledged, that both *Neptune* and *Atlas* his son reigned in this country; for which reason it cannot be denied probable, that astronomy, astrology, geography, geometry, navigation, &c. were known to some of the *Mauritanians* in early ages. Let this be admitted, and it will almost necessarily follow, that a competent knowledge in history, chronology, &c. could not have been wanting amongst them. That some of them were not deficient in point of *genius*, is evident from the great and illustrious figure the younger *Juba* made in the learned world,

[i] STRAB. l. xvii. HOM. pass. HERODOT. in Melpom. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vi. Jer. c. xlv. ver. 9. Ezech. c. xvii. ver. 10. & c. xxxviii. ver. 5. SALLUST. in Jugurth. HYGIN. fab. cclxxv. HORAT. l. i. od. 22. HERODIAN. pass. ÆLIAN. l. xiv. c. 5. SENEC. ubi sup. EUSEB. in orat. in laud. Constant. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. THEOPHAN. in vit. Justinian. SHAW ubi sup. p. 289, 290. See before c. i. sect. ii.

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an account of which will be given towards the close of the *Mauritanian* history [k].

NOTWITHSTANDING *Mela* represents *Tingitania* as a poor despicable country, scarce deserving any notice, yet *Strabo* assures us, that it was a rich and opulent kingdom. The antients in general, by fixing the gardens and golden fruit of the *Hesperides* here, seem to concur with him in that opinion. *Sallust*, in particular, discovers himself to have entertained the same sentiment, when he tells us how formidable *Jugurtha*'s army was rendered by its junction with the *Mauritanian* forces; and *Dio*, when he intimates, that *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania*, caused victory to declare in favour of *Cæsar*, at the battle of *Munda*. We cannot well conceive it to have been otherwise, if we consider its extraordinary fertility, the genius of its inhabitants for trade, the gold it abounded with, the bravery of its troops, and other instances of its power mentioned by writers of the best authority. The *Carthaginians* had generally some bodies of *Mauritanians* in their service, which is a proof, that they were highly esteemed by that famous republic. The name of *Mauri*, or *Maurusii*, seems to have extended itself from the *Atlantic* ocean to the borders of *Africa Propria*, or, at least, to the *Ampsaga*, as may be inferred from several authors; nay, it survived those of the *Massyli* and *Masæsyli*, which must have been occasioned by the superior eminence of the *Mauritanian* nation, and consequently is an additional argument in favour of what has been just advanced [l]. *Power.*

[k] ORPHEUS, vel. ONAMACRITUS, in Argon. ver. 741. CIC. in quest. Tuscul. l. v. & de natur. deor. STATIUS in Theb. l. viii. MANIL. l. iii. EUSEB de præp Evang. l. ii. c. 4. PLIN. l. ii. c. 8 & l. viii c. 56 DICD SIC l. iii. TZETZ hist. l. i chil. 5. PLAT. PAMPH HERODOT PAUSAN PLUT. ubi. sup ALDRET. l. iv. c. 14 & alib. [l] POMPON. MEL. l i. c. 5. STRAB. l. xvii. SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. de bell. civil. & in Hispan. DIO, l. xliii. PLIN. ubi sup & alib. Vid. etiam PLUT. in Syl. & in Mar. CELLAR l. iv. c. 5. ALDRET. BOCHART. Univ. hist. vol. xvi. pass. & before c. 2. §. 1.

SECT. III.

The history of the Mauritanians, *to the intire reduction of their country by the* Romans.

Accounts of the earliest transactions in Mauritania *little to be depended on.*

THE accounts transmitted down to us by the antients of the most early transactions in *Mauritania* are so inveloped with fable, that 'tis impossible for us from thence to form any tolerable idea of them; though these accounts are so prolix, that they would fill a considerable volume. It will therefore be sufficient, for the information of our readers, to give a concise relation of the principal of them, stripped as much as possible of fable, and as consistent with itself as the jarring traditions of the old poets, philosophers, and historians, will permit it to be [m].

Neptune and Antæus two of the first kings of Mauritania.

THE two earliest princes of this country, except *Neptune*, mentioned by antiquity, were *Atlas* and *Antæus*. From several circumstances, with which we are supplied by various authors, it appears extremely probable, that these were the same person. They were both of them the sons of *Neptune*, who reigned over *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and a great part of *Libya*; as may be naturally inferred from his having such particular marks of distinction conferred upon him by the inhabitants of those regions. They both ruled with an absolute sway over a great part of *Africa*, particularly *Tingitania*. *Hercules* defeated and slew *Antæus* in the same war wherein he took the *Libyan* world from *Atlas*. Both *Atlas* and *Antæus* invaded *Egypt*, and contended with *Hercules* in the wars of the gods, and were both overcome by him. *Antæus*, as well as *Atlas*, seems to have been famed for his knowledge in the celestial sciences. From whence, as well as from other considerations that might be offered, we may fairly conclude them to have been the same king of *Mauritania* [n]. (M).

Antæus

[m] HESIOD. PIND. SOPHOCL. EURIPID. MEL. STRAB. PLIN. APOLLODOR. CIC. HYGIN. PHILOSTRAT. LUCAN. APOLLON. LUCRET. SENEC. STAT. MART. OVID. JUVEN. PROPERT. SIL. ITAL. PLUT. VIRG. SOLIN. SERV. DIOD. SIC. TACIT. EUSEB. PROCOP. SALLUST. FLOR. OROS. PTOL. DIO. PARÆPHAT. CLAUDIAN. ALBERIC. ATHEN. CÆS. GERMANIC. in Arat. phænom. JUBA apud Athen. omnesq; fere scriptt. antiq. prof. [n] PIND. Pyth. od. ix. HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iii. APOLLON. Argon. l. iv. PLAT. in Timæo, & in Crit. DIOD. SIC. l. i. & l. iii. PAMPHUS apud Pausan. l. viii. c. 21. PLUT. de Isid. AGATHARC. apud Phot. HYGIN. fab. cl. LUCAN. de stat. ADRIAT. l. iv. c. 9.

(M) The oblique cases of the word *Atlas*, *viz.* *Atlantis*, *Atlanti*,

Antæus, in his wars with *Hercules*, who ſeems to have commanded an army of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, behaved with great bravery and reſolution. Receiving ſeveral large reinforcements of *Libyan* troops, he cut off vaſt numbers of *Hercules*'s men. But that celebrated commander, having at laſt intercepted a ſtrong body of *Mauritanian* or *Libyan* forces, ſent to the relief of *Antæus*, gave him a total overthrow, wherein both he and the beſt part of his forces were put to the ſword. This deciſive action put *Hercules* in poſſeſſion of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, and conſequently of all the riches in thoſe kingdoms. Hence came the fable, that *Hercules*, finding *Antæus*, a giant of an enormous ſize, with whom he was engaged in ſingle combat, to receive freſh ſtrength as often as he touched his mother earth, when thrown upon her, at laſt lifted him up in the air, and ſqueezed him to death; as likewiſe that he took *Atlas*'s globe upon his own ſhoulders, overcame the dragon that guarded the orchards of the *Heſperides*, and made himſelf maſter of all the golden fruit there. *Bochart* thinks, that the fable alluded chiefly to naval engagements, wherein *Hercules*, for the moſt part, was victorious, though *Antæus*, from time to time, received ſuccours by ſea; till at laſt *Hercules*, coming up with one of his ſquadrons having a ſtrong reinforcement on board, made himſelf maſter of it; which rendered *Antæus*, for the future, incapable of making head againſt him. The ſame author likewiſe inſinuates, that the notion of *Antæus*'s gigantic ſtature, prevailing for ſo many centuries amongſt the *Tingitanians*, pointed out the ſize of the veſſels of which his fleets or ſquadrons did conſiſt; and that the golden apples, ſo frequently mentioned by the old mythologiſts, were the treaſures that fell into *Hercules*'s hands upon *Antæus*'s defeat, the *Greeks* giving the oriental word מאל, *riches*, the ſignification affixed to their own term μῆλα, *apples*. Biſhop *Cumberland* ſeems, with *Sanchoniatho* and the *Atlantian* theology in *Diodorus*, to allow *Atlas* to have been the ſon of *Ouranos*, i. e. according to him, *Noah*; and likewiſe

Sir Iſaac Newton's *opinion, in relation to the age wherein they lived probable:*

lante, &c. are apparently compounded of the names *Atlas*, or *Atal*, i. e. *tall*, *lofty*, &c. and *Ante*, or *Antæus*. This is a preſumptive proof, that they both belonged to the ſame perſon, and conſequently that *Atlas* and *Antæus* were the ſame king of *Mauritania*. The old nominative caſe in the *Greek* language, of all ſuch words, bore a near relation to the oblique caſes, though altered in proceſs of time. The word *Atal* anſwers very well to the ſtature of *Antæus*, according to *Pliny* and *Plutarch* (12).

(12) *Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Plin. l. v. c. 2. Plut. in Sertor.*

likewiſe to take for granted, with *Euſebius*, that *Antæus* was his ſon. But ſhould this be admitted, we muſt allow *Hercules*, and conſequently *Antæus*, to have been contemporary with *Miſraim*; that the remoteſt weſtern parts of *Africa*, even thoſe bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, were then fully inhabited; and that they had, even for ſome time, then formed a powerful kingdom; *i. e.* the north-weſtern part of *Libya* made a conſiderable figure before *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence its firſt colonies were drawn, could in reality make any figure at all; nay, that thoſe countries, particularly *Egypt*, could ſend colonies into, and attempt the conqueſt of, almoſt the remoteſt regions, immediately after the firſt planters had ſettled there; abſurdities ſo glaring, that even none in *Cteſias* can exceed them! Beſides, if *Euſebius* eſpouſed this opinion, as he ſeems to have done, by his citation from *Diodorus*, provided we fall in with biſhop *Cumberland*'s explanation of *Sanchoniatho*, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf; for he aſſerts *Hercules* to have vanquiſhed *Antæus* about three hundred and ninety-three years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, as we find by conſulting his *Chronicon*. Now, allowing that event to have preceded the chriſtian æra twelve hundred years, which is higher than it has even been fixed by the followers of *Cteſias* and *Eratoſthenes*, both *Hercules* and *Antæus* muſt have lived betwixt ſeven and eight hundred years after the deluge; which, though much too early, in our opinion, muſt bring them down ſeveral hundred years lower than the age of *Miſraim*. The *Greek* mythic writers, particularly *Apollodorus*, will have *Atlas* to be the ſon of *Iapetus*, and grandſon of *Noah*, according to biſhop *Cumberland*; but this hypotheſis likewiſe, from what has been juſt advanced, muſt be acknowledged void of the leaſt ſhadow of probability. In fine, after the moſt diligent and impartial examination of all the different hypotheſes of hiſtorians and chronologers, relating to *Atlas* and *Antæus*, we find none ſo little clogged with difficulties as that of the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*. That illuſtrious author ſuppoſes *Ammon*, the father of *Seſac*, to have been the firſt king of *Libya*, or that vaſt tract extending from the borders of *Egypt* to the *Atlantic* ocean; that the conqueſts of this country was effected by *Seſac* in his father's life-time; that the *Libyans*, headed by *Neptune*, afterwards rebelled againſt *Seſac*, ſlew him, and then invaded *Egypt* under the command of *Atlas* or *Atlæus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, *Seſac*'s brother and admiral; that *Hercules*, the general of *Thebais* and *Ethiopia* for the gods or great men of *Egypt*, after the death of *Seſac*, reduced a ſecond time the whole continent of *Libya*, having overthrown and ſlain *Atlæus* near a town in *Thebais*, from that

that event called *Antæa* or *Antæopolis*; and laſtly, that the firſt reduction of *Libya*, by *Seſac*, happened a little above a thouſand years before the birth of *Chriſt*, as the laſt, by *Hercules*, did a few years under that period. Now, though we do not pretend to adopt every particular circumſtance of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s hypotheſis, we cannot forbear obſerving, that it appears undeniably plain from Scripture, that neither the weſtern extremity of *Libya*, nor even the other parts of that region, could poſſibly have been ſo well peopled before the time of *David* or *Solomon*, as to have ſent a numerous army to invade *Egypt*; ſince *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, from whence the greateſt part of the anceſtors of the *Libyans* came, and which were much nearer the place from whence the firſt diſperſion of mankind was made, could not themſelves have been greatly over ſtocked with inhabitants any conſiderable time before the reign of *Saul*. And that ſuch an invaſion happened in the reign of *Neptune*, or at leaſt of his ſon *Antæus*, has been fully evinced by that moſt excellent chronologer [o].

To what has been already offered on this head we may add, that the *Libyans* are not taken notice of by Scripture, as a nation of any ſtrength or power, till the fifth year of the reign of *Rehoboam* king of *Judah*, who was then invaded by *Seſac*. A body of *Libyan* troops attended that prince in this expedition; and therefore *Libya* muſt be conſidered as then newly become ſubject to him. About thirty years afterwards they made likewiſe ſomething of a figure; ſince in the fifteenth year of *Aſa*, *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced to *Mareſhah* with an army of a million of men, of which the *Libyans* formed a conſiderable part. As this was but a ſhort time after the death of *Seſac*, and as *Zerah* muſt then have been maſter of *Egypt*, ſince otherwiſe he could not have marched his *Libyan* forces through that country, to attack *Aſa*'s dominions, it ſeems to us extremely probable from hence, in conjunction with what has been juſt obſerved, that *Libya* was annexed to the *Egyptian* monarchy by *Seſac*, and not before; as likewiſe, that *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſonchoſis*, muſt have been the ſame *Egyptian* prince with *Seſac*, ſince thoſe names denoted that conqueror who firſt reduced *Libya*, and formed

A farther argument in ſupport of Sir Iſaac Newton.

[o] Idem ibid & quamplurim ex auctor. ſupra laudat. BOCH. Chan l ii c 24. & præfat. in Chan. EUSEB in chron. ad num. 408, 835, &c CUMBERL. in Sanchoniath. p. 327. & ſeq. & in orig p. 265, 277, &c. NEWTON's chronol. of the emp. of Egyp and of the Greeks, p 90. Gen c. xiv. & alib. Exod. c. i. Jud. c. i. NEWTON's chronol. of the Greeks, p. 185—191.

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the great *Egyptian* monarchy, according to profane authors. No mention is made of the *Egyptians* on this occaſion, ſince ſoon after the death of *Seſac*, i. e. a little before the *Trojan* war, the *Ethiopians*, for a ſhort time, were maſters of *Egypt*, as appears from *Pliny* and *Herodotus*. If therefore all that vaſt tract, known by the name of *Libya*, was ſo inconſiderable, that it deſerved little or no attention, till the days of *Rehoboam* and *Aſa*, how obſcure muſt the country, called by the *Phœnicians Mauritania*, a ſmall part of it, have been in every age preceding *Seſac*? We may therefore infer from hence, that *Antæus*, or *Atlas*, could not have lived much earlier than the age Sir *Iſaac* has aſſigned him; however early ſome particular colonies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, a ſea-faring people always intent upon diſcovering unknown countries, might have ſettled in the weſtern parts of *Africa*. However, we are far from inſiſting upon what is here advanced as true, but only beg leave to ſubmit it, with all poſſible deference, to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers [P].

Virgil and Trogus countenance his opinion.

The ſentiment we would here recommend to the conſideration of the learned is alſo countenanced by *Virgil* and *Trogus Pompeius*, who hint the following remarkable particulars relating to it: 1. About nine hundred years before the commencement of the chriſtian æra, *Libya* was independent on *Egypt*, ſince the eaſtern, if not the weſtern, part of it, was governed by a king of its own, named *Iarbas*. This tallies extremely well with what Sir *Iſaac* has obſerved of the fall of the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammon* and *Seſac*; for, according to him, that empire was broke to pieces about the year before *Chriſt* 940. by the civil wars in the reign of *Amenophis*, which, in a great meaſure, occaſioned the revolt of the nations upon the coaſts of the *Mediterranean* and *Euxine* ſeas. 2. The *Libyans* much nearer *Egypt*, a polite and civilized kingdom, than thoſe bordering on the *Atlantic* ocean, had only a few villages, conſiſting of ſmall huts, probably the ſame as the modern *Daſhkras*, mentioned by Dr. *Shaw*, when *Dido* arrived in *Africa*; though poſſibly *Utica*, built and inhabited by *Phœnicians*, might then have made a better figure. *Tingis* likewiſe, as it appears to lay claim to a more antient founder than *Antæus*, being on the ſea-coaſt,

[P] 2 Chron. c. xii. ver. 3. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. Manetho apud. Joſeph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. Herodot. l. ii. c. 110. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Newton's chronol. p. 235—239. & alib.

was

was perhaps a town of ſome note before the time we are now upon. Nay, as we have obſerved from *Procopius*, ſome parties of *Canaanites* might erect a caſtle there, though before that time, if any traces of a town were in being, it could only have been an inconſiderable *Daſhkra*, or perhaps little better than a collection of thickets and caves of the earth. 3. The *Libyans*, even in and near the territory of *Carthage*, were a ſort of barbarians at *Dido*'s arrival there, living, in a manner, like wild beaſts, and ſtanding in need of *Dido*'s *Phœnician* followers to poliſh and civilize them. Theſe, and ſome other inferences, that might be drawn from the above-mentioned authors, add no ſmall weight to what Sir *Iſaac* has advanced with regard to *Atlas* or *Antæus*, as well as the riſe and fall of the *Egyptian* empire; but this we muſt ſuperſede, as not ſo properly belonging to that branch of antient hiſtory, to which we are obliged at preſent to confine ourſelves [q].

Nothing farther remarkable till the Roman times.

WE find nothing worth relating recorded of the *Mauritanians* from the defeat of *Antæus* to the *Roman* times. *Livy* only tells us, that *Syphax*'s kingdom bordered upon the *Mauri*, which is nothing more than an implication, that ſuch a nation did then exiſt. *Juſtin* indeed, from *Trogus*, intimates, that, in ſome of the earlieſt ages of *Carthage*, the *Mauri* were neighbours to the *Carthaginians*, and had ſome diſputes with them; but he gives us no particulars of moment concerning that people. *Diodorus Siculus* likewiſe ſays, that in the interval between the overthrow the *Carthaginians* received from *Gelon*, and the firſt *Punic* war, they had frequently *Mauritanian* mercenaries in their armies, without hinting any thing farther relative to the nation we are now upon. Nor ought this to be wondered at, ſince we are informed by *Salluſt*, that nothing of the *Mauri*, beſides their name, was known to the *Romans*, ſo late as the *Jugurthine* war; and the moſt antient *Greek* writers ſcarce ever conſidered them as a particular nation, but only as a branch of the *Libyans*. How *Bocchar*, king of *Mauritania*, lent *Maſiniſſa* a body of troops to eſcort him to his dominions, and what was conſequent thereupon, our readers will find related at large in the *Numidian* hiſtory [r].

Plutarch inſinuates, that the elder *Juba* pretended to be lineally deſcended from *Hercules*; but that biographer ſeems

[q] VIRG. Æneid. i. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 6. Univer. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 537, & ſeq. NEWTON, ubi ſup. paſſ. [r] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 42. l. xxix. c. 30. & alib. JUSTIN. l. xix. c. 2. & l. xxi. c. 4 DIOD. SIC. paſſ. SALLUST. de bell. Jugurth. See before, p. 362, & ſeq.

not to give overmuch credit to ſuch a pretenſion. However, 'tis natural enough to ſuppoſe, that the perſon who obtained this country, upon the diſſolution of the *Egyptian* empire, founded a family that might continue for many generations. Poſſibly *Bocchar*, and *Bocchus* father-in-law to *Jugurtha*, were of this family; ſince the affinity of names, and the country they governed, ſufficiently intimate them to have been of the ſame family, and of the blood royal of *Mauritania*. Be that as it will, *Bocchus*, from the account *Salluſt* gives us of him, ſeems to have been a perfidious prince. After two defeats the *Romans* menaced and cajoled him into an infamous action, i. e. to deliver (N) his ſon-in-law *Jugurtha* into their hands, after the moſt ſolemn engagements to ſupport him, and even a promiſe made to put *Sylla* into his power. *Jugurtha* indeed was a prince not only capable, but even guilty, of the moſt enormous crimes; but this will not vindicate, nor even palliate, the conduct of (O) *Bocchus*. What

N, *Oroſius* intimates, that *Bocchus* did not enter into an alliance with *Jugurtha* till after *Marius* had taken *Capſa*; which contradicts *Salluſt* and *Plutarch*. He alſo deſcribes the firſt general action betwixt the two *African* princes and *Marius*, which he affirms to have happened near *Cirta*, as the moſt bloody and dubious one the *Romans* were ever concerned in. The *Romans*, ſays he, after having been extremely harraſſed by the enemies parties, were attacked by their whole army, wherein was a body of ſixty thouſand *Mauritanian* and *Numidian* cavalry, whoſe horſes raiſed ſuch clouds of duſt, that the heavens were thereby obſcured; which, together with the ſhower of darts thrown on this occaſion, turned the day into night. The battle was fought with ſuch obſtinacy, that it continued three days; neither had the *Romans* at laſt won it, being reduced to the laſt extremity by thirſt, occaſioned by the intolerable heat of the climate and ſeaſon, had there not fallen a moſt ſeaſonable ſhower of rain, which greatly refreſhed them, rendered the handles of the *Africans* darts ſo ſlippery, that they could not throw them, and made their ſhields, covered with dried elephants ſkins, that imbibed all the water, ſo ponderous, that they could not uſe them; which of courſe determined victory to declare againſt *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*. But as this relation, in many particulars, runs counter to *Salluſt* and *Plutarch*, or rather ſeems to be a confuſed account of ſeveral actions mentioned by them, we ſhall leave our readers to give what credit to it they pleaſe (13).

(O) Either this prince, or another of the ſame name, undertook an expedition againſt the weſtern or *Heſperian Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to that author, *Bocchus* found, in the

(13) *Oroſ. l.* v. *c.* 15. *Vid. & Flor. l. iii. c.* 1.

country

is here hinted at, may be found related at large in some former parts of this work [r].

HISTORY is silent as to any farther particulars of the *Mauritanian* affairs, till the time of *Bogud* (P), who was cotemporary with *Julius Cæsar* and his adopted son *Octavius*. *Bogud*, in conjunction with *Publius Sittius*, not a little contributed to *Cæsar*'s great success in *Africa*, as has been already observed. In *Spain* likewise he enabled *Cæsar* to gain the ever-memorable victory at *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic. After that emperor's death he sided with *Antony* against *Octavius*; and endeavoured to make a diversion, in favour of the former, in *Spain*. But whilst he was employed in this expedition, the *Tingitanians* revolted from him, and being supported by a body of *Spaniards*, in the interest of *Octavius*, and some of *Bocchus*'s troops, defeated him upon his return into *Africa*; which put *Bocchus* in possession of *Tingitania*. *Octavius*, or *Augustus*, afterwards confirmed this acquisition to him, and honoured the inhabitants of *Tingis* with the privileges of *Roman* citizens. *Bogud* was at last killed by *Agrippa* at *Methona*, as our readers will elsewhere find; and after *Bocchus*'s (Q) death *Tingitania* was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province [t].

What happened to Mauritanian affairs, till the time of Bogud.

Augustus

[r] PLUT. in Sertor. LIV. & SALLUST ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. XII. p. 358, & seq. [t] STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. xli. HIRT. de bell. Afric APPIAN. de bell. civil. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. ii. PLUT. in Pomp. & in Cæs. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. DIO, l. xliii, xlviii, xlix. l. STRAB. l. viii. Univers. hist. Vol. XIII. p. 268.

country of these *Ethiopians*, some reeds of such an enormous size, that the largest joint of them would contain eight *chœnixes* of corn; which, together with some *asparagus* equally large, he sent as curiosities to his wife. What success attended this expedition, we neither find in *Strabo*, nor any other author (14).

(P) *Suetonius* informs us, that *Julius Cæsar* fell in love with *Bogud*'s queen *Eune*, or *Eunoe*, a *Mauritanian* lady. As he made both her and her husband presents of an immense value on this account, 'tis not improbable, that he enjoyed her by her husband's consent (15).

(Q) *Pliny* relates, that one king *Bocchus*, having fastened thirty men to stakes, in order to their being destroyed by the same number of elephants, ordered certain persons to irritate those ani-

(14) *Strab. l. xvii. p.* 569. (15) *Sueton. in Jul Cæs. c.* 52.

Auguſtus *gives the younger* Juba *the* Mauritaniæ, *and part of* Gætulia.

Auguſtus gave the younger *Juba*, a prince extremely in his favour, the two *Mauritaniæ*, together with part of *Gætulia*, ſome time after his marriage with the younger *Cleopatra*, inſtead of his father's kingdom, *i. e. Numidia*, which ſtill remained a *Roman* province. 'Tis true, *Strabo*, as has been obſerved by Mr. *Bayle*, affirms, that *Auguſtus* reſtored *Juba* to the kingdom of his father, and moreover granted him the *Mauritaniæ*; but this geographer limits the *Roman* province and the kingdom of *Juba*, in ſuch a manner, as ſhews, that *Numidia* belonged to the *Romans*. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the tranſlator of *Dio* has committed an egregious blunder, in his *Latin* verſion, which ſeems to have proceeded purely from inattention: *Cæſar*, ſays he, gave *Juba*, &c. IT (*i. e. Egypt*) and his father's kingdom; whereas *Dio* there affirms, *that* Cæſar *gave* (R) Juba HER, (*i. e.* mals; but that, notwithſtanding all their efforts, they found it impoſſible to make them ſubſervient to that prince's cruelty. The ſame author likewiſe mentions an *African* hiſtorian of this name; but whether or no he was of royal extraction, he tells us not (16).

(R) *Juba* had a noble education beſtowed upon him at *Rome*, where he imbibed ſuch a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the moſt learned *Grecians*. He did not leave that city, till he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. By the lenity of his government he ſo won the hearts of all his ſubjects, who ever retained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the felicity they enjoyed under him, that they ranked him among the gods, and, according to *Pauſanias*, erected a ſtatue in his honour. He was extremely well verſed in the *Aſſyrian*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Punic*, *African*, and *Latin*, hiſtories, as well as thoſe of other nations. He wrote the hiſtory of *Arabia*; the antiquities of the *Aſſyrians* and *Romans*; the hiſtory of theatres, of printing, and painters; of grammar; of the nature and properties of different animals; a particular treatiſe upon the herb *Euphorbia*, which he ſo called from his phyſician, who firſt diſcovered the many excellencies of it, in which he greatly celebrates its ſingular virtues; a piece concerning the ſource of the *Nile*; beſides many other works aſcribed to him by *Suidas*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, &c a few fragments only of which are now extant. *Pliny* intimates, that his learning rendered him more illuſtrious than his crown; and frequently cites him, as aſſerting or confirming the moſt curious particulars. According to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Juba*, from ſome *Punic* authors, affirmed the *Nile* to have had its ſource in a high mountain of *Mauritania*. The abbé *Sevin* has favoured the world with a ſhort diſſertation on the life and writings of the younger *Juba*, where-

(16) *Plin. l. viii. c. 5. & l xvi. c. 40.*

in

(*i. e. Cleopatra*) *and his father's kingdom*. That this observation, made first by Mr. *Bayle*, is indisputably true, appears sufficiently from hence, that this *Juba* was never king of *Egypt*. *Suidas* relates, that the younger *Juba* was whipped publicly when led in triumph; but this seems highly improbable, and has not the countenance of any other author to support it. *Ptolemy* (S), his son by *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*, succeeded him. How this prince was afterwards cut off by *Caius*, either thro' a principle of avarice or jealousy, we may learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*, as well as a former part of this history [u].

Tacfarinas, a native of *Numidia*, who had served among the *Roman* auxiliaries, a little before the third consulate of *Tiberius*, occasioned fresh troubles in *Africa*. At first he assembled

Tacfarinas *raises troubles in* Africa, *but receives several defeats, and is at last killed.*

[u] STRAB. l. xvii. DIO, l. liii. ad an. urb. cond. 729. SUID. in voc. Ἰόβας. TACIT. an. iv. SUET. in Caio, c. 26, 35. DIO, l. lix. PLUT. in Anton. SENEC. de tranquil. vit. P. NOR. cenotaph. PISAN. p. 235. Univers. Hist. Vol. XIV. p. 53.

in he has inserted a catalogue of all his works. That he died in the year of *Rome* 776, or 777, may be inferred from *Strabo* and *Tacitus* (17).

(S) *Ptolemy*'s pedigree has been discovered by the following *Roman* inscription, communicated to Dr. *Shaw* by father *Ximenes*, which exhibits that of his father *Juba*:

REGI IVBAE REGIS
IVBAE FILIO REGIS
IEMPSALIS N. REGIS GAUD.
PRONEPOTIS MASINISAE
PRONEPOTIS NEPOTI
VIR QVINQ. PATRONO. ET
COLONI.

This inscription differs something from the authors who have supplied us with an account of *Massinissa*'s family in the *Numidian* history (18).

(17) *Plin. l. v. c. 1. & alib. pass. Plut. in Cæs. Suid. in voc.* Ἰόβας. *Athen. deipnosoph. l. i. Juba rex de Nili origine apud Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. Strab. l. vi. & xvii. Tacit. l. iv. c. 5. Vid. M. Bayle in Juba, & M. l'abbé de Sevin. en tom. iv. des mem. de l'acad. de belles lettres.* (18) *Athen. deipnosoph. l. vi. Dr. Shaw in excerpt. p. 59. vid & R. Reineccium in hist. Jul. ac famil. Lat. xliii. p. 329. & before, p. 390, not. (Z).*

a great

a great number of barbarians, inured to robberies and all kinds of rapine, by the allurement of plunder; out of which he formed a conſiderable army, and diſciplined it after the *Roman* manner. The groſs of the army conſiſted of *Muſulanians*, a powerful nation bordering upon the *Sahara*, ſtill wild, and without towns, of whom *Tacfarinas* declared himſelf general. Theſe were joined by a large body of *Mauritanians*, commanded by their general *Mazippa*, whom *Tacfarinas* had found means to draw into the war. The *Cinithians* likewiſe, a nation by no means deſpicable, he forced to come into his meaſures. With the regular forces he encamped, and detached *Mazippa* to make excurſions, and harraſs the *Romans* by perpetual alarms, with the irregular troops. *Furius Camillus*, the *Roman* commander, advanced againſt the *Africans* with only a ſingle legion, and what troops the allies could ſpare him. This he did in order to draw them to a general action, ſince they ſeemed willing to decline an engagement, it being their intereſt to protract the war. Tho' *Camillus*'s troops were but a handful, in compariſon of the barbarians, he drew them up in order of battle, poſting the legion in the centre, and the light cohorts, with two wings of horſe, on the right and left. He had no ſooner made this diſpoſition than the barbarians attacked him, but were quickly routed with great ſlaughter. However, the next year *Tacfarinas* renewed the war, making dreadful incurſions into the very heart of the country, and doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. He poſted from place to place with ſuch celerity, that none of the *Roman* detachments could come up with him. After he had committed many devaſtations, he ſurrounded a *Roman* cohort, commanded by one *Decius*, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, in a fort near the banks of the *Pagida*. The *Romans* behaved with great bravery; but their commandant being killed, they were obliged to abandon the fort to the enemy, and betake themſelves to flight. *Lucius Apronius*, *Camillus*'s ſucceſſor, cauſed this ignominious cohort to be decimated, and every tenth man, drawn by lot, in conformity to the antient cuſtom, to be executed with a club. This rigour had ſuch an effect, that *Tacfarinas*'s army was routed, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Thala*, by a ſquadron of five hundred veterans only. This defeat determined *Tacfarinas* to reſolve never for the future to attempt a ſiege, but to carry on the war in a deſultory manner, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the *African* obſerved this method, he eluded all the efforts of the *Romans*; but withdrawing to the maritime places, and being, by the proſpect

of

of an immenſe booty, confined to his camp, he was attacked by *Apronius Cæſianus* with a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, and a detachment of legionary foot. The diſpute was neither long nor bloody; for the barbarians were ſoon overthrown, many of them ſlain, and the reſt obliged to diſperſe themſelves in the *Sahara*. However, *Tacfarinas*, though often repulſed, ſtill repaired his forces, and arrived at ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to ſend embaſſadors to *Tiberius*, threatening him with eternal war, if he and his army had not a proper ſettlement aſſigned them. *Tiberius*, incenſed to the laſt degree at ſuch unparallelled impudence, ordered *Blæſus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Africa*, to offer a general indemnity to the *Africans*, and to endeavour, by all means poſſible, to get *Tacfarinas* into his hands. *Blæſus*, in order to put an end to this war, made the following diſpoſition of his forces: he detached *Scipio*, his lieutenant, to a poſt from whence *Tacfarinas* committed his depredations upon the citizens of *Leptis*, and then retreated amongſt the *Garamantes*; his ſon he ſent to protect the territory of the *Cirteſii*; and between both he marched himſelf with the flower of his army, erecting forts and redoubts in proper places as he advanced. Theſe meaſures, with ſome others equally good, had the deſired effect; for *Tacfarinas*'s forces were diſperſed, his brother taken, and he obliged to hide himſelf in the deſert. Notwithſtanding which, a great body of *Mauritanians*, through *Ptolemy*'s indolence, having joined him, as likewiſe a ſtrong reinforcement from the king of the *Garamantes* (T), he once more made head againſt the *Romans*. But *Dolabella*, having fortified the proper poſts, and executed the chiefs of the *Muſulani*, who were meditating a revolt, advanced againſt the enemy, who, he was informed, had taken poſt near the caſtle of *Auzea*. After a forced march he came up with them, and intirely defeated them, putting to the ſword *Tacfarinas* himſelf, with a vaſt number of his followers. A body of *Mau-*

(T) *Tacitus* intimates, that *Tacfarinas* drew together at this time a powerful army of *Africans*, by giving out, that the *Romans* were ſo embroiled with other nations, that they would be obliged gradually to abandon *Africa*; and that therefore, would the friends to liberty unite, they might ſoon cut off all that remained there. The ſame hiſtorian alſo informs us, that before the general action here mentioned, *Dolabella* forced *Tacfarinas* to raiſe the ſiege of *Thubuſcum*, which he abandoned at his approach (19).

(19) *Tacit an. l.* iv. *c.* 24

vitanis,

ritanians, king *Ptolemy* ſent to aſſiſt *Dolabella*, did not a little contribute to this victory, which, for ſome time, ſettled peace in the *Roman* provinces, *Mauritania*, and *Getulia* [w].

Mauritania *reduced to a* Roman *province*.

Ptolemy having been cut off by *Caius*, as related above, *Ædemon*, one of his freed-men, in order to revenge his death, aſſembled a body of forces in *Mauritania*. *Caius* being ſoon after aſſaſſinated, his ſucceſſor *Claudius*, in order to diſperſe this corps, ſent thither a *Roman* army, which was the firſt that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no great exploits the firſt campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the ſenate perſuaded *Claudius* to accept of triumphal honours for the ſucceſs of his arms in *Mauritania*. The following year, *Suetonius Paulinus*, the *Roman* general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount *Atlas*, and penetrated into *Gætulia*. *Sidius Geta*, who ſucceeded *Paulinus* in the command of the *Roman* army in *Africa*, gave *Salabus*, the *Mauritanian* general, two overthrows, and purſued him into the *Sahara*. Having been ſupplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of periſhing, *Geta* concluded a peace with *Salabus* upon his own terms. 'Tis probable, that by this treaty, *Mauritania* was delivered up intirely into the hands of the *Romans*; ſince we find it ſoon after divided into two provinces, the one called *Tingitania*, or *Mauritania Tingitana*, from the city *Tingis*, and the other *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, from *Cæſar*, a ſurname *Claudius* had in common with the other *Roman* emperors. That prince appointed two *Roman* knights to preſide over theſe two provinces. Soon after the *Romans* routed a body of *Gætulians* that infeſted ſome part of *Numidia*, and thereby reſtored tranquillity to all their *African* dominions. 'Tis obſervable, that *Auguſtus* ſettled nine colonies, and *Claudius* three only, here; which, in a region of ſo vaſt an extent, could neither have ſufficient power thoroughly to ſubjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the *Romans* [x].

[w] Tacit. an. l. ii. iii. iv. l. lx. Aldret. l. iv. c. 20.

[x] Plin. l. v. c. 1. & alib. Dio.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The history of the Gætulians.

Limits of Gætulia.

AS the limits of *Gætulia* have not been ſettled, either by *Ptolemy* or any of the other antient geographers, 'tis impoſſible for us to define them. From ſeveral authors it may, however, be inferred, that they were not always the ſame. In *Pliny*'s time the *Gætulians* poſſeſſed a conſiderable part, at leaſt, of *Tingitania*; the *Mauruſii* having been ſo extremely weakened by long and bloody wars, that they could not make head againſt them. *Virgil* affirms this people to have extended themſelves from the *Regio Syrtica* to the *Atlantic* ocean; and *Feſtus Avienus* ſeems to have fixed their eaſtern boundary not far from the weſtern confines of *Marmarica*. However, nothing certain concerning the extent and ſituation of their country can be drawn either from thoſe authors or *Strabo*, who only intimates the *Gætulians* to have been a large nation, taking up a conſiderable part of *Libya Interior*, and poſſeſſing ſome territories in the neighbourhood of the *Syrtes*. *Pliny* ſays, that *Gætulia* was terminated on the ſouth by the river *Nigris*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Nigir*, which, according to him, ſeparated it from *Ethiopia*. But notwithſtanding the indefinite terms in which the antients have laid down this region, by comparing their ſeveral accounts and deſcriptions, we ſhall find the northern limits thereof contiguous to, and frequently coinciding with, the ſouthern parts of *Numidia* and the *Mauritaniæ*; and by conſulting the beſt obſervations of the moderns, that it could not have reached to any great diſtance in the *Sahara*. Dr. *Shaw* (A), in one place, ſeems to inſinuate, that the proper *Gætulia* did not extend farther to the eaſt than the meridian of *Siga*, i. e. about 0° 10′ E. of *London*, provided *Tack-*

(A) Dr. *Shaw* alſo tells us, that *Gætulia* extended into the deſert or *Sahara*; which ſuppoſes that nothing but deſert muſt be left [illegible] direct ſouthward of it. Therefore *Melanogætulia* and the country of the *Garamantes*, in conformity to the ſituation aſſigned them by the antients, muſt have lain E. S. E. of *Gætulia*, and conſequently have begun in an eaſtern direction from it (1).

(1) *Shaw ubi ſup p.* 136.

umbreet be the antient *Siga*, as he imagines; ſince he there tells us, that the *Melanogætuli* and *Garamantes* occupied the tract behind *Numidia*, *Africa Propria*, and the *Regio Syrtica*, from that meridian to *Cyrenaica*: whereas in another place he fixes ſome *Gætulian* tribes in the remoteſt part of the diſtrict of *Zaab*, and meridian of *Conſtantina*, above ſix degrees more to the eaſtward than *Siga*. Whether or no either of theſe ſeemingly jarring accounts be true, or which of them is ſo, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only obſerve, that *Guzula*, or *Gezula*, a province of the kingdom of *Morocco*, at the foot of mount *Atlas*, ſeems to have preſerved ſome traces of the antient *Gætulia*. Could we lay any great ſtreſs upon an affinity of names, this province was a principal part of *Gætulia*; in which caſe Dr. *Shaw*'s firſt notion would have probability on its ſide. But, as the concurrent teſtimony of the antients favours the latter, we know not what to ſay. However, the aſcertaining of the bounds of this rude and barbarous region is not a matter of ſuch importance, as to deſerve any great regard. We ſhall therefore leave our geographical readers to chuſe which of theſe notions they pleaſe, or to reject both of them, if they think proper [a].

Its towns, rivers, mountains, &c.

As the *Gætulians*, before the time of *Jugurtha*, led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living, for the moſt part, in tents, without any fixed habitation, our readers will not expect to find many towns in this country. Some, however, *Virgil* inſinuates there to have been, though his commentator *Servius* appears to be of a different opinion. *Philoſtratus* makes the *Gætulians* to have inhabited the interior part of mount *Abinna*, or *Abyla*, and conſequently, by intermixing them with the *Mauruſii*, allows ſome of them to have dwelt in towns. *Pliny* alſo intimates, that the *Gætulians* in his time were maſters of a good part of *Maſæſylia*; and *Apuleius* aſſigns them ſome diſtricts, at leaſt, of *Numidia Propria*; which teſtimonies, if admitted, evince the ſame thing. But *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* render it indiſputable, when they mention the cities *Autolala*, *Talabath*, &c. as appertaining to the *Gætulians*. The principal tribes of proper *Gætulia* were the *Banniuræ*, *Darræ*, and *Autoteles* (B), according to the laſt mentioned

[a] Plin. l. v. c. 2. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 40. & Serv. in loc. Philostrat. l. v. Strab. l. xvii. Festus. Avien. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Agathem. geogr. l. ii. c. 5. Shaw. ubi ſup. p. 132. & 130. Leo African. part ii. Marm. l. iii. c. 51.

(B) *Pliny* ſays, that the *Vesuni*, or, according to ſome MSS. the *Nesuni*,

tioned geographers. 'Tis probable, that the *Baniuræ* bordered upon *Tingitania*, as the *Darræ* did upon the *Ethiopians* called *Perorſi* and the *Phuruſii*. The *Autololes* ſeem to have been by much the moſt powerful, and to have ſpread themſelves over that part of *Tingitania* bordering on the coaſt of the *Atlantic* ocean. Their capital city *Autolula*, from which they derived their name, we know nothing farther of, than that it ſtood betwixt the *Subus* and the *Salathus*, the only two rivers of note, except the *Gir* and the *Nigir*, that watered *Gætulia*. Of *Talubath* nothing has been tranſmitted down to us by the antients, but the bare name. As the *Sahara* began not far from the ſouthern foot of mount *Atlas*, this country was undoubtedly, for the moſt part, ſandy and deſert; however, it was interſperſed with ſeveral fruitful ſpots. Mount *Sagapola*, eminent for nothing but its being the limit of *Gætulia* on the ſide of the *Melanogætuli*, and containing the ſources of the *Subus* and *Salathus* above-mentioned, ſeems to have been the only mountain of any note in the region we are now upon. As for the promontories, *&c.* we meet with none meriting any attention; though from *Pliny* it may be inferred, that the *Promontorium Solis*, and ſome ports already mentioned, might have been in a territory afterwards annexed to the proper *Gætulia*. The only curiolity here, deſerving a place in hiſtory, was the vaſt quantity of the purple-fiſh produced in that part of the *Atlantic* ocean waſhing the *Gætulian* ſhore, with which the rocks on this coaſt were frequently covered. The *Teladuſii*, *Soræ*, *Dryitæ*, *Etalii*, *Mazices*, *Nacmuſii*, and other obſcure nations, inhabiting either *Numidia*, or the confines of that country and *Gætulia*, in the time of *Ptolemy*, deſerve ſo little regard, that our readers will ſcarce expect a bare enumeration of their names. However, we muſt not omit obſerving, that as *Ptolemy* places the *Pharuſii* to the north of mount *Sagapola*, they may be conſidered as a clan or canton of the *Gætulians*; eſpecially ſince *Pliny* ſhews their diſtrict to have ſtretched itſelf out as far as the *Atlantic* ocean, and *Mela* makes them to have attended *Hercules* in his expedition againſt the *Heſperides*. 'Tis not therefore probable, that mount *Phruræſus*, near four

Neſumi, were a branch of the *Autoles*, who, ſeparating from their brethren, ſettled upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, and afterwards formed a diſtinct nation. *Orelius* informs us, that the *Autololes*, or, as the MSS. falſly have it, *Autoles*, were called, in his time, *Cahoules* (2).

(2) *Plin. in loc citat. Oroſ. l. i. c. 2.*

degrees eaſt of the *Mulucha*, ſhould have been ſo denominated from the *Pharuſii*; except we will ſuppoſe this ridge of mountains to have been the eaſtern limit of that nation, and that they were ſo numerous and powerful as to have ſpread themſelves over a tract extending from thence to the *Atlantic* ocean. In ſuch a caſe we might, with Dr. *Shaw*, allow, that the inhabitants of mount *Phruræſus* were part of the *Pharuſii*. Perhaps this notion may be countenanced by *Mela* and *Pliny*, when they intimate the *Pharuſii* to have been an opulent people in antient times, and to have bordered upon the *Nigritæ*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Niger*, which with *Ptolemy*, they make one of the boundaries of the *Gætulians*. The vicinity of the *Nigritæ* and *Pharuſii* is likewiſe taken notice of by *Dionyſius Afer* and *Strabo*[b].

The antiquity of the Gætulians

ACCORDING to *Joſephus* and St. *Jerom*, *Chavilah*, or *Havilah*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, was the father of the *Gætulians*; for which reaſon we find them called *Evilæi*, or *Havilæi*. As it is well known, that *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, ſettled in *Arabia Felix*, and that from him his deſcendants there aſſumed the name of *Chauletæi* and *Chaulaſii*, the ſame words with *Evilæi*, it cannot well be doubted, but that *Gætulia* was firſt peopled from *Arabia Felix*, as has been already hinted. This likewiſe renders probable the authority of the antients, who aſſert that the *Gætulians* intermixed themſelves with the *Perſians*, and that the *Pharuſii*, in particular, were of *Perſic* extraction; ſince *Perſia* and *Arabia* being in a manner contiguous regions, many *Perſians* probably attended ſome of the *Arabian* colonies paſſing into *Africa*, or, at leaſt, followed *Seſac* and *Hercules* in their *Libyan* expeditions. We find no obſcure traces of the *Daræ*, a *Gætulian* tribe above-mentioned, in *Leo* and *Marmol*, who deſcribe a province, bounded on the weſt by thoſe of *Gezula* and *Sus*, called *Dara*, correſponding nearly with the tract aſſigned that people by *Pliny*; and 'tis well known, that the *Darrhæ* are a nation of *Arabia Felix*, taken notice of by *Stephanus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; which may ſerve as an additional argument in favour of an early migration of *Arabians* into *Gætulia*. To which we may farther add, in ſupport of that migration, that, conſidering how remote *Gætulia* was from *Arabia Felix*, what a ſeries of ages had paſſed from the firſt plantations of colonies there to the moſt early occurrences of that country tranſ-

[b] SALLUST in Jugurth. VIRG. & SERV. ubi ſup. APUL. in apol PLIN. & PHILOSTRAT. ubi ſup. MEL. l. iii. c. 10. PTOL. ubi ſup. DIONYS. AF. v. 215. PRISCIAN. v. 200. STRAB. ubi ſup. SHAW ubi ſup p. 135.

mitted

mitted down to posterity by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, what other nations were intermixed with the first migrating *Arabs*, *viz.* the *Persians*, *Indians*, &c. the word *Gætulia*, or *Chetulia*, is no very strange corruption of *Chavilah*, *Chevilah*, *Chavilath*, *Chevilath*, *Chavilat*, or *Chevilat*. Both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have remembered the river *Daras*, or *Darat*, which they say produced great numbers of crocodiles. If our readers should be disposed to allow the modern *Darodus*, or *Daradt*, to be that river, as 'tis not improbable some of them may, they would be convinced, that *Ptolemy* hath not only placed his *Darat*, or *Daradus*, vastly too much to the southward, but likewise made his *Mauritania Tingitana* to comprehend a great part of *Gætulia*, if not the whole country. 'Tis certain, that the names and situation of the provinces of *Gezula*, and *Dara* render this not a little probable. The word *Dara* seems to signify a generation or habitation of shepherds, and is therefore very applicable to a tribe of *Gætulians*, who as well as the modern *Darans* and *Gætulians*, had scarce any other possessions than their flocks. Both the name therefore and manner of life of this people plainly pointed out the nation from whence they deduced their origin. Some antient authors related, that the *Tyrians* had, in very early ages, many cities here and in the neighbouring parts of *Libya Interior*, which were destroyed by the *Nigrites* and *Pharusii*; but this notion is rejected as fabulous by *Strabo* c.

Their government, &c.

THE first *Gætulians*, according to the *Punic* historians, were some of the most antient inhabitants of *Africa*, extremely rude and barbarous, without any form of government, laws, or manners, especially such as ever prevailed in a civilized state. They lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, eating upon the ground, after the manner of cattle. They roved about the country, taking up their lodging where-ever the night surprised them. Some of the *Pharusii* or *Phaarusii*, at first, if any credit may be given to *Strabo*, lived in caves like the *Troglodytes*. But this state of barbarity, *Sallust* tells us, continued only till *Hercules* came amongst them; which is a farther proof of what Sir *Isaac Newton* has advanced with regard to the age of that hero; since, as we have lately observed, the *Gætulians* were far from being perfectly civilized in the time of *Jugurtha*, and therefore *Hercules* did not

c JOSEPH. & D. HIERONYM. apud ALDRET. l c. iii. c 9. MEL. PLIN. STRAB. ubi sup. DIONYS AF. ver. 953. FESTUS. AVIEN. ver. 1136. ALDRET. ubi sup c 10 STEPH BYZANT. de urb. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi. sup. LEO AFRICAN. lib. vi. MARM. l. vii. c. 9. ALDRET. ubi sup c 14.

probably

probably precede that age ſo long as the generality of the antient chronologers ſuppoſed. It is believed by ſome good authors, to whoſe ſentiments we pay a great deference, that the *Gætulians*, however rude and barbarous, at leaſt towards the *Roman* times, were under the direction of certain (C) phylarchs, or heads of *Kabyles*, as their ſucceſſors at this day are. However if they had then any fixed or ſtated laws, we are now intirely ignorant of them. If they had any (D) cuſtoms likewiſe, different from thoſe of their neighbours the *Numidians* and *Mauritanians*, the knowledge of them has not reached us. As all the authors mentioning them are utterly ſilent as to any particulars relating to their religion, we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been the ſame with that of their neighbours already taken notice of, or with that of their progenitors the antient *Arabs*, which will hereafter be briefly deſcribed. *Leo* relates that many of the antient *Africans* erected magnificent temples in honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worſhipped, wherein they had a perpetual fire; though others of them adored another planet. Probably the *Gætulians* were ſome of the former, as being partly deſcended from the *Perſians*, who profeſſed the *Magian* religion. Their language muſt undoubtedly have born a near reſemblance to the antient *Arabic* and the other oriental tongues. This does not only appear from what has been already advanced, but likewiſe from the *Shawiahan* vocabulary given us by Dr. *Shaw*, moſt, if not all, of whoſe words are eaſily deducible from the *Arabic*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Our readers will not expect to meet with any arts or erudition in ſuch a country a-

(C) *Strabo* calls theſe phylarchs kings, and tells us, that they ſo delighted in horſes, that amongſt them they brought up yearly an hundred thouſand colts. He likewiſe informs us, that theſe horſes, as well as the *Gætulian* larger cattle, had hoofs longer than thoſe of any other nation (3)

(D) One cuſtom, however, we muſt not paſs over here. *Lucan* ſeems to obſerve, that the *Gætulians* were mixed with their cattle in their *mapalia*, as Dr. *Shaw* relates of the *Bedowees* in the kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tunis* at this day. The former author alſo inſinuates, that many of the *Gætulians* were carried about the country, with their *Penates*, in carts or waggons, after the manner of the antient *Scythians* (4).

(3) *Strab. l.* xvii. (4) *Lucan l.* iv. *Shaw ubi ſup p.* 288.

Gætulia

Gætulia, and therefore will not ſuppoſe, that we have any thing to offer on that head here [d].

A brief account of the Gætulians till the time of Veſpaſian

WITH regard to the tranſactions of this nation, we have not much to ſay. *Herodotus* and *Scylax* take no notice of the *Gætulians*, which renders it probable, that, when thoſe writers lived, they were very obſcure. The firſt authors that mentioned them were probably ſome of thoſe old hiſtorians from whom *Livy* extracted the materials for his work: ſince he gives us to underſtand, that a corps of them ſerved under *Hannibal* in the ſecond *Punic* war. That general, according to him, having taken and razed *Acerræ*, formed a deſign upon *Caſilinum*, and ſent a body of *Gætulians*, under the command of their general *Iſalca*, to attack it. *Iſalca* ſoon took poſt before the town, when finding every-where a profound ſilence, and not obſerving a creature to appear, he imagined, that the gariſon kept themſelves ſtill within the town through fear; which encouraged him to attempt forcing open the gates: but he was repulſed by two *Prænestine* cohorts; who, ſallying out upon him, cut many of the *Gætulians* to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire, with great precipitation, to the *Carthaginian* army, which was advancing to ſupport them. Whether or no *Maſiniſſa*, who ſo greatly extended his conqueſts in *Africa*, ever ſubdued them, hiſtory informs us not; but we are aſſured by *Salluſt*, that his grandſon *Jugurtha* taught them to keep their ranks, and inſtructed them in military diſcipline. However, they ſerved that prince more by plundering the allies of the *Romans*, than by their bravery in time of action; for the army he had raiſed and diſciplined in *Gætulia* was eaſily routed by *Marius* near *Cirta*. That part of *Gætulia* under the dominion of *Juba*, for it does not appear that the whole country was ever ſubject to him, revolted to *Julius Cæſar*; but, that with *Numidia* it was reduced into a *Roman* province, we cannot poſitively affirm; eſpecially, ſince *Auguſtus* gave a part of *Gætulia*, probably this, with the *Mauritaniæ*, to the younger *Juba*, as an equivalent for *Numidia*, his father's kingdom, which, ſays *Dio*, had before put on the form of a province. Be that as it will, it was ravaged by *Sittius*, as has been already obſerved, when *Juba* had drawn all his forces out of it, in order to join the *Pompeians*; which might poſſibly occaſion the aforeſaid revolt. About the year of *Rome* 759, the *Gætulians* rebelled againſt king *Juba*, main-

[d] STRAB. & SALLUST. ubi ſup. NEWTON's chronol of the emp. of Egypt. ALDRET. ubi ſup. c. 31. p. 415. L. LEO AFRICAN. ubi ſup. SHAW in excerpt. p. 52.

cring

cring all the *Romans* ſettled in his dominions, and committing moſt dreadful ravages in all the provinces ſubject to him. *Dio* aſcribes this defection to the reſentment of the *Gætulians* who were extremely incenſed againſt the *Romans* for impoſing a prince upon them, and not permitting them to live under their government. But however this may be, *Cornelius Coſſus* gave them ſo complete an overthrow, that they were obliged to ſubmit upon the terms he thought fit to preſcribe. This was looked upon at *Rome* as ſo conſiderable an exploit, that he had triumphal honours decreed him, and was permitted to aſſume the cognomen *Gætulicus*. Notwithſtanding which, this people ſo recovered themſelves, that in the elder *Pliny*'s time they had ſettlements in *Numidia* and *Tingitania*, as may be inferred from that author and *Philoſtratus* [e].

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the Melanogætuli, Nigritæ, *and* Garamantes.

The Melanogætuli, *or* Nigritæ.

PTOLEMY places the *Melanogætuli*, or black *Gætulians*, between the mountains *Sagapola* and *Uſargala*, in a diſtrict ſouth-eaſt of *Gætulia Propria*, to which it is contiguous, and north of the river *Nigir*. They were a natino undoubtedly different from the *Gætulians*, and conſidered in that view by *Ptolemy*, though *Cellarius* inſinuates them to have been a tribe of that people. Their complexion not only evinces this, but likewiſe, that their progenitors were different from thoſe of the *Gætulians*. Of courſe therefore the *Daræ* ought not, as *Cellarius* imagines, to be looked upon as a clan of the *Melanogætuli*; nor does the ſituation of *Leo*'s *Daræ* above-mentioned quadrate with ſuch a ſuppoſition. Mount *Uſargala* is called by *Leo Guargala*, and by Dr. *Shaw Huergla*. The former of thoſe authors informs us, that near the foot of this ridge of mountains there were, in his time, ſome caſtles, and a great number of villages whoſe inhabitants were very rich, as being adjacent to the *Agades*, an opulent trading nation, and all of them perfectly black. *Ptolemy* ſays, that the *Bagrada* derives its ſtreams from ſome foun-

[e] Liv. l. xxiii c. 18. Sallust. ubi ſup. Dio, l. xliii. ſub init. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio, l. lv. p. 567. ad A. U. C. 759. Plin. & Philostrat. ubi ſup.

tains

tains on mount *Uſargala*; but the lateſt obſervations demonſtrate this to be a miſtake. The modern diſtrict of *Wad-reag* in the province of *Conſtantina*, containing a collection of twenty-five villages, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction, ſeems to correſpond with a part of the country of the *Melanogætuli*, according to Dr. *Shaw*. *Ma-jyre*, the neareſt of theſe villages to *Zaab*, a territory anſwering, as ſhould ſeem, to the ſouth-eaſtern part of *Gætulia*, is ten leagues to the S. of *El-Fythe*, the laſt village of *Zaab*. *Tum-marnah*, the next place of note, is ſix leagues to the weſtward of *Ma-jyre*, and twelve to the N. E. of *Tuggurt*, the capital of *Wad-reag*, and the *Tegort* of *Leo*. *Tuggurt* ſtands in a plain, without any river running by it; the inhabitants, as well as thoſe of the other villages of *Wad-reag*, being ſupplied with water by wells, dug a hundred, and ſometimes two hundred, fathom deep. This method they are obliged to have recourſe to, their territory being in a manner deſtitute both of rivulets and fountains. They dig through different layers of ſand and gravel, till they come a fleaky kind of ſtone like unto ſlate, which is known to lie immediately above the abyſs, called by them *The ſea below-ground*. This ſtone is no ſooner broken through, than a flux of water aſcends ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch abundance, that the perſon let down to perform the operation has ſometimes been overtaken and ſuffocated by it, though raiſed up with the greateſt dexterity. The country likewiſe of the *Beni Mezzab*, ſituated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the mountains of the *Ammer*, ſuppoſed to be a part of the *Mons Phruræſus* of *Ptolemy*, the large village of *Engouſah*, thirty leagues to the S. W. by W. of *Tuggurt*, and the populous city of *Wurglah*, with their dependencies, even to the banks of the *Nigir*, our learned and ingenious traveller believes might have been included in *Melanogætulia*. As *Ptolemy* places the *Melanogætuli* next to the *Pharuſii* in a ſouthern direction, fixing his *Nigritian Ethiopians* in a tract lying to the N. of the *Nigir*; and as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, ſeem to give the *Nigritæ* exactly the ſame ſituation with regard to the *Pharuſii* and the *Nigir*, but are quite ſilent as to the *Melanogætuli*; we cannot help thinking the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ* one and the ſame people. If this be admitted, it will appear extremely probable, that their territories extended to the *Nigir*, and that they had ſome places of note in thoſe places; ſince, according to *Ptolemy*, many towns ſtood not far from that river, of which the principal were *Peſſide*, *Saluce*, *Nigira*, *Thige*, *Cuphe*, *Thamondicana*, and *Vellegia*. The moſt noted rivers of this country were the *Gir* and the *Nigir*. The *Gir*, or, as it is now called in our

beſt maps, *Ghir*, had its fountains on mount *Phruræſus*, or, according to Dr. *Shaw*, the mountains of the *Ammer*. It took its courſe through part of the *Sahara*, in a S. E. direction, ſome degrees to the ſouthward of the tropic of *Cancer*. The ingenious traveller juſt mentioned believes the modern *Wed Adge-dee* to be the *Gir* of *Ptolemy*, *Agathemerus*, and *Claudian*. But the principal river of *Nigritia*, and one of the moſt famous in the world, is that called by *Ptolemy* the *Nigir*, by the *Nigritians Wed*, or *Huid Nijar*, i. e. *The black river*, and by the *Europeans* the *Niger*. This river, according to the beſt modern geographers, has its ſource near a ridge of mountains in the kingdom of *Gorhan* not far from the confines of *Abaſſia*, or upper *Ethiopia*. It croſſes the whole region of *Nigritia* in a weſtern direction, and, after being ſwelled by the acceſſion of ſeveral rivers in its march, at laſt diſcharges itſelf into the *Atlantic* ocean. The *Negroes* likewiſe call it the river of *Senegal*, and the *Arabs* the *Nile* of the *Nigritians*; this laſt nation conſidering it as a branch of the *Nile*, or rather the *Nile* and the *Niger* as two branches of the ſame river. According to *Pliny* and *Leo*, it overflows the adjacent territories in the ſame manner as the *Nile*; which, if true, may be another reaſon for the *Arabic* appellation. If any credit may be given to *Leo* and the *African* hiſtorians, *Sabtecha*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, firſt peopled the *Sahara* betwixt the mountains of *Atlas* and *Nigritia*, and therefore probably *Nigritia* itſelf, or at leaſt part of it. From the ſame author it appears, that the various *Nigritian* dialects bear an affinity to the *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, and *Egyptian* tongues; to which we may add, and conſequently to the *Ethiopic*, which does not differ widely from them. As for the cuſtoms, &c. of the people we are now upon, they muſt be reſerved for that branch of the modern hiſtory to which they moſt properly belong. Our readers may likewiſe there expect to find an accurate geographical deſcription and natural hiſtory of this country, from the beſt obſervations that have been made; ſince it would be abſurd to inſert them here, as the antients were ſo little acquainted with it. The *Carthaginians*, however, had undoubtedly ſome knowledge of the *Nigritæ*, ſince it appears probable from *Frontinus* (A), that one part of their armies conſiſted of *Nigritian*

(A) From the paſſage of *Frontinus* here referred to it is evident, that the *Carthaginians* had *Melanogætulian* or *Nigritian* troops in their ſervice before the time of *Gelon*, and conſequently that they had ſome knowledge of the *Blacks* above five hundred years before the

tian troops. They uſed ſcythed chariots in their wars, and were armed after the manner of the weſtern *Ethiopians*, i. e. with bows and arrows of the ſame make, as we learn from *Strabo*. According to the ſame author, the *Pharuſii*, and therefore, probably, the *Nigritæ*, adjacent to them, travelled in caravans through the deſerts to *Cirta*, and kept open a communication with the *Mauruſii*, carrying with them bottles filled with water, tied to their horſes bellies, leſt they ſhould die of thirſt in the vaſt deſerts they were obliged to traverſe. From this paſſage it is undeniably clear, that theſe *Pharuſian* and *Nigritian* merchants muſt have lived at a vaſt diſtance from *Cirta*, and thoſe places of *Mauritania* to which they reſorted; a point that evinces the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*, to have held an early correſpondence with the antient *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and *Carthaginians* [a].

[a] PTOL. l. iv. c. 6. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. l. iv. c. 8. ſect. 2. p. 943. ed. Lipſ. 1732. STRAB. l. ii. & l. xvii. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 4. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. & c. 8. CLAUDIAN. l. i. AGATHEMER. l. ii. c. 10. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. I. LEO. AFRICAN. & MARM. paſſ. Gen. c. x. ver. 7. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. ut & ipſe ALFRAGAN. p. 36. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part. i. SHAW, p. 58, 87, 136, & alib.

the birth of *Chriſt*. This will enable us to account for a ſtrange phænomenon in antiquity, *i. e.* ſeveral antique coins with a *Negro*'s or *Nigritian*'s head upon them. One of theſe coins is to be found in the earl of *Pembroke*'s invaluable cabinet, and another in that of the reverend and learned Mr. *Wiſe*, *cuſtos archivorum*, and fellow of *Trinity college*, in the univerſity of *Oxford*. That of my lord *Pembroke*, being well preſerved, is a moſt noble curioſity. Mr. *Wiſe* received his from one of the authors of this hiſtory, who had it from Mr. *Beſwick*, whoſe brother was for ſome time the *Britiſh* conſul at *Tripoly*, near which city it was found. As the *Carthaginians* had a communication with *Nigritia*, 'tis probable, that they ſent ſome of their artificers upon certain occaſions thither; and ſince they coined money in a very elegant manner, as above obſerved, we may conclude, that, upon ſome extraordinary event, either in *Nigritia*, or their own dominions, they ſtruck thoſe pieces. This will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the country wherein Mr. *Wiſe*'s was dug up, which was ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; that nation being in poſſeſſion of all the maritime territories extending from their capital city to the borders of *Cyrenaica* (1).

(1) *Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 11. ex. 18. Univerſ. hiſt. Vol. XVI. p. 538, not.* (C).

The Garamantes.

THE *Garamantes* were ſituated to the S. E. of *Gætulia*, and E. of the *Nigritæ*. The limits of their country we cannot take upon us to aſcertain (B); though, from what the antients have delivered in general concerning it, we may preſume, that it extended to the borders of the (C) proper *Ethiopia*. That it conſiſted of many large territories, may likewiſe be inferred (D) from *Herodotus*, *Virgil*, *Feſtus Avienus*, and others. However, it was not of any very conſiderable breadth, according to *Strabo*. Dr. *Shaw* believes, that part of the antient *Garamantes* ſpread themſelves over that tract comprehending the diſtricts of *God-demz*, *Fezzan*, and ſome of the more diſtant cities and villages of the kingdom of *Tripoli*. Be that as it will, the region we are now upon abounded with wild beaſts, and its moſt antient inhabitants were ſo ſavage, that they fled at the ſight of a perſon belonging to any other nation. They were at the ſame time intirely

(B) That the *Miſulani*, *Miſulami*, or *Muſulani*, were ſeated near the country of the *Garamantes*, or at leaſt not a very great diſtance from it, appears from *Tacitus*. But we can neither preciſely determine the ſituation of this *Numidian* tribe, tho' at the foot of mount *Audus*, nor that of many others, *viz.* the *Naſabutes*, *Mucuni*, *Tulenſii*, *Machuſii*, *Taladuſii*, &c. (2).

(C) *Virgil* joins the *Garamantes* with the *Indians*, only to denote, that they were both very remote nations, and that the *Roman* empire was to extend, or rather did extend, to the fartheſt parts; for they were not contiguous to each other, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Perſia*, &c. lying between them. So *Horace*, when he would intimate, that the merchant traverſed the remoteſt regions for gain, ſays,

Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos:

where he is not to be underſtood as intending *preciſely* the *Indians*, but any nation at a vaſt diſtance from *Rome*. *Servius* and others confirm what we here ſuggeſt (3).

(D) We might here give our readers a catalogue of the names of towns and clans, ſaid to have appertained to the *Garamantes* by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; but as the ſituation of none of them can be d fined, and nothing but their names has been tranſmitted down to us by thoſe authors, we think an inſertion of it intirely ſuperfluous. No rivers of note, belonging to the country of the *Garamantes*, except the *Cinyps*, or *Cinyphus*, and the *Gir*, are taken notice of by the antients; nor do they mention any mountains in it, except thoſe called by *Ptolemy Girgiris* and *Vallis Garamantica* (4).

(2) *Tacit. annal. ii. iii. iv. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup.* (3) *Virg ecl. viii. & Æn. vi. Serv. in loc. Her. l. i. n. i.* (4) *Herodot. l. iv. Plin. & Ptol. ubi ſup.*

deſtitute

deſtitute of arms, and had not the courage to defend themſelves, if attacked; from which circumſtances 'tis apparent, that they induſtriouſly avoided all kinds of correſpondence with other nations. However, in proceſs of time they built towns, or rather *daſhkras*, the principal of which were *Garama*, the metropolis, near mount *Girgiris*, and the ſource of the *Cinypus*, *Debris*, and *Matelgæ*. They likewiſe aſſociated with the *Marmaridæ*, a neighbouring people; and carried on a trade with the *Carthaginians*, *Arabs*, *Perſians*, and *Ethiopians*. This could ſcarce be avoided, if one branch of the *Carthaginian* commerce extended to thoſe remote countries by means of caravans, paſſing to *Carthage* from thence through the ſandy deſerts of the *Garamantes*; which we cannot think improbable. Though ſeveral arguments might be offered in ſupport of this opinion, we ſhall content ourſelves here with obſerving, as a ſtrong preſumption of its truth, that, according to ſeveral authors, the *Garamantes*, *Perſians*, and *Ethiopians*, ſupplied the *Carthaginians* with vaſt numbers of gems, which were almoſt invaluable. Notwithſtanding the cowardice of the moſt antient *Garamantes* mentioned by *Herodotus*, yet, in after-ages, their poſterity ſeem to have been of another diſpoſition, as may be collected from *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Feſtus Avienus*. Some of them roved about the deſerts of *Libya* in the ſame manner as their ſucceſſors the modern *Bedoweens* do at this day; whilſt others inhabited the (E) *daſhkras* ſcattered up and down theſe parched and unfruitful plains. The former lived very frugally in their *mapalia*, and ſupported themſelves by hunting, which ſometimes they continued to the winter ſolſtice; the wild beaſts being refreſhed by the copious rains which fell at that time, and affording them then excellent diverſion. Nay, according to *Herodotus*, they hunted the *Troglodytes* themſelves, a barbarous nation living in caves under-ground, in vehicles, drawn by two pair of horſes, made for that purpoſe. *Nigritia*, and the country of the *Garamantes*, ſeem, for the moſt part, to have been peopled at firſt from *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, and conſequently

(E) *Herodotus* informs us, that in the country of the *Garamantes* there was a pillar, or rather mountain, of ſalt, with a fountain iſſuing from the ſummit of it, and palm-trees covering the adjacent lands: that the natives firſt laid freſh earth upon the ſalt, and then ſowed their corn there; and that they bordered upon the *Lotophagi*, whom we ſhall preſently have occaſion to mention (5).

(5) *Herodot. l. iv.*

to

to have been the deſcendants of *Miſraim* and *Cuſh*, though we doubt not but ſome colonies of *Arabs* likewiſe ſettled here. It appears from ſome of the moſt perfect *Egyptian* mummies now remaining, that the features of the antient *Egyptians* much reſembled thoſe of the preſent negroes; which is a proof, that the latter muſt have been originally nearly related to the former. The language, or languages, therefore ſpoken in theſe regions bore a great affinity at firſt to the *Egyptian*, *Arabic*, and *Ethiopic*; and may at this time, probably, be impure dialects of them. We have no farther particulars of moment relating to the religion of the *Garamantes*, than that they, in common with the *Arabs*, *Indians*, and *Ethiopians* (F), worſhipped *Jupiter Ammon* (G), repreſenting him, for the moſt part, with a man's head, or, at leaſt, with ram's horns, and had a famous temple ſacred to him. *Pliny* mentions a ſurpriſing fountain near *Debris*, whoſe waters, from noon to midnight, grew extremely warm, but from thence to the ſun's next approach to the meridian were ſo cold as to be congealed. Matrimony did not prevail amongſt the *Garamantes*, the men making uſe of the women juſt as they fell in their

(F) The great veneration in which the nations here mentioned had *Jupiter Ammon*, as well as the form under which he was exhibited to public view in this temple, appears from the following lines of *Lucan*:

Ventum erat ad templum, Libycis quod gentibus unum
Inculti Garamantes habent: ſtat corniger illic
Jupiter, ut memorant, ſed non aut fulmina vibrans,
Aut ſimilis noſtro, ſed tortis cornibus, Ammon.
Non illic Libycæ poſuerunt ditia gentes
Templa, nec Eois ſplendent donaria gemmis,
Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atq; Indis unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.

Herodotus ſays, that *Ammon* was repreſented by an image with a ram's head, becauſe *Hercules* ſaw his ſtatue covered with the ſkin of a ram; and *Diodorus*, becauſe *Jupiter*, in all his wars, wore a helmet reſembling the head of that animal. But this repreſentation ſeems to have been rather an alluſion to the great numbers of ſheep produced in *Libya* (6).

(G) 'Tis intimated by *Virgil* and *Silius*, that *Iarbas*, cotemporary with *Dido*, was a deſcendant of *Ammon*, and that he reigned over this country. But the authors, from whom they extracted this notion, are now loſt (7).

(6) *Herodot. l. iv. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Lucan. l. ix.* (7) *Virg. Æn. iv. Sil. Ital, l. i.*

way.

way. At firſt they were governed by heads of tribes, or *phylarchs*, as the *Gætulians*, *Arabs*, &c. but afterwards monarchy ſeems to have taken place amongſt them, as we learn from *Tacitus*. *Pliny* mentions a king of the *Garamantes*, who was brought back from exile by two hundred dogs, that reſiſted all who oppoſed them. Though *Ptolemy* aſſerts them to have been a large and powerful nation, extending themſelves from mount *Uſargala* to the lake or moraſs *Nuba*, yet we find ſcarce any of their affairs recorded in hiſtory. *Maſiniſſa* took refuge amongſt them, after he had been driven out of his dominions by *Syphax*. As the roads to their country from *Mauritania* were rendered impracticable by robbers, the *Romans* knew little of them, till after the expiration of the republic. *Lucius Cornelius Balba* intirely ſubdued them, for which he had a triumph granted him by *Auguſtus*. However, by ſome means or other, they afterwards ſhook off the *Roman* yoke; ſince we are informed by *Florus*, that, ſome years after, *Coſſus* detached *Curinius* with a body of troops againſt them and the *Marmaridæ*; and by *Tacitus*, that the king of the *Garamantes* joined *Tacfarinas*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, againſt the *Romans*. After the laſt defeat and death of *Tacfarinas*, they ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to appeaſe the reſentment of *Tiberius*; which we ſuppoſe was done by an abſolute ſubmiſſion to him, ſince it appears probable, that the *Roman* empire extended on that ſide almoſt, if not intirely, to the northern bank of the *Nigir* [b].

As for the *Nubæ*, *Perorſi*, *Tarualtæ*, *Mimaci*, *Aſtacuſi*, *Aroncæ*, *Dermones*, *Matites*, *Gongalæ*, *Nabathræ*, and many other obſcure nations inhabiting that part of *Libya Interior* called by the antients the weſtern *Ethiopia*, and extending from the *Nigir* to the *Line*, we have nothing to ſay of them; the old geographers having handed down to us only their bare names. However, it will be proper to obſerve, that the vaſt tract occupied by them comprehended the upper or proper

[b] HERODOT. l. iv. VIRG. l. vi. & SERV. in loc. LUCAN. l. iv. FESTUS AVIENUS, v. 320. MEL. l. i. c. 8. TACIT. annal. i, ii, iii, iv. STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & DALECHAMP. in loc. PETRON. ARB. in Satyric. Vid. & CHR. HENDR. de Carthag. repub. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 8. SIL. ITAL. l. ii. & alib PTOL. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. viii. c 4. FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. LEO AFRICAN. & MARM. ubi ſup. Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. XIII. p. 309, & alib. SHAW. ubi ſup. p. 136. GORDON's eſſay towards explaining the hieroglyp. fig. on the copy of an ant. mum. belong. to Capt. *Lethieullier*, p. 2. Lond. 1737.

Guinea,

Guinea, together with the kingdoms of *Gago*, *Guber*, *Bito*, *Temian*, *Ouangara*, *Dauma*, *Biafara*, *Mujac*, *Medra*, and ſome diſtricts of that of *Gorhan*. Hence it appears, that the antient *Nigritia* was but a part of the modern *Negroland*; and that in early times the *Nigritæ*, or *Negroes*, went by the general name of *Ethiopians*. As we find likewiſe the promontory of *Soloës*, or *Solountia*, ſituated in the country we are now upon, and ſeveral places to the ſouth of it, taken notice of by *Hanno* in his *periplus*, we may conclude from hence, that the *Carthaginians* had a knowledge of the *Blacks* ſome hundred years before the deſtruction of their ſtate by the *Romans*. That the *Greeks* alſo were not ignorant of them in the age of *Scylax*, may be inferred from that author; but as both he and *Hanno* ſtuffed their journals with fables, ſcarce any thing probable relating to them can be drawn from thence. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* have given us faint deſcriptions of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of ſome few of their clans, which will hereafter be touched upon. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* were greatly in the dark with regard to all particulars of moment concerning the weſtern *Ethiopians*; and *Strabo* only intimates, that, as ſcarce any intercourſe had ever been kept up between them and the *Roman* empire, the accounts publiſhed of them, in his age, were little better than downright fictions. To inſert therefore a collection of ſuch idle tales, would be unbecoming an hiſtorian; ſince it could neither afford inſtruction, nor give any real entertainment, to the rational part of his readers [c].

[c] Hanno Carthag. in peripl. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Herodot. Diod. Sic. Strabo, Mel. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Leo. African. Moll, Senex, Maxw. aliique recent. geogr.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The history of the Libyans *and* Greeks *inhabiting the tract between the borders of* Egypt *and the river* Triton, *comprehending* Marmarica, Cyrenaica, *and the* Regio Syrtica.

SECT. I.

The history of the Libyans *of* Marmarica.

MARMARICA, according to *Scylax*, *Pliny*, and *Agathemerus*, with whom *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* agree in the main, was bounded on the east and west by *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; on the south by the *Sabara*, or deserts of *Libya Interior*; and on the north by the *Mediterranean*. After passing the *Glaucum Promontorium*, cape *Deris*, the port *Leucaspis*, and other inconsiderable promontories and harbours, just mentioned by the antient geographers, we come to *Parætonium*, called *Ammonia* by *Strabo*, a city of considerable note. *Florus* stiles this city and *Pelusium* the two horns of *Egypt*; from whence it appears, that he looked upon *Marmarica* as part of *Egypt*, and *Parætonium* as a fortress of great strength. The last article is confirmed by *Hirtius*, who seems to intimate, that he received some annoyance from it, though the garison could not hinder him from supplying himself with water. We learn from *Procopius*, that it remained for a long time dismantled, but at last had its fortifications repaired by the emperor *Justinian*. At some distance from *Parætonium*, towards the frontiers of *Cyrenaica*, stood *Apis*, a town so denominated from the *Egyptian* deity of that name. *Pliny* relates, that it was famous on account of certain sacred mysteries celebrated in it; which, in conjunction with the name, insinuates vast numbers of the *Egyptians* and *Marmaridæ* to have resorted hither, in order to pay their devotions to *Apis*. *Trisarchis*, *Zagylis*, and other places on the sea-coasts, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, are so obscure, that they merit no regard. The principal *Libyan* nations inhabiting this region were the *Adyrmachidæ* and *Ammonii*, as appears from *Scylax* and *Herodotus*. As for the *Zygritæ*, seated near the *Greater Catabathmus*, and the *Buzes*, lying more to the south, they are rarely mentioned by the Marmarica.

antients. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the chief towns of the former were *Azicis*, *Tuccitora*, and *Tachorſa*; and the capital of the latter *Thanuthis*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mareotæ* as a people ſeated near the *Adyrmachidæ*. Some authors ſeem to make the *Marmoridæ* a nation inhabiting a particular territory contiguous to the greater *Catabathmus*; but we are inclined to believe, that *Marmaridæ* was a name common to all the *Libyans* of *Marmarica*. If ſo, all theſe *Libyans* drank chiefly beer brewed at *Alexandria*; though ſometimes they uſed *Libyan* wine. The *Adyrmachidæ*, according to *Silius*, fought with an *enſis falcatus*, or ſcymetar; and, if *Scylax* may be credited, were ſeated not far from the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile*. *Ptolemy*, on the contrary, places them, in his *nome* of *Lybia*, more remote from the ſea. It was a common cuſtom with their wives to wear a chain of braſs on each leg; to take great pains in dreſſing their hair; and if they happened to find a louſe, to kill it with their teeth, in revenge of the bite they received, and then to ſpit it out again. Their virgins, before marriage, were brought into the king's preſence, that if any one of them pleaſed him above the reſt, he might lie with her. We learn nothing farther concerning them, except that they wore the *Libyan* habit, from whence probably they derive their name, *Addarmuch* in *Arabic* denoting a particular kind of garment, and agreed almoſt in all points with the *Egyptians*, which tallies with what has been already obſerved. The (A) *Ammonii*, ſo called from *Jupiter Ammon*, or *Ammun*, their chief deity, lay nearer *Cyrenaica*, and about ten days journey from *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* mentions a place named *Alexander's camp*, and the city of *Ammon*, as appertaining to this nation. *Arrian*, on the other hand, will not allow *Ammon* to have been a city; but ſays, that it was only the ſpot of ground on which the temple of *Ammon* ſtood. It ſeems probable from *Herodotus*, that the *Ammonii* were a pretty populous nation, had a king of their own, and made war upon their neighbours; though part of their territories could be conſidered only as a barren ſandy deſert. *Pliny* makes the temple of *Ammon* fifteen days journey from *Memphis*, and mentions the *Ammonic nome* of *Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* re-

(A) *Herodotus* affirms the *Ammonii* to have been originally a colony of *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*; and that they ſpoke a language compoſed of words taken from both thoſe nations (1).

(1) *Herodot. l.* ii.

lates,

lates, that though the aforesaid (B) temple was surrounded by a sandy desert, yet its proper district abounded with trees bearing great plenty of fruit, and was beautified with fountains; that it had several streets or villages in the neighbourhood of the temple, a castle fortified with a triple wall, and near it a holy fountain, called the fountain of the *Sun*, since the qualities of the water varied wonderfully every twenty-four hours. *Pedonia*, *Pnigeus*, *Climax*, and other

(B) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this district was fifty stadia square, and that the inhabitants there enjoyed a perpetual spring. He likewise intimates, that within the first wall of the castle stood the palace of the antient kings of *Ammonia*; within the second the *Gynæceum*, containing the apartments of the royal family; and within the third places for the houshold troops to lodge in. He farther relates, that at a small distance from the wall there was another temple of *Ammon*, shaded with fruit trees, and having a fountain close by it, called *Fons Solis*, from the surprising effects of the *Sun* upon its water The image of *Ammon*, according to him, was adorned with emeralds, and other precious stones of great value, and gave responses to those who came to consult the oracle in a singular and unusual way; being carried about in a golden ship by eighty priests, who advanced to the place whither the god, by a nod, directed them, great multitudes of matrons and virgins at the same time celebrating his praises in songs composed after the manner of their country.

Diodorus also gives us to understand, that when *Alexander the Great* was introduced into the temple of *Ammon*, the senior vates addressed himself to him in the following terms: *God save thee*, MY SON, *and assume to thyself this title, which* AMMON *confers upon thee.* To whom, according to the same author, that prince replied: *I accept it, father; and, provided you'll enable me to conquer the world, I shall ever esteem it as the greatest honour to be called your son.* Upon which the priest approached the altar; and when the persons lifting up the image, according to custom, upon a signal given, moved forwards, the priest answered, *That the god had granted his request.* He then inquired *whether any of his father's murderers had escaped justice?* To which the oracle cried out: *Express thyself better, since no mortal can kill thy father; but all the murderers of* Philip *have been brought to condign punishment.* The pretended deity afterwards told him, *That the uninterrupted course of success he had met with was a full proof of his divine origin; and that he should, for the future, ever continue to be victorious.* In this manner did the artful priests of *Ammon* sooth *Alexander*'s vanity, and draw from him many valuable presents; after which he returned with his army to the confines of *Egypt* (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. lxvii.*

inconſiderable mediterranean towns, deſerve not the leaſt attention; nor are the ſmall iſlands on the coaſt, *Pedonia*, *Phocuſæ*, *Æneſipaſta*, *Ædonis*, or *Ædonia*, important enough to be deſcribed. We learn from *Herodotus*, that *Cambyſes*, having advanced to *Thebes*, in his way to *Ethiopia*, detached from thence a body of fifty thouſand men, to lay waſte the country of the *Ammonii*, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. But, after ſeveral days march over the deſerts, a ſtrong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the ſouth, at the time of their dinner, raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, and brought in ſuch a torrent upon them, that the whole corps was overwhelmed thereby, and periſhed. *Alexander the Great*, near two hundred years after, met with better ſucceſs in his journey to the temple aforeſaid. Authors are not intirely agreed whether the *Marmaridæ* are to be looked upon as *Libyans* or *Egyptians*; but the greateſt part rank them amongſt the former. Father *Calmet*, in particular, thinks, that *Marmarica* was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Lehabim*, the ſon of *Miſraim*, mentioned by *Moſes*. However, he believes, that the limits of *Lehabim*, or *Lubim*, are not known, and conſequently, that they might have reached much farther than the borders of *Cyrenaica*; eſpecially, ſince almoſt the whole continent of *Africa* is ſometimes called *Libya*. If then the *Marmaridæ* were *Libyans*, what has been already delivered concerning the origin, religion, cuſtoms, *&c.* of the *Numidian* and *Libyan Nomades* &c. will, in a great meaſure, hold true of them. Be that as it will, *Herodotus* aſſures us, that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in moſt points of moment. Though therefore, in compliance with the general opinion, we have here detached *Marmarica* from *Egypt*, yet, as from very remote antiquity it was ſubject to the kings of *Egypt*, and conſequently ought to be conſidered as appertaining to that monarchy, for an account of the tranſactions of which it was the theatre, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the hiſtory of *Egypt*, as well as thoſe of the *Perſians*, *Macedonians*, and *Romans*, who ſucceſſively ſubdued this kingdom [a].

[a] Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. Polyb. in excerpt. 115. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. ſub fin. Plin. l. v c. 5. & c. 6. Cæsar. apud Hirt. in bell. Alex. Mel. l. i. c. 9. Flor. l. iv c 11. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. Procop. l. vi. c. 2. Sil. Ital. l. iii. v. 278. Herodot l. ii. c. 42. & l. iv. c. 181. & alib. Arrian. l. iii. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Agathemer. l. ii. c 5. Calmet in voc. Libya.

SECT

SECT. II.

The history of Cyrenaica.

Limits of Cyrenaica

CYRENAICA was bounded on the east by *Marmarica*, on the west by the *Regio Syrtica*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*, and on the south by the *Sahara*. In the geography of *Cyrenaica*, we find none of the antients inconsistent with themselves but *Strabo*, who, almost in the same breath, asserts it to have extended as far as *Egypt*, and maintains that *Marmarica* lay betwixt those two regions. The maritime towns *Darnis*, *Cherſis*, *Phycus*, *Aptungis*, &c. were of no great repute, and therefore we ſhall paſs them by; as likewiſe the promontories *Phycus* and *Zephyrium*, the ports *Parætonius*, *Nauſtathmus*, &c. with ſeveral other places of leſs note. The principal towns in this tract were *Cyrene* the metropolis, *Arſinoe* or *Teuchira*, *Berenice*, *Ptolemais* or *Barce*, and *Apollonia*, from whence the beſt part of it was named *Pentapolis*. *Adriane*, or *Hadrianopolis*, ſo denominated from the emperor *Adrian*, could not vye with the others in point of antiquity, though it was no deſpicable place. The caſtle *Diacherſis*, *Tower of Hercules*, port *Diarrhœa*, promontory *Boreum*, near the *Greater Syrtis*, deſerve little attention; nor is any thing further to be ſaid of *Automala*, or *Automalax*, than that it was a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength upon the frontiers of the *Regio Syrtica* [b].

City of Cyrene.

THE city of *Cyrene*, now called *Cairoan*, or *Corene*, ſtood at ſome diſtance from the ſea, upon a ſpot of ground in figure reſembling a table, according to *Strabo*. It was large and populous, abounding with all the elegancies, as well as neceſſaries, of life. Its territory produced vaſt numbers of excellent horſes, which probably made the *Cyreneans*, whether *Libyans* or *Greeks*, apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of every thing relating to thoſe animals, more than moſt other nations. *Berenice*, *Teuchira*, *Ptolemais*, *Apollonia*, and *Adriane*, ſtood along the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*; and their inhabitants carried on a conſiderable trade. *Cyrene*

[b] HERODOT. SCYLAX. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. JOSEPH de bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 38. p. 996. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 40. SUID. STEPH. BYZANT. Auct. ſab. Auguſt. &c.

derived

derived its name from the fountain (C) *Cyre*, near which it was ſituated. *Bochart* deduces *Cyre* from the *Phœnician* קור *kur*, the radix of מקור *makur*, *fons*; which, conſidering that the *Carthaginians* aſſiſted the *Greeks* in ſettling themſelves here, and were acquainted with the country long before their arrival, is by no means improbable. We ſhall paſs by here the religion, language, cuſtoms, &c. of the proper *Cyreneans*; ſince whatever has been ſaid of their *Greek* anceſtors, on each of theſe heads, is equally applicable to them[c] (D).

Nature of the ſoil &c. of Cyrenaica.

THOUGH a great part of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect deſert, yet there were ſome fruitful plains in both thoſe couutries. The inhabitants were very ſubject to fevers, which ſome have attributed to the inſalubrity of the air. Except the *Lathon*, we find no conſiderable river of *Cyrenaica* taken notice of by the antients, and ſome of them have even fixed this in *Mauritania*. The *Montes Velpi* and *Anagombri* are the only mountains that ſeem to claim any relation to the country we are now upon; as the *Palus Paliuri* is the only fountain or lake. Some authors have placed the gardens of the *Heſperides* here, but others in *Mauritania*. The latter opinion appears to us the moſt probable, ſince it better correſponds with the word *Heſperides*, which imports a weſtern ſituation; and therefore we have already taken notice of thoſe gardens in the hiſtory of *Mauritania*. Some

[c] STRAB. ubi ſup. PIND. in od. ad Arceſilaum Cyren. HERODOT. l. iv. XENOPH Cyropæd. l. vi. LUCIAN. in encom Demoſth. PAUSAN l vi p. 366. & alib. ALEXIS apud Athen in deipnoſoph ut & ipſe ATHEN. paſſ. Vid. etiam CASAUB. animadverſ. ad Athen. l. iii. c. 21. MAX. TYR. ſerm. vii. MARMOL, l. viii. c. 10. CALLIMACH. hymn. in Apoll. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(C) *Juſtin* ſays, that this *Cyre*, or *Cyra*, was a mountain, but at the ſame time intimates, that it abounded with fountains; which countenances *Bochart*'s etymon, as well as the notion we have followed (3).

(D) It may not, however, be improper to take notice of one particular cuſtom of the *Cyrenians*, which ſeems to have been peculiar to them. When any perſon of diſtinction amongſt them was invited to an entertainment, he brought a great number of friends, chariots, &c. with him (4).

(3) *Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 7. ſub. init.*

(4) *Athen. deipnoſoph. l. xii.*

parts

parts of *Cyrenaica* and the *Regio Syrtica* were famous for the production of the *ſilphium*, a plant or ſhrub greatly celebrated by the antients. The *Libyans* looked upon the ſtalk, juice, leaves, fruit, and every thing belonging to this plant, as moſt precious; and conſequently eſteemed it infinitely above all other vegetable productions. *Strabo* intimates that the *Libyan* barbarians had deſtroyed almoſt all the roots of the *ſilphium* in their excurſions before his time, which is confirmed by *Scribonius Largus*. *Pliny* relates it to have been ſo ſcarce in his age, that a ſtalk of it was preſented to *Nero* as a ſingular curioſity; and yet, that the *laſer*, a gum proceeding from the *ſilphium*, or *laſerpitium*, as we find it ſometimes called, was not difficult to be met with in the reign of *Severus*, may be inferred from *Galen*. *Ariſtotle*, *Ariſtophanes*'s ſcholiaſt, *Tzetzes*, *Heſychius*, and *Suidas*, inſinuate the figure of the *ſilphium* to have been ſtruck on the *Cyrenean* coins; which is confirmed by many of them, that are ſtill to be found in the cabinets of the curious. The *Carthaginians* carried vaſt quantities of the *laſer* and *ſilphium* from *Charax*, a city near the confines of *Cyrenaica*, into their dominions, for which they ſupplied the *Cyreneans* with wine. This vegetable the *Cyreneans* offered to their firſt king *Battus*, whom they deified, looking upon it as the moſt valuable produce of their country; for which reaſon we find it on the reverſes of ſeveral of that prince's coins. That *Cyrenaica* likewiſe abounded with a moſt rich and uncommon oil, we are informed by *Theophraſtus*. *Athenæus* relates, that the roſes, violets, and all other flowers growing in this country, except the ſaffron, were famous for the fragrant odours they emitted; and that in the time of *Berenice* a moſt charming ointment was made of the *Cyrenean* roſes. As for the *ſilphium*, great quantities of it were imported into *Greece*, and many other countries. The antients prepared it various ways, both for food and phyſic, as appears from *Athenæus* and *Hippocrates*, to omit many other authors [d].

[d] HERODOT. SCYLAX. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. VIRG. Æn. iv. v. 480, & ſeq. ARISTOT. de Cyren. repub. SCRIBON. LARG. c 16. PLIN. l. xix. c. 3. & l. xxii. c. 23. ARISTOPH. ſchol. ad PLUT. p. 92. SUID. TZETZES, & HESYCH. in Βαττου Σιλφιον GALEN. de temperant. l. iii. c. 3. ſimpl. medic. fac. l. viii. & de antidot. l. ii. p. 440. ed. Baſil. CATUL. ep. 7. DIOSCORID. l. iii. c. 97. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. l. xv. & alib. THEOPHRAST. plant. l. iv. c. 3. Vid. etiam CASAUB. animadverſ. in ATHEN. l. iii c. 21. & EZECH. SPANHEM. de uſ. & præſtant. num. ant. diſſert. vi.

THE

Principal nations of this tract.

The principal nations of this tract, or at leaſt contiguous to it, were the *Barcæi*, the *Pſylli*, and the *Naſamones*; the *Aſbyſtæ*, *Macatutæ*, &c. being too obſcure to merit any regard. *Barce* or *Barca* the capital of the *Barcæi*, we find mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Scylax*, and *Ptolemy*; the two former of which make it to have occupied the ſame ſpot that *Ptolemais* afterwards did, but the two latter are of a different opinion. It ſeems to have ſtood to the weſt of *Cyrene*, and had a port near the *Greater Syrtis*. As *Ptolemais* was a maritime city, it is moſt probable, that it ſtood by the port of the *Barcæi*, and not where *Barce* did; eſpecially, ſince that capital was an hundred ſtadia from the ſea, according to *Scylax*. *Herodotus* affirms *Barca* to have been built by the brothers of *Arceſilaus* III. king of *Cyrene*, above a generation before the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign; but we rather think, that it was of *Phœnician*, if not *Egyptian*, or *Libyan*, extraction; for *Barca* was a *Phœnician* name, well known in theſe parts of *Africa*, as appears from *Silius Italicus*, and others. *Servius* intimates the citizens of it to have come originally from *Carthage*, which would tempt one to believe, that *Barca*, *Dido*'s brother, who attended her into *Africa*, with ſome of his countrymen, ſettled here. It is evident from *Virgil* and *Silius*, that the *Barcæi* ſpread themſelves over ſeveral conſiderable parts of *Libya*; and from *Servius*, that their metropolis made the greateſt figure of any city in the region we are now upon, except *Cyrene*. St. *Jerom* confirms the laſt authorities, when he aſſerts this town to have been ſituated in a deſert; and its inhabitants, or at leaſt their deſcendants, to have diſperſed themſelves over ſeveral diſtricts lying as far to the weſtward as *Mauritania*, and the eaſtward as *India*. The *Barcæi* learned, ſays *Stephanus*, the art of managing horſes from *Neptune*, and of driving chariots from *Minerva*; which evidently points out their high antiquity. They agreed, in moſt particulars, with the other *Libyan Nomades* already mentioned. The modern kingdom and deſert of *Barca*, extending from *Egypt* to the confines of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, correſpond with the antient *Marmarica* and *Cyrenaica*; though they undoubtedly received their name from the *Barcæi*. This may be looked upon as an additional proof of the rank this people formerly held amongſt the various nations of *Libya* [e].

[e] Herodot. Scylax. Strab. Plin. Ptol. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. l. i. Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 41. & Serv. in loc. D. Hieron. ep. 129. ad Dard. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Sophocl. in Electr. & alib. D. Bern. Aldret. de Africa, l. iii. c. 20. Reinec. hiſt Jul. tom. ii. de repub. Carthag.

The

THE *Pſylli*, and *Naſamones*, according to *Pliny*, *Silius*, and *Lucan*, muſt have been ſeated near the *Greater Syrtis*; or behind the *Regio Syrtica* and *Cyrenaica*, if we chuſe to follow *Strabo*. The *Pſylli*, as *Herodotus* informs us, having once had all their reſervoirs of water dried up by the ſouth wind, advanced into the *Sahara*, in order to make war upon that wind; but it blowing with extreme violence, they were overwhelmed with torrents of ſand, and all periſhed. After which tragical event, their neighbours the *Naſamones* annexed the territories they poſſeſſed to their own dominions. *Herodotus* repreſents the *Naſamones* as a powerful nation in his time, and remarkable for ſome ſingular cuſtoms then prevailing amongſt them. During the ſummer-ſeaſon, they left their cattle on the coaſt, and diſperſed themſelves over the plains of *Ægila*, in order to get the fruit of the palm-trees, with which that place abounded. Here likewiſe they found an immenſe quantity of graſhoppers, which, having dried in the ſun, they pulverized, and infuſed them in milk. The liquor compoſed of theſe two ingredients was highly eſteemed by them, as a moſt pleaſant and rich kind of drink. They had many wives, which they uſed in public, like the *Maſſagetæ*, after having erected a ſtaff for a mark. The bride, amongſt them, lay the firſt night with all the gueſts invited to the wedding; and received from each of them the next morning a preſent, which he had brought with him for that purpoſe. When they took an oath, they laid their hands on the ſepulchres of thoſe who were generally eſteemed to have been the moſt juſt and excellent perſons amongſt them. At their divinations, they went to the tombs of their anceſtors; where, after certain prayers, they fell aſleep, and grounded their predictions upon the dreams that then happened to them. In pledging their faith to each other, they mutually preſented a cup of liquor; and if they had none, the parties took up ſome duſt from the ground, which they put into their mouths. From ſome authors it appears, that the *Naſamones* were looked upon by the antients as little better than a great gang of robbers; ſince they made frequent incurſions upon the territories of their neighbours, which they plundered and ravaged in a dreadful manner. We learn from *Philoſtratus*, that a people of the ſame name was ſeated in *Ethiopia*. The *Libyan* nations here mentioned poſſeſſed the countries they inhabited long before the *Greeks* built *Cyrene* [f].

[f] HERODOT. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. LUCAN. l. ix. v. 439. & ſeq. SIL. ITAL l. i. v. 438. PHILOSTRAT. l. vi. c. 12.

Transactions of Cyrenaica *till subject to the* Romans.

Battus the *Theræan*, according to *Herodotus*, with a colony of his countrymen, settled first in *Platæa*, an island on the coast of *Libya*. From thence they removed to that part of the continent opposite to this island, and seated themselves in a delightful province, surrounded with agreeable hills, and watered by two rivers running on each side, called *Azirisus*. After six years residence here, the *Libyans* conducted them to *Irasa*, a most charming country to the west of *Azirisus*. In this region, near a fountain sacred to *Apollo*, they fixed their habitations, and built *Cyrene*, about the third year of the thirty-seven olympiad, according to *Eusebius*. We find nothing farther remarkable related of *Battus* the first, except that he lost the stammering in his speech by the following accident. Being one day wandering alone in a desert place, he was surprised by a lion, which, unexpectedly rushing upon him, struck him with such terror, that he lifted up his voice in an extraordinary manner. This, according to some authors, so frightened the lion, that he immediately fled, and at the same time delivered *Battus* from the impediment he before laboured under. His son, *Arcesilaus* the first, probably made no great figure, since history is intirely silent as to any particulars of his reign. *Battus* II. son to *Arcesilaus*, built the city of *Zoa*, and reigned forty years, and his son *Arcesilaus* II. sixteen; which is all that we know of them. *Battus* III. son to *Arcesilaus* II. surnamed *The happy*, being strengthened by the accession of a vast number of *Greeks*, who came to live under his government, defeated *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, in a great battle, near the fountain *Thestis* in *Irasa*. The victory was so complete, that scarce any of the *Egyptian* troops returned home; so that *Adicran*, a neighbouring *Libyan* prince, who had drawn *Apries* upon *Battus*, could not afterwards make head against the *Cyreneans*, nor consequently give them any obstruction in the possession of those territories they had before wrested from him. *Arcesilaus* III. the son of *Battus* III. succeeded him; whose brothers, on account of some disputes they had with him in the beginning of his reign, retired out of his dominions, and, as *Herodotus* will have it, built *Barca*. Before that city was finished, they found means to excite *Arcesilaus*'s *Libyan* subjects to a revolt. However, he marched against them with an army, and pursued them into the eastern parts of *Libya*. But having there assembled a powerful body of forces, they came to a resolution to give him battle; which soon after they did, and totally routed him, cutting seven thousand of his men in pieces. *Arcesilaus*, in a short time after this disaster, was dispatched by his brother *Alarchus*, who, in his turn was put to death

by

by that prince's wife *Eryxo*. *Battus* IV. *Arceſilaus*'s ſon, ſurnamed *The lame*, mounted the throne after his father's death. In his reign *Demonax*, a *Mantinean* legiſlator, arrived at *Cyrene*; and, at the king's deſire, introduced ſeveral alterations into the preceding form of government. *Arceſilaus* IV. ſon to the former prince, endeavouring to put the *Cyrenean* conſtitution upon its former footing, was driven by his ſubjects to *Samos*; his mother *Pheretima* at the ſame time eſcaping to *Salamis* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. *Euelthon*, who then reigned there, made her many magnificent preſents, but found means to evade ſending an army to reinſtate her ſon in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. *Arceſilaus* afterwards retired to *Barca*, having married the daughter of *Alazar*, king of the *Barcæi*; but was aſſaſſinated there, together with his father-in-law, as he was walking in the market-place. In the mean time, *Pheretima* eſtabliſhed her authority at *Cyrene*; and, after her ſon's death, applied to *Aryandes*, the *Perſian* governor of *Egypt*, for aſſiſtance, to revenge *Arceſilaus*'s death, who, ſhe pretended, was murdered for his cloſe attachment to the *Medes*. She had ſome grounds for ſuch an application, ſince her ſon had put himſelf under the protection of *Cambyſes*, and acknowledged himſelf a tributary to him. *Aryandes* firſt ſent a herald to *Barca*, to demand whether the *Barcæi* had been guilty of the aſſaſſination of *Arceſilaus*; and, upon their acknowledging it, he ſent a land-army, commanded by *Amaſis*, and a fleet under the conduct of *Badres*, to take vengeance of the aſſaſſins. The *Perſians* ſoon inveſted the city of *Barca*, and carried on the ſiege ineffectually for the ſpace of nine months. However, (E) at laſt they made themſelves maſters of it by treachery. *Amaſis*,

(E) *Herodotus* relates, that when the *Perſians* endeavoured to ſap the foundations of *Barca*, an artificer in braſs diſcovered their ſubterraneous approaches in the following manner: He carried a brazen ſhield round the city within the wall, and, applying it to the ground, heard no noiſe where the earth was ſolid; but when he came to the parts which were undermined, the ſhield rung. Upon which diſcovery, the beſieged fell to countermining, killed all the *Perſians* they found in the mines, and diſmounted all the enemies engines of battery. *Amaſis* therefore, finding he could not take the city by force, had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: He opened a large trench in the night, which he covered with ſlight planks of wood, and threw a proper quantity of earth upon them; which rendered that part like the adjacent ground. Early the next morning, after a conference with the beſieged, he concluded a treaty with them upon the ſpot that was undermined, the terms of

Amasis, after the reduction of *Barca*, put the city into the hands of *Pheretima*; who caused all the men concerned in the murder of *Arcesilaus* to be impaled round the walls, and affixed near them the breasts of their wives, which she ordered to be cut off for that purpose. The place, by her consent, the *Persian* general gave up to his soldiers to be plundered; though he spared those persons who had been averse to the assassination of *Arcesilaus*, and permitted *Pheretima* to put *Barca* into their hands. *Badres*, the *Persian* admiral, had a strong desire, before his return to *Egypt*, to plunder *Cyrene*; but was prevented by *Amasis*: The *Libyans* extremely harrassed the *Persians* in their march, cutting in pieces all the stragglers they met with, which must have been many, since they attended the enemy to the borders of *Egypt*. All the prisoners were sent to *Darius Hystaspis*, in whose reign those transactions happened, who settled them in a district of *Bactria*, which was from them denominated *Barca*. *Pheretima* is said afterwards to have been devoured alive by worms, which the historian looks upon as a punishment inflicted upon her by providence for her enormous cruelty. From this time the *Cyreneans*, and *Libyans*, with whom they were intermixed, till the conquest of the *Persian* empire, are not very remarkable in history. *Aristotle* gives us to understand, that in his time *Cyrene* was a republic; which seems to imply, that, upon the extinction of *Battus*'s line, *Demonax*'s form of government took place; though the *Cyreneans* might have been tributary to, or at least under the protection of, the *Persians*. It appears from *Sallust*, that the people of *Cyrene* were free, when the contention happened betwixt them and the *Carthaginians* about a regulation of limits; and that they were governed by their own laws, till the *Macedonians* subdued *Egypt*, we find asserted by *Strabo*. Toward the beginning of the ninety-fifth olympiad, one *Ariston* seized

which were to the following effect: "That the agreement should "continue in force as long as the earth on which they stood should "remain in the present condition; that the *Barcæi* should pay a "competent tribute to the king of *Persia*; that the *Persians* should "introduce no innovations into *Barca*." The *Barcæi* then opened their gates to *Amasis*, upon the faith of this treaty. That general, finding himself master of the town, in order to free himself from the oath he had just taken, ordered the covering of the trench to be broken down, and afterwards treated the inhabitants in the manner here related (5).

(5) *Herodot. l. iv. sub fin.*

upon

upon *Cyrene*, put five hundred of the principal citizens to death, and obliged all the others to abandon the city: but matters were ſoon after compoſed, and all former acts of hoſtility buried in oblivion. *Alexander* had not been long dead, when *Thimbro* invaded *Cyrenaica*, overthrew the *Cyreneans*, and obliged them to buy a peace with five thouſand talents of ſilver, and half of their armed chariots. However, *Mnaſiclus* a *Cretan*, one of his officers, afterwards ſpirited them up againſt him, forced him to abandon the port of *Cyrene*, and obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over him. Notwithſtanding which, *Thimbro*, bringing them to another general action, intirely defeated them, though he was ſoon after overthrown by *Ophellas*, and taken priſoner. This victory rendered that general maſter of *Cyrenaica*, and he delivered it into the hands of *Ptolemy*. However, it ſeems probable, from what we have obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*, that *Ophellas*, by ſome means or other, obtained the ſovereignty of this country. *Magas*, the brother of *Ptolemy Lagus*, whoſe daughter *Ptolemy Philadelphus* married, reigned at *Cyrene* fifty years, as we learn from *Agatharchides*. That this prince was a man of genius, appears from *Polyænus*, who has tranſmitted to us an account of one of his ſtratagems. *Plutarch* intimates, that *Nicocrates*, tyrant of *Cyrene*, being in love with *Arctaphila*, the wife of one *Phædimus*, or, as *Polyænus* will have it, *Melanippus* the prieſt of *Apollo*, killed her huſband, in order to enjoy her; and that ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till ſhe found an opportunity of deſtroying him; which ſhe at laſt did, and thereby delivered her country from ſervitude. But whether this laſt event happened before the time of *Magas*, or afterwards, we are not given to underſtand. Be that as it will, it remained under the kings of *Egypt*, till *Ptolemy Phyſcon* made it over to his baſtard ſon ſurnamed *Apion*, who, in the year of *Rome* 658, left it by will to the *Romans*. The ſenate, inſtead of accepting it, permitted all the cities to be governed by their own laws; which immediately filled the country with tyrants, thoſe who were moſt potent in every diſtrict endeavouring to make themſelves ſovereigns of it. This threw the kingdom of *Cyrenaica* into great confuſion; but *Lucullus* in a good meaſure reſtored the public tranquillity, on his coming thither during the firſt *Mithridatic* war. The deſcendants of thoſe (EE) *Jews*, ſettled here by the firſt *Ptolemy*,

(EE) Amongſt the deſcendants of theſe *Cyrenean Jews* may be ranked *Jaſon*, who wrote the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, in five books

lemy, are said to have greatly contributed to the disturbances just hinted at. Be that as it will, all troubles could not be finally removed, till this country was reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, which happened about twenty years after the death of *Apion*, and seventy-six before the birth of *Christ*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time *Crete* and *Cyrenaica* formed one *Roman* province. Upon a revolt *Cyrene* was ruined by the *Romans*; but they afterwards rebuilt it. In process of time it fell to the *Arabs*, and at last to the *Turks*, who are the present possessors of it [g]. For some of the principal learned men it produced, we shall refer our readers to the following note (F).

[g] Herodot. l. iv. Pind. Pyth. od. iv. & v. Pausan. in Phocic. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. Polyæn. l. ii. c. 28. ex. 1, 2, & l. viii. c. 38, 41. Pausan. in Attic Steph. Byzant. de urb. Agatharchid. Cnid. apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. xii. Plutarch. de virtut. mulier. Justin. l. xiii. c. 7. Callimach. in hymn. Solin. c. 30. Sallust. in Jugurth. Strab. l. xvii. Eustath. in Dionys. Euseb. in chron. ad an. 3. olymp. 37 p. 122. Plut. in Lucul. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. 70. Justin. l. 29. Eutrop. l. vi. c. 11. Univers hist. Vol. IX. p. 114. X. 190, 31, 148, 290. & Vol. XVI. p. 693, & seq.

books, of which the second book of *Maccabees* still extant, is an abridgment; *Simon*, who carried our Saviour's cross; and others mentioned in the acts of the apostles (6).

(F) This country produced several persons who made an illustrious figure in the republic of letters, amongst the principal of whom may be ranked the following:

1. *Aristippus*, a disciple of *Socrates*, and the chief of the *Cyrenaic* sect. He lived about the ninety sixth olympiad, and the year of *Rome* 360. He was the first that took money of his scholars for teaching them philosophy. He once sent his master *Socrates* twenty *minas*; but that philosopher refused it, saying, *God would not permit him to receive it.* *Xenophon* was an enemy to him; on which account he wrote a treatise against *pleasure*, in order to expose him. *Theodorus* and *Plato* likewise were very severe upon him. He could adapt himself to all persons, places, and times, and, without difficulty, act any part: which rendered him agreeable to *Dionysius*. He went frequently to court, kept several mistresses, and, amongst the rest, the famous *Lais*; and fared deliciously, in conformity to the principles of his philosophy. When he was censured by an acquaintance for living too luxuriously, he said, *That if it were not a good thing to feast and eat well, people would not practise it on their holy festivals.* He was extremely quick at repartees, as appears

(6) *Act. c. ii, v. 1. & c. vi. v. 9.*

from

from *Diogenes Laertius*. He asked a certain person, who reproached him for having had a sumptuous entertainment, *Whether he would not have lived in as elegant a manner, if he could have done it for three oboli?* To which the other replied, he would. *Then*, said he, *I find you are fond of money, and not I of pleasure.* One time a fellow pursuing him with opprobrious and scurrilous language, and asking him, *Why he made such haste away? Because*, said he, *thou art accustomed to give foul language, and I am not accustomed to hear it.* *Dionysius* had once three harlots to wait upon *Aristippus*, out of whom he ordered that philosopher to chuse one; but he carried them all three off, saying, *That* PARIS *had greatly suffered by preferring one goddess to another.* One desired to know of him what he would have for educating his son; to whom he answered, *Five hundred drachmas. I can buy a slave*, answered the other, *for that sum. Do so*, replied *Aristippus, and then you will have two.* He wrote three books of the history of *Libya*, which he dedicated to *Dionysius*; and a volume consisting of twenty five dialogues, composed partly in the *Attic*, and partly in the *Doric*, dialect. The principles of his philosophy were these: The soul has two particular motions, or sensations, *viz.* pain and pleasure; all pleasures are alike; virtue is only so far to be esteemed, as it conduces to sensuality. For all the other particulars of his life we must refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*. His name seems to confirm what several authors have suggested of the *Cyreneans*, viz. that they were famous for being good horsemen.

2. *Areta*, daughter to *Aristippus*, who presided over the *Cyrenaic* school after the death of her father.

3. *Aristippus* the younger, son to *Areta*, by whose instructions he became a famous philosopher, and from thence was styled *Metrodidactos*.

4. *Anniceris*, who reformed the *Cyrenaic* sect, or rather founded another that was called the *Anniterian*.

5. *Callimachus*, a celebrated poet and historian, the son of *Battus* and *Mesatma*, and disciple of *Hermocrates* the grammarian. He married the daughter of *Euphrates Syracusanus*, and lived in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, being then the royal librarian. Several pieces we find ascribed to him, tho' he was no voluminous author, it being a trite observation with him, *That a great book was a great evil*. The principal of these were: 1. A satirical poem upon his adversary, whom he called *Ibis*. 2. Those hymns which are still extant. 3. Αἰτία, or a treatise upon the origin and causes of sacred things, taken notice of by *Martial*. 4. A poem intituled *de coma Berenices*. *Suidas* mentions another *Callimachus*, nephew to this, as a tolerable poet; but 'tis generally agreed, that he did not make any great figure in the learned world.

6. *Eratosthenes*, the son of one *Aglaus*, or, according to others, *Ambrosius*, a celebrated philosopher and mathematician, in great favour at the *Egyptian* court. He was the scholar of *Aristo* the *Chian*, *Lysanias* the grammarian, and the poet *Callimachus*. He flourished in the hundred twenty-sixth olympiad, being about that time

time librarian to the king of *Egypt*. He firſt aſſerted the ambit or circumference of the earth to be two hundred and fifty-two thouſand ſtadia; on which account we find him ſtyled the *meaſurer of the earth*. Beſides his philoſophical pieces, he wrote ſome poems, ſeveral hiſtorical and aſtronomical tracts, a collection of dialogues, and ſome obſervations relating to comedy. He died at eighty-one years of age

7. *Carneades*, the ſon of *Epicomus*, or *Philocomus*, and founder of the third academy, which differed but little from the ſecond founded by *Arceſilaus*. He pretended to diſcover an uncertainty in the moſt evident notions, and was a grand ſtickler againſt the *Stoics*, attempting vigorouſly to confute *Chryſippus*, one of their principal pillars. *Carneades* did not much apply himſelf to phyſic and natural philoſophy, but cultivated morals with particular diligence. His ſurpriſing eloquence made him feared by the *Roman* ſenate, during his reſidence at *Rome* with two other embaſſadors. Whilſt he was there, he is ſaid to have diſputed admirably well for juſtice one day, and the next againſt it. He gave himſelf up ſo intirely to ſtudy, that he neglected frequently all other things; inſomuch, that he ſometimes ſat at table, and forgot to eat, till rouſed from his thoughtfulneſs by his maid *Maliſſa*. According to *Diogenes Laertius*, he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, about the fourth year of the clxii olympiad, though *Cicero* ſtretched his life to ninety; which makes it difficult to determine preciſely the time of his death The former author ſays, that when *Carneades* underſtood, that *Antipater* had poiſoned himſelf, he did the like; and likewiſe makes an eclipſe of the moon to have then happened. He is ſaid to have written many letters to *Ariarathes* king of *Armenia*. For a fuller account of him we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to *Diogenes Laertius*, *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and others.

8 *Cronus Apollonius*, the maſter of *Diodorus* the logician, whoſe name was aſſumed by his ſcholar (6).

(6) *Strab. l. xvii. p. 576. Diog. Laert. in Ariſtip. in Carnead. & alib Poſidon. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l. vii. Suid. in Ἐρατοσθένης, in Κράτης μαχος & alib. Schol. in Ariſtoph. ran. act. iv. ſc 2. Plut. de placit philoſ. adver. Stoic. & alib. Martial. l. x. Aul. Gell. l. vii. c 14. & l. xvii. c. 15. Val. Max. l viii. c. 8. Cic. in Academ. quæſt l i in Tuſcul quæſt l. v. de orat. l. ii. & alib. Ouzelius in Aul. Gel. ubi ſup. Galen, in lib. de opt. docend. gen. ab Henric. Stephan. edit an. 1562. aliiq; ſcript. mult.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

The history of the Regio Syrtica.

Description of the Regio Syrtical.

THE *Regio Syrtica*, ſo called becauſe the two *Syrtes* were the northern extremities of its eaſtern and weſtern limits, was bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the ſouth by the country of the *Naſamones* and the *Sahara*; on the eaſt by *Cyrenaica*: and on the weſt by *Africa Propria*. The tower of *Euphrantas*, and the town of *Charax* above-mentioned, were the principal maritime places in the neighbourhood of *Cyrenaica*, as *Auxiqua*, *Leptis Magna*, *Garapha*, *Abrotonum*, *Sabrata*, and *Tacape*, were on the ſea-coaſt betwixt the rivers *Cinyps* and *Triton*. As for *Geriſa*, *Iſcina*, *Amunclo*, *Sicapha*, *Muſta*, *Buttu*, and ſeveral other obſcure *Mediterranean* towns mentioned by *Ptolemy* and the *Itinerary*, we ſcarce ever find them taken notice of by any antient hiſtorian. The *Cinyps* of *Scylax*, however, ſeems to have been a city of ſome repute. *Pliny* and *Herodotus* intimate, that there was in this region a fruitful diſtrict called *Cinyphe*, which, as well as the city above-mentioned, might have been ſo denominated from the river of the ſame name. To paſs by the *Samamycii*, *Damenſii*, *Nigbeni*, *Nycpii*, *Nigintimi*, *Muchthuſii*, and many other inconſiderable tribes recited by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the only nations of this country deſerving any regard were the *Cinethii*, *Gindanes*, *Macæ*, and *Lotophagi*. The *Cinethii*, or *Cinithii*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, ſituated behind the *Machyni*, about the *Leſſer Syrtis*, were a reſpectable nation, as we learn from *Tacitus*. The *Gindanes*, according to *Herodotus*, were ſeated not far from the *Cinyps*; their wives wore as many borders on their gowns as they had lovers, and ſhe who had the greateſt number was the moſt eſteemed. The *Macæ* bordered upon the *Garamantes*, and were a pretty potent nation. They ſhaved their heads all over, except the middle of the crown, where they permitted a lock of hair to grow. When they made war upon any of their neighbours, they wore the ſkins of oſtriches inſtead of armour. In the winter they drove their flocks to the ſea-ſide, and in ſummer to the inland places near ſome fountain or river, for the ſake of water, according to *Scylax*. They are called likewiſe by the antients *Macæ Cinyphii*, and *Macæ Syrtitæ*, from their vicinity to the *Cinyps* and the *Greater Syrtis*. But the *Lotophagi* were

the moſt famous people of the tract we are now upon. If we may believe *Scylax*, they extended themſelves almoſt from the *Greater* to the *Leſſer Syrtis*. That author calls them *Libyes Lotophagi*, and tells us, that the *lotus* ſerved them both for meat and drink; from which circumſtance they derived their name. *Pliny* ſays, that ſome authors called them *Alachroæ*, and that many of them were found about the *Philænorum Aræ*. *Strabo* likewiſe affirms the country of the *Lotophagi* to have extended from the *Leſſer Syrtis*, which he calls *Lotophagitis Syrtis*, to the confines of *Cyrenaica*; and that this people were not ſenſible of the want of water in the burning ſandy region they inhabited, ſince the root, ſtalks, *&c.* of the *lotus* ſupplied them with rich liquor as well as delicious food. *Homer* relates, that in his time the iſland *Meninx*, on the coaſt of *Byzacium*, abounded with the *lotus*, and was the chief ſeat of the *Lotophagi*; as alſo that *Ulyſſes* touched here in his return to *Ithaca*. A good part of the *Regio Syrtica* was a perfect deſert; but the other part productive of corn, oil, fruit, and particularly both the tree and plant of the *lotus*. *Herodotus* tells us, that the fruit of the true was of the ſame ſize with that of the *lentiſcus*, but exceedingly ſweet like the date; as alſo that the *Lotophagi* made wine of it. *Pliny* ſays, that the *lotus* was tranſplanted to *Italy*, but that its qualities were pretty much altered by that tranſplantation. He likewiſe aſſerts its fruit to have been of the ſize of a bean, and of the colour of ſaffron, when ripe; though he allows this to have been different, according to the different degrees of maturity at which it arrived. In *Africa* it reſembled that of a myrtle. The beſt ſpecies of this tree produced a fruit without any kernel; but that of the other had a kernel in it as hard as a ſtone. The wine expreſſed from it taſted like mead, being extremely ſweet; which quality it derived from the fruit itſelf, but would not keep above ten days. The berries, bruiſed and mixed with wheat, the *Libyans* laid up in large veſſels, which ſerved them for food. *Theophraſtus* and *Dioſcorides* make the plant *lotus* to have reſembled a lilly, and repreſent it both as phyſic and food. Some of the moderns think one ſpecies of it to have been the ſame as the *colocaſia*, or *faba Egyptia*, and the other as the *nymphæa Niletica*. But though it might agree with theſe plants in many particulars, yet that it differed conſiderably from them, is evident from the figure of it, which we find on the reverſes of many antient *Egyptian* coins. Several of theſe coins, ſtruck in the times of *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*, exhibit the leaves, ſtalk, and fruit of the plant *lotus*, and conſequently give us a tolerable idea of it; however,

however, the moderns can come to no certain concluſions concerning either the plant or the tree. The principal river of this tract was the *Cinyps*, which derived its ſtream from a fountain, or a hill, called *Zuchabari*, in the country of the *Macæ*, and emptied itſelf into the *Sinus Syrticus*. The word *Zuchabari* in *Punic*, *Phœnician*, or *Libyan*, ſignified the *hill of the Graces*, as we find it called by *Herodotus*. The river *Cinyps*, according to *Bochart*, derived its name from the great number of porcupines produced in the country adjacent to it. The chief mountains of the *Regio Syrtica* were *Gigius* and *Thizibi*, of which yet we find nothing related but the bare names. The promontories *Hippus* and *Cephalæ* ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned. Of the iſlands appertaining to this country the moſt noted were *Meninx* and *Cercina*; *Ptolemy*'s *Gaia*, *Pontia*, and *Miſynus*, being quite obſcure. The iſland *Myrmex* more properly belonged to *Cyrenaica*, as it was not far diſtant from the port of the *Barcæi*. *Pliny* makes *Meninx* (F), near the *Leſſer Syrtis*, to be twenty-five miles long, and twenty-two broad; and further obſerves, that it had two towns, *viz.* *Meninx* facing the coaſt of *Africa*, and *Thoar* oppoſite to the *Leſſer Syrtis*. We find it named *Lotophagitis*, not only by the authors above-mentioned, but likewiſe by *Polybius* and *Eratoſthenes*. As for *Cercina*, it lay N. E. of *Meninx*, was twenty-five miles in length, about twelve in breadth, had a tolerable good town of the ſame name, and two moſt commodious harbours. Thus ſtands the geography of the *Regio Syrtica*, with which tract the northern part of the kingdom of *Tripoli* ſeems at preſent to correſpond [h].

[h] HERODOT. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. VIRG. Æn. i. v. 110. & Æn. iv. v. 41. LUCAN. l. i. v. 367. & l. viii. v. 184. SENEC. de beat. vit. c. 14. SCYLAX. CARYAND. in peripl. ANTONIN itinerar. SALLUST. in Jugurth. CÆS. in civ. l i. c. 38. DIONYSIUS CHARACENUS, ver. 480. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. l. v. & alib. PLIN. l. xiii. c. 17. SIL. ITAL. l. iii. ver. 310. HELIODOR. l. x. p. 457. HERODOT. ubi ſup. THEOPHRAST. hiſt. pl. l. iv. c. 10. PLUT. de Iſid. p. 355, 378. & alib. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 92. THEOPHRAST. hiſt. pl. l. 4. c. 5. p. 87. DIOSCORID. l. iv. c. 114. SOLIN. exercit. p 683. PLUTARCH & IAMBLIC. apud Triſtan. tom. i. p. 605. SEGUIN. num. ſelect. p. 121. EZECH. SPANHEM. de præſt. & uſ num. ant. diſſert. vi. p. 301—308. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c 52 LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 48. POLYB. l. i. c. 39. ERASTOSTHENES apud Plin. l. v. c. 7. HOMER. Il. I. v. 84. & alib

(F) This iſland was called *Girba* about the middle age, and is at this day known by the name *Zerbi* or *Zarbi* (c).

(c) *Cellar. geogr. ant. l iv. c.* 3.

Its inhabitants subject to the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Cyreneans, Numidians, *and* Romans.

As the inhabitants of this region agreed in all points of moment with the other *Lybian Nomades*, whose history has already been given, we can say nothing of their antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, &c. (G) without being guilty of a repetition. The transactions they were concerned in, before they became subject to *Carthage*, could not, we apprehend, have been very considerable. However, we believe them to have been subdued by the founder of the *Egyptian* empire, whom *Josephus* and Sir *Isaac Newton* take to be the same prince with *Sesac*. How long they remained subject to the *Egyptians*, history informs us not; but 'tis probable a corps of them formed part of *Zerah*'s numerous army, for the reasons already offered. Part of the *Regio Syrtica* seems to have been under the dominion of the *Cyreneans* till the regulation of limits agreed upon between that people and the *Carthaginians* mentioned by *Sallust*; but when this happened, cannot be precisely determined. After that regulation it continued in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, till it was wrested out of them by *Masinissa*; for that it was wrested out of them by that prince, appears clearly from *Appian*. In after-ages it met with the same fate as the rest of his dominions, an ample account of which has been already exhibited to our readers in the history of the *Numidians* [1].

Some particulars relating to Libya *hitherto omitted.*

THUS have we gone through the history of all the principal *Libyan* nations, which, we may venture to assure our readers, has not been done by any other author. Some few particulars, however, relating to them, hitherto omitted, we must not pass over in silence. *Herodotus* observes, that the *Libyans* in general went by the name of *Atlantes* or *Atlantides*, though at the same time he remarks that appellation to have been applied to one particular nation; who, he tells us, cursed the *Sun* every day, as he advanced towards the meridian, pursuing him with the bitterest invectives, because he consumed both them and their country with his burning rays.

[1] SALLUST. in Jugurth. APPIAN. in Libyc. c. 63. ed. Tol. Amst. 1670. NEWT. in chronol. p. 70. See also before, l. 4. c. 1. sect 3.

(G) From *Egypt* to the lake *Tritonis* the *Libyans* were breeders of cattle; ate flesh, and drank milk; but abstained from beef and pork, as well as the *Egyptians*. The women of *Cyrene* accounted it a crime to strike a cow. For the customs, manners, and religion, of the *Libyans* inhabiting the country to the west of the *Triton*, we must refer our readers to *Herodotus* (7).

(7) *Herodot. l. iv.*

From

From that author and *Diodorus* it likewiſe appears, that the *Atlantides* were ſeated upon, and in the neighbourhood of mount *Atlas*, which, from its height, the *Libyans* ſtyled the *pillar of heaven*, i. e. *the high* or *lofty pillar*; which evinces the *Libyan* language or languages to have been related to the oriental tongues. *Herodotus* alſo intimates, that no one of this nation did either eat fleſh, or was ever diſturbed in his ſleep by dreams; the laſt of which properties was probably the conſequence of the firſt. In the territories of the *Atlantides*, as well as the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants reaped conſiderable advantages from ſeveral mines of ſalt, which was of two colours, *viz.* white and purple. *Herodotus* farther ſays, that many of the *Libyans* built houſes of this ſalt, which, as no rain ever fell in thoſe parts, were very durable. To what has been already offered, with regard to the *Nigritæ*, we muſt beg leave to add, that they were known to the *Egyptians*, *Ammonii*, and *Cyreneans*, before the time of *Herodotus*. For that author, when in *Egypt*, learned from ſome *Cyreneans* who had the relation from *Etearchus* king of the *Ammonii*, that five bold *Naſamonian* youths, ſent to make new diſcoveries through the deſerts of *Libya*, at laſt came to a city inhabited by men of a low ſtature, by which ran a great river abounding with crocodiles, that *Etearchus* judged to be the *Nile*. This relation tallies extremely well with *Marmol*, who aſſures us, that the people ſeated on the northern bank of the *Nigir* are perfect dwarfs (H); and alſo ſeems to add ſome weight to the authority of the *Arabian* geographers, who make the *Nile* and the *Nigir* different branches of the ſame river, and aſſert the ſource of this river to be in *Ethiopia*. From hence we may deduce the probability of the *Negroes* being deſcended from the *Ethiopians*, and likewiſe the region of *Nigritia*'s being peopled very early, as *Leo* ſuggeſts. For the *Ethiopians* on the banks, or near the ſource, of the great river above-mentioned, obſerving how the adjacent grounds were fertilized by its inundations, as they increaſed, might follow it weſtward, every one ſtriving to be the firſt poſſeſſor of a great quantity of ſuch excellent ſoil, and therefore advance forward

(H) From the ſituation of the *Naſamones*, it is evident, that theſe youths muſt have approached the northern bank of the river, which the dwarfs here mentioned are ſaid to have inhabited. Now *Marmol* aſſures us, that on the ſouthern bank of the *Senegal* the inhabitants are large and luſty, but on the oppoſite ſide ſmall and puny; which laſt article, agreeing ſo well with *Herodotus*, almoſt demonſtrates the river here hinted at to have been the *Nigir* S.

(8) *Marm.*

full

till the *Atlantic* ocean put a ſtop to any farther progreſs. If this be admitted, it will follow, that the *Blacks* are not ſo different from all the reſt of mankind as ſome are willing to ſuppoſe; that their deſcent from *Adam* is eaſy and natural, in oppoſition to what our modern infidels pretend; and that their colour is only an accidental conſideration. But theſe points will be fully diſcuſſed in that branch of the modern hiſtory which they will naturally fall under. The word *Libya* may be deduced either from the proper names *Lehabim*, *Lubim*, &c. above-mentioned, or from the *Hebrew laab*, with which the *Arabic lub* correſponds, ſignifying *dry*, *parched*, &c. or rather, *a dry parched country*, &c. Such an appellation agrees extremely well with what the antients have related of *Libya*, and particularly the tract betwixt *Tripolis* and *Pentapolis*, which went by the names of *Xerolibya* and *Libya Propria*. Dr. *Hyde*, however, thinks that this word may be more naturally deduced from *laby*, *a lion*, or rather *a yellow*, *flame-coloured lion*, with which ſpecies of animals *Libya* was known to abound; or elſe from *lahab*, *a flame*, ſince the burning ſands of *Libya*, by the continual reflexion of a vaſt quantity of the ſolar rays, appeared, at ſome diſtance, to travellers like a flame. As theſe ſands were frequently ſo heated as to be almoſt in a ſtate of inflammation, we muſt own ſome regard due to ſuch an etymon. As for the word *Africa*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Afrikia*, which ſeems to have been unknown to *Herodotus*, *Ariſtotle*, *Strabo*, and the other moſt antient *Greek* authors, Dr. *Hyde* takes it to be the ſame with the *Phœnician* or *Punic* הברקה *Habarca*, *Havarca*, *Havreca*, &c. or אברקה *Avreka*, i. e, *The* BARCA, or *the country of* BARCA. This our readers will allow extremely probable, eſpecially ſince *Barca* was a moſt remarkable part of *Africa*, as above obſerved; and the *Romans*, who firſt brought the name of *Africa* into *Europe*, might not pronounce it exactly in the ſame manner as the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received it. The principal difficulty in this etymon will vaniſh, when we conſider, that the *Orientals* for the moſt part pronounced the ſecond letter of their alphabet like a *V*, and that nothing was more uſual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner neceſſary. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the firſt diviſion of the world was into two parts only, *viz.* *Aſia* and *Europe*, or the eaſtern and weſtern parts, *Europe* comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and *Africa*; which diviſion ſtill prevails amongſt many of the *Orientals*. This may not only be

be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewiſe from the words *Europe* and *Aſia* themſelves, the former importing *occidental* or *weſtern*, and the latter *half*. When that vaſt region now called *Africa* was firſt conſidered as a diſtinct part of the world, we cannot take upon us to determine; nor whether *Europe* and *Africa* were ever joined together by an iſthmus uniting *Spain* and *Mauritania*, as ſome authors ſuggeſt; nor laſtly, if this ſhould be admitted, when, or by what means, ſuch an iſthmus came to be deſtroyed, the *Nubian* geographer declaring this to have been effected by labour and art, and *Averroes* by an earthquake. The iſland *Cerne*, taken notice of by *Hanno* and *Scylax*, ſeems to have been ſomewhere on the coaſt of *Libya Interior*; but in what part of the ocean it lay, cannot be diſcovered from the antients, who differ widely amongſt themſelves with regard to its ſituation; which probably induced *Strabo* to deny the very being of it. We muſt own ourſelves likewiſe as much in the dark in relation to *Plato*'s iſland *Atlantis*, which he makes of a larger extent than *Aſia* and *Africa* together. Some of the moderns are diſpoſed to think, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was that vaſt continent called now *America*; others, that it lay near the pillars of *Hercules*; and laſtly, others, that every thing related of it is to be conſidered as a downright fiction. Much may be ſaid in defence of each opinion; however, the firſt appears to us the moſt probable. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* affirms *Plato* on this occaſion not to have written fable, but a true hiſtory; and *Proclus* cites *Marcellus* an *Ethiopic* hiſtorian in defence of what that philoſopher has advanced concerning this iſland. *Crantor* alſo, *Plato*'s firſt interpreter, takes this relation to be a true hiſtory. That the iſland here under conſideration was not ſo near the *Straights* as ſome modern authors ſuppoſe, ſeems probable from *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Phœnicians* in early times ſailed beyond *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, along the *African* coaſt, and there meeting with ſtorms and tempeſts, were carried to the remoteſt parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vaſt iſland at a great diſtance from *Libya*, and lying very far weſt. This place, continues the ſame author, had a fruitful ſoil, navigable rivers, *&c.* and, from the *Phœnicians*, the *Carthaginians* came to the knowledge of it. And in the ſame place he ſays, that the *Carthaginians* would not permit any other nation to ſettle in this new region, but reſerved it for themſelves, that, if ever they ſhould be driven from their native ſoil, they might have a place to retire to. *Ælian* brings *Silenus* expreſly aſſerting to *Midas*, that there was a vaſt

vaſt continent beyond *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, which ought to be conſidered as iſlands ſurrounded by the ocean. Theſe, and other paſſages, that might be extracted from the antients, induced the learned *Perizonius* to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had ſome faint knowledge of *America*, derived to them either from the *Egyptian* and *Carthaginian* traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not unknown to them [k].

[k] HERODOT. l. ii. & l. iv. DIOD. SIC. l iii. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum. p 89. I. LEO AFRICAN. AVICEN. paſſ ÆLIAN. de animal. paſſ. RR. KIMCHI, ABEN-EZRA, & JONAS in Oſe. c. xiii. ver v. VIRG. Æn l. iv. LUCAN. l. i. SERV in Virg. ubi ſup. AVERROES apud Hieron. Vital. in voc. Terræmotus. AGATHÆMER l. ii. c. 2 Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. iv. part 1. HYDE in Peritſol. p. 13, 14. 15, 16. PLAT in Timæ. & in Crit STRAB. l ii. p. 33 POLYB. & CORN. NEP. apud Plin. l. vi. c 31. HANNO, & SCYLAX in peripl. DIOTIM. apud STRAB ubi ſup. PTOL l. iv. EPHORUS apud Plin. ubi ſup LYCOPHRON. ſcholiaſt. adverſ xviii EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. verſ. 219 DIOD. SIC l. v. CRANTOR. in Plat. ubi ſup. MARCEL. apud Procl. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. & ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. iii. BOCHART. Phal. iv. c. 33. JAC. PERIZON. in Ælian. ubi ſup.

CHAP. VI.

The history of the Ethiopians.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Ethiopia.

The proper Ethiopia where ſituated

SEVERAL of the antients gave the name of *Ethiopians* to all perſons either perfectly black, or of a very ſwarthy complexion. The *Arabs* therefore, and other *Aſiatics*, as well as a great number of *Africans*, came under this denomination. The *Africans*, we find divided into the weſtern or *Heſperian Ethiopians*, and the *Ethiopians* above *Egypt*, ſituated to the eaſt of the former. The *Heſperian Ethiopians* inhabited that vaſt tract called *Libya Interior*, the hiſtory of whoſe principal nations we have already gone through. The eaſtern *African Ethiopians*, for ſo thoſe above *Egypt* may be

be properly ſtyled, were much better known to the antients than the others, by reaſon of their commerce with the *Egyptians*, and looked upon by them as the proper *Ethiopians*. Theſe are the people, whoſe tranſactions, from the earlieſt accounts of time, we are now to relate; which we hope to do in ſuch a manner as will prove ſatisfactory to all, at leaſt the moſt candid part of our readers [a].

Limits and extent of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia then, or rather *Ethiopia Propria*, was limited on the north by *Egypt*, on which ſide it extended to the *Leſſer Cataract*, and the iſland *Elephantine*; on the weſt by *Libya Interior*; on the eaſt by the *Red Sea*; and on the ſouth by a part of *Africa* unknown to the antients, but probably that including the modern kingdoms of *Gingiro*, *Alaba*, *Machida*, and part of *Adel* or *Zeila*. However, as the proper *Ethiopia* might be of a different extent at different times, particularly on the ſides of *Libya Interior* and *Libya Incognita*, we cannot pretend to fix, with any preciſion, its frontiers. Nevertheleſs it ſeems, for many ages at leaſt, to have been the ſame tract which at this day comprehends the kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abaſſia*, with part of *Adel* or *Zeila*; and conſequently to have taken up ſeventeen degrees of longitude, and to have reached from the tropick of *Cancer* to within ſix degrees of the *Line*. *Ludolphus* intimates, that the modern geographers, depending upon the authority of *Paulus Jovius*, have extended the ſouthern limits of *Abaſſia* much farther; but at the ſame time that author rightly obſerves them to be guilty of a miſtake. It is of no great conſequence to our readers how this point ſtands, and therefore we ſhall not dwell any longer upon it [b].

Different names of Ethiopia.

THE proper *Ethiopia* had various names given it by the antients. Sometimes they called it *India*, and its inhabitants *Indians*; which appellation they applied to many of the remoteſt nations, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Garamantes* (A). This country was likewiſe denominated *Atlantia*

[a] HERODOT. l. iii. & l. vii. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. viii. HOMER. apud Strabon. l ii. ut & ipſe STRAB. l. i. & l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. iv. p. 524. PTOL. l. iv. PLIN. l. v c 8. Vid. & HOMER. Il. iv. v. 23. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 8. ſect. 3.
[b] STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. l. v. c 9. PTOL. ubi ſup. JOH. LUDOLPH. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c 2. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 88, 89. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 4.

(A) *Bochart* thinks, that the *Garamantes* were a colony of the *Amantes* or *Hammanientes* of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, ſeated to the W. of the *Greater Syrtis*. This notion he grounds not only upon the neigh-

lantia and *Ætheria*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, or, as *Hesychius* will have it, *Aeria*. It also went, in very early

bouring situation of those nations, but likewise upon the affinity of their names For as גר *gar* signifies in *Hebrew*, *to inhabit*, *Gar-Amante*, might originally have denoted *The habitation* or *dwelling* of the *Amantes*; or rather גר *ger*, from the aforesaid verb, may be naturally supposed to have signified *colonus*, *advena*, &c. and then *Gar-Amante* will be equivalent to *One belonging to a colony of the* Amantes. The last nation that ingenious author likewise believes to have been the same with the *Ammonii*, or *Amonii*, whose name, by an easy transposition of letters, intirely agrees with that of *Moses's Anamim* or *Anamæi*. Several things, according to him, concur to render this conjecture probable: 1. The *Anamim* in all likelihood deduced their name from the word ענם *Anam*, which might have denoted a *sheep* in the *Egyptian* language, as a word composed of the same letters did in *Arabic*. 2. According to some authors, the idol of *Jupiter*, in the territory of the *Ammonii*, was called *Ammon* from the *ram* that pointed out the spot of ground his temple was erected upon; and it is well known, that the *Ammonii*, in the opinion of the antients, were so denominated from *Ammon* or *Ammûn*, a name the *Egyptians* gave *Jupiter*. 3. That part of *Libya*, where *Moses* seems to place the *Anamim*, abounded with sheep, which supplied the natives not only with food, but cloaths, and agreed very well in situation with the country of the *Ammonii* 4. The idol of *Jupiter Ammon* had either a *ram*'s horns, or a ram's head upon it; which seemed to point at the origin of the word *Anamim*. If we admit what *Bochart* has advanced on this occasion, the etymon of the name *Nasamones* or *Nasamon*, applied to a neighbouring people, may easily be discovered. For *Nasamin*, on this supposition, must be apparently the same as נשי אמון *Nase-Amon*, i. e *Homines Amon* or *Ammonii*; and consequently the *Nasamones*, as well as the *Garamantes*, were a branch of the *Anamim* That the *Garamantes*, in their own tongue, were styled *Gar-Amane*, *Ger-Amane*, or, by contraction, *Gar Ane*, *Ger-Ame*, &c. appears from the name of their metropolis *Garama*, or as the *Nubian* geographer intimates it to have been denominated in his time, *Germa*. This observation will go a good way towards confirming those ingenious conjectures which we have here inserted from the learned *Bochart*; especially, since *Herodotus* affirms that part of *Libya* adjacent to the country of the *Ammonii* to have been famous for the sheep it abounded with. These nations were nearly related to the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from the same *Herodotus* (1).

(1) *Herodot. l. iv. Hygin Germanic in Arat. Athenag. in quint: Amor Mel l i. c 8. Diod Sic. l. iii. Plin l. v. c. 5 Solin c. 28. Gen. c. x. ver. 13. Geogr Nub clim. ii. par. 1. Boch. Phal. l. iv c. 30. Golii nota ad Alfraganum, p. 90.*

ages,

ages, under the name of *Cephenia*. But we apprehend it to have been moſt uſually called *Abaſene*, a word approaching very near, both in ſound and ſignification, to the modern *Habaſh*, *Habeſh*, or *Abaſſia*; the true etymology of which will be exhibited to our readers, when we come to the hiſtory of *Arabia* [c].

ON the other hand, we find *Chaldæa*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, &c. ſtyled *Ethiopia* by ſome very good authors; nay, it muſt be allowed, that the antients called all thoſe countries, extending themſelves beyond each ſide of the *Red Sea*, indifferently *India* or *Ethiopia*. The eaſtern people at this day ſometimes name that kingdom *India*, which the *Europeans* call *Abuſſia*, particularly the *Perſians*, who, for the moſt part, give the appellation of *Siah Hindou* or *Hindi*, to an *Abaſſine* or modern *Ethiopian*. It appears from ſeveral authors, that the *Red Sea* itſelf went formerly under the name of the *Indian Sea*; and *Ludolphus* obſerves, that the antients denominated all thoſe nations under the *Torrid Zone*, whoſe names they were ignorant of, *Indians* [d].

ACCORDING to the *Jews*, the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgate*, and other verſions (B), *Cuſh*, when taken for a country in Scripture, Cuſh. *Called in Scripture*

[c] PLIN. l. vi. c. 30. HERODOT. STRAB. ubi ſup. HESYCH. AGATHARCHIDES. CNIDIUS. de Mar. Rubr. l. i. c. 3. apud Phot. in bibliothec. p. 1323. PHILOSTORGIUS. apud Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4. aliique mult. Vid. etiam LE GRAND. diſſert. ii. [d] PROCOP. GAZ. comment. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. Jos. SCALIG. in comp. eccleſ. Æthiop. THEODORET. in hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 22. LE GRAND. ubi ſup. & I. LUDOLPH. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1.

(B) The eaſtern people affirm *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Canaan* and grandſon of *Ham*, to have had a ſon whoſe name was *Habaſchi* or *Habaſchi*, the father of the *Abyſſinians* or *Egyptians*, whom the *Perſians* call *Black Indians*. The *Hebrew* grammarians derive the word *Habaſchah*, which ſignifies *Ethiopia*, from *Habouſcha*, which denotes a people raiſed from a mixture of different nations, originally of different countries. According to *D' Herbelot* and others, the *Abyſſinians*, *Nubians*, and *Fungi*, are all comprehended under the word *Habaſch*. The inſpired writers are ſilent as to *Cuſh* the ſon of *Canaan*, and his ſon *Habaſchi*. We find mention made there only of *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Ham*, and his ſons *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and *Nimrod*. It is ſaid, that *Arabia Felix* went formerly under the name of *Ethiopia*, becauſe the *Abyſſinians*, who conquered it, poſſeſſed it for a long time. *Dhou Iezn* king of *Yaman* drove them from thence with the aſſiſtance of the *Perſians*. Some authors believe, that by *Cuſh* upon the river *Gihon* is meant only the antient country of the *Scythians* upon the *Araxes*. *Hero-*

Scripture, is always to be understood of the proper *Ethiopia*: This notion is supported by *Philo*, *Josephus*, *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius*, *Eustathius*, the author of the *Alexandrian* chronicon, and the concurrent testimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers. Notwithstanding which, *Bochart*, depending upon the authority of *Jonathan*'s *Targum*, and several plausible arguments, affirms the land of *Cush* to have been situated in *Arabia*; and consequently maintains, that *Cush never in* scripture denotes the proper *Ethiopia*. But neither of these opinions ought to be looked upon as strictly true: for *Cush* is sometimes in Scripture undoubtedly to be taken for the proper *Ethiopia*, as may be evinced not only by the great authorities above-mentioned, but several circumstances likewise, which evidently point at that country; and, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that some of the sacred writers give the name of *Cush* to the whole peninsula of *Arabia*, or a part of it bordering upon the *Red Sea*, or both. When the prophet *Jeremiah* asks his countrymen, *Whether the* Cushite *can change his skin?* he must be considered as having in his eye a proper *Ethiopian*. For the nation there pointed at was black, differing greatly in colour from the *Jews*; the prophet's question being proverbial, of the same import with that common adage of profane writers, *to wash*

dotus intimates, that the first habitation this people had was upon the *Araxes*; and that, being forced from thence by the *Massagetæ*, they passed this river, and retired into the country of the *Cimmerians*. *Justin* makes the *Phasis* and *Araxes* to be, as it were, the limits of the *Scythians* on the south side. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that the *Scythians*, who were near *Media*, abode at first upon the *Araxes* and that the *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ* are different branches of the *Scythians*. The words *Cuthæi* and *Cutha*, whence some have deduced *Scythæ* or *Scuthæ*, are the same as *Cush*. The *Chaldees* generally put the *Tau* where the *Hebrews* use *Shin*, and therefore say *Cut* or *Cuth* instead of *Cush*. The *Cutheans* who came to and inhabited the country of *Samaria*, did originally belong to that part of *Media* which bordered upon the *Caspian* sea, and therefore must have appertained to the *Cush* we are speaking of. There are very sensible footsteps of this name to be met with in various parts round about this country, as the district of *Cotacene*; the cities of *Citamum*, *Colomana*, *Cissa*, *Cotaca*, *Caramba*, *Cutæa*; the *Cotyi*, *Cossæi*; river of *Cissa*, &c. (2).

(2) *D'Herbel. bibl. orient.* p. 429. *Gen.* c. x. v. 7. 8. *Herodot.* l. i. c. 201. & l. iv. c. 11. *Justin.* l. i & l. ii. *Diod. Sic.* l. xi p. 355. *Fid. Iustr. Valer. Flac.* l. vi. v. 693. *Steph. Byzant. Proper ex emend. Scalig.* l. i. c. 1.

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the ETHIOPIAN or BLACKMOOR *white.* Now this cannot be underſtood of the *Arabs*, who were of much the ſame complexion with the *Jews*, as *Bochart* himſelf not only allows, but proves, but the *Abaſſines*, or proper *Ethiopians*, might eaſily and naturally have given occaſion to ſuch a proverb. In the book of *Iſaiah* we find *Egypt*, *Patros*, and *Cuſh*, joined together, and conſequently *Cuſh* taken for *Ethiopia*. For it appears from various authors, and even *Bochart* himſelf, that the land of *Pathros* was either the upper *Egypt*, or a part of that country near the confines of *Ethiopia*; and therefore *Cuſh*, in this paſſage, muſt naturally refer to *Ethiopia*, ſince the region here denoted by that word was S. of the upper *Egypt*, and contiguous to it. In defence of our ſecond aſſertion, ſeveral paſſages of Scripture may likewiſe be produced. When the LORD threatened *Egypt* with utter deſolation, he declared, *That* HE *would lay it waſte from the tower of* SYENE *to the border of* CUSH (C). Now that *the border*

(C) Our readers will obſerve, that, out of complaiſance to a great number of learned men, we have here given this text the moſt received interpretation; though we muſt own ourſelves by no means inclinable to come into it. The words in the original are, ממגדל סובה ועד גבול כוש i. e. *From* MIGDOL to SYENE: *and the border of* CUSH; or *From* MIGDOL *and* SYENE, *and to the border of* CUSH. If we admit the firſt of theſe tranſlations, we muſt ſuppoſe an ellipſis of the prepoſition עם betwixt ממגדל and סובה, than which nothing is more frequent in the *Hebrew* Scripture; as may be inferred from *Deut.* c. xxxiii. ver. 17. *Mich* c. vii. ver 12. and many other paſſages enumerated by *Noldius*. If we prefer the latter, we muſt admit a ſuppreſſion of the copulative ו before סוֵנה, which is likewiſe extremely common in the original of the *Old Teſtament*, as appears from *Gen* c. xxvii. ver. 33. *Cant.* c. viii. ver. 6. *Jud.* c. ix. ver. 2. and an infinite number of other inſtances produced by the ſame *Noldius*. Now *Migdol* is the proper name of a town about twelve miles from *Peluſium* on the *Nile* near the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, and diametrically oppoſite to *Syene*; and of courſe, in conjunction with *Syene*, denotes the whole breadth of the land of *Egypt*, agreeably to the prophet's intention This city we find mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah*, c. xliv. ver. 1. and c. xlvi ver. 14. who joins it with *Tahpanhes*, or, as the *Greeks* call it, *Daphne*, and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, another city in the neighbourhood of *Peluſium*. This circumſtance, in conjunction with the *Septuagint*, which has there εἰς Μαγδωλον at Migdol, and εἰς Μαγδωλον in Migdol, renders extremely probable the verſion of this paſſage, which we would propoſe to the conſideration of our learned readers. In the mean time, we cannot but own ourſelves greatly ſurpriſed at *Cellarius*, who has with ſo much boldneſs inſinuated, or rather affirmed

border of Cush *and the tower of* Syene are intended here to represent two opposite limits of *Egypt*, cannot be denied; and that *Syene* was the *Egyptian* frontier on the side of *Ethiopia*, appears from *Pliny* and *Strabo*: therefore *Cush* evidently denotes *Arabia*, or at least that part of it adjacent to *Egypt*, which was diametrically opposite to the tower of *Syene*, and not *Ethiopia*, whose border extended to that tower. *Moses*'s wife *Zipporah* was a native of *Cush*, and at the same time a *Midianite*; the prophet *Habakkuk* makes the territories of *Cushan* or *Cush*, and *Midian* or *Madian*, to have been the same; *Josephus*, *Ptolemy*, and St. *Jerom*, mentions a city of *Arabia* on the coast of the *Red Sea*, called *Madian*; from all which we may infer, that part of *Arabia* at least goes sometimes in Scripture under the name of *Cush*. *Job* intimates, that *Cush* was famous for the excellent topazes it produced: now none of the antients have taken notice of the *Ethiopian* topaz; whereas *Pliny* relates, that the best topazes came from the *Arabic* island *Chittis* or *Chutis*, whose name seems to have been the same with *Cush* or *Cuth*; and *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, have likewise mentioned this island; therefore some of the sacred writers denominated at least part of *Arabia Cush*. *In that day*, says the Lord, *shall messengers go from me in ships, to make the careless* Cushites *afraid*, &c. which menace may be supposed more properly to point at the *Arabs*, whom the *Egyptians* and others visited in ships on the *Red Sea*, than the *Ethiopians*, with whom they had a communication by land. But, to omit other passages that occur, both the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* might have very properly been styled *Cushites*, since the descendants of *Cush* formed a great part of both nations. Nay, that the *Arabs* themselves had the appellation of *Ethiopians*, and *A-*

firmed, that the *Greek* interpreters have, in agreement with the *Vulgate*, translated the text at present under consideration ἀπὸ πύργου Συήνης καὶ ἐσχατιῶν Αἰθιόπων[sic] Whereas both the *Vatican* and *Alexdrian* MSS of the *Septuagint* have it απο Μαγδωλοῦ καὶ Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων Which, together with the *Arabic* version expressing it *From* Migdol, *and* Asuan *to the borders of* Ethiopia, seems to render indisputable what is here advanced; and consequently, to evince, that this famous passage is so far from proving *Cush* to point out *Arabia*, that, on the contrary, it evidently demonstrates that word sometimes to denote the proper *Ethiopia* (3).

(3) *Herodot. l* ii *c.* 30. *Steph Byzant. de urb. Cellar. geogr. ant. l* iv. *c* 8 *Vid etiam Val. Schind pentaglot p* 281 & *Christiani. Noldii concord particular. Ebræc. Chaldaic. cum. annotat Joh Gottfr. Tympii. Jenæ*, 1734.

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ſtatic Ethiopians, clearly follows from what has been advanced by *Xenophon* and *Herodotus*. However, we cannot help thinking, that the antient *Hebrews* rightly looked upon the *Ethiopians* as the proper *Cuſhites*. For *Zerah*'s moſt formidable army conſiſted chiefly of *Cuſhites*, neighbours to the *Libyans*, i. e. the *Ethiopians*, of which people only he is called king by the ſacred hiſtorian; though from Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and what we have already obſerved, it may be proved, that he was in poſſeſſion of all the dominions of *Seſac*, i. e. *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, *Arabia*, &c. The extremely numerous hoſt he commanded adds great weight to this notion. *Pliny* intimates, that the *Ethiopians*, whom he diſtinguiſhes from the *Arabians*, were maſters of *Egypt* not long before the deſtruction of *Troy*; which, conſidering that this period falls in with the time of *Zerah*, brings no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to what is here advanced [e].

WE cannot therefore allow, that *Ludim* is the only name given in Scripture to the *Ethiopians*, as M. *Bochart* undertakes to prove. Moſt of the arguments he offers to evince this point are extremely frivolous, as our readers will find upon an examination of them, and the others not of any conſiderable force. But, ſuppoſing them to prove, that the word *Ludim*, in all places of Scripture he cites on this occaſion, is to be underſtood of the *Ethiopians*, which is the utmoſt that he could ever have pretended to; yet it will not follow from hence, that *Ethiopia* is never called *Cuſh* by any of the ſacred writers. Such an aſſertion cannot be maintained, though it ſhould be granted, as we are willing to do, that part of the *Ludim* took up their habitations in *Ethiopia*. And yet ſeveral learned men have come into *Bochart*'s opinion [f].

[e] PHILO JODÆUS, HIERONYM. EUSEB. EUSTATH. Auct. chron. Alexandr aliiq; apud Bochart Phal l iv c. 2 EUPOLEM: apud Euſeb. de. præp. Evang. l. ix. JONATH. Targ. in Gen. c x. ver. 6. & alib. Exod ii. 16, 21. Num. xii 1. ISAI. c. xi ver. 11. JER. c. xiii ver. 23. EZEK. c. xxix. v. 10. HABAK c. iii. v. 7. JOB. c. xxviii. v 19. EZEK. c xxx. ver. ix. 2. Chron. c. xiv. ver. 9. & c. xvi. ver. 8. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i c 7. PLIN. l. v c 9. ex emend. P. Hardouini. STRAB. l. xvii. JOSEPH apud Bochart. ubi ſup. HIERONYN. apud Cellar. l. iii c. xiv. PTOL. in Arab. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS, DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. apud Bochart. phal. l. iv. c. ii. XENOPHON Cyropæd. l. viii. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 114. & ſeq. l. vii. c. 69. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. vi. c. 1. NEWTON's chronol. p 230. HERODOT. l. ii c. 110. PLIN. l vi. c. 29. P HARDOUIN. in chronol vet teſt p. 57.

[f] BOCHART. phal. l. iv. c. 2. 6.

THE

Different nations of Ethiopia.

The antients believed the blackneſs of the *Abaſſines* or *Abyſſinians* to be occaſioned by the intenſe heat of their climate, and therefore called them *Ethiopians*. We find them likewiſe called *Ætherii* and *Aerii* by *Heſychius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. *Pliny* relates, that the *Blemmyes*, an *Ethiopian* nation ſeated near the borders of *Egypt*, had no heads, their mouths and eyes being fixed on their breaſts. This ought undoubtedly to be looked upon as fabulous, and might poſſibly proceed from their having very ſhort necks; however, that ſome *Blemmyan* captives exhibited an extremely odd appearance at *Rome*, we learn from *Vopiſcus*. The *Nobatæ* inhabited one of the banks of the *Nile*, near the iſland *Elephantine*, having been removed thither from *Oaſis*, in order to have a watchful eye upon, and repreſs the courſes of, the *Blemmyes*. Some authors refer the *Troglodytes* to *Egypt*, and others to *Ethiopia*; be that as it will, they were a very ſavage nation, living in caves, according to *Strabo*, feeding upon ſerpents, lizards, &c. and having a language conſiſting of no articulate ſounds, but reſembling the ſhrieking of bats, according to *Herodotus*. The *Nubians* we find juſt mentioned by the antients as a people of *Ethiopia*, but nothing particular related of them. Some authors aſſert the *Pygmies* to have been a canton of the *Troglodytes*, and others one of the *Nubians*; but 'tis generally agreed, that they had their ſituation not far from the *Ethiopic* ſhore of the *Red-Sea*. *Nonnoſus* in *Photius* tells us, that they were extremely ſhort, black, and hairy all over. Moſt of theſe nations were repreſented by *Strabo* as inconſiderable, and little better than ſo many gangs of robbers. *Bochart* thinks, that the *Troglodytes*, including the *Pygmies* or *Pygmæi*, were ſtyled by the *Hebrews* סכיים, i. e. *Succhæi*, from סכה *ſuccah a den*; for that word ſignifies as well a cave or den, as a tent. Hence it is natural to ſuppoſe the *Troglodytic* town *Succha*, on the coaſt of the *Red-Sea*, mentioned by *Pliny*, the modern *Suaquem*, the ſeat of a *Turkiſh* bathaw, deduced its name. In ſupport of this notion it may be obſerved, that the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* verſions render סכיים Τρωγλοδύται, *Troglodytæ*, a word derived apparently from τρώγλη, i. e. *a cave, den, paſſage*, &c. and rank this people among the *Cuſhites*, *Libyans*, and other nations, that formed the numerous army of *Seſac*. The *Aualitæ* or *Abalitæ* were ſeated near the *Abalitic* gulf, which is all that we have to ſay of them. *Agatharcides*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Agathemerus*, inform us, that the *Struthophagi*, who lived upon oſtriches as big as ſtags, were ſeated immediately to the ſouth of the *Adumones*. The *Acridophagi*, *Chelonophagi*, *Ichthyophagi*, *Cynamolgi*, *Elephantophagi*, *Rhizophagi*, *Spermatophagi*,

tophagi, *Hylophagi*, *Ophiophagi*, &c. derived their names from the locuſts, tortoiſes, fiſh, bitches milk, elephants, &c. they fed upon. The *Acridophagi* were very ſmall, ſwift, black, and ſhort-lived, the oldeſt of them not exceeding forty years of age. They uſed locuſts for food, with which they were plentifully ſupplied by certain winds that covered their country with them, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. As for the *Chelonophagi*, they covered their houſes with the ſhells of tortoiſes, and lived upon their fleſh. The *Ichthyophagi* occupied a maritime part of *Ethiopia*, bordering on the *Red Sea*, and not far from the frontiers of *Egypt*. As they lived upon all kinds of fiſh, large as well as ſmall, *Aben-Ezra* takes them to be the ציים *Tziim* of the pſalmiſt, to whom GOD gave the heads of *Leviathan*, under which name, according to that author, *Moſes* comprehends all fiſh of a vaſt ſize, for meat. This notion ſeems to receive ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from ſeveral circumſtances hinted at in the paſſage referred to. For the *Troglodytes* made their very bread of the fleſh of fiſhes dried in the ſun; the pſalmiſt is there ſpeaking of *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who were drowned in the *Red-Sea*, and afterwards thrown upon the *Troglodytic* ſhore; *Tziim* properly imports a nation inhabiting a barren dry country, ſuch as was that of the *Troglodytes*; and other texts of Scripture, compared with this, not a little favour ſuch an opinion. They built their houſes of whalebones and ſhells of fiſhes. The ribs ſerved for rafters, and the jaws for portals. They fed their very cattle with fiſh. Some of them inhabited caves in mountains, formed by vaſt quantities of ſea-weed from time to time thrown on ſhore, and conſolidated by the force of the tide beating upon it, and perpetually bringing a freſh acceſſion of matter to it, together with the heat of the ſun. From this, as well as from what has been advanced by ſeveral authors, it appears, that the *Red-Sea* was exceeding ſhallow at certain times; that it was covered with an immenſe quantity of this ſea-weed, which gave it a very green colour; and that from hence the *Hebrews* denominated it ים סוף *yam ſuph*, i. e. *The ſea of the weed*. The *Cynamolgi* kept great number of dogs, in order to hunt wild beaſts, and ſometimes fed upon bitches milk. *Pliny* fabulouſly relates, that they had dogs heads. The *Elaphantophagi* ſeem to have had their ſituation in the ſouthern parts of *Ethiopia*, and deſtroyed elephants in a very dextrous manner, as will be related elſewhere. The *Rhizophagi* were ſeated not far from the conflux of the *Aſtaboras*, *Aſtapus*, and the *Nile*. Their territory abounded with moraſſes that produced a great number of canes, whoſe roots ſerved them for food. The *Spermatophagi* and *Hylophagi* form-

ed two neighbouring cantons; the first of which fed upon the fruits that fell from the trees in the summer, but the rest of the year upon a sweet plant with a stalk something resembling that of a turnep; and the latter, with their wives and children, upon the buds and tender shoots of trees. The *Hylogones*, neighbours to the *Elephantophagi*, lived for the most part in the woods, and generally slept on trees. The curious method of killing lions, leopards, and other wild beasts, we shall hereafter describe. Their *Pamphagi* used every thing indiscriminately for food; and the *Agriophagi* fed upon the flesh of wild beasts. The *Ophiophagi* or *Serpent-eaters* inhabited a very fertile tract, as we learn from *Pliny*. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* or *Man-eaters*, mentioned by *Marcianus* and *Ptolemy*, seem to have been the *Cafres*, and not a people of proper *Ethiopia*. As for the *Gapachi*, *Ptoemphanes*, *Catadupi*, *Pechini*, *Catadræ*, and other obscure *Ethiopic* tribes, we know nothing of them but the bare names. The number of nations inhabiting antient *Ethiopia* will not surprise us, when we have seen *Ludolphus*'s description of the kingdom of *Abyssinia* [g] (D).

Cities.

Auxume.

This region did not abound in cities and towns of any considerable note. *Auxume*, *Auxumis*, or *Axome*, the metro-

[g] Herodot. l. iv. Philostratus & Ctesias Cnidius apud Phot. Agatharchides Cnidius de Mar. Rubr. l. iii. in excerptis Phot. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. & l. xvii. Mel. l. iii. c. 8. & alib. Plin. l. vi. c. 24, 29, 30, & alib. pass. Arrian. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. Olympiodorus apud Photium, p. 112. Ptol. l. iv. c. 8. Flavius Vopiscus in Prob. c. 17. Procop. de bell. Pers. l. i. c. 19. Zosim. l. i. c. 71. Antonin. itinerar. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Ammian. Marcellin. l. x. c. 4. Dionys. Af. v. 220. Claudian. de Nil. v. 19. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Nonnus Dionys. 17. Marcian. Heracleot. in peripl.

(D) To the clans or tribes here enumerated may be added the *Hippophagi* or *Horse-eaters* of *Agathemerus*, who were bounded on the south by the northern borders of *Libya Incognita*; the *Macrobii*, a powerful nation, some of whom attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years, according to *Herodotus*; the *Sambri*, not far from the *Nubian* city *Tenupsis* upon the *Nile*, all whose quadrupeds, even the elephants themselves, were without ears; and the *Asachæ*, a mountainous people continually employed in hunting of elephants (4).

(4) *Herodot. l. iii. Agathemer. l. ii. c. 5. Plin. l. vi. c. 30.*

polis

polis of *Ethiopia* according to *Arrian* and *Nonnosus* in *Photius*, undoubtedly was the same city as the modern *Auxuma*, or, as the *Abassines* call it, *Ascum*. The noble palace, beautiful structures, &c. this city was formerly so famous for, sufficiently appear from the present remains of it. It stands about forty-five *Portuguese* leagues from the *Red-Sea*, and in 14° 30′ N. lat. It looks now like a village, being almost totally ruined, and scarcely affording shelter to a hundred inhabitants. Some authors relate, that there may be seen here the remains of a magnificent temple, which have supported themselves against the injuries of time. The *Portugese*, who first visited this country, called *Axuma* corruptly *Chaxumo* or *Cassumo*. Behind the temple above-mentioned, which was an hundred and ten feet in length, had two wings on each side, and a double porch, with an ascent of twelve steps, stand several obelisks of different sizes, and others have been thrown down by the *Turks*. Amongst the rubbish is a great square stone, on which appears some part of an antient inscription, so effaced by time, that it is not legible, and nothing can be distinguished except some *Greek* and *Latin* letters, and the word *Basilius*. When the *Abassine* monarchs were formerly crowned here, they sat on a throne of stone in the inner porch of the aforesaid temple. *Pselchis* or *Pselcha*, and *Premnis*, through which *Petronius* marched in his *Ethiopic* expedition, stood upon the western bank of the *Nile*, but their true situation cannot be discovered. *Napata*, where *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* resided, was on the opposite bank, but in what direction it is to be sought for, we cannot precisely inform our readers. *Ptolemy* mentions two towns called *Premis* or *Primis*, one of which might possibly have been the *Premnis* of *Strabo*. The emporia or marts of *Malis*, *Mondus*, *Abalis*, *Mosylon*, *Coloe*, and *Opone*, probably made a good figure in antient times, though we have no particulars of moment handed down to us concerning them. *Petronius* reduced *Pselcha*, *Premnis*, and *Napata*, in the above-mentioned expedition, razing *Napata*, and leaving a garison of four hundred men in *Premnis*, with provisions for two years. *Pliny* mentions a city of the *Nubians* upon the *Nile* called *Tenupsis*, with which possibly either *Couxa*, *Nuvâla*, *Galva*, *Duncâla*, or *Ielâc*, all placed by the *Nubian* geographer near the conflux of the *Nile* and the *Astaboras*, may correspond. *Duncâla* the *Dumcala* of *Jacutus*, the *Dungâla* of *Leo*, and the present *Dongola*, the capital of the *Nubians*, all whose cities are seated upon the *Nile*, seems to bid the

faireſt for it. None of the other towns taken notice of by the old geographers deſerve the leaſt attention [h].

Mountains. *Ethiopia*, as appears from the beſt modern geographical deſcriptions of *Abaſſia*, as well as the antients, was extremely mountainous; though we find no mountains of note taken notice of by the antients, except the mounts *Garbata*, and *Elephas* or *Phalangis*. Whether or no the mountains of *Tigre*, the higheſt of which is *Lamalmon*, beginning about two days journey from the *Red Sea*, anſwer to either of theſe, we ſhall not preſume to aſſert; though that they did, by the ſituation aſſigned them, ſeems not improbable. Be that as it will, the path over *Lamalmon*, whoſe aſcent is vaſtly ſteep and dangerous, is ſo narrow, that the perſon who gives way to another there falls headlong into an abyſs, and is irrecoverably loſt. Several provinces of *Abaſſia*, viz. *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder*, *Gojam*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, &c. are but one continued chain of mountains, the principal of which are thoſe of *Ambara* and *Samen*. The *Aorni*, as the *Abaſſines* call them, are rugged rocks of ſuch an incredible height, that the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are but low hills in compariſon of them. *Curtius* relates, that the *Indians* called a famous rock in their country *Aornos*, as being above the flight of a bird; but that author miſtakes the etymology, ſince the word, from what has been here obſerved, cannot be looked upon as of *Greek* extraction. Amongſt the mountains, and even frequently in the plains of *Abaſſia*, ariſe ſteep and craggy rocks of various forms, ſome reſembling towers, others pyramids, &c. ſo even on the ſides, that they ſeem to be the effect of labour and art, inſomuch, that men, cattle, &c. are craned up by the help of ladders and ropes. And yet the tops of theſe rocks are covered with woods, meadows, fountains, fiſh-ponds, &c. which very copiouſly ſupply the animals ſeated thereon with all the conveniencies of life. The moſt remarkable of theſe rocks is *Geſhen* or *Amba-Geſhen*, on the confines of *Ambara*, towards *Shewa*, prodigiouſly ſteep, in the form of a caſtle built of free-ſtone, and almoſt impregnable. Its ſummit is about half a *Portugueſe* league in breadth, and its circumference at the bottom near half a day's journey. The aſcent

[h] Strab. Mel. Plin. Arrian. Ptol. Marcian. Heracl. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Nonnosus apud Phot. n. 3 p. m. 2. Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 90, 91. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. i. par. 4. Leo African. l. vii. c. ult. Francisc. Alvarez, c. xvii. & apud Golium, ubi ſup. I. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 251, 252. & ſeq. Vid. etiam Ludolph. l. ii. c. 11. & Le Grand, diſſert. ii.

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at firſt is eaſy, but afterwards ſo ſteep and rugged, that the *Abaſſine* oxen, which will otherwiſe clamber like goats, muſt be craned up and let down with ropes. Here the princes of the blood were formerly confined, in low cottages amongſt ſhrubs and wild cedars, with an allowance barely ſufficient to keep them alive. There is, according to *Kircher*, in the province of *Gojam*, a rock ſo curiouſly hollowed by nature, that at a diſtance it reſembles a looking-glaſs; and oppoſite to this another, on the top of which nothing can be ſo ſoftly whiſpered, but that it may be heard a great way off. Between many of theſe rocks and mountains are vaſt profundities or abyſſes, which appear moſt dreadful to the eye. The natives call every one of the rocks above-mentioned *Amba*, as *Amba-Salem*, *Amba-Geſhen*, *Amba-Dorho*, *Amba-Damo*, *Amba-Samet*, &c. [1].

IN ſo mountainous a region as *Ethiopia* the air cannot be always alike, and perhaps there is no country in the world where ſo many different ſeaſons may be found in ſo ſmall a compaſs. The *Ethiopic*, as well as the oppoſite, coaſt of the *Red Sea*, together with thoſe low open places called by the modern *Abaſſines Kolla*, and the iſlands of this ſea, are intolerably ſcorched by the ſolar rays in the ſummer-ſeaſon; inſomuch, that *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* related the heat in the iſland of *Suaquema* or *Suaquena* to be ſo intenſe as to excoriate any part of the body, melt hard *Indian* wax in a cabinet and ſear a garment like red-hot iron. However, the air is much more temperate in the mountainous parts; nay, according to *Tellezius*, the ſummer heats are milder in ſeveral diſtricts of *Abaſſia* than in *Portugal*; and even in *Samen* the cold is more dreaded than the heat. In ſome provinces of *Ethiopia* the winter is extremely ſevere, in others as warm as the ſummer in ſeveral parts of *Europe*. The *Ethiopians* have little or no ſnow, but only a ſmall ſort of hail that ſometimes covers the ground, and at a diſtance looks like ſnow. Frequent and dreadful thunders, however, they have, attended with tempeſts that terrify both man and beaſt, which proceed from the exceſſive variety of air. *Ludolphus* thinks, that *Gregory*'s four ſeaſons, *Matzau*, *Tzadai*, *Hagai*, and *Cramt*, are in reality but three, *i. e.* the ſpring, which begins on the twenty-fifth day of *September*; the ſummer, conſiſting of two parts, *The climate of Ethiopia.*

[1] STRAB. l. xvii. AGATHEMER. geogr. l. ii. c. 15. LUDOLPH. l. i. c. 6. CURT. l. viii. P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZ. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. paſſ. LE GRAND. diſſert. ii. ATHEN. KIRCH. in muſurg. univerſ. t. iii. l. ix c. 6.

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the first called *Tzadai*, beginning upon the twenty-fifth of *December*, and the second denominated *Hagai* in the *Abassine* tongue, commencing on the twenty-fifth of *June*; and lastly, *Cramt*, or winter, which concludes the *Ethiopic* year. The climate here in general is so healthy, that 'tis no uncommon thing for the natives to arrive at an hundred years of age; however, towards the beginning of the spring, that is to say, in the months of *September* and *October*, an epidemic fever sometimes makes great havock amongst the inhabitants of *Tigre* [k].

The days and nights in *Ethiopia*, as lying betwixt the tropic of *Cancer* and the *Line*, are for the most part nearly equal. The winds that blow on the mountains are generally speaking salubrious and pleasant; but the atmosphere over the plains, for want of them, stagnates, and becomes unwholsome. The wind *Sendo*, however, is far from being beneficial to the *Abassines*. It is a whirlwind so impetuously violent, that it throws down all before it, and therefore in some respect may seem to answer its name, which in the *Amharic* dialect signifies a serpent or snake. *Gregory* told *Ludolphus*, that it might be seen, and represented an immense serpent, whose head moved on the ground, and the body erected itself in curls and windings up to the sky. The soil in those parts capable of cultivation is extremely fertile, and produces vast quantity of grain, pulse, and fruit. Metals likewise, particularly gold, minerals, vegetables, and a surprising variety of animals, it abounds with; but these our readers will expect a description of in another place. We find it asserted by the best authors, that the *Abassines* have sometimes two, and sometimes three, harvests in a year. They neither sow nor mow for the sake of their cattle, the perpetual heat, and continual distillation of moisture from the mountains, producing grass in great abundance, and covering the fields with a most beautiful verdure thro' all the different seasons of the year. Though they have most delicious grapes, and honey is very cheap amongst them, yet they almost entirely confine themselves to malt liquor, which is not very unlike that brewed in some part of *Europe* [l] (D).

Of

[k] Nonnosus apud Phot. n 3. p. m. 2. Gregor. Abassin. apud Job Ludolph. hist. Æthiop. l. i. c. 5. [l] Strab. l. xvii. Greg. Abass. ubi sup. PP. Hyeronym. Lup. Balthaz. Tellez. Alphons. Mendez. & Job. Ludolph. pass.

(D) This appears from what the young *Abassinian* told the learned gentleman hereafter mentioned at *Jerusalem*, and receives some accession

OF all the rivers, that water *Ethiopia*, the moſt famous is the *Nile*, which has its ſource in that country. Many of the antient geographers, and in particular *Ptolemy*, placed the fountains of this river beyond the *Line*, on ſome mountains which they called *the mountains of the moon*. But the moderns, particularly the *Portugueſe*, have diſcovered this to be a miſtake. What they have advanced on this head has been in a great meaſure confirmed by *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* in a letter to M. *Ludolphus*. According to that curious perſon, the ſpring head of the *Nile* firſt appears in a tract called *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla*, near the frontiers of *Gojam*, to the W. of *Bagemdra*, *Dara*, the lake of *Tzana*, and *Bada*. From thence it takes its courſe towards *Amhara*, leaving *Gojam* on the right, and *Bagemdra* on the left. Having paſſed the limits of *Amhara*, and in ſuch a manner ſurrounded the kingdom of *Gojam* as always to leave it on the right, it waſhes the confines of *Waleka*, and then approaches the fartheſt bounds of *Magara* and *Shewa*. Then, running between *Bizama* and *Gonga*, it comes into the country of the *Chankalas*; from whence, winding to the right, and gradually leaving the weſtern climate on the left, it advances towards the kingdom of *Sennar*. But before its arrival there, it is greatly increaſed by the acceſſion of two large rivers from the eaſt, *viz.* the *Tacaſa* falling out of *Tigre*, and the *Guangua* deſcending from *Dambea*. After taking a view of the kingdom of *Sennar*, it moves to the borders of *Dongola*, and ſo to the kingdom of *Nubia* (E); from hence, turning to the right,

acceſſion of ſtrength from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Thoſe authors affirm this liquor to have been extracted from millet, as well as barley, and in flavour and excellency to have equalled wine (5).

(E) 'Tis obſervable, that *Gregory* here diſtinguiſhes the kingdom of *Sennar* from that of *Nubia*, though at preſent they are looked upon to be the ſame. However, in our opinion, *Gregory*'s authority is ſuperior to that of *Pomet* and the miſſionaries, upon which that of the modern geographers depends. We find no mention of *Sennar* in any of that numerous tribe of oriental and other authors cited by the excellent *Golius*, in his incomparable notes upon *Alfraganus*, though they take notice both of *Nuba* or *Nubia*, and the country of the *Fungi*; therefore it ſhould ſeem probable, that *Sennar* is only a part of *Nubia*, or elſe a kingdom different from it. The *Nubian* geographer intimates, that, in his time, the city of *Somna*, probably *Sennar*, was an inconſiderable place, and its diſtrict or terri-

(5) *Diod. Sic. l. i. Strab l. xvii.*

tory

right, it reaches at laſt a region called *Abrim*, where its ſtream becomes unnavigable by reaſon of the cliffs and rocks, and ſoon afterwards enters *Egypt*. The travellers therefore from *Sennar* and *Abaſſia*, after having croſſed *Nubia*, leave the *Nile* to the E. and croſs upon camels a deſert of fifteen days journey, where neither tree, water, nor any thing elſe but ſand, is to be ſeen. From *Abrim* it continues its courſe to *Rif* or *Upper Egypt*, where the above-mentioned travellers again come up with it; and, after having traverſed the kingdom of *Egypt* in a northern direction, empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* near *Alexandria*. Father *Payz*, who viewed the fountains of the *Nile* himſelf, adds, that the ſource of this river conſiſts of two round ſpring-heads, very deep, upon an eminence, the ground about which is quaggy and marſhy; that, however, the water does not iſſue out from thence, but from the foot of the hill, about a muſquet-ſhot from whence, towards the eaſt, the river begins to flow, that, winding then to the north about the fourth part of a *Portugueſe* league, it receives another river, and a little farther two more from the eaſt, ſoon after which it enlarges itſelf with the addition of ſeveral other ſtreams; and laſtly, that about a day's journey farther it ſwallows up the river *Jema*, and, after flowing twenty *Portugueſe* leagues in a weſtern direction, turns to the eaſt, and plunges itſelf into a vaſt lake (F). 'Tis remarkable, that all the rivers of *Ethiopia*, at any conſiderable diſtance from the ocean, except the *Hanazo* riſing in *Hangota* or *Angote*, and the *Hawaſh* or *Aoaxe* running through the kingdoms of *Dawara* and *Fatagara* or *Fategur*, flow into the

tory diſtinct from the kingdom of *Nuba* or *Nubia*. *Ludolphus* makes the modern kingdom of *Sennar* to be the ſame with the country of the *Fungi*, and a part of the antient *Nubia* (5).

(F) This is probably the lake of *Tzana*, through which the *Nile* paſſes, ſtill preſerving the colour of its own water. From hence, turning to the ſouth, it waſhes on the left hand the principal kingdoms of *Abaſſia*, viz. *Bagemdra*, *Ambara*, *Waleka*, *Shewa*, *Damota*, &c. and takes along the rivers of thoſe countries, *viz.* the *Baſhlo*, *Tzobba*, *Kecem*, *Jema*, *Roma*, and *Woncit*. Then on the right hand ſurrounding *Gojam*, and ſwelled with the *Muga*, *Abaja*, *Aſwari*, *Temei*, *Gult*, and *Tzal*, all rivers of that region, it bends again towards the weſt, leaves *Abaſſia* upon the right, and runs in a northern direction through ſeveral thirſty nations, and ſandy deſerts, in order to fertilize *Egypt* with its inundations (6).

(5) *Geogr. Nubienſ clim. i. par. 3. ſub fin.* *Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 2.* (6) *Greg. Abaſ. apud Ludolph. l. i. c. 8.* *Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop p. 122, 123, & ſeq.*

Nile. The *Eteſian* winds contribute little or nothing to the inundations of the *Nile*, though ſome authors have falſly imagined the contrary, nor the ſnow melted from the *Ethiopian* mountains, according to others, as *Seneca* and *Ludolphus* have fully evinced. But the prodigious maſs of waters flowing from all parts, and proceeding from the immoderate ſhowers with which the countries under the *Torrid Zone* are waſhed, when the ſun returns into the winter ſigns, undoubtedly occaſions them. *Juba* makes the *Nile* to have had its ſource in *Mauritania*, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which runs counter to fact, as well as moſt other authors who have treated of this river. Perhaps he might extend the ſouthern parts of *Mauritania* as far as the *Niger*, which agreed almoſt in all points with the *Nile*, as juſt obſerved; and therefore miſtake the latter for the former, which he might falſly imagine had its riſe in *Mauritania*, becauſe it ran by the borders of that region. *Strabo* counte-nances this opinion, when he intimates, that the rivers in the ſouthern parts of *Mauritania* abounded with animals and vegetables like thoſe produced in and about the *Nile* (G). The modern *Abaſſines*, though they are not ignorant of the fountains from which the *Nile* deduces its ſource, are far from being perfectly acquainted with the courſe of that river after it leaves them. However, the conſtant and antient tradition amongſt them is, that near a certain mountain, at ſome diſtance from the city of *Sennar*, it divides itſelf into two ſtreams, one of which runs to the weſtward, and forms the river *Niger*, and the other in a northern direction takes its courſe through *Egypt*. This we learn from the *Nubian* geographer, who at the ſame time intimates, that the channel running to the eaſt of this mountain, watering *Nubia* and the land of *Egypt*, is divided in the *Lower Egypt* into four parts, three of which fall into the *Syrian* ſea, and the other diſcharges itſelf into a ſalt lake near *Alexandria*. 'Tis probable, that the ſeparation of theſe two ſtreams is cauſed by ſome rocky mountain meeting the river above-mentioned, and ſplitting it into two channels. *Leo Africanus* adds great

(G) 'Tis not improbable, that the *Segelmeſſa* was one of theſe rivers mentioned by *Strabo*; ſince, according to the *Nubian* geographer, it nearly reſembled the *Nile*, in almoſt all particulars: nay, we are told, that the river *Sus* at preſent fertilizes all the adjacent country by its inundations, as the *Nile* does *Egypt*, which adds no ſmall weight to the authority of *Strabo* (7).

(7) *Geogr. Nubienſ. Moll. de la Croix*, &c.

weight to the authority of the *Nubian* geographer, when he aſſures us, that the *Nile* flows through the region of the *Nigritæ*. The *Abaſſines*, according to *Gregory* above-mentioned, ſay that the *Niger* ſeparates from the *Nile* in the country of *Dongola*; that the greateſt flow of water paſſes into *Egypt*; and that the other ſtream, deſcending towards the region of *Elway*, at laſt throws itſelf into the *Atlantic* ocean. All which ſeems to be confirmed by what we have lately obſerved from *Herodotus*, and by *Pliny*, when he aſſures us, that the *Nile* and the *Niger* agree in colour and taſte of water, produce the ſame ſort of reed, the ſame ſort of paper, the ſame ſort of animals, and increaſe, as well as overflow, at the ſame ſeaſons. If the above-mentioned particulars be admitted, it ſeems poſſible for the king of *Abaſſia* either ſo to ſtop up the fountains of the *Nile*, or ſo to divert the courſe of the river proceeding immediately from thence, that *Egypt* ſhould not be overflowed; which would prove the total ruin of that kingdom. This receives ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from *Elmacinus*, who relates, that the khalif *Muſtanſir* ſent *Michael* the patriarch with magnificent preſents to the *Abaſſine* monarch, to prevail upon him to open the channel that conveyed water to *Egypt*, which for ſome time had been ſtopped. His petition that prince immediately granted. The conſequence of which was, that the *Nile*, which had before greatly failed, roſe three yards in one night, and rendered the land of *Egypt* as capable of cultivation as ever. This has induced ſome authors to aſſert, that the grand ſignior pays an annual tribute to the king of *Abaſſia*, that his *Egyptian* ſubjects may enjoy all the advantages of the *Nile*'s inundations which their anceſtors have done. *Gregory*, cited above, intimated to *Ludolphus*, that he had heard from ſome *Abaſſines* of undoubted veracity, that near the *Cataracts* of the *Nile* the land to the eaſt was a perfect plain; and that, by only opening a paſſage through one mountain for that river, it would flow rather that way than into the *Mediterranean* thro' (H) *Egypt*. However, we muſt own ourſelves far from being

(H) It is obſervable, that the kings of *Abaſſia* are ſtill perſuaded, that the keys of the *Nile* are in their hands, and that they can, when they pleaſe, change its courſe, as the king *Tekilmanous* threatened the baſhaw of *Cairo* towards the beginning of this century, that is, about the year 1706. That prince, being greatly incenſed at the aſſaſſination of the ſieur *Du Roule* a *Frenchman* at *Sennar*, threatened the baſhaw with his reſentment, in caſe an immediate ſtop was not put to ſuch flagrant violations of the law of nations: telling him, that he could make the *Nile* the inſtrument of his vengeance.

being certain as to this point; though a gentleman of moſt profound erudition, and unexceptionable authority, has informed us, that he met with a young *Abaſſinian* at *Jeruſalem*, who intimated to him, that ſuch a kind of notion ſtill prevailed amongſt his countrymen. The preſent *Ethiopians* call their part of this river *Abawi*, though in the old *Ethiopic* language we find it ſtyled *Jejon* or *Jewon*, probably by an antient miſtake from the *Greek* word Γεὼν, *Geon*, or *Hebrew Gihon*, *Gen.* ii. 13. ſince ſome authors have imagined that river to be the *Nile*. The prophets *Jeremiah* and *Iſaiah* give the river we are now upon the name of *Sihor* or *Sichor*, i. e. *The black river*, from the colour of its water, as the *Greeks* did that of *Melas*, and the *Latins Milo*, for the ſame reaſon. And, agreeably to this notion, *Virgil* ſays:

Et viridem Ægyptum *nigra fœcundat arena*,
Et diverſa ruens ſeptem diſcurrit in ora
Uſque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.
VIRG. *Georg. l.* iv. *v.* 291—294.

Dionyſius Afer and *Stephanus Byzantinus* ſay, that the *Ethiopians* denominated that part of this river running through their territories *Siris*, which is evidently the ſame as *Sihor*; but that, as ſoon as it reached *Syene*, it received the name of (I) *Nile*.

vengeance, ſince God, by placing in his hands the fountains, paſſage, and increaſe of that river, had put it in his power to make it do either good or harm (8).

(I) To what has been ſaid of the *Nile* we ſhall beg leave to add the account of the rivers flowing into it, given us by the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez*. The *Nile*, ſays he, receives ſeveral rivers, the "moſt remarkable of which are the *Baxilo* or *Bachilo*, which "divides the kingdoms of *Bagemeder* or *Bagemdra* and *Amhara*; "the *Gulcem*, which bounds the ſame kingdom of *Amhara* and "*Oleca*; the *Maleck* and *Auguer*, which, having joined their "ſtreams, water the countries of *Damot*, *Narea*, *Bizamo*, the *Gafates*, and the *Gongas*. The *Tacaza*, called by the antients "*Aſtaboras*, hath three different ſources near the mountains, which "ſeparate the two kingdoms of *Angote* or *Angota* and *Bagemeder*; it runs towards the weſt thro' the deſert of *Oladba*; then, "entering *Dambar*, falls into a large bed of ſands; and afterwards, having croſſed part of the kingdom of *Decan*, diſcharges "itſelf into the *Nile*. 'Tis ſaid, that beſides crocodiles and river-

(8) *See the ſequel to father Lobo's voyage to Abaſſinia.*

Nile. Besides the *Nile*, the antient geographers mention two other rivers, called *Astaboras* and *Astabus*, meeting near the island or peninsula *Meroe*, and joining the *Nile* soon after. As these rivers had their sources to the east of the *Nile*, the first deducing its streams from the lake *Coloe* in the district of *Amaza*, and the other from some fountains betwixt the mounts *Garbata* and *Elephas* not far from the *Aualitic* gulf, we must submit it to our readers, whether the modern *Tacaza* and *Ma-*

" horses, there are in this river abundance of torpedoes, which " immediately benumb the arm of any man that touches them. " The *Mareb*, rising two leagues from *Debaroa*, falls, after a " long course, from a rock thirty cubits in height, and sinks under " ground; but in the winter it runs through many other provinces, " and by the monastery of *Alleluja*, and then loses itself. The army, " when they invaded these regions, dug into the sand, and found " under-ground both good water, and excellent fish." To which we shall beg leave to subjoin a short description of the course of the *Nile*, as delivered to us by the best modern geographers since the time of *Gregory* and *Ludolphus*. It arises in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and proceeds from thence in a N. E. direction to the lake of *Dambea* or *Tzana*; afterwards it moves S. E. to the kingdom of *Bagemeder*, or, as *Gregory* calls it, *Bagemdra*; then, still running S. E. it approaches the kingdom of *Ambara*; from whence, continuing its motion S. E. it advances to the kingdom of *Oleca*, betwixt which and *Ambara* it receives a considerable river, as it did before the *Bachilo* on the confines of *Ambara* and *Bagemdra*. From the kingdom of *Oleca* it moves to that of *Choa* in the same direction, and from thence by *Debra* through *Galla*, and the kingdom of the *Cafates*, to that of *Gonga*. Afterwards it visits the country of the *Changalas*, N. E. of *Gonga*. From thence in a northern direction it flows to the city and kingdom of *Sennar*; and then to *Corte* or *Corti* in *Nubia*, through the desert of *Babiouda* N. W. from *Sennar*. Betwixt *Sennar* and *Corti* it passes by *Barbar*, near which is a *Cataract* N. E. of the former place, from whence it turns to the W. and reaches *Corte*. *Kanise* W. of *Corte* next receives a visit from it; and then *Dongola* N. of *Kanise*. Continuing its course N. E. it arrives at the *Greater Cataract*; and afterwards takes its leave of *Nubia* near the *Lesser Cataract*. Lastly, having traversed *Egypt* in a northern direction, it discharges itself by several mouths into the *Mediterranean*. We could not dispense with being thus particular, in relation to the source and course of a river the most celebrated of all others taken notice of by antiquity, on account of the vast advantages accruing from its inundations to the countries through which it passed; especially since the antients sought after the causes of these inundations, and the head of this river, in vain (9).

(9) *Alphons. Mendez apud Le Grand, dissert. iii.*

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reb, conſidering the ſituation and direction aſſigned them by the modern geographers, do not intirely correſpond with them. *Pliny*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo*, mention a third conſiderable river falling into the *Nile*, whoſe name they do not intirely agree in; but as it has been omitted by ſeveral of the antient geographers, and eſpecially by *Ptolemy*, who had the beſt means of informing himſelf as to the truth of every particular relating to it, we ſhall ſuperſede all farther accounts of it, and conclude here what we have to ſay of the rivers of *Ethiopia* [m] (K).

Lakes, promontories, ports, &c.

WE find no remarkable fountains and lakes in *Ethiopia* beſides the ſources of the rivers above-mentioned, except the lake of *Pſeboa* above *Meroe*, that of *Tzana* being, as far as we can collect from the old geography, unknown to the antients. The principal promontories were, *Baſium*, *Mnemium*, *Aſpis*, *Saturni promontorium*, *Moſylon*, *Dire*, *Zengiſa*, *Noti Cornu*, *Praſum*, and *Raptum*, the laſt of which was inhabited by *Cannibals* or *Anthropophagi*. But the three laſt capes ſeem rather to have belonged to the *Cafres* or *African* barbarians than the proper *Ethiopians*. The chief ports and em-

[m] GREG. ABASS. apud Ludolph. & ipſe LUDOLPH. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 8. MEL. l. i. c. 9. & alib. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii c. 5. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 34. & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. i. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. PLUTARCH. Incert. Auct. THEOPHYLACT. DIOD. SIC. ARISTID. DIO. STRAB. HELIODOR. THEODORET. de increment. Nil. VIRG. georg. l. iii. DIONYS. AF. v. 223. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ISAI. c. xxiii. v. 3. JER. c. ii. v. 18. HELIODOR. Æthiopic. l. x. PTOL. l. iv. ENNIUS. apud Serv. in Æn. i. SENEC. quæſt. natural. l. iv. c. 2. SOLIN. c. 27, 43. PLIN. l. v. c. 8. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. GEOGR. Nub. clim. i. par. 4. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 89. GEORG. ELMACIN. in hiſt. Saracen. LEO. AFRICAN. l. i. c. 7. PP. PAYS & TELLEZ. apud Ludolph. l. i. c. 8. ALF. D'ALBUQUER. comment. in TELLEZ. par. 4. c. 7. ATHAN. KIRCH. in ſupplement. prod. & lexic. Copt p. 524. c 2. Is. VOSS. de orig. Nil. & flumin. Vid. & LE GRAND. diſſert. iii.

(K) We muſt not omit obſerving, that as the advantages afforded the fields in other countries by the rains are derived from the rivers in *Ethiopia*, the places perfectly dry in winter are overflowed in ſummer. Several of theſe rivers do not empty themſelves into the ſea, as in other regions, but are ſucked up in the ſand; ſo that it is more difficult to diſcover their mouths than the ſources of other ſtreams (10).

(10) *Ludolph. in præfat. ad hiſt. Æthiop.*

pories

pories of *Ethiopia* were thoſe of *Adulis*, *Mondus*, *Opone*, *Moſylon*, and the principal city of the *Aualitæ*, ſeated upon the *Red-Sea*. From their country into theſe places the *Arabs* imported fruit, corn, wine, cloaths, &c. and exported from thence to *Ocelis* and *Muſa*, oppoſite harbours in *Arabia*, ſpices, caſſia, perfumes, ivory, myrrh, and ſeveral other (L) commodities. To which we may add the haven and fortreſs of *Sabid*, probably the *Sabat* of *Ptolemy*, now in a ruinous condition. The moſt noteds iſland appertaining to *Ethiopia* were *Meroe*, if that ſhould not rather be deemed a peninſula, the *Sporades* of *Agatharchides*, *Aſtratæ*, *Ara Palladis*, *Gythitis*, *Myronis*, *Daphnine*, *Magi*, *Acanthine*, *Iſis*, *Mondus*, and *Menuthias* (M). *Meroe* contained a large tract, together with a very conſiderable city, its metropolis, of the ſame name. *Joſephus* informs us that its original name was *Saba*, but that *Cambyſes*, from his ſiſter, afterwards called it *Meroe*; which ſeems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, tho' it does not appear from *Herodotus*, that this prince penetrated ſo far into *Ethiopia*. *Timoſthenes*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*'s admiral, related, that the city of *Meroe* was ſixty days journey from *Syene*. *Eratoſthenes* made this diſtance ſix hundred and twenty-five miles; *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* five thouſand ſtadia, which agrees with *Eratoſthenes*; *Artemidorus* ſix hundred miles; and *Seboſus* computed ſixteen hundred miles from the fartheſt or moſt northern part of *Egypt* to this famous town. But, according to *Pliny* (N), the road between *Meroe* and *Syene* was

(L) 'Tis remarkable, that moſt of theſe commodities have for a long time failed in *Ethiopia*, as the *lotus* and *ſilphium* in *Egypt* and *Cyrenaica*; but *Arabia* and *India* ſufficiently ſupply the *European* merchants with them (11).

(M) To which we may add the iſland in the great lake of *Pſeboa*, ſometimes occupied by the *Libyans*, and at other times by the *Ethiopians*, juſt as ſucceſs attended their reſpective arms, according to *Strabo*. From the ſituation that author aſſigns this lake, in conjunction with what we ſhall offer concerning *Meroe* in note (N), our readers may poſſibly be induced to believe, that the preſent lake of *Tzana* or *Dambea* is the *Pſeboa* of the antients (12).

(N) The computation we find in *Pliny* is as follows: From *Syene* to *Hiera* fifty four miles; from thence to *Tama* ſeventy five miles; from thence to the borders of the *Ethiopians* called *Euonymites* an hundred and twenty miles; from thence to *Acina* fifty-four miles; from thence to *Pitara* twenty-five miles; from thence to *Tergedus* an hundred and ſix miles; from thence to *Napata* eight miles;

(11) *Diodor. ubi ſup.* (12) *Strabo. l. xvii.*

and

was diſcovered in the reign of *Nero* to be eight hundred and ſeventy-four *Roman* miles long. The *Nubian* geographer does

and laſtly, from *Nepata* to the city of *Meroe* three hundred and ſixty miles.

What part of *Sennar* or *Abaſſia* anſwers to *Meroe*, we ſhall not take upon us to determine. The Jeſuits have pitched upon the kingdom of *Gojam*, as being almoſt encompaſſed by the *Nile*, and conſequently a peninſula, as *Meroe* was thought to have been by ſome of the antients. But M. *Ludolphus* has intirely overthrown this notion, by proving, amongſt other things, that nothing related of *Meroe* by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, is applicable to *Gojam*; *Meroe* being nearer *Egypt*. Beſides, as that learned author obſerves, had *Meroe* been *Gojam*, and the antients had known that country, they muſt conſequently have known the ſource of the *Nile*; which we find they did not. *Voſſius* believes the city *Baroo* or *Baroa*, ſituated in 16°. 22′. N. lat. where the *Bahrnagaſh* generally reſides, to correſpond with the capital of *Meroe*. As this opinion depends upon the ſuppoſition, that the preſent *Mareb* or *Moraba* is the *Aſtaboras* of the antients, which muſt be admitted, it ſeems to have ſome appearance of truth. Mr. *Senex*'s map of this country, which to us appears the moſt accurate of any that has been hitherto publiſhed, ſeems to point out the tract anſwering to the antient *Meroe*. We find there a ſort of peninſula with many of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of *Meroe* handed down to us by the antients. This peninſula is formed by the *Rabd*, the *Nile*, the *Goze*, the *Mareb* or *Moraba*, the *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, and a river compoſed of theſe three laſt, which unites its ſtream with that of the *Nile* in near 18°. N. lat. The chief places ſeated on the *Nile* in this peninſula are *Chanedi*, *Ghenedetoul*, *Garri*, *Helfaia*, *Cotragne*, *Nogue*, and *Habkharas*; upon the *Rhad Enbulbul* and *Ceſen*; and upon the conflux of the *Moraba* and *Tacaza* the city of *Derkin* or *Dequin*: which we mention in order to give our readers a better idea of the tract we have in view. Now the peninſula of *Meroe* reſembled a ſhield, and was three thouſand ſtadia long, and one thouſand broad, according to *Strabo*; it was likewiſe ſurrounded on the weſt by the *Nile*, and on the eaſt by the rivers flowing into it. *Solinus* ſays, that *Meroe* was formed by the *Nile*, and ſix hundred miles from the ſea; and *Mela*, as corrected by *Salmaſius*, pretty nearly agrees with him. *Pauſanias* intimates, that the *Nile* entered a great lake beyound *Meroe*, which it paſſed through, and traverſed the whole country of *Ethiopia*. The rivers *Aſtapus* and *Aſtaboras*, i. e. the *Tacaza* and *Moraba*, joined the *Nile* about *Meroe*, i. e the city of *Meroe*. All which particulars, as well as ſeveral others ſuggeſted by *Pliny*, *Timoſthenes*, *Nebolus*, *Eratoſthenes*, and the *Nubian* geographer, in the paſſages here referred to, conſidering the many turnings and windings of the *Nile*, are more applicable to the peninſula at preſent under conſideration, than any other part of *Sen-*

nar

does not differ greatly from ſome of theſe computations; for he intimates, that travellers are generally above two months in traverſing *Nubia*, or that vaſt tract lying betwixt the confines of *Egypt* and *Abaſſia*. We find, that when *Ethiopia* was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the city of *Meroe* made a prodigious figure, inſomuch that, if ſome of the antients may be credited, it could ſend into the field an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, and contained four hundred thouſand artificers, though in *Pliny*'s time it was but a ſmall town. Several queens of this part of *Ethiopia*, called *Candace*, that having for a conſiderable number of years been a ſort of ſurname to them, held their reſidence here. *Strabo* makes it to have been ten thouſand ſtadia from *Alexandria*, and the capital of *Ethiopia*. As the other iſlands are in a manner obſcure, they merit no regard; only it may be proper to obſerve, that *Hardouïn*, *Bochart*, and *Salmaſius*, believe *Madagaſcar* to be the antient *Menuthias*, though *Iſaac Voſſius* takes it to have been the ſame with that iſland which the moderns call *Zanzibar*. How far either of theſe notions may be true, we cannot take upon us to ſay; neither is it of any conſequence to our readers which of them, or whether either of them, is ſo [n].

[n] Herodot. l. ii. c. 29. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. ii. c. 73. & l. vi. c. 29, 30. Joseph. antiq. l. ii c 5. Agatharchid. Cnid. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. ubi ſup. Ptol. Arrian. Marcian. Steph. Byzant. ubi ſup. Dioscorid. l. i. Ætius, tetrab. i. ſerm. 2. c. 156. Serapion ex emend. Cl. Bocharti. Plin. l. xii. c. 15. Simeon Sethus & Galen. apud Bochart. phal. l. ii. c. 23. Salmas. in Solin. p. 878. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 37. Golii notæ in Alfraganum, p. 89. Harduin. ad Plin. vi c. 31. Voss. ad Mel. p. 303. Athan. Kirch. in Oedip. Ægypt. ſynt. i. c. 7. p. 57. Ludolph. ubi ſup. c. 8.

nar or *Abaſſia* that can be aſſigned for this purpoſe. From the ſame chart, and the authors it is deduced from, we muſt allow it probable, that Mr. *Senex*'s river *Rahd*, ariſing out of *Dambea* eaſt of the *Nile*, is the *Guangua* of *Gregory*; as alſo that the *Goze*, *Mareb* or *Moraba*, and *Takezel* or *Tacaza*, may be reputed the *Aſtoſabas* or *Aſtuſapes*, *Aſtaboras*, and *Aſtapus*, of the antients. Some modern writers ſeem inclined to believe, that the *Mareb* of the preſent *Abaſſines* anſwers to the *Aſtuſapes* of the antients, though we have here ſuppoſed the *Gozi* to be that river (13).

(13) *Pauſan. Eliac. poſter. Joſeph antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Jeſuit. Voſſ. & Ludolph. apud Le Grand, diſſert. ii.*

The

THE principal curiosities of this country are, 1. The rocks called *Amba-Dorho*, or *the rock of the hen* above-mentioned. 2. The solid gold found on the banks of several rivers about the size of a tare or vetch, taken notice of by *Pliny*, with which the provinces of *Damot* and *Enarea* are said to abound. 3. The iron, copper, and gold, mines some parts of it are so famous for. 4. The mountains of salt in a district upon the confines of *Tigre* and *Angota*, called *the land of salt*. In the mountains the salt is soft, and cut out with little labour, but hardens by being exposed to the open air. 5. The mountain of red salt mentioned by the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, and said to be endued with many medicinal virtues. 6. The mineral *stibium*, called in the *Ethiopic* tongue *cuehel* or *cohol*, which is produced in several provinces. 7. The various extraordinary animal and vegetable productions, which our readers will meet with in the modern history of *Abyssinia* [o] (O). *Curiosities.*

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, customs, arts, &c. of the Ethiopians.

IT appears from what has been advanced in the former section, that the sacred writers did not always apply the name of (P) *Cush* to one particular country. They sometimes understood by it that region watered by the *Araxes*, which was the seat of the antient *Scythians* or *Cuthites*; and sometimes that country on the eastern shore of the *Red-Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*. In some passages likewise they seem to have had in view the whole peninsula of the *Arabs*, or at least *Antiquity of the Ethiopians.*

[o] STRAB. l. xvii. PLIN. apud Ludolph. ut & ipse LUDOLPH. l. i. c. 6, 7.

(O) To these curiosities we may add the gold mines near the coast of the *Red Sea* mentioned by *Agatharchides*, which, according to that author, also produced the finest and whitest marble in the world (14).

(P) Sometimes in Scripture the word *Cush* comprehends both *Arabia* and the proper *Ethiopia*, as in *Ezek.* c. xxxviii. v. 5. Persia, Cush, *and* Libya *with them*; *all of them with shield and helmet*: i. e. *Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya*, &c. Compare also *Ezek.* c. xxx. v. 5. with *Jer.* c. xxv. v. 20, 24.

(14) *Agatharchid. Cnid de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 10. apud Phot. p.* 1339. *Vid etiam Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c.* 8.

the greateſt part of that peninſula. But, notwithſtanding what has been offered to the contrary by many perſons of vaſt erudition, we cannot help believing, that it moſt uſually and properly denoted the tract ſituated above the *Upper Egypt*, comprehending the modern kingdoms of *Dongola*, *Sennar*, and *Abaſſia*. In order to evince the probability of ſuch a notion, we ſhall not only beg leave to refer our readers to the remarkable paſſages already cited on this occaſion, but likewiſe obſerve, that the prophets *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, make the *Cuſhites* neighbours to the *Libyans*; which can only hold true of the proper *Ethiopians*. The pſalmiſt alſo foretold, that Cuſh *ſhould ſtretch out her hands to* God; and the prophet *Zephaniah*, that *the ſuppliants of the* Lord, *from beyond the rivers of* Cuſh, *even the daughter of his diſperſed, ſhould bring* his *offering*: both of which predictions ſeem clearly to point at the eunuch baptized by *Philip*, who came to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*; ſince, as he was treaſurer to queen *Candace*, it can ſcarce be doubted but that he and his retinue brought a valuable *offering* or donation with them; and ſince *Candace* was queen of the proper *Ethiopia*, or at leaſt the peninſula of *Meroe*, a conſiderable part of it as we learn from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. The words *Cuſh* and Αἰθίοπες, therefore, in the texts he referred to, muſt be underſtood of the territories and people of the proper *Ethiopia*. *Ezekiel* propheſied, that the *Egyptians* from *Migdol* to *Syene* ſhould fall by the ſword; which not a little ſupports the interpretation of a famous text already given in favour of our preſent opinion. King *Ahaſuerus* in *Eſther* reigned from the *Indies* to *Cuſh*, that is to ſay, as far as the modern *Abaſſia*; ſince *Scythia* or *Arabia* cannot be there meant as being contiguous to *Perſia*, and *Herodotus* intimates *Darius Hyſtaſpis* to have received tribute from the nations bordering upon proper *Ethiopia*. *Nebuchadnezzar* in *Judith* ſent embaſſadors to *Geſem*, and as far as the frontiers of *Ethiopia*: probably the kingdom ſo called to the ſouth of *Egypt*. In fine, many of the moſt remarkable paſſages of Scripture, underſtood, for above a century paſt, of *Arabia* or part of it, may well enough be interpreted of the proper *Ethiopia*, as is acknowledged by *Calmet* himſelf. It is therefore but reaſonable to conclude, that *Cuſh* the eldeſt ſon of *Ham* was the great progenitor of the *Ethiopians* [P].

[P] Jer. c. xlvi. v. 9. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 4, 5. & c. xxxviii. v. 5. Dan. c. xi. v. 43. Nah. c. iii. v. 9. Pſal. lxviii. v. 31. Zephan. c. iii v. 10. Act. c. viii. v. 27. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 6. Esth. c. i. v. 1. & c. viii. v. 9. Herodot. l. iii. Judith, c. i. v. 9. Vid. etiam Strab. l. xvii. & Plin. l. vi. c. 29.

However,

HOWEVER, moſt authors are agreed, that many of the early deſcendants of *Cuſh* ſettled firſt in the land bordering on the eaſt ſide of the *Red Sea*, moving gradually from thence to the ſouthern extremity of *Arabia*; and afterwards, by means of the eaſy paſſage over the ſtraights of *Bab-al-Mandab*, tranſplanted themſelves into *Ethiopia*. According to *Euſebius*, this migration happened whilſt the *Iſraelites* were in *Egypt*; but *Syncellus* places it in the time of the *judges*. The *Arabian Cuſhites* were antiently called *Abaſeni*, and made up a great part of the *Sabæans* or *Homerites*, as may be inferred from ſeveral authors. The *Ethiopians* went under the ſame name, agreed in many points with the *Arabian Cuſhites*, and were believed by moſt of the *Aſiatic* nations in *Joſephus*'s time to have had the ſame origin. *Diodorus Siculus*, it muſt be allowed, maintains, that they never came from any other country, and that they never were corrupted by foreign cuſtoms; though he aſſerts, that in ſeveral things they correſponded with the *Egyptians*. However, notwithſtanding what is advanced by that hiſtorian, our readers will naturally conclude, from what has been already ſuggeſted, that part of *Cuſh*'s poſterity moved gradually along the weſtern ſhore of the *Red Sea* into *Ethiopia*, which, by this means, was tolerably well peopled, when the *Arabian Cuſhites* firſt found their way into it. The great difference of, at leaſt a conſiderable body of, the *Abaſſines*, from the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, the ſituation of the kingdom of *Midian*, where ſome of the earlieſt *Cuſhites* probably ſeated themſelves, and the concurrent voice of antiquity, both ſacred and profane, tend to evince the juſtneſs of ſuch a concluſion. *Bochart* believes ſome traces of *Obal*, or, as the *Arabians* pronounce it, *Aubal*, one of *Joktan*'s ſons, to be diſcernible in the empory *Abalites*, the *Abalitic* gulf, *&c.* and conſequently, that ſome of the children of *Eber*, after having inſinuated themſelves into *Arabia Felix*, migrated into *Ethiopia*. Some of the *Ludim* likewiſe might find a paſſage into this country, though undoubtedly the bulk of them moved towards the *Atlantic* ocean; ſince, as *Moſes* intimates them to have been the firſt branch of *Miſraim*'s iſſue, they in all likelihood puſhed forwards towards the main land of *Africa*. The *Ethiopians* therefore might very well vye with the *Egyptians*, and even be deemed ſuperior to them, in point of antiquity, ſince *Cuſh* their great anceſtor was the eldeſt ſon of *Ham*. They might likewiſe have been eſteemed of equal antiquity with the *Arabians*, ſince from the kingdom of *Midian* the *Cuſhites* penetrated both into the ſouthern parts of the peninſula of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopia*. The communica-

A body of Arabs croſſing the ſtraights of Babal-Mandab paſſed into Ethiopia.

tion betwixt *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as well as the proximity of blood of *Cuſh* and *Miſraim*, introduced that ſimilitude of manners obſervable amongſt their reſpective inhabitants, which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to take notice of [q].

Government of the Ethiopians

Pliny relates, that *Ethiopia* was antiently divided into forty-five kingdoms, of which he inſinuates that of *Meroe* to have been the moſt powerful and flouriſhing. But whether theſe were independent on one another, or under one ſupreme head, he no-where informs us. Be that as it will, as all the old oriental governments were abſolute, and the *Abaſſine* princes, known to the *Europeans* ſince their firſt intercourſe with *Abaſſia*, have been deſpotic, there is no reaſon to doubt, but that the kings of *Ethiopia* always ruled with an (Q) uncontroulable ſway. If we admit the *Ethiopian* tradition, that a long ſeries of princes deſcended from *Solomon* reigned in the country we are now upon, it can ſcarce be denied, that their authority was unlimited, as that of the *Hebrew* monarch knew no bounds. It appears from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, that ſome *Ethiopic* nations were governed always by queens, whoſe common name was *Candace*, as that of the *Egyptian* kings was *Pharaoh*, *Ptolemy*, &c. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us to underſtand, that a good part of *Ethiopia* was compoſed of ſeve-

[q] EUSEB. in chron. geogr. SYNCELL. in chronograph. URANIUS apud Steph. Byzant. de Urb. PTOL. l. iv. PROCOP. GAZ. in 1 Reg. c. x. v. 1. JOS. SCALIG. in comput. eccleſ. Æthiop. de emend. tempt l. vii. JOSEPH. antiq l. i. c. 7. DIOD SIC. l. iii. & alib. HIERONYM. queſt. Hebr. in Geneſ. BOCHART. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & l. ii. c. 23. Gen. c. x. v 13. HERODOT. l. ii, & alib. DIOD. SIC. l. iii & alib. JOE. LUDOLPH. hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. LE GRAND. diſſert. ii.

(Q) This ſeems likewiſe in ſome meaſure to appear from the conſtitution of the preſent kingdom of *Abaſſia*. The king's authority there is ſo unlimited, that no man can in this country be called with juſtice proprietor of any thing, nor doth any man, when he ſows his field, know that he ſhall reap it; for the king may beſtow the fruits upon whom he pleaſes, and all the ſatisfaction the former poſſeſſor can hope for is, that ſome man be appointed to bring in the eſtimate of the expences he had been at in cultivating it, in order to his reimburſement. But the arbitrator is always favourable to the preſent owner, whom he preſumes to have more intereſt than the perſon diſpoſſeſſed (16).

(16 *Le Grand. diſſert.* v.

ral

ral elective monarchies (R), the heads of which were chosen out of their priests; and that all these princes made the laws of their respective kingdoms the basis of their government. However, as the same author remarks, that every new king, immediately after his election, was worshipped as a god, and considered as invested with the supreme authority by Divine Providence, though he had a particular regard to the laws and customs of his country through the whole course of his administration, we may look upon them all as arbitrary monarchs. The extraordinary honours paid them leave no room to doubt, that they were the interpreters of these laws, and consequently made them subservient to their will; neither does this interfere with their conferring rewards, and inflicting punishments, according to the laws, that is, the political decisions and determinations, of their ancestors, since some of the most arbitrary governments in the world now do the like. But after all, the *Greeks* knew very little of the *Ethiopians*; and therefore from their authors we can form no adequate idea of any thing relating to them. *Sesostris* and *Zerah* must undoubtedly be considered as princes bearing an absolute sway over the dominions they governed, of which the proper *Ethiopia* was a part. The surprising conquests made by the one, and the prodigious army commanded by the other, in order to the reduction of a powerful neighbour, seems to set this point beyond dispute [r].

Laws.

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, the laws of *Ethiopia* agreed in substance with those of *Egypt*. This, continues the same author, the *Ethiopians* accounted for by asserting, that

[r] PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. LUDOLPH. hist Ethiop. l. ii. c. 3, 4, DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup. HERODOT. APOLLON. RHOD. APPOLLODOR. PAUSAN. HYGIN. LUCAN. aliique. mult. pass. 2 Chron. c. xii. v 3. c. xiv. v. 9 & c. xvi. v. 8. Vid. etiam. NEWT. chronol. of the empire of Egypt

(R) Though the present kingdom of *Abassia* be so far hereditary, that only one family can sit on the throne, yet the reigning prince has the power of chusing out of the royal family whom he pleases for a successor, which, if he omits it, is done by the grandees of the kingdom, who elect him for their king, whom they judge most capable of so high an office. If this was the custom formerly, as does not appear improbable, it might easily have given occasion to this account of *Diodorus*, who cannot be supposed to have received an exact information of the customs, laws, and constitution, of *Ethiopia* (17).

(17) *Idem ibid.*

Egypt

Egypt was firſt peopled by colonies drawn out of their country. In order to evince that point, they maintained the land of *Egypt* to have been at firſt, for a conſiderable period, intirely covered with water, and afterwards raiſed gradually, ſo as to become inhabitable, by the freſh acceſſion of mud the *Nile* brought every year out of *Ethiopia*. This is likewiſe confirmed by *Herodotus*, who affirms *Egypt* to be *the gift of the* Nile, and that the whole region, except the territory of *Thebes*, in the time of *Menes* was one continued moraſs. However, he miſtakes the *Ethiopians* to have been civilized by the *Egyptians*, and to have learned the cuſtoms and manners of that people, ſo late as the reign of *Pſammiticus* I. which, conſidering what has been already advanced, will not eaſily be admitted for truth. Yet ſome cuſtoms and manners, as well as laws, the former nation might poſſibly have received from the latter about that time, though in many particulars they agreed long before. We cannot pretend to give our readers a complete enumeration of the particular laws, or political maxims, that prevailed antiently in *Ethiopia*; but the following ſeem to have been ſome of the principal of them. 1. Several tribes of *Ethiopians* looked upon it as a fundamental law to elect their princes out of the different orders of their prieſts. 2. No public executioner ever made his appearance in many parts of *Ethiopia*, the malefactors there being obliged by a particular law to fall by their own hands. 3. According to the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion amongſt ſome *Ethiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his ſiſter's ſon (S) mounted the throne; and in caſe the female branches of the royal family failed of iſſue, they choſe the moſt beautiful and valiant perſon amongſt them for king. 4. It was eſteemed a moſt enormous crime in any perſon ca-

(S) We are informed by *Plutarch*, that a certain *Ethiopian* nation always elected a dog for their king, and paid him divine honours. The ſame author, however, *judiciouſly* obſerves, that all the high poſts were filled with men. Poſſibly the modern kingdom of *Zendero*, governed always by an elected monarch, who is ſaid to reſemble an ape, or rather to be an ape, may correſpond with this nation. 'Tis certain *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pliny* ſtile the animal now called a baboon *cynocephalus*, from the reſemblance its head bears to that of a dog; which renders it not improbable, that the creature denominated *cyon* or dog by *Plutarch* was an ape or baboon; eſpecially ſince the *cynocephalus* was produced only in *Ethiopia*. However, this we can only propoſe to our readers as a conjecture (18).

(18) *Plutarch. adverſ Stoic. Diod Sic l.* iii *Plin l* viii. *c.* 54. *Fernand de Tellez apud Job. Ludolph in hiſt. Ethiop l.* i. *c* 6.

pitally

pitally convicted to attempt making his escape into a foreign country. *Diodorus* relates, that a criminal condemned to die having once meditated a flight out of *Ethiopia*, after the sign of death had been sent him by the king, was detected by his mother, who thereupon strangled him with a garter, he not offering the least resistance, lest an indelible stain should thereby be fixed upon his family. 5. The king of this region was obliged to dispatch (T) himself, whenever he received a message from the priests of *Meroe*, the most revered of any in *Ethiopia*, with an intimation, that the gods commanded him, for the good of his subjects, to do so. 6. If the king became maimed or wounded by any accident, his domestics were forced to wound and maim themselves just in the same manner. 7. At the king's death, all his household servants, either in compliance with the laws, or an indispensible custom, killed themselves, this being looked upon as the strongest testimony of their sincere attachment to him. 8. Some of the *Ethiopic* clans above *Meroe* on both sides of the *Nile*, the preceding laws being chiefly confined to that peninsula, and the parts of *Ethiopia* nearer *Egypt*, elected the most industrious shepherds to preside over them; others bestowed the kingdom upon the most opulent persons they could find, imagining them the most capable of supplying with their riches the wants and necessities of the people [f].

Religion.

Jupiter Ammon, according to the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, seems to have been the principal object of religious worship in *Ethiopia*, though the natives (U) paid likewise divine honours

[f] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 5. & alib AGATHARCHID. CNID. apud Phot. NIC. DAMASCEN. in excerptis Valesii, p. 518.

(T) This vast power the priest enjoyed till the time of *Ergamenes* king of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who, being a martial prince, advanced to the golden temple of *Æsculapius*, where they resided, with a body of troops, and put them all to the sword. After this he made several regulations, and in a manner new modelled the public worship of the *Ethiopians*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (19).

(U) *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ethiopians* valued themselves upon their being the first nation that had a religious establishment. They believed, that for this reason, adds he, their sacrifices were more acceptable to the gods than those offered by any other people. Which notion, continues *Diodorus*, *Homer* him-

(19) *Diod. Sic. l.* iii.

self

nours to *Iſis*, *Pan*, *Hercules*, *Æſculapius*, and others, whom they conſidered as the greateſt benefactors to mankind. In ſhort, if theſe authors may be credited, their religion differed not much from that of the *Egyptians*, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering their vicinity to, and intercourſe with, that people. However, *Diodorus* aſſures us, that ſome of them were atheiſts, who looked upon the ſun, by reaſon of his ſcorching rays, as their implacable enemy. Could we depend upon a tradition of the modern *Abaſſines*, the *Ethiopians*, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of them, adhered zealouſly to the law of *Moſes*, from the time of *Solomon* to their converſion to chriſtianity. According to this tradition, the queen of *Sheba*, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the ſouth, and who ruled over at leaſt a powerful nation of *Ethiopia*, had a ſon by *Solomon* named *Menilehec*, who was educated at that prince's court, and inſtructed there in the law of God, through the great care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of *Ethiopia*, and ſent home to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom, at the deſire of ſeveral eminent *Iſraelites* and doctors of the law, that attended him, he introduced there his father's religion, which continued amongſt his ſubjects and their poſterity till the time of St. *Athanaſius*. What regard is to be paid to this tradition, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; ſince the learned are not a little divided in their ſentiments concerning the ſituation of the kingdom of *Sheba*, whoſe queen had an interview with *Solomon* at his own court. St. *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, cardinal *Baronius*, *Suarez*, *Lorinus*, *Pineda*, *Bochart*, and the *Arabs* in general, fix her reſidence in *Arabia-Felix*. The laſt call her *Belkis*, and affirm her to have been the daughter of *Hadad* king of the *Homerites*. On the other hand, the *Abaſſine* nation, *Joſephus*, *Origen*, St. *Auſtin*, the learned *Hugo Grotius*, the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez*, the fathers *Balthaſar Tellez* and *Juan Dos-Santos*, have placed

ſelf ſeems to countenance, when he introduces *Jupiter*, attended by the other gods, as preſent at an anniverſary ſacrifice, or grand entertainment, prepared for him by the *Ethiopians*. In order to reward their tranſcendent piety, according to the ſame author, the gods never ſuffered them to be conquered by any foreign prince, *Cambyſes*, *Semiramis*, &c. failing in their attempts upon them. But in this, as well as in many other points, he was egregiouſly miſtaken, as will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory (20).

(20) *Diod Sic. l. iii. ſub init. Vid. & Lucian de jup. Trag p.* 697. *Ed. Bourdelot. Lut. Par.* 1615.

this

this celebrated princeſs in *Ethiopia*. We have not room to inſert here the arguments offered on both ſides in defence of their reſpective opinions; but ſhall, however, obſerve, that the kingdom of *Abaſſia* ſeems to anſwer better the queen of *Sheba*'s country, according to our Saviour's deſcription of it, as being more to the ſouth of, and more remote from, *Judæa*, than *Arabia*. To which we may add, that it appears from Scripture, that ſome perſons of diſtinction amongſt the proper *Ethiopians* were of the ſame religion with the *Jews*, or nearly ſo, in the apoſtolical age, ſince queen *Candace*'s treaſurer (W), baptized by *Philip*, went with an offering to

(W) Father *Calmet* and others ſuppoſe this eunuch to have been one of theſe proſelytes which the *Jews* call *a proſelyte of the gate*, already by us deſcribed. But we muſt own, that this notion ſeems to us not a little improbable, ſince thoſe were only confined to an obſervance of the ſeven fundamental laws of natural religion injoined by *Noah* to his poſterity immediately after the flood, according to the opinion of the *Jews*, whereas we find this man peruſing, and conſequently not unacquainted with, the writings of the *Old Teſtament* peculiar to the natural *Jews*. Beſides, that a treaſurer or prime miniſter of the queen of *Ethiopia* ſhould take ſo long a journey as that from *Meroe* to *Jeruſalem* purely to worſhip God, and offer an oblation to him, there, ſeems very ſtrange, if he was ſuch a mungrel-convert as *the proſelytes of the gate* were, who, for the moſt part, if not always, reſided in *Judæa*. It is therefore much more probable, eſpecially as ſcarce any inſtance can be produced of ſo eminent a perſonage's being ever found amongſt the reſiding proſelytes above-mentioned, who were, generally ſpeaking, people of no figure, much leſs of one who expoſed himſelf to the various dangers of ſo long a journey purely to worſhip God at *Jeruſalem*, that this *Ethiopian* had been trained up in a religion not very different from that of the *Jews*. Nay, as he was a perſon of ſuch power and authority at the *Ethiopian* court, it can by no means be deemed unlikely, that the eſtabliſhed religion of *Meroe* at that time pretty near reſembled the *Jewiſh*. This appears to be in ſome ſort confirmed by the prophet *Zephaniah*, who ſeems evidently to predict the converſion of the eunuch under conſideration, and even to inſinuate, that he came to *Jeruſalem* with an offering from queen *Candace* herſelf, ſince nothing is more likely, than that ſhe was *the daughter of his diſperſed beyond the rivers of* Ethiopia, *that ſhould bring his offering*; which, if admitted, muſt be allowed no mean proof of what we would here ſuggeſt; but this, as well as every thing depending upon it, muſt be left to the determination of our learned and judicious readers (21).

(21) *Act. c. viii. v.* 27, 28. *Zeph. iii. v.* 10. *Calmet*, *Prideaux*, *aliiq; mult.*

Jerusalem to worship God there, and was not unacquainted with the writers of the *Old Testament*; which cannot, we apprehend, be said with so much propriety of the *Arabians*. This seems to us a sort of proof, that the *Mosaic* law was held to be of divine institution in *Meroe*, and the other parts of *Ethiopia* dependent on it, even a considerable time before the birth of our Saviour, if not as early as the age of *Solomon*; and consequently adds some weight to the arguments of those writers, who have asserted, that the queen of *Sheba* came out of *Ethiopia*. It likewise renders the authority of *Josephus* preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus*, notwithstanding what M. *Bochart* has advanced. For, if any regard was paid to the law of *Moses* in *Meroe*, before christianity made its appearance in the world, we cannot account for this better, than by allowing, with the *Abassines* and authors above-mentioned, that this peninsula was the queen of *Sheba*'s country, that her son introduced some knowledge of the public worship of the *Hebrews* there, and consequently, that its metropolis was called *Sheba* or *Seba* before *Cambyses*'s reign, as *Josephus* asserts, and not built by that prince, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Stephanus* will have it. Be that as it will, this appears to have been a prevailing notion amongst some of the *Jews* and *Greeks* in *Josephus*'s time, and *Herodotus* was then cited to support it, however his text, or that of *Josephus*, may be now corrupted; since the latter historian cannot fairly be supposed so profligate and abandoned a writer, as to impose a known falshood and forgery upon the world, as *Bochart* asserts him to have done. However, it must be owned, that *Strabo* suggests the people of *Meroe* in his time to have adored *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Isis*, with another foreign god. But *Strabo*'s authority in this point cannot overturn what is insinuated by Scripture: nay, he seems to be a little inconsistent with himself, since in the same breath he assures us, that the *Ethiopians* in general acknowledged an immortal God, whom they considered as the first principle of all things, and a mortal god, who had no name. Such a notion might easily be formed by remote nations, who knew very little of the *Ethiopians*, upon supposition that some of them for a certain period worshipped the true God, and held the memory of *Moses* in the highest veneration. Far more absurd things than these the *Greek* and *Latin* writers related of the *Jews*, with whom they had a more immediate communication; and therefore we ought not to be surprised at their transmitting to us so imperfect an account of the religious tenets of the *Ethiopians*; though it should be acknowledged, that, during a certain interval, they agreed in the main with those of the

Jews.

Jews. The author laſt cited likewiſe informs us, that the *Ethiopians* ranked in the number of their deities all their moſt eminent benefactors, and thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth. The ſun, according to him, the people under conſideration in the moſt early times ſo highly adored, that they reputed thoſe to be atheiſts who curſed him at his riſing, as ſome ſuch there were inhabiting the *Torrid Zone*, becauſe he forced them to ſhelter themſelves from his intenſe heat in moiſt and marſhy places. For this reaſon the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave the ſun the name of the *Ethiopian Jupiter*. The *Ethiopians* themſelves called him *Aſſabin* or *Aſſabinus*, as we learn from *Pliny*. They conſecrated likewiſe to him the cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous ſhrub, which grew in their country. The prieſts only were allowed to gather that harveſt, which they always uſhered in with ſacrifices of forty-four oxen, goats, and ſheep, beginning the work that followed before ſun-riſing, and finiſhing it before his ſetting. The crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts with a ſpear, which was never uſed but on that occaſion. They carried away two portions of it, and left on the ſame place that which fell to the ſun; and forthwith, ſay *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Theophraſtus*, if the diviſion had been performed with equity, the ſun's portion took fire of itſelf, and was conſumed (X). This ceremony ſeems to have been common to both the *Ethiopian* above *Egypt*, and the *Sabæans* ſeated in *Arabia Felix*. *Banier* believes the *Ethiopians* to have had gods natural, and gods animated, as well as the *Egyptians*; that they worſhipped the moon under the name of *Iſis*, and univerſal nature under that of *Pan*. We doubt not, but this may be true; eſpecially, ſince they, in all likelihood, at firſt worſhipped the planets, or ſome of them, in common with the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and likewiſe paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, as did thoſe nations together with the *Mauritanians*. Among thoſe princes deified by this laſt people were the famous *Juba* and *Verſotina*, who was probably either one of their queens, or ſome other woman of the firſt diſtinction, ſignalized by her glorious actions. The *Ethiopians* of *Meroe*, according

(X) For our part we are apt to believe, that the prieſts ſecretly conveyed ſome coals under the heap that was allotted to the Sun; and that thoſe coals kindled ſome moments after, preciſely at the time of their retiring. Such pious frauds have been, and ſtill are, uſed in countries whoſe religion utterly diſclaims fraud and impoſtures of any kind whatſoever, in order to ſerve ſuch a turn as theſe prieſts of the Sun had in view: witneſs the liquefaction of the blood of St. *Januarius* at *Naples*, &c.

to *Herodotus*, in his time, worſhipped *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and had an oracle of *Jupiter*. Some *Ethiopian* nations offered ſacrifices to the *Day*, which they eſteemed as a god, according to *Lucian*. An antient tradition prevails amongſt the *Abaſſines*, that the firſt *Ethiopians* adored a monſtrous ſerpent, called in their language *Arwe-midre*; but this favours ſo much of fable, that our readers will probably think it deſerves little regard [t].

Language.

In a country of ſo vaſt an extent as *Ethiopia*, inhabited by various nations, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that no ſmall variety of languages, at leaſt of dialects, muſt have prevailed. The moſt antient of theſe was undoubtedly that called by the learned the *Ethiopic*, into which the holy Scripture was formerly tranſlated, and in which all the books of the *Abaſſines*, both ſacred and profane, are written. Some authors have informed us, that this language nearly reſembles the *Chaldee*; but, according to *Ludolphus*, who ſpent above ſixty years in the ſtudy of it, it bears as great an affinity to the *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, and approaches nearer ſtill to the *Arabic*, from which to him it ſeems immediately to be derived. In ſhort, there is ſo perfect an agreement betwixt them, that whoever underſtands the one, may, without any difficulty, if we will credit him, make himſelf maſter of the other; nay, he aſſerts, that a competent knowledge of the *Hebrew*, or any other of the oriental tongues, will enable a ſtudent ſoon to make a very laudable progreſs in the *Ethiopic*. As many *Hebrew* (Y) roots,

[t] Herodot. l. ii. Strab. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Plin. l. xii. c. 19. Solin. c. 31. Lucian. in Jup. Trag. p. 699. ed Bourdelot. Lut. Par. 1615. Theophrast. de plant. Lactant. l. i. c. 15. Tertullian. apol. c. 24. Minut. Fel. in Octav. Greg. Abass. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 2. Banier. l. vi. c 9 Joseph. Orig August. Cyprian. Epiphan. Cyrill. Alexandr. Baron Suarez, Lorin. Pined. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c 3. Pocock ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 50 Joseph. ant l. ii. c. 5 Strab. l. xvii. Plin. l. vi. c. 21. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 26. & alib. Geogr. Nub. clim. i. par. 6. Golii notæ in Alfraganum, p 87 Diod Sic. & Steph. Byzant apud Bochart ubi ſup Act. c. viii. v. 27. Georg. Horn. hiſt philoſoph l. ii p. 132, ed Lugd. Bat. 1655. Alphons. Mend. Balth Tellez. & Jo. Dos Sant. apud Le Grand. differt. vii. Vid & Ludolph. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 3.

(Y) Of this we ſhall beg leave here to produce two inſtances: 1. The *Hebrew* lexicographers derive the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* word *Adamah*, *earth*, from אדם *red*, pretending the earth to be of a red

roots, and genuine ſignification of *Hebrew* words, are ſtill preſerved in the *Ethiopic*, which would be ſought for in vain either in their own or any other language except this, it certainly merits the eſteem of all who diligently apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures. Beſides, 'tis impoſſible to come at a thorough knowledge of the *Abaſſine* affairs, this being the language in which all their hiſtories, and other treatiſes, are penned, without being tolerably well acquainted with it. The pureſt dialect of this tongue was that uſed in the kingdom of *Tigre*, where *Axuma*, the reſidence of the old *Ethiopian* kings, was ſeated. Here it continued till the failure of the *Zagean* line; after which, a *Sewan* prince aſcending the throne, the *Ambaric* dialect was introduced at court, and gradually diffuſed itſelf over the whole empire.

red colour, from whence it receives that denomination. But *Kimchi* takes no notice of this derivation in his collection of *Hebrew* roots; and how ſmall a part of the earth, in compariſon of the whole, is red, no naturaliſt ſtands in need of being informed. This etymon therefore is at beſt *mal-à-propos*. But the *Ethiopic* language ſuggeſts to us a much more proper one, when it propoſes to our view the word *Adamah* ſignifying *beautiful*, *elegant*, *pleaſant*, &c. from whence if we deduce the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician Adamah*, *Earth*, it will not be remote from the χόσμος of the *Greeks*, though that ſeems to have had a more extenſive ſignification. Upon this ſuppoſition, *Adam* derived his name not from a certain fictitious redneſs, but from the beauty and perfection of his nature, being, as it were, the maſter-piece of the creation. And agreeably hereto the *Ethiopians* to the word *Adam* always annex the idea of ſomething perfect and beautiful. Nor is it improbable, that the city *Admah* or *Adamah*, before it was deſtroyed with *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, ſeated upon the banks of the *Jordan*, compared to *the garden of the* LORD, was ſo denominated from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation. 2. The word מלאך *Malach*, an *Angel* or *Meſſenger*, is not to be deduced from the *Arabic Malaka*, *poſſedit*, *dominatus eſt*, &c. for that is not ſufficiently appoſite, but from the *Ethiopic Layka*, *miſit*, *legavit*, &c. Nay, ſometimes the roots of *Arabic* words themſelves are to be ſought for in the *Ethiopic*; ſo in the *Alcoran* the apoſtles are called *Hhawrwâri*, whoſe origin cannot be diſcovered in the *Arabic* lexicons, ſince it certainly comes from the *Ethiopic Hawyra*, *ivit*, *inceſſit*, &c. than which nothing can be more ſuitable to the offices of an apoſtle. Our readers will find this point more fully diſcuſſed by the learned *Ludolphus*, to whom, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer them (23).

(23) *I. Ludolph hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 15 & comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 202—208. Vid etiam Sim. Ockleii introd. ad Ling. p. 159, 160. Cantabrigiæ*, 1706.

However,

However, the language ſpoken in *Tigre* at preſent comes the neareſt to the old *Ethiopic*; which ſtill retains its priſtine dignity, not only in their books, but alſo in their divine worſhip, as alſo in their kings letters patent, commiſſions, and all other public acts whatſoever. Father *Tellez* informs us, that in his time there were as many languages as kingdoms and provinces in *Abaſſia*: nay, that there were different dialects in one and the ſame kingdom. As the language of *Tigre* is at preſent deeply tinged with the antient *Ethiopic*, ſo thoſe of moſt of the other kingdoms partake greatly of the *Amharic*; though they conſiderably differ one from another. The people of *Bagemdra* or *Bagemeder* uſe a dialect peculiar to themſelves, thoſe of *Hangota*, *Ifata*, *Gojam*, and *Shewa*, one common to them all; the *Gafatas* have many *Amharic* words, but their tongue is extremely difficult to be underſtood by any of the other *Abaſſines*; in the kingdom of *Dambea* a language is ſpoken very different from both the *Amharic* and *Ethiopic*; the dialect of *Gonga* agrees with that of *Enarea*, though it does not bear a near reſemblance to any of the others in *Ethiopia*. But we ſhall entertain our readers with a more particular account of all theſe, as well as thoſe of the *Gallans*, *Agawi*, *Chankalas*, &c. when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* [u].

Letters. As it will be expected, that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the letters, or (Z) alphabetic characters of the nation we are now

[u] Mariani Victorii inſtitutiones linguæ Æthiop. Romæ, 1552. Wemmer. inſtitut. grammat. Æthiop. Jo. Potken. pſalter. Æthiop. Brian. Walton. in introd. ad lect. linguar. Oriental. Job Ludolph. hiſt Æthiop. l. i. c. 15. ut & Balthaz Tellez apud Ludolph. ibid. Vide etiam Ludolph. comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 60. Francofurti ad Mænum, 1691.

(Z) We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Ethiopians* had antiently hierog'yphic characters as well as the *Egyptians*. Thus amongſt them a hawk ſignified any thing that made a quick diſpatch, that bird in ſwiftneſs exceeding moſt others; the crocodile denoted malice; the eye the maintainer of juſtice, and the guard of the body; the right-hand, open, repreſented plenty; and the left, cloſed, a ſecure poſſeſſion of property, &c. But whether the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians* firſt in reality hit upon this way of writing cannot certainly be known, though *Diodorus* attributes the invention of it to the latter. 'Tis not improbable, that the people of all nations at firſt recorded their conceptions by tracing out the images of things in a coarſe manner, which was gradually improved

now upon, which naturally fall under this head, our readers will not be displeased to find here the antient *Ethiopic* alphabet,

improved into hieroglyphics, as in some measure appears from the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*, the antient character of the *Chinese*, and from what we find related of the *Scythians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Eustathius*, and *Herodotus*.

These hieroglyphic characters, according to the same *Diodorus*, were not only understood by the priests, as amongst the *Egyptians*, but likewise by all the people, as well as the alphabet here mentioned. However, it does not appear from that author, as M. *Fourmont* seems to assert, that the *Ethiopic* alphabet was made up of these hieroglyphic characters; nor indeed can this be allowed very probable, the letters of an alphabet being essentially different from even the characteristic marks deduced from hieroglyphics. The last represent things, ideas, or even whole conceptions, in the same manner as the antient and modern characters of the *Chinese*, whereas the former are expressive of sounds. In short, though we should allow it an easy transition from the rude picture writing of the *Mexicans* to the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, as well as from the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics to the characteristic marks of the *Chinese*, which *Du Halde* demonstrates to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet we cannot see how the invention of an alphabet must as naturally succeed these marks. There is, it must be owned a sufficient resemblance between the *American* and *Egyptian* hieroglyphics and the *Chinese* characters; but these all seem intirely foreign to alphabetic letters, and in reality do not bear the least relation to them. As an affinity between all these is the point necessary to be proved, in order to evince a gradual and easy descent from picture writing to letters, some better argument ought to be offered in support of it, than a supposition extremely precarious, if not plainly false, and which, if true, would be little to the purpose. Now, that the notion of the *Ethiopic* alphabet's being made up of hieroglyphics is such a supposition, evidently appears from what we have just hinted, as well as from the antient alphabet of that nation exhibited by *Ludolphus*; and yet the very learned and ingenious Mr. *Warburton* has in fact offered only this hypothesis, on M. *Fourmont*'s authority, to prove the connection between an alphabet and hieroglyphics. How far, therefore, all novel opinions, founded upon the truth of such a connection, are to be depended upon, we leave our readers to judge. *Diodorus* indeed, in the same place, intimates, that the forms of the *Ethiopic* letter (τύπος) resembled various animals, parts of human bodies, artificers tools, &c. But that this is not to be understood of alphabetic letters, but hieroglyphics, follows from what he immediately subjoins: "For their *writing* (ἡ γραμματικὴ) is expressive of the "subject, not by a composition of syllables, but by the signification "of certain images delineated, and a metaphorical application of it "impressed on the memory by exercise. For they *write* (γράφουσι)

"a hawk,

bet, as given us by the learned *Job Ludolphus* in his excellent history of *Ethiopia*.



From comparing these letters with the old oriental alphabets taken from antique coins, inscriptions, &c. by *Læscher*, and consulting what we have already observed in our account of the *Carthaginian*, it may, perhaps, not seem absolutely improbable, "a hawk, a crocodile, a serpent, a part of the human body, as an "eye, a hand, the face, &c. A hawk signifies with them dispatch, "because this bird in celerity exceeds almost all others, &c." Nay, he here expressly asserts, that the *Ethiopic* letters were the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics, and consequently allows, that they could not be alphabetic characters: this passage, therefore, which seems to have misled M. *Fourmont*, is so far from proving the *Ethiopian* alphabet to have consisted of hieroglyphic characters, that it strongly intimates the contrary.

Heliodorus says, that the *Ethiopians* had two sorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the *regal* resembled the *sacerdotal* characters of the *Egyptians*. *Diogenes Laertius*, from *Thrasyllus*, also informs us, that *Democritus* wrote two books, the one of the *sacred letters* of the *Babylonians*, the other of the *sacred letters* of the city of *Meroe*. M *Fourmont* believes, that most of the eastern nations likewise had a sacerdotal alphabet (24).

(24) *Diod. Sic. l iii. Herodot. l iv. Diog. Laert. in vit. Democrit. segm. xlix. l.* 9 *Heliodor. Æthiopic. l iv. Clem. Alexandrin. strom. l v. p.* 567 *Eustath. in Hom. Iliad. vi. v.* 168. *Athanas. Kirch. China illustrata, p.* 227. *& Oedip. Egypt. theat. hieroglyphic. p.* 12. *& alib. Le Compte, nouv memoires sur l'état présent de la Chine, tom i. p:* 256. *Amst.* 1698 *Du Halde, tom. ii. p.* 227. *M. Fourmont. Reflections crit. sur les hist. des anc. peup. tom. ii. p.* 500, 501. *à Paris,* 1735. *Jos. Acost. l. vi. c.* 10. *Madr.* 1608. *Purchas. pilgr. par. iii. p.* 1005, 1066. *Gemell. Carer. del. mond. tom vi. c.* 6 *p.* 37. *Warburton's divin. legat. of Mos. demonstrat. vol. ii. par.* 1. *sect.* 4.

probable,

Probable, that some of them were derived from the old *Assyrian*, *Phœnician*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, &c. characters. The number of the letters likewise in this alphabet, and the names of several of them, tend to evince the same thing, though *Ludolphus* believes them to have been invented by the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* themselves, and to be much older than the *Cuphic* character of the *Arabs*. 'Tis remarkable, that even the *Abassines* have no grammar; and, that when *Gregory* was shewn the use of one, he could not forbear breaking out into a sort of exclamation, crying out, *Thanks to* GOD! as though some secret of great importance had been discovered to him. We must not forget observing, that the *Ethiopians* both wrote and read from the left hand to the right, contrary to the custom of the *Orientals*; which looks like an indication, that their alphabet was not of the same extraction with that of the *Arabs*. But for a further account of the antient *Ethiopic* letters, as well as language, we must beg leave to refer the curious and inquisitive part of our readers to *Ludolphus*'s *Ethiopic* history, commentaries, and grammar, which are generally allowed to be the best pieces of their kind extant [w].

THE *Ethiopians*, as has been already observed, agreed in several points with the *Egyptians*, though they had many customs peculiar to themselves, some of which were very singular and uncommon. As we have not time at present to expatiate upon all such customs to be met with in history, we must content ourselves with touching upon some of the principal of them. 1. The *Ethiopian Ichthyophagi* differed from other nations in several particulars. By stopping up the passages of certain caverns on the coast of the *Red-sea* with stones, they enclosed vast numbers of large and small fishes, which, upon the reflux of the tide, were left there as in a net, and served them for food. The women and children employed themselves in throwing on shore those of a lesser size, whilst the men secured the sharks, sea-calves, congers, monstrous lobsters, &c. with which the aforesaid sea abounded, killing them with sharp goat horns, and rough stones broken off the rocks. These they exposed to the solar rays in stone pots turned towards the south, where the flesh was soon separated from the bones by the intense heat. The *Customs.*

[w] JOB LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 1. gram. Æthiop. ed. Lond 1661. & comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 34, 555, 556, 562, & alib. pass. Vide etiam VAL. ERN. LOESCHER. de caus. ling. Hebr p. 201, 224, & alib ad Francof. & Lipsiæ, 1706. & Univ. hist. Vol XVI. p. 498, & seq.

latter they applied to the uſe already mentioned, and boiled up the former with the ſeed of *paliurus*. The maſs formed by theſe two ingredients was at firſt liquid, and of a reddiſh colour; but being ſpread upon tiles, and dried, or rather baked, by the ſun, it became hard and ſavoury. This they commonly fed upon; but when any inundations happened, that they could not for ſeveral days together approach the ſhore, they were conſtrained to eat ſhell-fiſh, ſome of which were ſo large, that they weighed four minas. If theſe at any time failed, they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to the bones, though deſtined for another uſe, which preſerved them till the ſea ſent them their uſual ſupplies. They drank water only every fifth day, but that in ſuch immoderate quantities, that they were ſcarce able to breathe. They ſeemed not to utter any articulate ſounds, and conſequently to be void of a language. Some of them, according to *Agatharchides*, never drank at all, living only upon raw fiſh. Theſe, continues the ſame author, might have been deemed perfect ſtoics, as being never ruffled or diſcompoſed by the violence of any prevailing paſſion. However barbarous their neighbours might take them to be, they had the art of teaching the *phocæ* or ſea-calves, produced by the neighbouring gulph, to aſſiſt them in catching other fiſh. Several clans of them lived in ſuch caves as we have deſcribed in the former ſection; others erected huts of fir-trees, which grew there in great abundance, bearing fruit like a cheſnut, of the boughs and leaves of which they formed a ſort of canopy, whereby, together with the pleaſant breezes coming from off the ſea, they were ſheltered from the ſcorching rays of the ſun; and laſtly, others fixed their habitations in certain inacceſſible hollows, ſurrounded with high precipices and the ſea. The *Ichthyophagi* for the moſt part enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of health, but few of them attained to old age, as above obſerved. They carried their dead to the ſea-ſhore, where they lay expoſed till the return of the tide, which carried them off; ſo that, as they fed upon fiſh in their life-time, they after their death in return afforded thoſe animals a repaſt. 2. The *Chelonophagi* above-mentioned did not only uſe the fleſh of tortoiſes for food, but likewiſe covered their huts or cottages with the ſhells of thoſe animals. As both in ſize and figure theſe ſhells reſembled a ſmall fiſhing-veſſel, the *Chelonophagi* alſo uſed them as boats on ſome occaſions. They had a particular manner of ſurpriſing this fiſh, which we find deſcribed from *Agatharchides* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 3. Another *Ethiopic* canton lived upon fiſh of the cetaceous kind, which they found thrown upon the ſhore by chance. When they were preſſed

preſſed by a famine, they devoured the bones of thoſe creatures, whoſe flesh at other times ſuſtained them. 4. The *Ethiopian Rhizophagi*, after they had waſhed the roots of the canes growing in marſhy ground, bruiſed them, and prepared them by the heat of the ſun, fared deliciouſly upon them. This canton was greatly infeſted by lions, which came out of the deſerts in vaſt numbers, and had quite depopulated the country they inhabited, had not a prodigious multitude of gnats of an enormous ſize annually expelled them from thence. At the ſame time, the *Rhizophagi*, in order to avoid theſe gnats, retired towards the moraſſes, which greatly contributed to their preſervation. 5. The *Hylophagi* were people of ſuch ſurpriſing activity, that they ſkipped from one tree to another like birds. They always went naked, lived upon the young ſhoots of trees, had their wives in common, and frequently quarrelled about their reſpective habitations. On theſe occaſions they fought with clubs, after the manner of the *Libyans*, which ſometimes did great execution. 6. One tribe of *Ethiopians*, watching an opportunity, killed leopards, buffaloes, &c. after they had drunk ſo copiouſly, that they were ready to burſt, with clubs burnt at one end, ſtones, darts, &c. in the manner deſcribed by *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus Siculus*. They trained up their children in throwing the dart, and would not ſuffer them to eat till they had hit the mark. 7. Another *Ethiopic* nation had two very particular ways of taking elephants, hinted at by us above, for a full deſcription of which our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors laſt-mentioned. 8. The *Struthophagi* had ſeveral arts and devices to take oſtriches, on which they fed. That animal defended itſelf againſt them with ſtones, which it threw out of its feet, in this reſpect reſembling a ſling, with great violence. The *Struthophagi* of the ſkins of theſe oſtriches made both garments and coverlets for their beds. 9. The *Acridophagi* had a deep valley in their country, of many furlongs extent, which they took care to fill with wood, and other cumbuſtible materials; and when the ſouth wind drove vaſt numbers of locuſts thither, ſet them on fire, the ſmoak ſuffocating all thoſe animals. Such infinite numbers of locuſts were deſtroyed on theſe occaſions, that the ground for ſome leagues was covered with their bodies, which the people under conſideration ſeaſoned with ſalt, produced moſt copiouſly in their territories, and lived upon for the following year. But they were probably very unwholſome food; for the

Acridophagi (Z) did not exceed the age of forty years, and at laſt died in a miſerable manner. They were devoured by winged inſects of different ſpecies, of a ſtrange and ugly form, expiring for the moſt part in exquiſite torture. Poſſibly the air itſelf, as well as the locuſts, might have greatly contributed to ſo uncommon and fatal a malady. 10. The *Cynamolgi*, ſeated in the ſouthern parts of *Ethiopia*, wore long beards, and kept dogs extremely fierce, in order to hunt (A) *Indian* oxen, prodigious herds of which came every year amongſt them. 11. The nations placed ſtill more to the ſouth, according to *Agatharchides* and *Diodorus*, lived the life of ſavages, if not that of the worſt of brutes. From hence we are inclined to believe, that the *Cafres* were not unknown to the antients, and conſequently that they had ſeen more of the ſouthern parts of *Africa* than the moderns imagine. 12. The above-mentioned authors inform us, that the greateſt part of the *Trogladytes* (B) in their manner of life nearly reſembled the *Libyan Nomades*, that they were divided into tribes, and that all of theſe were under one ſupreme head. This confirms what we have elſewhere obſerved of the form of government antiently prevailing in *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. 13. The *Trogladytes* during the time of the *Eteſian* winds, drank a liquor compoſed of blood and milk boiled up together. In the ſummer months they lived about the moraſſes with their flocks, where they frequently fought for convenient paſtures. The old and infirm cattle always ſupplied them with food, for which reaſon they called the males their fathers, and the females their mothers, never giv-

(Z) *Plutarch* mentions a tribe of *Ethiopians* that were very ſhort-lived, the oldeſt amongſt them ſcarce ever exceeding the age of thirty years. Theſe were probably the *Acridophagi* of *Agatharchides Cnidius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* (25).

(A) The antients ſometimes included the weſtern and proper *Ethiopia*, as well as *Arabia*, under the name of *India*.

(B) We are informed by *Strabo*, that all the different ſpecies of cattle theſe *Ethiopians* took with them from place to place were extremely ſmall. Their dogs were likewiſe very little, but vaſtly fierce. Some of theſe *Ethiopians*, or at leaſt the neighbouring cantons, lived chiefly upon barley and millet; which ſerved them both for meat and drink. They alſo uſed butter and fat inſtead of oil. Their kings had divine honours paid them, and never appeared in public, in order the more greatly to attract the veneration of their ſubjects (26).

(25) *Plut. de placit. philoſopher.* (26) *Strab. l. xvii. p. 563. ed.* 1587.

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ing thoſe denominations to their natural parents. They had no other garments than a few beaſts ſkins, with which they covered only their loins. 14. They held all their old women in the higheſt veneration, inſomuch that, in their moſt bloody conteſts, if any of them appeared, they threw down their arms. When the men were worn out with age, they tied themſelves by the neck to an ox's tail, and were dragged about till they expired; and, if upon an admonition from a friend they refuſed to do this, they might be ſtrangled without any crime. As it was deemed an unpardonable offence to deſire life, when a perſon was incapable of contributing to the welfare of the public, if any one amongſt them was ſeized with an incurable diſtemper, or maimed by accident, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to diſpatch him. Their dead they carried to the top of ſome hill, where they firſt covered them with ſtones, and then fixed a goat's horn upon them. So void were they of a ſenſe of compaſſion, that the ceremony of burying the deceaſed in this manner was one of their moſt celebrated diverſions. 15. The *Ethiopians* made uſe of bows and arrows, darts, lances, and ſeveral other weapons (C), in their wars, which they managed with great ſtrength and dexterity. 16. Circumciſion (D), was a rite obſerved amongſt them, as well as the *Egyptians*,

(C) The *Megabari*, a canton, as ſhould ſeem, of the *Troglodytes*, fought with clubs, and carried before them round ſhields made of raw ox hides; many of their neighbours, however, were armed with bows and arrows (27).

(D) We have obſerved in a former note, that *Herodotus* is not intirely conſiſtent with himſelf in what he ſays of circumciſion, as a rite practiſed in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; which muſt undoubtedly not a little contribute towards invalidating his authority in this particular. But waving this conſideration, when he aſſerts circumciſion to have prevailed ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning*, amongſt the *Egyptians*, *Colchi*, and *Ethiopians*, he cannot be ſuppoſed to mean, that they received it from their firſt anceſtor. For in ſuch a caſe it muſt have paſſed from him to the *Philiſtines*, who were likewiſe his deſcendants; which all, who pay the leaſt regard to Scripture, will allow to be falſe. That expreſſion, therefore, muſt either import indefinitely, that it had been obſerved in *Egypt* from time immemorial, or from ſome period near the beginning of the great *Egyptian* empire formed by *Ammenemes* and *Seſac*, about the reign of *Solomon*, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful princes of his age, and in alliance with *Egypt*, between five and ſix hundred years

(27) *Diod Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi p. 776.*

before

gyptians, from very early antiquity, though which of these nations first received it, cannot certainly be known. 17. The *Ethiopian* soldiers tied their arrows round their (E) heads, the feathered part of which touched their foreheads, temples, &c. and the other projected out like so many rays, which formed a kind of crown. These arrows were extremely short, pointed with sharp stones instead of iron, and dipped in the *virus* of dragons, or some other lethiferous poison, insomuch, that all the wounds given by them were

before *Herodotus* wrote his history. And here in fact several learned men have placed the introduction of this institution into *Egypt*. Besides, what has been advanced by *Herodotus*, in the point before us, seems to be founded on a mistake, as may be inferred from *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*. Those authors, who probably followed him, believed, or at least pretended to believe, the *Hebrews* to have derived the rite of circumcision from *Egypt*, because they were originally a colony of the *Egyptians*, and consequently agreed with them in all their customs and manners, in both their sacred and civil institutions. But, as nothing can be more false than such a notion, not the least regard is due to what they have advanced upon a supposition of its truth. That the *Samaritans* or *Cuthæans*, whom *Herodotus* calls *Syrians* of *Palestine*, should declare to him, that they received circumcision from the *Egyptians*, must be attributed to their hatred of the *Jews*. As for *Herodotus*, he was frequently imposed upon most egregiously by the *Egyptians*, especially in points relating either to the antiquity of their monarchy, or those customs they had in common with other nations. Their excessive vanity would not permit them to speak the truth, when they imagined it would reflect the least honour or glory upon any of the neighbouring states. For which reason, as well as others that might be offered, and particularly because it seems to us diametrically opposite to Scripture, we cannot pay any regard to the sentiment of those authors, who either deduce circumcision originally out of *Egypt*, or make the *Hebrews* to have borrowed it of the *Egyptians* (28).

(E) Before they took any arrows from their heads, in order to begin a general action, they had a particular kind of dance, as we learn from *Lucian*. But how such a custom came first to be introduced amongst them, or what they intended by it, has not been intimated by any antient author (29).

(28) *Herodot. l. ii. c. 35, 37. & 104. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 14. Strab. l. xvii. p. 824, edit. Is. Casaub. Gen. c. x. v. 13, 14. 2 Sam. c. i. v. 20, & alib. Vid. etiam Agatharchid. Cnid. in excerptis Photii, p. 1358. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 354. c. 15. edit. Potter. Cotelerii not. in Barnab. epist. c. 9. & Suid. in voc. ψῶλος.* (29) *Lucian. de saltat. p. 505. ed. Lutet. Par. 1615.*

attended

attended with immediate death. The bows from which they ſhot theſe arrows were four cubits long, and required ſo much ſtrength to manage them, that no nation could make uſe of them but the *Ethiopians*. According to ſeveral authors, when they came to a general action with an enemy, they darkened the air with clouds or ſhowers of theſe arrows. Many tribes of the people now under conſideration, particularly the *Blemmyes*, had wonderful ſkill in uſing the weapons here mentioned, taking aim ſo well, and hitting the mark ſo exactly, that ſome of the antients imagined every individual of them to have had four eyes. The *Ethiopians* retreated fighting in the ſame manner as the *Parthians*, diſcharging vollies of arrows with ſuch dexterity and addreſs, whilſt they were retiring full ſpeed, that they terribly galled the enemy. It appears from *Scylax*, *Horace*, and *Ælian*, that the *Mauritanians* and *Blacks*, or weſtern *Ethiopians*, were likewiſe very expert archers, and ſhot poiſoned arrows; and the ſame thing has been obſerved of their poſterity by the epitomizer of *Edriſi*, or, as he is more uſually called, the *Nubian* geographer. 18. Their lances or darts were of an immenſe ſize, which may be deemed a farther proof of their vaſt bodily ſtrength. 19. The *Macrobian* or long-lived *Ethiopians* fed for the moſt part upon roaſted fleſh, drank milk, and frequently attained to the age of an hundred and twenty years. 'Tis ſaid, that this longevity was principally owing to a rich and fragrant fountain, rendering their bodies ſmooth, as if anointed with oil, and perfuming them with the odour of violets, wherein they frequently bathed themſelves. 20. Theſe *Ethiopians* looked upon braſs as the moſt valuable of metals, and had gold in ſuch little eſteem, that they fettered their priſoners with golden chains. 21. They dried the bodies (F) of their anceſtors, and laid thereon a covering of white

(F) In another place the ſame *Diodorus* obſerves, that when the corpſe came from the embalmer's, the very eye laſhes, brows, and features, were ſo well preſerved, that the whole form of the body was invariably retained, and the original effigies or likeneſs known. Wherefore, continues he, many of the *Egyptians* kept the bodies of their anceſtors within magnificent depoſitories, in order to behold the complete images of thoſe who had been dead perhaps many ages before they themſelves had been born. There they not only ſaw the lineaments of their faces, but alſo the make of their bodies; all which they contemplated with great delight (30).

(30) *Diod. Sic. l. i. p.* 8.

white plaſter, on which they drew a picture as nearly reſembling the deceaſed as poſſible, and incloſed the whole in a caſe of cryſtal, according to *Herodotus*. *Diodorus* alſo affirms, that they kept the bodies of their friends and relations in their houſes, within caſes of glaſs, not thinking it right, that the knowledge of the features, and the likeneſs of their dead relations, ſhould be concealed from their ſurviving kindred, or that they ſhould be forgotten by their poſterity. *Herodotus* adds, that the dead were clearly ſeen through the cryſtal above-mentioned, emitting no ill ſcent, nor being at all diſagreeable to the eye, ſince they perfectly reſembled the perſons when alive. They were kept, continues the ſame author, a whole year in the houſes of their neareſt relations, who, during that term, honoured their manes with ſacrifices and firſt-fruits of all kinds: after which they carried them out, and placed them upright round the parts adjoining to their cities. 22. Other *Ethiopic* cantons buried their dead in earthen coffins about their temples, and ſwore by their manes, as has been before related of the *Naſamones*; and laſtly, others threw them into the river, looking upon this as the beſt ſort of burial that could poſſibly be allotted them. 23. Some of the *Ethiopians* had no regular meals, or ſtated times of eating, but always refreſhed themſelves when hunger and thirſt prompted them thereto. 24. The *Ethiopian Anthropophagi* lived upon human fleſh, as we learn from *Philoſtratus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ptolemy*. This ſeems fully to evince, that the *Cafres*, and conſequently the territories they inhabited, were known to the antients, though we find ſcarce any thing in the old geographers concerning them *.

* DIOD. SIC. l. iii. HERODOT. l. ii. l iii. l. vii. & alib. AGATHARCHID. CNID. de Mar. Rubr. l. v. c. 12—31. apud Phot. p. 1313—1360. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. XENOPH. Ἀναβασ. l iii. HELIODOR. Æthiopic. l. ix. & alib. Vet. auct. apud Suid. HERODOT. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. PHILOSTRAT. l vi. c. 12. & apud Phot. p. 1015. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29, 30. SOLIN. c. 30. PTOL. Geogr. l. iv. c. 9. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. p. 42. CYRIL. in Eſai. l. ii. CLAUDIAN. l. i. & alib. Vid. & lib. Hebr. Baal Aruc. THEOPHRAST. hiſt. plant. l. ix. c. 15 & alib. HOMER. Iliad. x. v. 93. SCYLAX. CARYAND. p. 12. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. vi. & l. xiv. c. 5. HOR. l. i. od. 22. ÆTIUS in tetrab. iv. ſerm 1. c. 34. Geogr. Nub. clim i. par. 1. JOAN. TZETZ. c. i l 8. 1220. JOAN. Geometr. hym. ii. See alſo before in the hiſtories of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*.

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As the *Ethiopians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in moſt of *Arts, &c.* their laws, their ſplendid funerals, the (H) deification of their princes, the ſeveral colleges of prieſts, circumciſion, and in fine moſt of their ſacred and civil inſtitutions, 'tis highly probable, that the ſame arts, ſciences, and learning, as well as religion, prevailed amongſt both nations. Nay, this ſeems to be expreſly aſſerted by *Diodorus Siculus*, when he informs us, that not only the ſame kind of ſtatues, but likewiſe the ſame hieroglyphic figures and characters, were uſed in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; ſince it is generally allowed, that thoſe were the repoſitories of the *Egyptian* wiſdom and literature. It muſt be owned, that an ingenious modern writer *roundly* affirms, that no nation beſides the *Egyptians* continued to write with marks after the invention of letters, all others immediately dropping their hieroglyphics on the diſcovery of that more commodious method, becauſe the *Egyptian* hieroglyphics *only* contained any wiſdom or learning. But theſe ſeem to be aſſertions not only arbitrary and precarious, but plainly falſe, as appearing both incapable of proof, and diametrically oppoſite to what *Diodorus Siculus* has advanced from the beſt authors, who had written before his time of the nation we are now upon. Nay, that they had perſons amongſt them eminent for their wiſdom, may be inferred from a writer cited by *Photius*; and that there was a great affinity betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, in moſt points of importance, ſeems to have been the general ſentiment of the *Romans* as well as the *Greeks*, as is implied by *Feſtus*, when he calls them *Ægyptini*. *Homer* alſo celebrates both their wiſdom and religion, when he makes *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, to attend their entertainments. That they even were inſtructed in ſeveral branches of literature by *Moſes* himſelf, *who was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians*, may be collected from *Artapanus* in *Euſebius*, *Joſephus*, and others. But waving all other proofs and authorities that might be offered in favour of the point here inſiſted upon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve,

(H *Diodorus* relates, that the *Egyptians* learned the cuſtom of deifying their kings from the *Ethiopians*, nay, according to him, the *Egyptians* derived ſtatuary, and even their letters themſelves, from the ſame ſource. This author alſo obſerves, that the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* prieſts, as well as kings, wore caps, wreathed round with ſerpents called aſps; by which was intimated, that every perſon guilty of treaſon would as certainly ſuffer death, as if he had been bit by that poiſonous animal (32).

(32) *Diod Sic. l. iii. ſub init.*

that a nation so near *Egypt*, the centre of learning and politeness in very early ages, with which the *Ethiopians* always kept open a communication, and so potent as this appears from history in most remote times to have been, could not avoid arriving at a very laudable degree of (I) knowledge both in the liberal arts and sciences, and those termed mechanical [y].

Character of the Ethiopians.

THE *Ethiopians* were naturally bold and intrepid, but violent in their temper. They likewise surpassed most other nations in beauty, and largeness of size, to which a proportionable degree of strength was generally annexed. For which reason *Herodotus* intimates, that the *Macrobii* conferred the royal dignity upon the most beautiful, large, and strongest, person they could find amongst them. Both they and the *Arabians* had an invincible aversion to mice, as we learn from *Plutarch*. If the modern *Abassines* resemble their ancestors, they were well-shaped, of a generous disposition, and exceeding quick parts. Upon the same supposition, some of them must have been free, chearful, humane, forgivers of injuries, and great lovers of (K) justice. According to various authors,

[y] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. WARBURTON'S divine legat. of Mos. demonstrat. vol. ii. par. 1. p 157. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 104. STRAB. l. xvii. & alib. PHILOSTRATUS TYRIUS de vit. Apol. lon. Tyan l. viii. cod. 44. apud Phot. p. 30. FEST. in voc. Ægyptin. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. ii. c. 5. ARTAPAN. aqud Euseb. de præp evang. l. ix c. iv. Act. c. vii. ver. 22. Vide etiam HOMER. Iliad. A. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in strom. alioque auctor. pass.

(I) *Lucian* makes the *Ethiopians* to have excelled all other nations in wisdom and literature. According to him, they invented astronomy and astrology, and communicated those sciences, as well as many other branches of learning to the *Egyptians*. As their country was very fit for making celestial observations, such a notion seems not intirely groundless; though scarce any particulars of their knowledge have reached us [33].

(K) *Pausanias*, when he distinguishes the proper *Ethiopians* from those bordering upon the *Mauri* and *Nasamones*, remarks, that the people of *Meroe*, as well as the other neighbouring *Ethiopians*, were eminent for their love of justice. This observation was probably truer than what he subjoins to it, *viz.* that the *Ethiopians* had no other river but the *Nile*; though, as all other rivers join the *Nile*, this is no unpardonable mistake. However, the ac-

[33] *Lucian. de astrolog p.* 549, 550. & *in fugitiv p.* 1011.

counts

authors, the proper antient *Ethiopians* were, for the moſt part, perfectly black, as we find their poſterity at this day, though ſome particular cantons were white, called by *Pliny*, *white Ethiopians*. 'Tis probable they were pleaſed with their natural colour, and preferred it to thoſe of other nations. Some writers affirm, that the children of the preſent *Abaſſines* are terrified at the ſight of an *European*, as much as ours are at that of a *Negro*; and that they paint the devil white, in order to ridicule all complexions of, or bordering upon, that colour. Others relate, that in ſome provinces of *Abaſſia* the people are of an olive-colour; that in general they are born white, with a black ſpot upon their navel, which in a ſhort time after their birth ſpreads over their whole body; and that, being tranſported into *Europe*, they become white at the ſecond or third generation. *Gregory* the *Abaſſine* informed *Ludolphus*, that his countrymen came into the world of a reddiſh hue, but in a ſhort time turned black. Their women are ſtrong and luſty, and bring forth with little pain, as uſually happens in the warmer climates. When they are in labour, they kneel down upon their knees, as the *Hebrew* women did, and are delivered without the help of a midwife. Many, if not all, of theſe particulars undoubtedly held equally true of the antient *Ethiopians*, who, from what is obſervable in their poſterity, ſeem to have been likewiſe very patient of labour, capable of bearing the greateſt fatigues, and endued with uncommon vivacity. Laſtly, from *Herodotus* compared with the relations of ſome modern authors, 'tis not unlikely, that they died purely of old age, a few only excepted, who either fell by the ſword, or were devoured by wild beaſts, as *Salluſt* has obſerved of the antient *Africans* [z].

[z] Excerpt. e vit. Pythag. apud Phot. p. 1319. HERODOT. l. iii. DIOD SIC. ubi ſup. PLUT. de invid. & od P. BALTHAZAR TELLEZIUS, & GREG. ABASS. apud Job. Ludolph. in hiſt. Æthiop. l. iii. c 14 ut & ipſe LUDOLPH. ibid. Is. VOSSIUS de orig. Nil. &c. POMPON. MEL. & SOLIN. apud Ludolph. ubi ſup. P. AUGUSTIN. CALMET. dict. bibl. in voc *Æthiopia*, &c. SALLUST. in Jugurth.

counts he had received of the country inhabited by that people were not over-accurate; as we may collect from his confounding the *Ethiopian* ox or bull with the rhinoceros, and other inſtances that might be produced (34).

(34) *Pauſan in Bœotic. in Attic* p. 62, 63.

CHAP. VI.

The history of the Ethiopians, *to the usurpation of the* Zagæan *family, which commenced about the year of Christ* 960.

Where the first kingdom of Cush *was situated uncertain.*

WE have already observed, that not only the vast tract stretching from the southern limits of *Egypt* to *Libya Incognita*, and the peninsula of *Arabia*, as well as one part of it on the coast of the *Red Sea*, contiguous to *Egypt*, but likewise *Susiana*, called by the *Orientals Khuzestân*, and the country watered by the *Araxes*, the seat of the antient *Scythians*, went under the denomination of *Cush* amongst the *Asiatic* nations, and *Ethiopia* amongst the *Greeks*. Where *Cush* himself settled immediately after the dispersion, authors are far from being agreed; some placing him in *Susiana* or *Khuzestân*, others in *Arabia Felix*, and others in that district near the confines of *Egypt*, called in Scripture *the land of* Midian *or* Madian. Possibly some of his descendants might contribute towards peopling all the different regions here mentioned; but 'tis probable, that the greatest body of them advanced towards *Arabia* and *Egypt*, since the posterity of *Elam* the son of *Shem* repleniſhed, in all likelihood, most of the provinces of *Persia*, and particularly *Elymais* contiguous to *Susiana* or *Khuzestân*. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, the land of *Midian* went by the name of *Cush* before the age of *Moses*, when, 'tis natural to suppose, the country washed by the *Araxes* was but thinly peopled, and even scarce known. That the children of *Cush* should have migrated in the most numerous parties into *Arabia*, and particularly that part of *Yaman* bordering upon the straights of *Bab al Mandab*, as well as the country afterwards called the land of *Midian*, has the greatest appearance of truth, since these seem to be the most commodious situations for throwing large colonies of *Cushites* into the proper *Ethiopia*, as well as the inland parts of *Africa*. To support farther the conjecture offered to the consideration of our readers here, it may be observed from various authors, that a good part of the upper *Egypt* was possessed by the *Cushites* in the most early ages, and that the city of *Coss*, *Kus*, or *Kûsh*, situated upon the

Nile in that country, confounded by ſome with the famous *Thebes*, took its name from *Cuſh* the father of the *Ethiopians*. The *Arabs* call *Ethiopia* not only *Habaſh*, from *Habaſh* the ſuppoſed ſon of *Cuſh*, but likewiſe *Cuſh* or *Couſch*, in like manner as the *Hebrews*. The firſt kings of this country we have no account of, that deſerves the leaſt regard. 'Tis probable, that ſeveral princes reigned here at the ſame time, before any of the great empires were formed as in *Egypt*. Some of the modern *Abaſſians* pretend, that one *Arwe* was the firſt king of *Ethiopia*, but relate nothing memorable of him, only that he was aſſaſſinated by one *Angab*, who afterwards aſcended the throne, and was ſucceeded by *Sabanut*, *Gedur*, &c. As for the catalogue annexed to the fabulous hiſtory of *Tzagaxus*, and what we find on this head in *Jerome Vecchietti*, not the leaſt degree of credit is due to them. The preſent king of *Ethiopia*, or emperor of *Abaſſia*, is ſtyled by his ſubjects *Negus*, i. e. *king*; but, as the governors of provinces are ſometimes honoured with that appellation, his proper title is *Neguſa Nagaſt Zaitiopia*, i. e. *king of the kings of* Ethiopia [a].

IT may be inferred from ſome authors, that the *Ethiopians* poſſeſſed *Thebais* before *Moſes*'s time, and conſequently that they were a powerful nation from the remoteſt antiquity. According to theſe authors, they made an irruption into the *Lower Egypt* whilſt *Moſes* was there, and penetrated as far as *Memphis*. Having defeated the *Egyptians* in a pitched battle, they threatened them with immediate deſtruction. Whereupon the *Egyptian* gods, being conſulted, ordered their votaries to put a *Hebrew* at the head of their forces, and then march againſt the enemy. The king, in purſuance of this order, prevailed upon *Moſes* to accept the command of his army, and to take an oath of fidelity to him. *Moſes*, being veſted with an unlimited power to act as he ſhould think proper for the good of his maſter's ſervice, immediately advanced at the head of his troops into the heart of the enemy's country. As *Moſes conquers Ethiopia.*

[a] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 360, & ſeq. Dan. c. viii. ver. 2. PTOL. Aſiæ tab. 5. BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. PLIN. l. vi. c. 25. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xii. c. 13. HYDE de rel. vet. Perſar. p. 5, &c. Num. c. xii ver. 1. CALMET. in atr. *Cuſh & Æthiopia.* D'HERBEL. biblioth. Oriental. in voc. *Habaſh.* ABULFED. YACUT. chique apud Golium, in not ad Alfragan. p. 101. NEWTON's chronol. p. 201, & alib. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 274, 409, &c. Vid catal. in hiſt. fab. TZAGAXI. HIERON. VECCHIETTI, c. 39, & JOB LUDOLPH. hiſt. *Æthiop.* l. ii. c. 1, 2, &c.

In

he did not judge it expedient to march along the banks of the *Nile*, in conformity to their expectations, but to push through some mediterranean provinces, greatly infested with serpents of an enormous size, towards *Meroe* the capital of *Ethiopia*, he was obliged to have recourse to the following stratagem, in order to save his men: He filled many chests or paniers, made of the *Egyptian* plant *papyrus*, with vast numbers of the *ibis*, an *Egyptian* bird, that had a natural antipathy to serpents of all kinds, and made great havock of them. When he approached the tract abounding with those animals, he let out his birds, which destroyed all of them they met with, and opened a passage for the *Egyptian* forces. *Moses* therefore, without any difficulty, surprised the *Ethiopians*, gave them a total defeat, and at last shut them up in *Meroe*. But this place was rendered in a manner impregnable by the *Nile*, the *Astapus*, and the *Astaboras*, which so surrounded it, that it was almost impossible for an army to approach it. However, *Moses*'s good fortune interposing, he found means to make himself master of it. The king of *Ethiopia*'s daughter, observing from the walls *Moses*'s bravery in repulsing several sallies of the besieged, and being charmed with his success, fell desperately in love with him, and, by the assistance of some friends she could confide in, offered to deliver up the place to him, provided he would swear to marry her. This overture, continue the same authors, *Moses* complying with, was thereupon admitted into the town, and married her. However, he treated the citizens with great rigour and severity, first plundering them, and then putting most of them to the sword. In fine, having ravaged the whole country, razed or dismantled all the places of strength, and consequently rendered the *Ethiopians* for a long time incapable of making head against the *Egyptians*, he returned home with great glory. *Cedrenus* intimates that this war lasted ten years [b].

The Abassines believe their kings to be descended from Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

THE *Abassines* are firmly persuaded, that the celebrated queen (A) of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*,

[b] EUPOLEM. & ARTAPAN. apud Euseb de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 4 JOSEPH. antiquitat. l. ii. c. 10. GEOGR. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 48. ed. Paris. 1647.

(A) *Josephus* says, that the queen of *Sheba* governed *Egypt* as well as *Ethiopia*; but as this notion runs counter to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, we shall not scruple to reject it (1).

(1) *Joseph. antiquit. l. viii. c. 6.*

reigned

reigned over the proper *Ethiopia*. They have a history of her written at large, but interspersed with various fables. The substance of it is as follows: *Makeda*, for according to them that was her name, receiving an account from *Tamerin* an *Ethiopian* merchant, of the surprising power and wisdom of *Solomon*, took a journey to *Jerusalem* to know the truth of this report. She was attended by a great train of her prime nobility, and carried with her a variety of most magnificent presents. After she had been instructed at *Jerusalem* in the worship of the true God, she returned home, and within the space of a year brought forth a son begotten by *Solomon*, who named him *David*; but he was called by his mother and her subjects *Menelech*, or *Menilehech*, that is, *another self*. He received his education at *Solomon*'s court, and was accompanied home by many doctors of the law, and *Israelites* of distinction, and particularly *Azariah* the son of *Zadoc* the high-priest. By the assistance of these *Hebrew* attendants he established the religion, professed by his father, in *Ethiopia*, where it continued till that kingdom embraced christianity. The *Arabs* and *Abassines* have given the princes above-mentioned several names, as *Makeda*, *Belkis*, *Balkis*, or *Bulkis*, *Negheste Azeb*, i. e. *queen of the south*, as we find her styled by our Saviour, and the *Ethiopic* version, &c. The *Abassines* pretend, that their kings are descended in a right line from *Menelech*, and even most of the noble families in *Abassia* at this day trace their respective pedigrees up to *Solomon* [c].

THAT this tradition is clogged with some absurdities, will appear to any one who considers it with the least attention, though at the same time it must be allowed, as hinted above, that part of it is not void of an appearance of truth. *Ethiopia* is more to the south of *Judæa* than the territory or kingdom of *Saba* in *Arabia Felix*, and consequently seems to bid fairer than that country for the dominions of that princess whom our Saviour calls *the queen of the south*. *Ethiopia* is styled the remotest part of the habitable world by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, and therefore better agrees with what our Saviour has said of the queen of *Sheba*, viz. *that she came from the uttermost parts of the earth*, than *Arabia* possibly can do. Nor can it be deemed a sufficient reply to this argument, that *Arabia Felix* was the uttermost part of the earth in respect of *Judæa*, since it was bounded by the *Red Sea*; for that not

This tradition clogged with some absurdities, though not to be deemed entirely false.

[c] LUDOLPH. ubi sup. c. 3. Geogr Nubiens. clim. i. p. 6. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 296. D'HERBELOT. bibl. Orientat. sub voc, *Balkis*. LE GRAND, dissert. vii. Matt. c. xii. ver. 42.

only

only *Egypt*, but even *Ethiopia*, regions beyond that sea, were known to, and even had a communication with, the *Jews*, both before and in our Saviour's time, is indisputably clear. Lastly, from what has been suggested above, it appears no improbable conjecture, that *Judaism* was not only known in a part at least of *Ethiopia*, but likewise nearly related to the established religion there, at the beginning of the apostolical age, if not much earlier. However, we would not be understood as pretending to determine the residence of *the queen of the south*; especially since so much may be said for *Arabia*, as well as the country we are now upon. After all, these two opinions, so contrary in appearance, may be made consistent without great difficulty; since 'tis agreed, that *Arabia* and *Ethiopia* have antiently born the same name, been included, during certain intervals, in one empire, and governed by one prince. Part of the *Arabs* and *Ethiopians* had the same origin, and very considerable numbers of the *Abaseni* transplanted themselves from *Arabia Felix* into *Ethiopia*, as already observed; which seems sufficient to make appear the intercourse that has formerly subsisted between the *Cushites* or *Ethiopians* of *Asia* and *Africa* [d].

Ethiopia *reduced by* Sesac.

But whether our readers will think proper to fix the queen of *Sheba* in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, whether they will admit or reject the history of that princess and her son given us by the *Abassines*, it seems clear from Scripture, that the *Ethiopians* were subject to *Sesac*, either in *Solomon*'s time, or soon after his death. For, that the *Cushites* mentioned in the passage here referred to, were the proper *Ethiopians*, appears from their being joined with the *Lubim* or *Libyans*, who likewise served in the army of that prince. This, it must be owned, is a strong proof, that *Sesostris* and *Sesac* were the same person, in conformity to what *Josephus* asserts, since we read not in Scripture of any *Egyptian* but *Sesac* that was master of *Ethiopia*, and since *Herodotus* positively asserts, that *Sesostris* alone, of all the *Egyptian* monarchs, enjoyed the empire of that country. But further, as the Scripture takes no notice of any great conqueror that was king of *Egypt* before *Sesac*, it is in the highest degree probable, that he was the first who extended his conquests in so wonderful a manner as we find the antients have related of *Sesostris*; since, had such great atchievments been performed sooner, the sacred history would undoubtedly

[d] Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Strab. l. xvii. p. 564. ed. 1587. Matt. c xii v. 42. Cosmas. Ægyptius. in Christian. opin. de mund. l. ii. p 138, 139 Euseb. comment. in Esai. c. xliii. See before c. 6. sect. 2. Le Grand. & Ludolph. ubi sup.

doubtedly have given us ſome hint of them, eſpecially as the *Hebrews* had ſuch an intercourſe with the *Egyptians* almoſt from the remoteſt antiquity. The ſilence therefore of Scripture in this particular is an argument of no ſmall force in favour of what *Joſephus* has advanced relating to the identity of *Seſoſtris* and *Seſac*. Nay, we will venture to affirm, that it tends ſtrongly to evince the *Egyptian* empire, founded by *Ammenemes* and *Seſac*, to have been the firſt great empire that ever was formed. For the high, and even incredible, antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* empire depends only upon the authority of *Cteſias*, not the leaſt hint, in ſupport of ſuch antiquity, being viſible in Scripture; on the contrary, it plainly appearing from thence, that it was founded by *Pul*, about two hundred years after the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Seſac*. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the meffectual labours of ſo many learned men to vindicate the notorious falſhoods of *Cteſias*, or, which is the ſame thing, of the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors who copied from him, no one, who has the leaſt regard for Scripture, can poſſibly imagine any *Egyptian* monarch of great note to have flouriſhed before *Seſac*, or *Aſſyrian* before *Pul*. This notion has been ſet in the ſtrongeſt light by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, but oppoſed by many ingenious and learned men. However, as theſe learned men ſeem not to have duly attended to what Sir *Iſaac* has advanced, and as it has been that illuſtrious author's misfortune to have his works at firſt miſunderſtood, though they have afterwards ſhone out with a double luſtre, we ſhall beg leave to make a general remark upon the moſt conſiderable writers, who have endeavoured to overthrow his ſyſtem of chronology, which to us ſeems nearer the truth than any other. We do not pretend to adopt every particular ſentiment advanced in this noble piece, and therefore ſhall not offer an anſwer to all the objections urged againſt it; nor indeed, were we ſo diſpoſed, would the nature of the work we are at preſent engaged in render this practicable [e].

Sir Iſaac Newton miſrepreſented.

SIR *Iſaac* allows, that, before the time of *Ammon* or *Ammenemes* the father of *Seſac*, there were ſeveral kings in *Egypt*, and even adopts what *Manetho* has written of the kings of the *Lower Egypt*; only he contends, that the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt* were not united under one prince before the reign of *Ammon*. And how does this contradict Scripture, which takes

[e] 2 Chron. c. xii. v. 3. HERODOT. DIODORUS SICULUS. PLIN. JOSEPH. JUSTIN. DIONYS. PERIEG. STRAB. APOLLON. RHOD. PAUSAN. LUCAN. aliique ſcriptor. quamplurim. apud Newton. in chronol. paſſ. 2. Kin. c. xv. ver. 19. 1 Chron. c. v. ver. 26.

notice only of the kings of *Misraim*, or that part of the *Lower Egypt* bordering upon *Arabia* and *Palestine*? Nay, does he not suppose the truth of the most early Scripture-accounts of *Egypt*, by referring to the book of *Genesis* on several occasions, by deducing from thence several facts corroboratory of his system? Does he not intimate, that the lower part of *Egypt* was governed by a series of kings from the remotest antiquity, even from the first invention of corn there, to *Joshua*'s invasion of *Canaan*; that the people of this country worshipped the prince at the head of this series, who taught them to make bread, after his death, in the ox or calf, for this benefaction? And can any thing better tally with Scripture, or rather be more firmly founded upon it, as well as consonant to all profane antiquity, than this observation? Nay, does he not offer it as his opinion, that this prince reigned in the *Lower Egypt* as early as the first plantation of it, and therefore might, for ought that appears to the contrary from him, or rather as he strongly insinuates, be *Misraim*? To what purpose then have we been troubled with so much empty jangling, and outcries against him, as though he had attacked the authority of Scripture, by denying the being of that ancient kingdom in the *Lower Egypt* so frequently mentioned by the sacred historian? In short, most of those persons, who have so grossly misrepresented Sir *Isaac* in this particular, have been either professed infidels, or such as secretly favoured infidelity; or lastly, such as have implicitly swallowed the absurdities of *Ctesias*. But from these our great author is neither to expect candour nor impartiality. He has so effectually overthrown that romantic antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, which the *Egyptian* priests endeavoured to palm upon the world, and which so long has been one of the last resources of infidelity, that all our modern deists, as well as their secret abettors, must of course declare against him: and those persons, who are so hardy as to attempt in earnest the reconciliation of *Ctesias* with Scripture, are in our opinion, not only *capable* of opposing what Sir *Isaac* has offered in defence of his system, but all the mathematical demonstration that ever appeared in the world [f].

Some of the principal objections against him considered.

But it is said, that Sir *Isaac* makes *Sesostris* or *Sesac* to have introduced instruments of war, the exact distribution of property, &c. amongst the *Egyptians*; which is not only contrary to Scripture, but likewise to what we have just advanced. And was there then no other country called *Egypt* but the land of *Misraim* mentioned by *Moses* in the first book of

[f] Newt. of the empire of *Egypt*, and chronol. of the *Greeks*, pass.

the

the pentateuch, or rather did that kingdom include all the tract the *Greeks* called *Egypt*? No, this cannot be maintained; since that country is known not to have contained all the *Lower Egypt*, much less the *Lower* and *Upper Egypt* united; and it may be as well known, by perusing Sir *Isaac* with a proper attention, that both these united were the *Egypt* governed by *Sesac*. That prince, therefore, might have introduced the things enumerated by our great chronologer, for so we shall not scruple to call him, notwithstanding the cavils of his adversaries, into some parts of the *Upper Egypt*, or several savage districts not far from the western coast of the *Red Sea*, and civilized the inhabitants, though a kingdom had subsisted in the *Lower Egypt*, whose members had been tolerably polished before the reign of *Sesac*, from the age of *Misraim*. These points are by no means incompatible, and therefore nothing to the prejudice of Sir *Isaac's* system of chronology can be inferred from the supposed disagreement of them. On the contrary, as the *Troglodytes*, appertaining partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Ethiopia*, remained in a state of barbarity many ages after *Sesac*, 'tis no such improbable notion, that before his time several other tribes inhabiting the *Upper Egypt* might be as rude and barbarous as some of the antients represented them. But it is farther urged, that Sir *Isaac* makes *Ammon* and *Sesac* to have been the great gods of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, known amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the names *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Dionysius*, *Bacchus*, &c. which runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, and withal contradicts Scripture; since *Apis*, *Serapis*, i. e. *Jupiter*, was worshipped by the *Egyptians* before the exodus of the *Israelites*, the golden calf being set up by that nation in the wilderness in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. Now, that the first king of that very antient monarchy in the *Lower Egypt*, so frequently mentioned by *Moses*, was deified for the reason already assigned, and worshipped in the ox or calf, is expressly asserted by Sir *Isaac*; and therefore we may most rationally account for the *Israelites* paying divine honours to the golden calf from him, without having recourse to the worship of *Apis*. For although this worship, in several particulars, resembled that of a more antient deity, even the first king of the land of *Misraim*, it does not from thence follow, that this deified prince was the *Egyptian Apis*. One strong presumption, that these two pagan divinities were really different, is, that the god *Mnevis* seems more properly to correspond with the found-

er of the kingdom of *Misraim* than *Apis*. For *Mnevis* (B) was kept at *Heliopolis*, and consequently held in the highest veneration there, whereas *Apis* resided at *Memphis*. Now *Heliopolis* was much more antient than *Memphis*, being the city *On*, whose priest's daughter *Joseph* married, as appears clearly from the Septuagint. It was likewise nearer the confines of *Palestine* and *Arabia* than *Memphis*, nay, it seems to have been in the very land of *Goshen* or *Gesen*, where the *Israelites* dwelt immediately before the *Exodus*; on which accounts the principal deity there must bid fairer for the most antient deified prince above-mentioned, and that represented by the *Israelitish* golden calf, than any other. Which single observation, exclusive of many others that might be offered, ought to be deemed a full refutation of the point so confidently advanced in this objection. Again, we are told, that Sir *Isaac Newton* invalidates the authority of Scripture, when he intimates alphabetic letters not to have been received in *Egypt* before the time of *Ammon* the father of *Sesac*, that is, in some part of *David*'s reign. But how does this appear? Does the Scripture say any thing of the Alphabetic Characters of *Egypt* before that period, either directly or by implication? And if not, how can such a notion in any manner affect Scripture? We cannot, therefore, but own ourselves greatly surprised at

(B) That *Mnevis* and *Apis* were different deities, or rather representatives of different deities, appears from hence, that the *Egyptians* held the latter in much higher veneration than the former. The worship of *Apis* seems to have been not only universal in *Egypt* but likewise common to most of the nations of *Arabia*, *India*, and *Ethiopia*; whereas the chief divine honours paid *Mnevis* did not extend much farther than the district of *Heliopolis*, if they were not absolutely confined to that place Now this is easy to be conceived, nay perfectly rational, upon Sir *Isaac Newton*'s principles; for he supposes that *Sesostris* or *Sesac* was the first prince in possession both of the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and that he civilized several nations; whereas he believes the antient kingdom of *Misraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt*, to have been of no larger an extent than we have already hinted. *Ammianus Marcellinus* seems plainly to give *Mnevis* the preference to *Apis* in point of antiquity; and the notion he appears to espouse will be rendered probable, not only by what we here advance but likewise by a careful and diligent comparison of the authors here referred to with one another (z).

(z *Herodot. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. Ælian. hist. animal. l. xi. c. 9. Univ. hist. Vol. I. p. 448.*

the

the conduct of a very learned and ingenious author, who charges this opinion with being contrary to Scripture, and, in support of that charge, quotes the following passage —— "As "to the precise time of the invention of the *Egyptian* letters, "IT CAN NEVER BE SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT" "——— However, that letters (in *Egypt*) were very "early, we have *clearly* shewn above, as well from other "circumstances as from this, that the invention of them was "given to their gods." Now 'tis remarkable, that these circumstances no-where appear; and that the other passage referred to, in order to support what is here advanced, only takes notice of *writing*, which it is well known, in the earliest times always consisted of hieroglyphic characters. As for the origin of arts and sciences in the land of *Misraim*, or the Scripture *Egypt* all that we can say of it is, that it preceded the age of *Moses*, who, as St. *Stephen* himself, under the actual influence of the Holy Ghost, informs us, was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But what a progress literature had then made there we cannot pretend to say. 'Tis not improbable, that the art of onirocritic, or interpretation of dreams, astrology, including so much of the simple elements of astronomy as contained the knowledge of the true system of the world, some maxims of civil policy, with certain theological notions, made up the greatest part of it. But we cannot collect fom hence, that they knew even so much of the principles of astronomy and geometry, as to understand the art of navigation before the time Sir *Isaac* mentions; nor that any of the arts or sciences which he intimates began to flourish amongst the *Egyptians* about the reigns of *Ammon* and *Sesac*, were cultivated there to any great purpose before that period. But admitting, that the *Egyptians* of the land of *Misraim*, before the reigns of the princes above-mentioned, were as learned and polite as Sir *Isaac*'s adversaries would insinuate, which yet is utterly improbable, it will not follow, that the *Upper Egypt*, *Libya*, &c. had then any great pretensions to learning and politeness; and therefore every thing advanced upon that supposition, which is almost the sum of what has been offered against Sir *Isaac*'s system of chronology, deserves not the least attention. In fine, most of those gentlemen, who have opposed this excellent piece, seem to have confounded the kingdom of *Misraim* with that *Egyptian* empire which arrived at its last perfection in the days of *Sesac*, if not with *Libya*, *Troglodytica*, and other barbarous countries over-run and civilized by that prince. And not only so, but they have considered some of his notions as detached from others, with which, in reality, they have a close connection; have

have attacked ſeveral points without informing their readers what he has urged in defence of them; have attempted an anſwer to ſome of his weaker arguments without touching upon thoſe of greater ſtrength; laſtly, have never taken a full ſurvey of the ſyſtem, but only fallen upon ſome of thoſe parts they thought the moſt liable to exception, and, from a ſuppoſed refutation of them, collected the falſity of the whole. However, 'tis not our buſineſs here to enter into a nice diſcuſſion of all the particulars relating to this controverſy, nor to examine every cavil levelled at a work, the main part of which, we believe, will, ſooner or later, meet with a general good reception from the learned world. For, with regard to ſome particular ſentiments in it, learned men will always think differently of them, as has been the fate of ſeveral parts of the moſt excellent productions in all ages. As ſuch a digreſſion merited a place in ſome part of this work, and comes in naturally enough here, we hope it will be pardoned, if not favourably received by our readers. ——— But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory *:

Hiſtory of Ethiopia, to the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds.

WE have already obſerved, that *Seſac* ſubdued and reigned over *Ethiopia*. After his death a civil war ſeems to have broke out in *Egypt*, which Sir *Iſaac Newton* believes to have been invaded at this juncture by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians*. But about ten years afterwards, continues the ſame illuſtrious author, the *Ethiopians* drowned *Seſac*'s ſucceſſor in the *Nile*, and ſeized upon *Egypt*. With that kingdom *Libya* alſo fell into their hands which will enable us to account for the numerous hoſt with which *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* advanced againſt *Aſa* king of *Judah*. However, *Aſa* overthrew that army, conſiſting of a million of men, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and diſperſed it in ſuch a manner, that *Zerah* could never afterwards rally his ſcattered forces. Upon which, the people of the *Lower Egypt* revolted from the *Ethiopians*, and, being ſuſtained by a body of two hundred thouſand *Jewiſh* or *Canaanitiſh* auxiliaries, forced *Memnon* or *Amenophis*, king of that nation, to retire to *Memphis*. 'Tis probable, that the *Egyptians*, under the conduct of their chief prieſt *Uſorthon*, *Oſarchon*, *Oſarchor*, or *Oſarſiphus*, followed their blow; ſince, after

* Idem ibid. PLIN. l viii c. 46. HERODOT. l. iii. STRAB. l. xvii. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. ÆLIAN de animal. l. xi c 9. WARBURTON's divine legat. of Moſ. demonſtr. Vol II par. i. p. 275, 138, 124, 60.

Memnon

Memnon had turned the course of the (C) *Nile*, built a bridge over that river, and fortified the pass there, he retreated with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. However, about thirteen years after this disgrace, he, and his young son *Rameſſes*, returned at the head of a powerful army, and drove the above-mentioned *Jews* or *Phœnicians* out of the *Lower Egypt*; which action the *Egyptian* writers called the second expulsion of the shepherds, as we learn from the aforesaid illustrious author, in conjunction with *Manetho* [g].

A deluge in Ethiopia.

WE are told by *Cedrenus*, a writer of good authority, that, about fifty years after *Cecrops* the first king of *Athens* began to reign, there happened a deluge in *Ethiopia*; but what damage the inhabitants of that country sustained on this occasion, he informs us not. However, it is probable, that the effects of it were sufficiently felt, since otherwise it would not have merited the notice of any historian. As *Cedrenus* follows the technical chronology of *Eratosthenes*, he places this event too high; but this in no manner affects us, who are not disposed to pay any great regard to that chronology. From what writer he extracted this article, we cannot take upon us so much as to conjecture [h].

Continued to the time of Sabacon.

FROM several historical facts, Sir *Isaac* renders it extremely probable, that *Menes*, *Memnon*, and *Amenophis*, were the same person; that the *Ethiopian* prince, who, went by these names, was the son of *Zerah*; and that he died in a very advanced age (D), about ninety years after the death of *Solomon*.

[g] NEWT. ubi sup. 2 Chron. c. xiv. ver. 8—15. MANETH apud Joseph. cont. Apion. p. 1052, 1053. DIOD. SIC. l. i. HERODOT. l. ii. & ÆSCHYL. apud. Newt in chronol p. 238. [h] GLOR. CEDREN. hist. compen. p. 83. Paris. 1647.

(C) This famous river, we suppose, by way of eminence, was called the *Nile*, i. e. *the river*, *the torrent*, &c. for that the word נחל *Naal* or *Nil* imports. Amongst the *Orientals* the vowels were nearly related to one another, and consequently a permutation of them frequent; and that the letter ה, in some words, had not formerly so much as the force even of a note of aspiration, is evinced by *Bochart*. Νειλος and *Nilus*, therefore, are only נחל with a *Greek* and a *Latin* termination (3).

(D) That this prince attained to an extreme old age is intimated by *Philostratus*, when he affirms *Memnon* to have reigned five ages or generations in *Ethiopia*. He also gives us to understand, that the *Ethiopians*, some of them he means, were longer-lived than

(3) *Val. Schind pentaglot. p.* 1104. *Bochart. Phal. l. i. c.* 1.

any

mon. According to the ſame incomparable writer, the city of *Memphis*, called in Scripture *Moph* and *Noph*, as likewiſe *Memph* or *Menuf* by the *Arabian* hiſtorians, derived its name from that of this prince, who either built it, or firſt fortified it, to prevent *Oſarſiphus* from entering *Ethiopia*. The *Argonautic* expedition happened in the reign of *Amenophis*, according to the principles of the ſyſtem we have at preſent in view. Some *Greek* authors relate, that he aſſiſted king *Priamus* with a body of *Ethiopian* troops. After his deceaſe, his ſon *Rameſſes* aſcended the throne of *Ethiopia*, who built the northern portico of the temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*. *Mæris*, his ſucceſſor, adorned *Memphis*, and fixed his reſidence there, near two generations after the *Trojan* war, upon the ſame principles. *Cheops*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*, were the three next kings, the laſt of which was ſucceeded by his ſiſter *Nitocris*. Then came *Aſychis*, in whoſe reign both *Aſſyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*; which thereupon was again divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms. *Gnephactus* governed one of theſe, and reſided at *Memphis*; but his ſon *Bocchoris* was ſlain by *So* or *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian*, who made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*. As all the principal attchievments of theſe monarchs, tranſmitted down to us by ſacred and profane antiquity, have already been taken notice of in the hiſtory of *Egypt*, we have almoſt intirely paſſed them over here. However, we muſt not omit informing our readers, that, in the twenty-ſecond year of *Bocchoris*'s reign, *Africanus* has fixed the commencement of the æra of *Nabonaſſar* [1].

To the death of Sethon.

Sabacon, or *So*, as he is called in Scripture, ſoon after the reduction of *Egypt*, entered into an alliance with *Hoſhea* king of *Iſrael*; which induced that prince to attempt ſhaking off the yoke of the *Aſſyrians*; but his efforts proving unſucceſsful, a period was put to the kingdom of *Iſrael* by *Shal-*

[1] NEWT. ubi ſupra, p. 235—247. HERODOT. l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. PLUT de Iſid. & Oſirid. HELLAN. apud Athen. deipnoſ. l. xv. AFRICAN. apud Syncel. p. 74 EUSEB. in chron 2 Kin. c. xvii. ver. 4. Iſai. c. xix. ver. 13. Hoſ. c. ix. ver. 6. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 36, & ſeq.

any other nation; which ſeems to agree with *Herodotus*. But when he relates, that the proper *Ethiopians* were originally of *India*, and expelled that country for an aſſaſſination of one king *Ganges*, he deſerves not the leaſt credit (4).

(4) *Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l.* iii *ſub init. Megaſthenes apud Strabon. & Plin. l.* vi *c.* 17.

maneſes,

maneſer, in the twenty-fourth year of the æra of *Nabonaſſar*. According to *Herodotus*, *Sabacon*, after a reign of fifty years, voluntarily relinquiſhed *Egypt*, and retired into *Ethiopia*. But, according to *Africanus*, he reigned only eight years in *Egypt*, and died in the ninth year of *Hezekiah*, or twenty-ninth of *Nabonaſſar*. The former author likewiſe informs us, that *Sethon*, whom ſome take to be the *Sevechus* of *Manetho*, his ſucceſſor, advanced to *Peluſium*, with a powerful army, againſt *Sennacherib* king of *Aſſyria*, whom he was enabled to defeat by a vaſt number of mice, which devoured the ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings of the *Aſſyrians*; and that, to perpetuate the memory of ſo ſurpriſing an event, the ſtatue of *Sethon*, which he ſaw, had a mouſe in its hand. As a mouſe was the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopian* ſymbol of deſtruction, this ſeems to intimate, that he overthrew the *Aſſyrians* with a great deſtruction. Sir *Iſaac Newton* therefore believes, that *Sethon*, in conjunction with *Tirhakah*, either *king* of the *Arabian Cuſhites*, or a relation of *Sethon*, and his viceroy in the *Proper Ethiopia*, ſurpriſed and defeated *Sennacherib* betwixt *Libnah* and *Peluſium*, making as great a ſlaughter amongſt his troops, as if their bow-ſtrings had been eaten by mice. This may be rendered conſiſtent enough with the Scripture account of the blow received by *Sennacherib*, as we have elſewhere obſerved. The *Egyptian* prieſts computed three hundred and forty-one generations, or eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, from the beginning of their monarchy and prieſthood, to the time when *Sethon* aſcended the throne of *Egypt*. The prieſts, during that period, as they pretended, had ſucceeded one another, without interruption, under the name of *Piromis*, an *Egyptian* word, ſignifying a *good* and *virtuous man*. *Herodotus* intimates, that *Sennacherib* was king of *Arabia*, as well as *Aſſyria*; which, if admitted, will prove, that *Tirhakah* preſided over the *Proper Ethiopia*, and not *Arabia*, as ſome learned men have ſuppoſed. If this be allowed, it will ſtrengthen, in ſome ſort, the conjecture we have already propoſed to the conſideration of the learned, *viz.* that *Tirhakah* was no other than *Sabacon*, who had before confined himſelf to *Ethiopia*, and left the *Egyptian* crown to *Sethon*. However, as this notion muſt be owned to be clogged with ſome difficulties, and even abſurd, upon the principles of thoſe, who make *Tirhakah* ſucceſſor to *Sethon*, we ſhall leave our readers to believe as much or as little of it as they pleaſe [1].

[1] 2 Kin. c. xvii. HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. PLUT. AFRICAN. SYNCEL. ubi ſup. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. x. c 1 2 Citron c xxxii. Iſai c. xxxvi. 2 Kin. c. xix. Iſai. c xxxvii. NEWT chronol p. 254, 255 Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 36, & ſeq & iv. p. 197. (V), & ſeq

And from thence to the reign of Xerxes.

FROM this time, to the seventy-eighth year of *Nabonassar*, we hear little of the kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which was then subjugated by *Esar-haddon* king of *Assyria*. Many enormous cruelties he committed both there and in *Egypt*, as had been predicted by the prophet *Isaiah*; and governed both those countries three years, that is, till the time of his death, which happened in the year of *Nabonassar* 81. But then the *Ethiopians*, revolting from the *Assyrians*, asserted their independency, which they maintained, though a monarchy distinct from *Egypt*, till the days of *Cyrus*, who, from *Xenophon*, seems to have been master of *Ethiopia*, or at least a considerable part of it. However, soon after the decease of that prince, they withdrew themselves from their subjection to the *Persians*, since we find his son *Cambyses* engaged in a fruitless expedition against them. *Herodotus* says, that, before he undertook this expedition, he sent an embassy made up of the *Ichthyophagi*, as understanding the language of that nation, to the king of the *Macrobii*, or long-lived *Ethiopians*. The true end of this embassy was not so much to cultivate a good understanding with that prince, as to learn the strength and condition of his kingdom; though, in order to conceal his design, he sent him a purple robe, bracelets of Gold, an alabaster box of rich ointment, a vessel of palm-wine, and other magnificent presents. But the *Ethiopian* was too acute not to penetrate the *Persian* monarch's views on this occasion, and therefore frankly told the *Ichthyophagi*, that he was no stranger to their errand, and that, if *Cambyses* entertained any sentiments of equity, he would never desire another prince's territories, nor to reduce to a state of servitude a people, who had never injured him. "However, added he, give him "this bow from me, and tell him, that he may think of "invading the country of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*, when "his subjects can thus easily draw it; and that, in the mean "time, he ought to thank the gods, that they never inspired "the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions "beyond the limits of their own country." Then, unbending the bow, he gave it to the embassadors: after which, taking up the royal garment, he demanded of them, What it was, and how made? And being satisfied in both these particulars, he could not forbear observing, "That the robe "was a proper emblem and representation of the deceitful "prince who wore it." All the other presents likewise, except the wine, he despised, preferring the iron chains of the *Ethiopians*, which, he said, were far stronger, to the golden bracelets, &c. of the *Persians*. However, he owned, that their wine excelled any liquor produced in *Ethiopia*, and intimated,

mated, that the *Perſians*, ſhort-lived as they were, owed moſt of their days to ſo noble a cordial. When he heard that a good part of their food was bread, he ſaid, He was not at all ſurpriſed, that a people, who fed upon dung, did not attain to the longevity of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*. As for what *Herodotus* relates of the table of the ſun in this country, it favours ſo much of fable, that we cannot help thinking it beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of it. *Cambyſes*, being extremely incenſed at the anſwer brought by the *Ichthyophagi* from the *Ethiopian*, in a mad irrational humour, immediately began his march towards his frontiers, though he wanted all manner of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troops. This at laſt introduced ſuch a famine amongſt them, that the ſoldiers were obliged to eat one another; ſo that, not being able to traverſe the vaſt ſandy deſerts of *Ethiopia*, he found himſelf conſtrained to return, firſt to *Thebes*, and afterwards to *Memphis*, with the loſs of a great part of his army. But, could he have penetrated to the centre of this region, it is probable, he would have met there with a warm reception, ſince, by the acceſſion of a large body of *Egyptians* in the reign of *Pſammitichus*, the *Ethiopians* muſt have been very formidable; for we learn from *Herodotus*, that two hundred and forty thouſand *Egyptians*, poſted in different places by that prince, to guard the (E) frontiers on the ſides of *Arabia*, *Aſſyria*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, having not been relieved within the

(E) *Herodotus*, in the paſſage here referred to, makes *Elephantis* or *Elephantine*, and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, oppoſite boundaries or frontiers of *Egypt*, and places both of them on the borders of *Ethiopia*. This ſeems to point out the true tranſlation of a text in *Ezekiel*, rendered in our verſion—*I will make the land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from the tower of* Syene, *even unto the border of* Ethiopia; which ought to be tranſlated, either as we have formerly done it, or in the following terms; *I will make the land of* Egypt *utterly waſte and deſolate, from* Migdol to Syene, *even to the border of* Ethiopia: for if we ſuppoſe *Migdol* and *Syene*, or, as *Herodotus* aſſerts, *Elephantine* and *Daphnæ Peluſiæ*, to be oppoſite frontiers of *Egypt*, and both on the confines of *Ethiopia*, then we may look upon the words *from* Migdol *to* Syene as a parentheſis, and equivalent to the following words, *to the border of* Ethiopia. Such a tranſlation will render the paſſage exceeding obvious and clear, and is ſupported by a vaſt number of ſuch parentheſes to be met with in the old teſtament (5).

(5) *Ezek c. xxix. ver* 10. *See before, p* 477, *not.* (C).

space of three years, deserted to the king of *Ethiopia*, who placed them in a country disaffected to him, with orders to expel the inhabitants, and take possession of their lands. He also informs us, that, in the *Egyptian* language, they were called *Asmak*, i. e. *those who stand on the left-hand of the king*; as likewise, that they civilized the *Ethiopians*. But the last article we can scarce give any credit to, since, from this very historian himself, and *Africanus*, it appears, that the *Ethiopians* were masters of *Egypt* at least eighty years before the time of *Psammitichus*; and therefore might have learnt every thing the *Egyptians* could teach them before, if they were not, from the earliest ages, in all particulars as wise as that people. Sir *Isaac Newton* insinuates, that *Cambyses* conquered *Ethiopia*, as well as *Egypt*, about the year of *Nabonassar* 223, or 224. But this, as far as we can recollect, can neither be inferred from *Herodotus*, nor any other good author. Possibly *Ethiopia*, like *Egypt*, might have had several collateral princes, whom the antients, through mistake, placed in continual succession; which could not but occasion many blunders and errors in the history of that kingdom. However, *Herodotus* asserts, that *Cambyses* reduced some of the provinces of *Ethiopia* contiguous to *Egypt* in the unfortunate expedition above-mentioned; and that they, together with the *Troglodytes*, sent an annual present to the *Persian* monarch, consisting of two chœnixes of unrefined gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* boys, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size, even to his time. But though the *Persians* subdued not only these provinces, but likewise that part of *Libya* bordering upon the western confines of *Egypt*, and carried their arms as far as the city of *Cyrene*, yet, that they brought under their dominion all that vast tract, comprehending the kindoms of *Senaar*, *Abassia*, and other countries, answering to the proper *Ethiopia* of the antients, we cannot help thinking at least very improbable [k].

Xerxes has a host of eastern and western Ethiopians, Libyans, &c. in his army.

Amongst the various nations that composed the numerous army, with which (l) *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, *Herodotus*

[k] Isai c. xix ver. 23. c. xx. ver. 4 5. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13. Univers. hist. vol iv p 204, & seq. Herod. & African. ubi sup. Xenoph in Cyropæd. Herodot. l. iii. Newt. chronol. p. 256, 257, 259, &c.

(l) *Herodotus* informs us, that *Xerxes* had not only eastern and western, or *Asiatic* and *African*, *Ethiopians* in his army, but likewise *Libyans*. The eastern or *Asiatic Ethiopians*, he tells us, anointed one

tus ranks the *Ethiopians*. He mentions on this occaſion two ſorts of that people; the eaſtern, who had their abode in *Aſia*, and were looked upon as *Indians*, from whom they differed only in their hair and language, and the weſtern or *African*

one part of their bodies with a ſpecies of *gypſum* or plaſter, and another with *minium* or red lead, immediately before they came to a general action. The *Libyans*, from his account of them, ſeem to have been negroes, who by *Diodorus Siculus* are called *Ethiopians*. That author gives us the following deſcription of them: "They "are, ſays he, flat-faced, exceeding fierce and cruel, in their man- "ners reſembling beaſts, extremely wicked, and have frizzled hair. "Their bodies are naſty and loathſome, their voice ſhrill, and their "diſpoſition ſuch as renders them incapable of being civilized. "Some of them carry ſhields made of the raw hide of an ox, and "ſhort lances, in their wars; others uſe darts forked at the ends, "together with bows four cubits long, out of which they diſcharge "their arrows by the help of their feet. When their ſhafts are "ſpent, they fall on with clubs. Their women likewiſe, till they "arrive at a certain age, take on in the ſervice; and many of "them hang a braſs ring at their lips: Some go always naked, "ſheltering themſelves from the ſcorching rays of the ſun with "whatever falls in their way. Several cover their *pudenda* with "ſheep-tails; and others apply beaſts ſkins to that uſe. Laſtly, "it is not uncommon amongſt this people to wear a garment about "their loins made of human hair, the ſheep in this country "carrying no fleeces at all. They feed, for the moſt part, "upon the tender ſhoots of trees, the roots of canes, the *lotus* and *ſe-* "*ſamus*, together with another ſpecies of fruit produced in marſhy "places. Many alſo live upon fowl, which, being excellent ar- "chers, they kill in vaſt numbers; but moſt of them uſe fleſh, "milk, and cheeſe, for their ſuſtenance." As *Diodorus* intimates many of theſe to have been ſeated in the heart of *Africa*, as well as on both ſides of the *Nile*, and expreſly calls them *Blacks*, we doubt not but he had the negroes here in view, as well as ſome of the proper *Ethiopians*; nay, as he ſeems to join together *the heart of* Africa *and both ſides of the* Nile, and the deſcription he gives of the *Blacks* on both ſides of the *Nile* agrees, in moſt particulars, with the preſent *Blacks*, poſſibly ſeveral of our readers may be induced to infer from hence, that, in the age of *Diodorus*, the *Niger* and the *Nile* were believed to have been branches of the ſame river. Be that as it will, the paſſage here referred to by no means diſcountenances ſuch a notion; which adds ſome weight to what has been already advanced in the hiſtory of the *Melanogætuli* and *Nigritæ*, as our readers will find, by conſulting it (t).

(6) *Herodot. l. vii c.* 69, 70, 71 *Diod Sic. l. iii ſub. init.* *See before, p.* 440, *& ſeq.*

Ethiopians.

Ethiopians. The former carried the ſame arms as the *Indians*, wore for helmets the ſkins of horſes heads, the ears and manes whereof ſerved them for tufts and plumes of feathers, bore before them the ſkins of cranes for ſhields, and had long hair. The *Africans* were armed with darts lighted at one end, covered with leather, and had black frizzled hair. Their commander was *Maſanges*, the ſon of *Aerizus*, a perſon doubtleſs of great diſtinction amongſt them. Nothing remarkable of the nation we are now upon occurs from this period to the diſſolution of the *Perſian* empire, though it is probable, matters, with reſpect to them, all along remained in the ſame ſituation; that is to ſay, the *Ethiopian* provinces contiguous to *Egypt* were ſubject to the *Perſians*, and the others in a ſtate of independency, either ſo little known, or made ſo inconſiderable a figure, as not to deſerve the attention of any celebrated hiſtorian [1].

Ptolemy Euergetes *penetrates into* Ethiopia.

IT does not appear, that *Alexander the Great* ever undertook an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, though, when he conſulted the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, one of the firſt enquiries he made was after the ſources of the *Nile*, and, having afterwards encamped at the head of the river *Indus*, which he imagined to be that of the *Nile*, was overjoyed at his ſucceſs. But *Ptolemy Euergetes*, one of his ſucceſſors in *Egypt*, having a paſſionate deſire, in common with ſome of the greateſt men of antiquity, to diſcover the fountains of the *Nile*, with this view carried his arms into *Ethiopia*. The particulars of this enterpriſe we find no-where related in hiſtory, though that he penetrated to the fartheſt parts of this region, and ſubdued moſt, if not all, the powerful nations ſeated in it, appears from an inſcription (G) preſerved down to us by

[1] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 69, 70, 71. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p 40, & ſeq.

(G) *Eleſbaan*, king of the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians*, ordered *Aſbas*, governor of *Adule*, to ſend him a copy of this inſcription. This happened about the beginning of *Juſtin*'s reign, juſt before *Eleſbaan* undertook the expedition againſt the *Homerites*, which will be hereafter mentioned, and twenty five years before our author wrote the piece here referred to. *Aſbas* employed *Coſmas*, and one *Menas*, a merchant, who afterwards became a religious at *Raithus*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rhaptus*, poſſibly the *Ruſo* of *Coſmas*, to take him an exact copy of it, and therefore we may depend upon the relation the former has given us: "At the entrance, ſays he, into the "weſtern part of the city, facing the road to *Axuma*, ſtood a chair of

by *Cosmas Ægyptius* (H), or, as some call him, *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, which he copied upon the spot in the time of the emperor

" of white marble, consisting of a square base, a small thin column " at each angle of this base, with a larger wreathed one in the " middle, a seat or throne upon these, a back, and two sides. Be- " hind this chair there was a large stone three cubits high, which " had suffered considerable injury from time." This stone and the chair contained a *Greek* inscription, part of which imported, " that " *Ptolemy Euergetes* had penetrated to the farthest parts of *Ethiopia*; " that he subdued *Gaza*, *Agame*, *Sigue*, *Ava*, *Tiamo* or *Tziamo*, " *Gambela*, *Zingabene*, *Angabe*, *Tiama*, *Athagaos*, *Calaa*, *Semene*, " *Lasine*, *Zaa*, *Gabala*, *Atalmo*, *Bega*, the *Tangaitæ*, *Anine*, *Metine*, " *Sesea*, *Rauso*, *Solate*, the territory of *Rauso*, and several other " kingdoms; that amongst the nations he reduced were some in- " habiting mountains always covered with a deep snow; and o- " thers seated upon ridges of hills, from whence issued boiling " streams, and craggy precipices, who all therefore seemed inac- " cessible; that having finally, after all these conquests, assembled " his whole army at *Adule*, and sacrificed to *Mars*, *Neptune*, and " *Jupiter*, for his great success, he had dedicated this chair or " throne to *Mars*." It may not be improper to remark here, that *Gaza* seems to correspond with *Ghееza*, a name of the kingdom of *Abassia*, in use amongst the natives at this day; that *Agame* and *Ava*, seem to be the same with *Agamia* and *Asa*, two prefectures of the present kingdom of *Tigre*; that *Tiamo* or *Tzamo*, and *Tiama*, answer to *Tzama* in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and *Tzama* in that of *Bagemeder*; that *Athagaos* must agree with one of the two regions called *Agao*; and that *Semene* is undoubtedly the country now denominated *Samen* or *Semen*. This, to omit other proofs, that might be offered, is no contemptible argument in favour of the authority of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*. For a full account of every thing relating to this inscription, published first by *Leo Allatius*, and afterwards by *Berkelius*, *Spon*, and *Montfaucon*, we must refer our readers to the learned Dr *Chisbul* (7).

(H) *Cosmas* informs us, that from *Alexandria* to the *Cataracts* were thirty stations; from the *Cataracts* to *Axuma* thirty more; and from thence to the farthest part of *Ethiopia* producing frankincense, and contiguous to the ocean, called *Barbaria*, fifty stations. Near *Barbaria* lay the country known by the name of *Sasus*, according to the same author, which was likewise reputed one of the remotest regions in *Ethiopia*.

The *Barbarians*, says *Cosmas*, imported various sorts of sauces, frankincense, cassia, and other commodities, the produce of their

(7) *Cosm. Egypt. in topograph. Christian A. D.* 545. *script. p* 140, 141, 142, 143. *Paris.* 1706. *Chish. antiquitat. Asiat. p.* 73—88. *Lond* 1728. *V. de & Ludolph. IP. Tell. Mem. Pays, &c. pass.*

territory,

emperor *Justin* I. It is probable, however, that he abandoned these conquests, since henceforth we find nothing

territory, into the country of the *Homerites*, separated from them by the straights of *Bab al mandab* They supplied likewise the *Persians* and *Indians* with the same commodities The sea beyond *Barbaria* our autho calls the *Zingian* ocean, and intimates, that *Sasu* abounded with gold mines. Every other year the king of *Axuma* sent several persons of distinction to *Agau*, to traffic with the natives for gold; and other merchants, to the number of five hundred, attended them They brought with them cattle, salt, and iron, to barter for the gold. Upon their arrival there, they fixed themselves on a certain spot of ground, killed and cut in pieces several oxen, which they exposed, together with the salt and iron, to the view of the natives Some of these then approaching with small ingots of gold, which they called *Tancharas*, laid down one or more of them, as they pleased, upon the piece of the ox, salt, or iron, they had a mind to purchase, and then retired to a place at some distance. The proprietor, seeing this, took the gold, if he thought it sufficient, and went away; and the person who had left it, came and carried off the commodity he had pitched upon. If the gold was not deemed enough, the *Axumite* or *Ethiopian*, who owned the commodity to which it was affixed, let it remain; which the other observing, either made an addition to what he had before deposited, or departed with it. This manner of trading they found necessary, as being strangers to each others language; and it was generally finished in five days. This journey the *Axumites* commonly performed in six months time, and were longer in going than returning, by reason of their cattle They were obliged to travel armed, since several gangs of robbers sometimes attacked them upon the road, especially in their return, when they were loaded with gold. As the fountains of the *Nile* were in this district, and as the rivers, they found themselves obliged to pass, were greatly swelled by the violent rains that fell in the winter, they took care to be at home before that season could intercept them. By the violence of those rains continuing three months, many small torrents became rivers, that emptied themselves into the *Nile*. This method of trading is still used in various parts of *Africa*, as appears from several modern relations, which it is needless here to produce. We must not omit observing, that the district of *Agau*, mentioned by *Cosmas*, is undoubtedly the country of the *Agaus* taken notice of by father *Pays*, the name of both these provinces being the same, and the source of the *Nile* being placed in both of them by these authors (8).

(8) *Cosm. Ægypt. ubi sup p.* 138, 139, 140. *P. Pays apud Le Grand, dissert. iii.*

of

of moment concerning any branch of the proper *Ethiopians* in the writings of the antients, till the days of *Augustus* [m].

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 732, when *Ælius Gallus* had drawn most of the *Roman* forces out of *Egypt*, in order to invade *Arabia*, *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia*, or rather of the kingdom of *Meroe*, made an irruption into the province of *Thebais* with a numerous army. According to *Dio*, *Candace* herself headed her troops in this expedition; which seems to be confirmed by *Strabo*, when he intimates, that she was a lady of uncommon bravery and resolution. At first she met with great success, ravaged all the country as she advanced, took *Syene*, *Elephantine*, and *Philæ*, the *Egyptian* frontiers on the side of *Ethiopia*, without opposition, and made three *Roman* cohorts, garrisoned therein, prisoners of war. But receiving intelligence, that *Petronius*, the governor of *Egypt*, was in full march to attack her, she retired into her own dominions. The *Roman* general pursued the *Ethiopians* as far as *Pselcha*, from whence he sent a deputation to the queen, to know the reason of the late hostilities, and to demand all the prisoners, as well as a restitution of all the effects, particularly the statues of *Augustus*, carried off from the cities abovementioned. But *Candace* not sending a satisfactory answer, and seeking only to gain time, *Petronius* immediately attacked the *Ethiopian* army, consisting of thirty thousand men, though his scarce amounted to ten thousand, in the neighbourhood of *Pselcha*. As the *Ethiopians* were, for the most part, only armed with poles, hatchets, &c. and intirely undisciplined, he gained an easy victory over them. Some fled into the town, others dispersed in the adjacent deserts, and others swam to a neighbouring island of the *Nile*, few crocodiles infesting that part of the river, by reason of the rapidity of the torrent. Soon after this victory, *Pselcha* surrendered to him; and one of his detachments brought off the corps, that had escaped to the aforesaid island, in which were several of queen *Candace*'s general officers. At *Pselcha* he reviewed his forces, and, finding them in good condition, advanced to *Premnis*, a fortress of great strength, which he made himself master of. Flushed with this success, the *Roman* general marched to *Napata*, where *Candace* held her residence, which he took, and destroyed. Her son, however, found means to make his escape. The queen herself had re-

Petronius forces queen Candace to sue for peace, which is granted her by Augustus.

[m] DIOD. SIC. ARRIAN. QUINT. CURT. aliiq; de reb gest. Alexand. COSM. ÆGYPT. topograph. Christian. p 140, 141, 142, 143 Job. LUDOLPH. hist. Æthiop. l. 1. c. 8. LE GRAND. dissert. iii.

tired to one of her caſtles at ſome diſtance from *Napata*, where, receiving advice of what had happened, and finding herſelf not in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans*, ſhe thought proper to make overtures for an accommodation. But *Petronius*, by reaſon of the exceſſive heats and a want of proviſions, ſoon finding himſelf obliged to return to *Alexandria*, the conferences were broke off. After the departure of *Petronius*, *Candace* beſieged *Premnis*, where the *Romans* had left a garriſon of four hundred men; but, being ſoon forced to raiſe the ſiege, ſhe diſpatched embaſſadors a ſecond time to treat of a peace with the *Roman* general, who ſent them with an eſcort to *Auguſtus*. That prince, whom they found at *Samos*, gave them a moſt gracious reception, and granted their miſtreſs a peace upon her own terms. This unexpected condeſcenſion may be attributed to the rich preſents thoſe miniſters carried with them. *Pliny* intimates, that the kingdom of *Meroe* had been governed by queens for ſeveral preceding generations, who all went under the name of *Candace* [n].

History of Ethiopia *continued to the aſcenſion of our bleſſed Saviour.*

THOUGH *Auguſtus* reſtored all the towns taken by *Petronius*, and remitted the tribute, which that general either did, or would have exacted from *Candace*, yet the *Romans* now looked upon themſelves as maſters of *Ethiopia*. They complimented *Auguſtus* on the great glory he had acquired, in ſubduing a country unknown even to his great predeceſſor, which finiſhed the reduction of *Africa*. Hence we find, on the reverſe of one of that prince's medals ſtruck this very year 732, three globes, denoting undoubtedly the complete conqueſt of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, the three large continents or parts of the antient world. However, this ought to be conſidered as nothing more than an inſtance of the *Roman* vanity, ſince not only the *Ethiopians*, but ſeveral other nations, had hitherto preſerved their liberties. No material alteration in the civil affairs of the kingdom of *Meroe*, which ſeems to have been the *Ethiopia* known to the *Romans*, happened either during the remainder of *Auguſtus*'s reign, or that of his ſucceſſor *Tiberius*, queens ſtill continuing to govern there, as we learn from Scripture. But that the chriſtian religion was introduced into *Meroe* about the nineteenth or twentieth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, has been believed by ſome writers of good authority. Theſe writers make the eunuch baptized by *Philip* the deacon to have converted his royal

[n] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 820. DIO. l. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. SEXT. AUR. VICT. epit. de vit. & mor. imperator. Romanor. ſub init.

miſtreſs,

miſtreſs, after his return home, to the chriſtian faith. St. *Luke* calls that princeſs *Candace*; from whence ſome have inferred, that ſhe was the ſame queen of *Ethiopia* mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But as the interval betwixt the invaſion of *Ethiopia* by *Petronius*, and the converſion of the aforeſaid eunuch, was a term much longer than kings uſually reign, and as the former author remarks *Candace* to have been an appellation common to the ſovereigns of *Meroe*, we are, by no means, inclinable to come into ſuch an opinion. Several of the fathers thought, that the eunuch's name was *Candace*; which muſt certainly be deemed a miſtake: for that this word either ſignified ſovereign authority, or at leaſt was a title peculiar to the royal family of *Meroe*, the teſtimony already produced ſeems to put beyond all doubt [o].

LITTLE after this period, for above two hundred years, occurs concerning the *Ethiopians*. *Ælius Spartianus* relates, that the emperor *Heliogabalus* frequently confined his moſt intimate friends for whole nights together with little old *Ethiopian* women, by way of diverſion, ſaying, that theſe women were the moſt beautiful of all others. From hence we may infer, that, in his reign, about the year of Chriſt 220, there was an intercourſe betwixt the *Roman* empire and the *Ethiopians*. *Probus*, above fifty years afterwards, undertook an expedition againſt the *Blemmyes*, a nation, or rather gang of banditti, bordering upon the frontiers of *Thebais*, vanquiſhed them, and ſent many of them priſoners to *Rome*. What occaſioned this expedition is not told us by any author; but that the *Blemmyan* captives graced *Probus's* triumph, and exhibited ſuch an odd appearance, as greatly aſtoniſhed the *Romans*, we learn from *Vopiſcus*. Towards the cloſe of the third century that nation and the *Nobatæ*, a people inhabiting the banks of the *Nile* near the *Upper Egypt*, committing great depredations upon the *Roman* territories, and the adjacent part of *Thebais* being, probably on this account, but thinly peopled, the emperor *Diocleſian* found his revenue in thoſe parts ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the gariſons placed there to repreſs the courſes of the *Ethiopians*. He therefore aſſigned the *Nobatæ* lands in the *Roman* dominions, and gave both them and the *Blemmyes* a conſiderable annual ſum, to deſiſt from their former practices; but, notwithſtanding their ſolemn aſſurances to the

And from thence to the reign of Diocleſian.

[o] DIO, ubi ſup. Comes FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG. in numiſm. imp. Rom. congeſt. ad A. U. C. 732. p. 32. edit. Mediolan. 1730. Act. c. viii. ver. 27. CALMET. in voce *Candace*. ANASTAS. SINAIT. l. vi. EUTHYM. in pſal. lxii. GREG. NAZ. in ſanct. baptiſm.

contrary, they continued pillaging the *Roman* subjects to the time of *Justinian*, according to *Procopius*. That prince did not treat them with such lenity as they had met with from *Diocletian*, for this last emperor did not only grant them the favour above-mentioned, but likewise transplanted some of them to an island in the *Nile* near *Elephantine*, gave them the use of the (I) temples there in common with the *Romans*, and ordered priests to be selected from them all to officiate therein, thinking this would produce a perfect and perpetual harmony betwixt them. But *Justinian* ordered *Narses*, the commandant of the garison in *Philæ*, to demolish the temples of the barbarians, imprison their priests, and send all the images of their gods to *Byzantium*; which he did accordingly. That *Diocletian* built the fortress of *Philæ*, and gave it that name, from the friendship and union, which, he imagined, the measures he had taken would occasion betwixt the *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* settled there, as we find advanced by *Procopius*, can by no means be allowed, since this very fortress was in being, and called by the same name, in the days of *Strabo*. *Procopius*, in agreement with *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, asserts *Elephantine* to have been thirty days journey from *Axuma*, or, as he calls it, *Auxomis*. The same author also affirms, that, before the reign of *Diocletian*, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire on that side extended so far into *Ethiopia*, that they were not above twenty-three days journey distant from this capital †.

Nothing material to be met with in history concerning the Ethiopians, *from the reign of* Diocletian *to the time of St.* Athanasius.

We find nothing worthy of observation recorded of the *Ethiopians*, from the reign of *Diocletian* to the time of their conversion to christianity, which was but a short interval, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. The modern *Abassines* inform us, that our Saviour was born in the eighteenth year of *Bazen*, a prince of the *Solomonean* line, and the twenty-

† Ælius Lampridius in Heliogab Flavius Vopiscus in Prob Procop de bell. Pers. l i c. 19 Strab. l. xvii. Cosmas Ægyptius in topograph christian. l. ii. p. 138, 139, 140. edit. D. Bern de Montfauc Paris, 1706.

(I *Procopius* says, that the barbarians worshipped the *Sun*, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Priapus*, and other pagan deities It likewise appears from him, that they offered human sacrifices to their idols Their religion was probably the same, or nearly so, with that of the *Romans*; which, had the *Nobatæ* and *Blemmyes* been people of any principles, might have greatly contributed to the keeping up a good correspondence between them 9).

(9) *Procop. in loc. laudat.*

fourth

fourth from *Menilehec*, ſurnamed *El Hakim*, i. e. *the wiſe*, or *ſon of the wiſe*, above-mentioned. They likewiſe enumerate thirteen kings, who reigned three hundred and twenty-ſeven years, betwixt him and *Abreha* and *Atzbeha*, or *Abra* and *Aſba*, who ſat upon the throne when *Frumentius* carried the light of the goſpel into *Abaſſia*. *Frumentius*, according to ſome, found his work facilitated by the labours of St. *Matthew*, who had applied himſelf to the converſion of the *Nubians*, a nation before diſpoſed for the reception of chriſtianity by the eunuch of *Candace*, who had already ſown in their minds the firſt ſeeds of that religion. Theſe St. *Matthew*, continue the ſame authors, took care to cultivate, and raiſe to fruit, tho' he could not reach *Abaſſia*. The planting of the chriſtian faith in that country was reſerved for the age of St. *Athanaſius* patriarch of *Alexandria*; of which great event *Ruſinus* and others have given us the following relation [P]:

Ethiopians *or* Abaſſines *converted by* Frumentius.

Meropius the philoſopher, a native of *Tyre*, took a reſolution to travel, either that he might enjoy the converſation of other philoſophers, or for the ſake of traffick, which was not thought inconſiſtent with the profeſſion of philoſophy. This man, after having wandered over all *India*, determined at length to return home, with two young men nearly related to him, the companions of his travels, and, touching at an iſland in the *Red Sea*, was either cut to pieces by the natives, or died a natural death. *Frumentius* and *Ædeſius*, or, as the *Abaſſines* will have it, *Fremonatus* and *Sidracus*, (for ſo were his kinſmen called) falling into the hands of the barbarians, were brought before the king, who gave them a kind reception, placed them near his perſon, and advanced them. Their talents and induſtry procured them ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of this prince's favour. Finding in *Frumentius* a greater capacity, he made him his treaſurer, and *Ædeſius* his butler; in which poſts they behaved themſelves with ſo much applauſe, that, upon the king's death, which followed ſome time after, the queen, who had been appointed guardian to her ſon, would not grant either of them permiſſion to leave the kingdom, as they deſired. On the contrary, ſhe left the management of public affairs intirely to *Frumentius*, who made uſe of this new authority to bring the people under his inſpection to the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST. Contracting an acquaintance with ſome chriſtian merchants, either trading to or ſettled in *Abaſſia*, who ſometimes came to that iſland, he

[P] RUFIN. l. i. c. 9. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 19. SOZOM. l. ii. c. 24. THEODORET. l. i. c. 23.

granted

granted them great privileges, and places to assemble in for public worship. This first excited in the *Abassines* a desire to be instructed in the principles of christianity; which induced *Frumentius*, after having got the queen's leave, to take a journey to *Alexandria*, in order to inform St. *Athanasius* of the disposition of that people. The patriarch hereupon consecrated him bishop of *Axuma*, and about the year of our Lord 335, sent him to propagate the christian religion in *Ethiopia*. Soon after his arrival there, he baptized vast numbers of the *Abassines*, ordained deacons and presbyters, built churches, and in short gained an assent to the divine truths of the gospel in almost every part of that vast region. The *Ethiopic* book at *Axuma*, held in the highest veneration by the *Abassines*, agreeing in the main with this relation, as well as several *Greek* and *Latin* authors of good repute, it must deserve the greatest regard. That *Adad* or *Aidog*, therefore, king of the *Axumites*, first introduced christianity into *Ethiopia* about the fifteenth year of the emperor *Justinian*, after an unparallelled defeat given th. king of the *Homerites*, in consequence of a vow made before the engagement, as some have not scrupled to assert, cannot be allowed. However, either the nation in general, or at least the court and nobless, afterwards relapsed into paganism, according to an oriental author of some note; and embraced again the christian religion, at the command of *Aidog*, about the fourth year of the emperor *Justin*, *an. Ch.* 521, for the reason just assigned. A full and minute account of this memorable transaction may be drawn from the extracts of several *Syriac* writers, to be met with in the learned M. *Assemanus*'s *bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* [q].

Abra *and* Asba *refuse to admit* Arianism.

Abra and *Asba*, who jointly swayed the sceptre, are greatly celebrated by the *Ethiopian* historians. The harmony that reigned betwixt them was so singular and uncommon, that it almost became a proverb in *Ethiopia*. *Constantius* the emperor made use of many expedients to introduce *Arianism* into the country we are now upon, but without effect. He sent embassadors to those kings, in order to prevail upon them to put *Frumentius* the bishop of *Axuma* into the hands of *George* the *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*, substituted in the place of *Athanasius*, who was forced to quit that see, and retire to a

[q] Idem ibid. Theophanes ad an. incarnat. secund. Alexandrin. 535. Simeon epist. Beth-Arsamen, apud Cl. Assemani, in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p 359 & seq ed. Romæ, 1719. Cæs Baronii, annal. ad an. 523 vol. vii Ludolph. hist. Æthop. l. iii. c. 2. Vide & not. Cl. Assemani. ubi sup.

place

place of obſcurity. But they refuſed to deliver up that prelate, and adhered to his doctrines as well as perſon with an unſhaken reſolution, notwithſtanding *Philoſtorgius* falſly affirms an *Arian* biſhop to have been ſettled at *Axuma*. So mild and amiable was his conduct amongſt them, that they called him *Abba Salamah, the pacific father*. The *Copts* and *Abaſſines* have a notion, that one *Tacalhaïmanout*, a ſaint or *Abaſſine* monk, deſcended from *Sadok* the high prieſt in the days of *David* and *Solomon*, attended *Abba Salamah* into *Ethiopia*, to demonſtrate to the people there the neceſſity of baptiſm, they having till that time practiſed (K) circumciſion. The twenty-fourth day of the month *Meſri*, correſponding with that of *Auguſt* in the *Julian* kalendar, is celebrated as the feſtival of this ſaint by the *Copts*. The word *Tacalhaïmanout* is *Ethiopic*, and, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, ſignifies *the paradiſe of the Trinity*. But *Ludolphus* gives us to underſtand, that this *Tacalhaïmanout*, or, as he calls him, *Tecla Haimanout*, that is, according to his interpretation of thoſe words, *the plant of faith*, reſtored the monaſtic way of life in *Ethiopia* about the year of Chriſt 600. and lived till *A. D.* 630. The *Abaſſines* believe, that he ſpoke in his cradle, and wrought ſeveral miracles in his infancy; as alſo, that he was ordained deacon in the fifteenth year of his age by *Cyril* metropolitan of *Ethiopia*, cotemporary with *Benjamin* patriarch of *Alexan-*

(K) Authors are divided in their ſentiments in relation to the origin of circumciſion amongſt the *Abaſſines*. Some maintain that this inſtitution was introduced amongſt them by *Moſes*; others, that they received it from *Menilebech* the ſon of *Solomon*. Which of theſe opinions is true, or whether either of them be ſo, we ſhall not pretend to determine. That it was not in uſe among the *Arabian Cuſhites* before the time of *Moſes*, appears from Scripture. One ſtrong preſumption againſt *Herodotus*'s notion, that the *Egyptians* firſt practiſed circumciſion, is, that this author has not told us how, or when, that nation came firſt to admit ſo painful a rite; whereas the Scripture is expreſs in both thoſe particulars, with regard to the origin of it amongſt the *Hebrews*. *Grotius* has evinced from a multitude of different authors, that God, in commanding *Abraham* to uſe the right of circumciſion, meant it a mark of covenant between his poſterity and the Creator; and that every other nation, practiſing it, learned it either from him or his deſcendants. The firm perſuaſion of the *Abaſſines* is, that they derived it from the *Hebrews*. We may perhaps ſay ſomething of the circumciſion of women, when we come to the modern hiſtory of *Abaſſia* (10).

(10) *Exod. c.* iv. *Hugo. Grot. in Gen. & alib. Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 269, *& alib. Vid. & Calmet. diſſert. de circum. &c.*

din.

dria, of the *Jacobite* sect. *Gonzalez* relates, that he first converted the *Ethiopians* to christianity, by destroying a serpent before worshipped amongst them; which, if admitted, will bring him to the age M. *D'Herbelot* assigns him. Be that as it will, next to *Gabra-Menses-Keddus* (L), i. e. *the servant of the Holy Ghost*, in honour of whom they kept holy-day once every month, he was the most celebrated saint in *Ethiopia*. *D'Herbelot* farther informs us, that *Claudius* king of the *Abassines*, sent the life of this saint written in *Ethiopic* to *Gabriel* the ninety-fifth patriarch of *Alexandria*, which is at this day to be seen in the royal library at *Paris*, num. 796. under the title of *Sïrat Al Ab Al Thaoubani Tacalhaïmanout* [1].

HISTORY scarce supplies us with any memoirs relating to *Ethiopia* from the reign of *Constantius* to the time of the famous *Elesbas* or *Elesbaan* king of *Ethiopia*, called *Caleb* by the *Abassines*, who seems to have been the same prince with *Adad* or *Aidog* above mentioned. This conqueror having made up matters with *Xenodon* or *Axenodon*, an *Indian* prince, with whom, according to *Simeon Beth-Arsamensis*, he had been at variance, put a period to the kingdom of the *Homerites* or *Sabæans* in *Arabia Felix*, after having vanquished in battle the impious *Dunawas*, *Dunaan*, or *Dhu Nowas*, the last king of that people, who was of the *Jewish* religion. *Elesbaan* had some time before declared war against the king of the *Homerites*, for massacring certain christian merchants, and vowed most solemnly to become a christian, in case he proved victorious over him. Having, therefore, overthrown him, and stripped him of his dominions, he embraced the faith

The Ethiopians *conquer the* Homerites.

[1] JOANNES. As. epipsc. apud Dionys. patriarch. in bibl. Orient. Asseman. ubi sup. PHILOSTORG. l. iii. PAGIUS ad an. 541. num. 6 & alib. LUDOLPH. ubi sup. c. 23 & in comment. ad hist. Æthiop p. 479. ut in calend. Æthiop. ibid. N° 51. p. 436. LE GRAND. dissert ix. D'HERBEL bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tacalhaïmanout*, p. 834. 835. à Pari,. 1697. Vid. etiam GONZALES apud Ludolph. comment, ad hist. Æthiop p. 479.

(L) *Gabra-Menses-Keddus*, lived only upon herbs, and used for cloathing nothing but the leaves of trees, having all worldly pleasures and delights in the utmost contempt. He subdued lions and dragons, according to the *Abassines*, who still preserve many fabulous traditions concerning him. One of these is, that he had a conference with the ever blessed Trinity and our Saviour, at which he gave several answers too blasphemous to be mentioned (11),

(1) *Poet. Abas. & Sandoval. apud Joh. Ludolph. in comment. ad histor. Æthiopic. p. 291, 292. ut & ipse Ludolph. ibid,*

of

of Chriſt, in purſuance of the vow already made, and placed a chriſtian prince upon the throne of the *Homerites*; after whoſe death, which happened in winter, when the *Ethiopians* could not tranſport (M) a body of forces into *Arabia*, *Dunnaan* found means to ſeize upon the crown. He began his reign with a violent perſecution of the chriſtians, upon whom he exerciſed unheard-of cruelties, a detail of which has been given us by various authors. St. *Aretas*, in particular, and many others, he cauſed to be burnt in the city of *Nagra*. This induced the *Alexandrian* patriarch to invite, by letters, *Eleſbaan* to carry his arms into *Arabia*, in defence of the chriſtians, who had been put to death in great numbers with the moſt exquiſite tortures (N). *Eleſbaan* embraced the oc-

(M) One of the moſt noted ports of the *Ethiopians* on the *Red Sea* was *Adule* or *Adulis*, twenty ſtadia from the city of that name, and twelve days journey from *Auxomis* or *Axuma* the capital of *Ethiopia*. The *Greek* writers of the latter ages denominated the *Ethiopians* in general *Axumites* from the name of this city, as we learn from *Nonnoſus*, *Procopius*, and others. *Adule* was the great mart for the commodities of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c. to which the merchants of thoſe countries conſtantly reſorted. Beſides the wares already mentioned, thoſe merchants exported from thence vaſt numbers of *Ethiopian* ſlaves, who, by this means, were diſperſed over a great part of the world (12).

(N) It appears from *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, *Theophanes*, *Simeon Beth Arſamenſis*, *Alphonſus*, *Mendeſius*, and others, that this *Caleb* or *Eleſbaan* was a prince of great ſanctity, and as ſuch the church of *Rome* has honoured him with canonization. M. *Ludolphus* informs us, that father *Tellez* obſerved a ſurpriſing agreement betwixt the *Ethiopic* and *Latin* writers, with regard to the life and actions of *Eleſbaan*. To which we may add, that M. *Aſſemanus* has likewiſe exhibited to our view the harmony betwixt *Metaphraſtes* and *Beth-Arſamenſis*, in relation to the conduct and great atchievements of the ſame prince. But we ſhall be more particular and explicit on this head, in the hiſtory of the antient *Arabs*, whoſe country was the theatre of thoſe atchievements (13).

(12) *Ptol. in geogr. Æthiop. Nonnoſus apud Phot. Procop. de bell. Perſic l. i. c* 19. *& alib Geo. Cedren. ad an.* 15. *imp Juſtinian. Coſm Egypt. ubi ſup.* (13) *Sim. Metaphraſt apud Surium, tom. v p* 943. *& alib. paſſ Procop. Evagr. Theophan Cedren. Simeon epiſc Beth Arſamenſ. aliique apud Joſeph Simon. Aſſeman in biblioth. Oriental. tom. i. p.* 359---385. *Alphonſ Mendez & Balth. Tellez. apud Ludolph. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p.* 232.

casion, and was favoured by God with an intire victory (O), which gave the *Abyssines* (P) the possession of *Arabia Felix* till the time of *Abd al Motalleb* grandfather of *Mohammed*. *Abrahah Ebn al Sabah al-Ashram* was the governor of *Yaman*, under the king of *Abassia*, whose punishment we find mentioned in the tenth chapter of the *Koran*. He brought, says the author of that book, an army with a great number of elephants to the siege of *Mecca*; upon which came a cloud of birds, with the rage of thunder, upon him. Each of these birds had a stone in its beak, which it dropped with such violence upon the elephants, that they were pierced through; nor did the vengeance end here, but, according to some, pursued the viceroy into his master's dominions, where one of these fowls let its stone fall upon his head, and killed him [f].

That Atzham *king of* Ethiopia *embraced* Mohammedanism *not probable.*

THE *Mohammedan* writers generally agree, that *Atzham*, or *Asshamah Ebn Abbar*, the *Najâshi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, during *Mohammed*'s mission, did not only take under his pro-

[f] NICEPH. CALLIST & CEDREN apud Ludolph. ubi sup. NONNOSUS apud Phot. SIMEON METAPHRASTES apud Surium, p. 943, & alib pass JOANNES As episc. THEOPHANES & SIMEON episc. Beth-Arsamens. apud Asseman. ubi sup. p. 364---385. PROCOP. de bel. Persic. l. i. c. 20. PAGIUS. ad an. 523, & alib. LAMBECIUS, l v. p 133. Vid. etiam not eruditiss Cl. Asseman. ubi sup 381---385. Al Koran MOHAMMED. c. 105. & LE GRAND, in dissert. ix.

(O) This happened in the reign of the emperor *Justin*, probably about the seventh or eighth year of it, *A. C.* 524, or 525, and not, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* seem to intimate, 522, or 523 (14).

(P) *Procopius* attributes this famous exploit to *Hellestæus*, *Elesbaan*'s son, whom he calls king of the *Axumites*, and is followed herein by cardinal *Baronius*. But as this notion has been overthrown by *Ludolphus*, as so noble an action seems more agreeable to the high encomia passed upon *Elesbaan*, than the reign of his son, of whom the *Abassine* historians say but little, and as *Metaphrastes* and *Beth Arsamensis* positively affirm *Elesbaan* (that prince who embraced christianity after the victory obtained over a former king of the *Homerites*) to have taken vengeance on *Dunaan*, we cannot but declare ourselves of another opinion (15).

(14) *Vid not. Cl. Asseman ad Sim episc. Beth Arsamens in bibl. Orient. p.* 365 (15. *Procop. de bel. Persic. l. i. c.* 20 *Baron. ann.* 523 *num.* 30. *Sim Metaphrast. p.* 939, & *seq Sim. Beth Arsamens apud Asseman. bibl. Orient tom i* p 381---385. *Ludolph hist. Æthiop l ii. c.* 4. *Vide & MS. Græcor. Menolog. apud Lambecium, l. v.* p. 133.

section

tection a considerable number of *Mohammed*'s friends, who were driven out of *Hejaz* by the *Koreiſh*, but likewiſe became a convert to the new religion of that impoſtor. This converſion, according to *Mohammed Ebn Abdo'l Bâki*, happened in the ſecond year of the *Hejra*, though it is placed ten years higher by *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius*. Some learned men have, without any difficulty, admitted the truth of this relation, particularly *Selden* and *Colomeſius*. But the abſurdities with which *Abdo'l Bakides*'s narration, which by a very able *Oriental* critic ſeems to have been judged more accurate and better than any other, is ſtuffed, and the abſolute ſilence of the *Ethiopians*, as well as thoſe authors who have written the hiſtories of the patriarchs of *Alexândria* and the *Saracens*, on this head, will not permit us to come into ſuch an opinion. That *Atzham*, all his biſhops, preſbyters, monks, *&c.* ſhould allow that our Saviour foretold another great prophet to come after him, and that *Mohammed* was this prophet; that the *Abaſſine* biſhops and preſbyters, by citing it to the *Najâſhi* in favour of *Mohammed*, ſhould admit for genuine a paſſage of the New Teſtament not to be found there; and, to omit other points carrying with them the like air of probability, that, upon the ſight of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of the *Koran*, they ſhould all burſt out into a flood of tears, and be in the ſoreſt affliction; in ſhort, that they ſhould be converted to *Moſlemiſm* by the Goſpel itſelf; theſe, we ſay, are ſuch glaring abſurdities, as can be ſwallowed by none but a moſt bigotted *Mohammedan*. And ſuch a train of remarkable effects muſt have followed a king of *Ethiopia*'s embracing *Moſlemiſm*, that the above-mentioned hiſtorians could not have omitted taking notice of it; nay, the *Mohammedan* writers themſelves would undoubtedly have recorded many tranſactions, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch an event, which we find they have not ſo much as touched upon, had their prophet converted the king of *Ethiopia*, even before the *Arabs* themſelves. It is to us, therefore, matter of great ſurpriſe, that the very learned M. *Ludolphus* ſhould run himſelf into difficulties and errors, in order to evade the authority of *Abdo'l-Bakides* and *Abulfeda* with regard to the introduction of *Moſlemiſm* into *Ethiopia*. The ſpirit with which the *Koran* was written, that is, a lying ſpirit; the genius of the *Mohammedan* writers, not only with the worſt kind of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, but likewiſe addicted to romance and fiction in points abſtracted from religion; theſe, we ſay, in conjunction with what has been juſt offered, amount to little leſs than a demonſtration, that this ſtory was invented by the *Moſlems*, purely with a deſign to do ho-

nour to *Mohammed* and the *Koran*. For which reaſons we ſhall make no ſcruple to reject it intirely, with father *Maraccit*.

Their hiſtory to the uſurpation of the Zagæan family extremely ſhort.

Gabra-Meſkel, ſucceſſor to *Eleſbaan*, according to the *Ethiopian* poet ſo often cited by *Ludolphus*, was a prince who greatly extended the limits of his dominions; though we have no particulars of his conqueſts. His ſubjects, however, enjoyed the ſweets of peace a good part of his reign, which proceeded chiefly from the terror of his arms, all the neighbouring nations being kept in awe by him. *Procopius* gives us to underſtand, that the emperor *Juſtinian* entered into an alliance with him; but what hereupon enſued, we nowhere find. The ſame author alſo relates, that even in *Gebra-Meſkel*'s time the *Axumites* or *Ethiopians* were ſo little acquainted with the art of navigation, that they croſſed the ſtreights of *Bal al Mandab* in rude veſſels, conſiſting of nothing but planks or boards faſtened together with ropes. This ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their want of proper materials for ſhipping, their maritime provinces affording them ſcarce any thing of this kind, and the *Romans* being obliged, by a particular law, not to tranſport any naval ſtores into *Ethiopia*. Next to this pious king, for ſuch he is deſcribed by the *Abaſſines*, one *Conſtantine* aſcended the throne, and after him one *Freſenna*, whoſe name imports *good fruit*. During the (Q) interval between *Freſenna* and *Delnoad*, who reigned

[c] Poet Æthiop. apud Job. Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 4. ut & ipſe Ludolph. ibid. Vid. & Procop. de bel. Perſic. l. 1. c. 9.

(Q) We are told, that about *A D* 836, *Ethiopia* groaned under the complicated miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; that their armies were routed and put to flight, whenever they came in ſight of the enemy. The *Abaſſines*, continues this author, attributed theſe evils to the violence and indignities offered *John* the metropolitan ſent them by *James*, the fiftieth patriarch of *Alexandria*. A knot of the nobility had before caballed againſt this prelate, and, after bringing others over to their party, driven him out of the country. Under the influence, therefore, of the above-mentioned perſuaſion, he was recalled and re eſtabliſhed. But the queen, who at that time held the reigns of government, raiſed new perſecutions againſt the *Abuna*, and left him only the choice of being circumciſed, or leaving the kingdom. *John* choſe to undergo circumciſion, and being ſtripped in order to the operation, had upon him by a ſingular miracle, ſay the *Copts* and *Abaſſines*, evident tokens that he had been circumciſed on the eighth day. We muſt here obſerve, that as the church of *Abaſſia* acknowledges that of *Alexandria*,

reigned about the year of the christian æra 960, the *Ethiopian* history is so barren, as not to supply us with one article meriting any great regard. About this time the usurpation of the *Zagæan* family commenced, the cause of which will hereafter be fully explained [u].

[u] ABULFEDA in vit. Mohammed. p. 24, 25, 26, 95, 96. edit. Oxon. 1723. EBN. SHOHNAH. ABDO'L-BAKID. in hist. Habessin. par. 2. c. 2. & c 3. AL-JANNABIUS in vit. Mohammed. Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. 19, c. 29, & c. 30. AL-WAKEDIUS apud ABDO'L-BAKID. ubi sup. SELDEN. de ux. Hebraic. p. 553, & alib. COLOMES. in observat. sacr. JOB. LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hist. Æthiopic. p. 223. et p. 284, & alib. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS in prodrom. par. i. c. p, 2. 45. edit- Patavii, 1698. Vid. etiam Cl. GAGN. in Abulfed. ubi sup.

andria as its mother, it is subject to it in a particular manner, not having the liberty of electing its own bishop. This subjection is as antient as the conversion of the *Abassines* to christianity, and confirmed by that book of canons which they held in equal esteem with the sacred writings. The particular canon here hinted at will be inserted when we come to the modern history of *Abassia (16)*.

(16) Le Grand, dissert. viii. c. 9.

CHAP. VIII.

The history of the Arabs, *and their antient state, to* Mohammed.

SECT. I.

Description of Arabia.

Many authors have taken great pains to give an accurate geographical description of Arabia.

THE independency most of the *Arabs* maintained to the downfal of the *Roman* empire, and the surprising conquests they made under *Mohammed* and his successors, rendered their country so famous, that 'tis no wonder many authors should have taken such pains to give an accurate description of it. *Ptolemy* seems to have laboured this point more than any other: *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, with many more of the antients, in their accounts

counts of *Arabia*, are likewise pretty prolix. But the *Arab* writers themselves have been indefatigable on this head. They are very particular and minute, both in their historical and geographical relations; which would have met with a more general esteem, had not the *Arab* genius, so strongly tinctured with enthusiasm and superstition, and consequently inclined to fable and romance, so eminently displayed itself through almost every part of those compositions [a].

Whence Arabia so called.

Arabia, or at least the most considerable part of it, was, from remote antiquity, called by the natives *Arabah*; which name it still retains. However, we find it frequently styled by their historians *Gjazirah* or *Jezîrat al Arab*, the peninsula of the *Arabs*, *Belad al Arab*, the region of the *Arabs*, *Diyar al Arab*, the provinces of the *Arabs*; and by many of the *Orientals*, *Arabistân*. Amongst some of the *Syriac* writers it seems to have gone under the appellation of *Cushatha*, and sometimes in Scripture that of *Cush*, as we have already observed in the history of the *Ethiopians*. *'Al-Motarezzi*, in the book *Mogreb*, derives the name of *Arabah* from *Arbah*, a district of *Tehâma*, where *Ishmael* dwelt, or, according to *Safioddin*, a town in the neigbourhood of *Mecca*; and *'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebî*, in *'Abu'l-Fedah*, from *Ya'rab*, the son of *Kahtân* or *Joktan*, and grandson of *Eber*. But those bid the fairest for truth, who deduce it from a *Hebrew* original; the word *arab* or *ereb* having several significations very favourable to such a conjecture. For it imports, *the west*, *a mixture*, and *merchandise*, or *traffick*. Now that the western part of *Arabia* was at first called ארץ ארב *eretz arab* or (A) *ereb*, the western country, may be deemed highly probable from hence, that its eastern provinces are

[a] Ptol. in Arabia, edit. Oxon. 1712. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab l. i. l. xvi. & alib Plin. l. vi. c 27. & alib. Abulfed. descript. Arab. edit. Oxon. 1712. Vid. etiam Steph Byzant. in voce Χαραχμωβα, & Huds. in præfat. ad vol. iii. geograph. vet. Græc. min. Oxon. 1712.

(A) From hence, by the insertion of an epenthetic N, comes the word *Erembi*, the name of a nation mentioned by *Homer* and *Strabo*. *Homer*'s scholiast and *Bochart* intimate, that the *Erembi*, were the same people with the *Troglodytes*; though they likewise allow, that they might have been a branch of the *Arabians*. For a more ample discussion of this point, we must refer our readers to *Bochart* (1).

(1) *Hom Odyss.* Δ. *v.* 83 *& Schol. in loc. Strab. l. i. Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c* 2. *& c* 29.

deno-

denominated in Scripture ארץ קדם *eretz kedem*, the land of the eaſt. Which if we admit, from ארב *arab* naturally and eaſily flows *Arabah*. This notion ſeems the leſs liable to exception, as *Moſes* himſelf ſtyles the weſtern *Arabia Arabah*; which goes a good way towards evincing, that from its ſituation it firſt received that name. Afterwards the *Iſhmaelites*, who were poſſeſſed of it, gradually reducing the other parts, carried the word *Arabah* along with them, and applied it to the whole peninſula. Some, however, think, that this tract might have aſſumed the name we are now conſidering, from that mixture of different tribes, which, they pretend, formed the *Arab* nation. In ſupport of this opinion it is alledged, that in Scripture the *Arabs* are termed *a mingled people*, and that the antients enumerate many nations inhabiting *Arabia*. But, as the paſſage of Scripture here hinted at does not appear neceſſarily to denote the *Arabs*, as the various names given by the antients to the different clans of this region do not abſolutely imply, that all thoſe clans had a different original, and as the beſt *Arabian* hiſtorians aſſert all their countrymen to be ſprung from two ſtocks only, perhaps our readers will allow a greater degree of probability to the former etymon. Laſtly, others deduce the name *Arabah* from the third ſignification of ערב above-mentioned, becauſe the *Arabs* in very early ages took their principal delight in merchandiſe or traffick; the gold, frankincenſe, myrrh, jewels, ſpices, and many other valuable commodities, either the natural produce of their country, or brought thither from *India*, prompting them thereto. Now, though it cannot be denied, that this carries a good appearance of truth, and that the facts on which it is founded are clear and inconteſtable; yet, as the moſt antient names of places ſeem chiefly to have been taken, either from thoſe of the firſt planters of colonies, builders of cities, *&c.* or ſome circumſtance in the ſituation, we are inclined to adhere to the etymon ſuggeſted by the firſt ſignification of ארב *arab*. The ſacred hiſtorian calls the territory, where the deſcendants of *Joktan* ſettled, *Kedem*, *the eaſt*; which renders it probable, that in his time the name *Arabah* was not known there. This is ſufficient to invalidate what has been advanced in the point before us by *'Ebn Saïd 'Al-Magrebi*, which depends only upon an *Arabian* tradition, that can by no means ſtand in competition with Scripture. Neither ought we to be cenſured for deducing the moſt noted name of *Arabia* from the *Hebrew* tongue: for, that *Moſes* uſes this very name, has been already obſerved; that in early ages the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages were the ſame, ſeems to be acknowledged by

by the *Arabs*, when they make themselves the descendants of *Eber* and *Abraham*, the two great ancestors of the *Hebrews* [b].

The largest extent of Arabia.

Arabia, taken in its largest extent, lies between the twelfth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and the fifty-third and seventy-eighth of longitude. The greatest length, or a line drawn from a point on the coast of the *Red-Sea* about 1° 25 S. of the tropic of *Cancer* to the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, is above eleven hundred miles; and its greatest breadth, that is to say, the distance from the northern extremity of the deserts of *'Al Jazira* to the straights of *Bab al Mandab*, between thirteen and fourteen hundred. It is bounded on the west by *Palestine*, part of *Syria*, the isthmus of *Suez*, and the *Red-Sea*, called by the *Arabs* the *Sea Al-Kolzom*; on the east by the *Euphrates*, the *Persian* gulph, and bay of *Ormuz*; on the north by part of *Syria*, *Diyar-Becr*, *Irâk*, and *Khûzestân*; and on the south by the straights of *Bab al Mandab*, and the *Indian* ocean It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of *Syria* and *Diyar-Becr*; and, by reason of the proximity of the *Euphrates* to the *Mediterranean*, may be looked upon as a peninsula, and that one of the largest in the world [c].

Its proper limits.

But the limits of the proper *Arabia* are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward then the isthmus which runs from *Ailah* to the head of the *Persian* gulph, and the borders of the territory of *Cûfa*; which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the happy*. Here the *Arabs* have been settled almost ever since the flood. the eastern geographers make *Arabia Petræa* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shâm* or *Syria*; and *Arabia Deserta*

[b] Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 78. & alib. Cl. Gagnier in not. ad Abulfed. geogr. Arab. sub init. Cumberl. Phœn. hist. Sanchoniath. p. 367. ed. Lond. 1720. Ebn Said Al-Magrebi apud Abulfed. hist. cap. 4. Pocock. specim. hist. Arab. 33. Al-Motrezzi in lib. *Mogreb*. Alfiraauzabadius, & Safioddin. apud Cl. Pocock. ibid Gagn. diatrib. de Arabum & Arabiæ nomin. sect. 1. Buxtorf. Schindl. aliique lexicograph. Hebr. Gen. c. xxv. v. 6. job. c. i. v. 3. jud c. iv. v. 3. Deut. c. ii. v. 8. Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 2. & 3. Jer. c. xxv. v. 20, 24. Ezek. c. xxx. v. 5. Diod. Sic. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. & alib. Prol. in Arab. R. Saadias in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. c. x. v. 25. loc. ubi sup. 39. Greg. Abulfarag. p. 159. Gen. c. xxxvii. v. 25. Dionys. Perieg. v. 927, &c. Boch. præf. ad Chan. Gen. c. x. v. 30. [c] Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79, &c. Abulfed. in descript. Arab. pass. ut & Atwal, Kanun, Rasm, ibid.

they

they call the *deſerts* of *Syria*. But as the *Arabs* have for many ages reduced theſe two provinces, or kingdom, either by ſettlements or continual incurſions, the *Turks* and *Perſians* at this day include them in *Arabiſtân*. The antients in like manner aſſigned different limits to this vaſt peninſula. *Pliny* extended it as far as the borders of *Commagene*, the north part of *Syria*, on account of the many *Arabian* colonies planted there by *Tigranes*; and *Xenophon* included in it the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia*. But *Ptolemy*, who gives us a more accurate deſcription of *Arabia*, determines its dimenſions differently from thoſe authors. According to him, the city of *Phara*, between the *Elanitic* and *Heroopolitan* gulphs, or rather a line drawn a little to the weſtward of this city near the diſtrict of *Heroopolis*, was its boundary on the ſide of *Egypt*. On the weſt it was terminated by *Paleſtine*, part of *Syria*, the confines of *Egypt*, and the *Arabian* gulph; on the north by the *Euphrates*, from the city of *Thapſacus*, near the borders of *Palmyrene*, to the diſtrict of *Idicara* in *Babylonia*; on the eaſt by the *Chaldæan* mountains, and the *Perſian* gulph; and on the ſouth by the *Erythræan* ſea. The ſame ſituation and extent, or nearly ſo, are aſſigned it by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. Conformably to the ſentiment of the *Arabs*, this region may be deemed a peninſula, whether we conſider it as anſwering to the name of *Arabia* in its moſt uſual ſenſe, or as it is variouſly deſcribed by the antients, or, laſtly, as comprehending all that vaſt tract bounded almoſt intirely by the *Euphrates*, the *Perſian* gulph, the (B) *Sindian*, *Indian*, *Red-Seas*, and part of the *Mediterranean* [d].

[d] DIOD. SIC. STRAB. PLIN. ubi ſup. XENOPH. in *ἀναβάς*. l. i. PTOL. in Arab. ATWAL, KANUN, RASM, ABULFED. GOL. &c. ubi ſup.

(B) *Sind* or *Sindia* is that large tract comprehending all thoſe countries between *India*, *Carmania*, or *Sigiſtân*. On the ſouth it is waſhed by the ſea, which from thence is called the *Sindian* ſea, contiguous to the bay of *Ormuz* and the *Indian* ocean. Its metropolis is known by the name of *Manſoura*, according to the eaſtern writers. The *ſindon* of the antients was ſo denominated from *Sindia*, where it was produced in vaſt quantities. The *Arabs* believe the people of this region to be the poſterity of *Cham* (2).

(2) *Strab. paſſ. Abulfed. apud Schult. ubi ſup. Gol. in lex. & ad Alfragan. p.* 77.

The first division of Arabia.

The first division of the peninsula of the *Arabs* was into *Kedem* and *Arabah*, as we learn from Scripture. *Kedem*, or the land of *Kedem*, comprehended the *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Deserta* of *Ptolemy*, whose limits and extent we shall soon define from that geographer. *Arabah* answered to that country called, from *Petra* its metropolis, *Arabia Petræa* by *Ptolemy*; *Arabia Citerior*, from its situation in respect of *Italy*, by *Pliny*; and *Arabia Vetus* by *Stephanus* and *Procopius*, according to *Ortelius*. *Moses* seems to have determined the bounds of this kingdom with a precision worthy an accurate geographer, when he tells us, that on the south it reached to the sea of *Suph*, or the *Red-Sea*; on the west to *Paran* and *Tophel*; on the north to *Laban*, *Hatseroth*, and *Di-Zahab*, that is, to the borders of *Syria*; and on the east to *Kadesh Barnea*, eleven days journey from mount *Horeb*. As *Arabah* imports the west, so *Kedem* does the east; and these significations agree with the situations of those regions. The *Arabic* version makes *Kedem* to extend as far as *Rekem* or *Petra*, which runs counter to some other authors. In one passage *Moses* apparently comprehends *Chaldæa* under the name of *Kedem*; but this will not overturn what is here advanced. The first inhabitants of *Arabah*, or the western *Arabia*, were the *Casluhhim*, descended from *Misraim*, the *Caphtorim*, and the *Horites*, who occupied mount *Seir*, before they were expelled from thence by *Esau* and his posterity. Afterwards *Ishmael* and his descendants settled here; and last of all the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*. As for *Kedem*, or the eastern *Arabia*, it was first peopled by the sons of *Joktan*, who are reputed the genuine *Arabians*; though in process of time the *Ismaelites* spread themselves over this country. That some of the *Cushites* also possessed themselves of part of it in early times, has been already observed. The children of *Abraham* by his concubine *Keturah* likewise contributed towards replenishing it with inhabitants, as appears from the sacred historian [e].

[e] Gagnier. ubi sup. Deut. c. i ver. 1. c. ii. ver 8. Gen. c. xxvi. ver. 6. Job. c. ver. 3. Jud. c 6. ver. 3. Plin. l. v. c. 11. & l. vi. c 34. Strab. ubi sup Procopius. Stephanus, Byzant. & Ortelius apud Gagn. ubi sup. Deut. c. i. ver. 1. Ptol. ubi sup. Arab. vers. Jud. c vi. ver. 3. & ver. 33 Gen c xxv. ver. 1. Gagn. ubi sup sect. iv. sub init. Gen. c. x. ver. 26—31 c. xxxvii. v. 25. & c. xxv. ver. 1—19. Gagn. ubi sup. sect. vi.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy seems to be the first who divided the peninsula we are now upon into three parts. These he termed *Arabia Petræa*, *Arabia Deserta*, and *Arabia Felix*; and since his time that division has generally prevailed. In order, therefore, to give our readers a succinct idea of every one of these provinces, we shall pursue the method he has observed, and describe them upon the plan he has laid down [f].

Ptolemy *the first who divided it into three parts.*

Arabia Petræa on the east was contiguous to *Syria* and *Arabia Deserta*; on the west to *Egypt*, or rather that neck of land separating *Africa* from *Asia*, called at this day the isthmus of *Suez*, and the (C) *Heroopolitan* gulph; on the north

Arabia Petræa.

to

[f] PTOL. in Arab.

(C) The *Heroopolitan* gulph received its name from the city of *Heroopolis* bordering upon it. This gulph, the western arm of the sea *Al-Kolzom*, is the *Yam Suph*, or *Yam Souph*, *The weedy sea*, of the Scripture. The ingenious Dr. *Shaw* supposes it to have been so called from the variety of *algæ* and *fuci*, that grow within its chanel, and, at low water particularly, are left in great quantities upon the sea-shore. If this be admitted, the word סוף *souph* has not been rendered so properly *flags* by our translators, *Exod. c.* ii. *ver.* 8. *Isa. c.* xix. *ver.* 6. nor *juncus* or *juncetum* by *Buxtorf.* The same worthy gentleman relates, that whilst the surface of the sea is calm, such a diversity of *madrepores*, *fuci*, and other marine vegetables, presented itself to the eye, that it is natural to take those plants for a forest, under water, agreeably to what we find observed by *Pliny*. It may not be improper farther to remark, that the *Yam Souph* was likewise denominated *Yam Edom*, or *the sea of* EDOM, by the antient inhabitants of the countries adjoining to it. For the sons of *Edom*, having possessed themselves of those parts, from their father *Edom*, called the gulph we are now upon *the sea of* EDOM. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, rendered *Yam Edom* improperly ἐρυθρὰ ἡ θάλασσα, *The Red Sea*, mistaking the word *Edom* for an appellative. However, they seem to have been well apprised, that this name was not derived from any redness peculiar to the territory bordering upon the *sea of* EDOM; since many of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors expressly assert, that this sea was so denominated from one king *Erythrus*, who could be no other than *Esau* or *Edom*. Though there are several thickets of the arundinaceous plants, at some small distances from the immediate banks of the *Yam Souph*, yet none are observed either upon them, or growing out of the sea; which is an additional argument in favour of Dr. *Shaw*'s notion. The castle and garison of *Ajeroute* are supposed

to *Paleſtine*, the lake *Aſphaltitis* and *Cæle-Syria*; and on the ſouth to *Arabia Felix*. This tract was for the moſt part uncultivated, the greateſt part of it being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here-and-there with ſome fruitful ſpots. *Petra*, its metropolis, ſeems to have been denominated by the *Hebrews Selah*, both which words were of the ſame import in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages. St. *Jerom* intimates, that among the *Syrians* it went by the name of *Rekem*, and was the ſame town that we find in Scripture ſtyled *Joktheel*. *Joſephus* calls it *Arke* and *Arakeme*, which *Bochart* takes to be equivalent to *Rekem*, as being only that word with an article prefixed. *Petra* was the chief fortreſs of the *Idumæans*, *Edomites*, or *Nabathæans*, as already obſerved, and derived its name from its rocky ſituation. It was acceſſible only by one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, rendered it almoſt impregnable (D). Authors, however, differ

poſed to occupy at preſent the ſpot of ground on which the antient *Heroopolis* ſtood 3).

(D) It will be found difficult enough to determine the ſituation of *Petra*. *Strabo* places it three or four days journey from *Jericho*, and five days journey from the foreſt of *Palm-trees*, which was upon the *Red Sea*. *Pliny* makes it to be ſix hundred miles diſtant from *Gaza*, and an hundred twenty-five miles from the *Perſian* gulph. But *Reland* and *Cellarius* think, that the numbers have been changed, and that the true reading in the laſt author is an hundred twenty-five miles from *Gaza*, and ſix hundred miles from the *Perſian* gulph. *Euſebius* places *Theman* five miles from *Petra*, *Carieria* a day's journey from the ſame city, and *Elath* or *Ailah* ten mile to the eaſt of it. Some geographers believe, that there were more than one *Petra*. St. *Athanaſius* diſtinguiſhes two, one in *Paleſtine*, and the other in *Arabia*. The paraphraſts *Jonathan* and *Onkelos* alſo repreſent *Rekem* and *Petra* as two different cities. *Joſephus* mentions *Petra* and *Rekem* in the country of the *Amalekites*, near which *Aaron* died, and *Petra* in the land of the *Midianites*, though he ſeems to confound thoſe two places. *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia Petræa*, is appropriated to *Paleſtine* by the author of the antient *Notitia eccleſiaſtica*, being the metropolis of what was

(3) *Shaw's geograph obſervat. in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, &c p.* 342, 386, 387, *& alib. Exod. c. x v.* 19. *c. xiii. v.* 18, *&c. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. l. vi c* 23. *Mel l. iii. c* 8. *Agatharchid. Cnid edit. Oxon p.* 2. *Q. Curt l viii. c* 9. *& l x c.* 1. *Philoſtrat l. iii c.* 15. *Arrian. in rer. Indicar libro. p* 579 *edit. Blanc. Prid connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New. Teſt. Vol. i p.* 10. 11. *ed* 2.

called

differ with regard to its ſituation. It was ſeated in a plain full of gardens, and watered with fountains, but ſurrounded with rocks, according to *Strabo*. *Pliny* ſpeaks of it almoſt in the ſame terms. He ſays, the *Nabathæans* inhabited the city of *Petra*, ſituated in a plain of about two thouſand paces over, watered by a river, and encompaſſed by inacceſſible mountains. But that it ſtood upon a ſteep rock, in a very dry and barren country, is intimated by *Dio*; with whom *Herodian* and the *Nubian* geographer in ſome ſort agree. For the former deſcribes the capital of the *Agareni* as ſtanding upon the point of a very high mountain; and the latter repreſents the city of *Petra* as conſiſting of houſes dug or cut out of a rock. As great a diverſity of opinions, in this particular, prevails amongſt the moderns. Some think, that the city of *Karak*, or *Crak*, lying on the confines of *Arabia* and *Syria*, inclining towards the north, is the antient *Petra*. According to them, this *fortreſs*, for that the word ſignifies in the *Syriac* and *Chaldee* tongues, anſwers to the *Characha* in the *Maccabees*, the *Karkaa* in the book of *Joſhua*, the *Charac Moab* or *Charac Moba* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Charakmoba* of *Stephanus*. Others make this city to be the ſame with *Hagr* or *Hejr* the capital of a diſtrict in the kingdom of *Hejaz*. And, laſtly, others believe *Errakim*, or *Arrekeh*, a town in a northerly direction from *Hagr* near *Krak* or *Carach*, to correſpond with the *Petra* of the antients. None of theſe notions ſeems remote from truth; though, by the aſſiſtance of *'Al-Makrîſi*, *Bohadin*, and the *Nubian* geogra-

called the *Third Paleſtine*. *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* alſo extend *Paleſtine* as far as the *Red Sea*, to *Elath*; ſo that with them it comprehended *Idumæa*, and *Arabia Petræa*. But thoſe countries were looked upon as diſtinct from *Paleſtine* in all the ages preceding *Euſebius*. Laſtly, father *Calmet* ſuppoſes the *Petra* called *Selah* by *Iſaiah*, and the author of the book of *Kings*, to have been ſeated in the land of *Moab*, or the eaſtern part of *Idumæa*; and afterwards named *Jokthеel*; whereas the other, called *Rekem*, was, according to him, ſituated in the ſouth *Idumæa*, or *Arabia Petræa*, or the country of the *Amalekites*. The ſame author, together with M. *Tillemont*, alſo believes, that the *Petra*, ineffectually attacked by *Trajan*, which *Dio* had in view, appertained to *Meſopotamia*, and conſequently was different from the city we are now upon (4).

(4) *Strab. Plin Joſeph. Dio, in loc. jam laudat. Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c* 14. *Reland. Paleſt. l. iii. p.* 927, 928. *Vid. etiam SS. Script. paſſ. P. Auguſt. Calmet. in voc.* Petra, *et D. Tillem, in Traj. art. xxiv. p* 204.

plier,

pher, such reasons have been assigned for the last, as we think, cannot easily be answered [g],

Towns in Arabia Petræa.

IT cannot be supposed, that such a barren region should abound with large and populous cities; and therefore most of those places, whose names have been transmitted down to us by *Ptolemy*, must be considered as insignificant and obscure. The principal towns appertaining to *Arabia Petræa*, taken notice of by Scripture, besides those already mentioned, were *Paran*, *Duma*, *Diblathaim*, *Dibo*, *Nebo*, *Bethmeon*, *Kariath* or *Kirioth*, *Nemrim*, and *Pithom*. *Paran*, the *Phara* of *Ptolemy*, that gave name to a famous desert adjoining to it, was three days journey to the east of *Elath*. *Duma* stood upon mount *Seir*, and, from what the prophet *Isaiah* intimates, was probably a place of some consideration. *Diblathaim*, *Dibo*, *Nebo*, *Bethmeon*, *Kirioth*, and *Nemrim*, from several passages in the Old Testament, appear also to have been places of some note, though their situation cannot from thence be ascertained. *Heroopolis*, on the western extremity of the *Arabian* gulph, is by some supposed to be *Pithom*, built by the *Israelites* for *Pharaoh*, during their servitude in *Egypt*, and the *Patumos* or *Patumon* of *Herodotus*. Be that as it will, it is certain the *Septuagint* and *Coptic* versions countenance such a supposition, the one rendering *Goshen Heroopolis*, and the other *Pethom*. The generality of the antient geographers have ranked this city amongst those belonging to *Egypt*; but *Herodotus* was of another opinion. *Haura*, *Zathag* or *Zatha*, and *Zize*, three modern places of this country, correspond tolerably well with the *Auara*, *Zanaatha*, and *Ziza* of *Ptolemy*; but as for *Lysa*, *Gypsaria*, *Gerasa*, and most, if

[g] Idem ibid. Dr SHAW's physical observations, &c. or an essay towards the natural history of Arabia Petræa, p. 377, 378, & seq. Jos. c. xv. ver. 3. 2 Macab. c. xii. v. 17. DIOD SIC. l. xix. STRAB. l xvi. JOSEPH. antiq. l iv. c. 4, 7. & l. xiv. c. 9, & alib. pass EUSEB. & HIERON. in Arkem. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab Petr. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. in voc. Χαράκμωβα. DIO, l. lxviii p. 785, 786. HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528. ATHANAS. epist. ad monach. SHARIF. AL EDRISI, clim. iii. par. 5. PTOL. l 5. 17. CALMET. in dict. bibl. voc. Petra. Jud. c. xi. ver. 3. 2 Mac. c. xii. ver 17. EUSEB. onomast. urb. & loc. ad voc. Πέτρα. 2 Kin. c. xiv. ver. 7. ISM. ABULFED. in Arab. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96, 97. Bochart. Phal. l. i c. 44. BOHADIN. apud Gl. Schult. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. ut & ipse SCHULT. ibid. Univers Hist. vol ii. p. 132, & seq. Vide etiam GUL. TYR. l xxii. c 2. & 5. BERN. THESAUR. de acquis. ter sanct. EBN HAWKAL apud Abulfed. & ALB. SCHULT. ubi sup. in voc. Cuacha.

not

not all, the other villages and towns enumerated by that geographer, ſcarce any footſteps or traces of them are now to be ſeen [h].

THE moſt conſiderable nations inhabiting this tract, in the earlier ages, were the *Iſhmaelites*, the *Nabataei* or *Nabathæans*, the *Cedrei* or *Kedareni*, and the *Agareni* or *Hagareni* (E). Of theſe the *Iſhmaelites* were the moſt potent, if they did not comprehend all the reſt. The *Nabathæans* and *Kedareni* apparently deduced their names from *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*, the ſons of *Iſhmael*, and conſequently ought to be looked upon either as branches of the *Iſhmaelites*, or in all reſpects as the ſame nation with them. It is probable the deſcendants of *Midian*, one of *Abraham*'s ſons by *Keturah*, ſeated themſelves in the neighbourhood of the *Iſhmaelites*; ſince we find the ſame people called in Scripture *Iſhmaelites* and *Midianites*. Amongſt the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deſerta*, at leaſt the bulk of them, for many ages, went by the names of *Arabes*, and *Nabataei*, *Nauataei*, or *Nabatæ*. They extended themſelves, according to St. *Jerom*, from the *Red Sea* to the *Euphrates*; and all the tract they inhabited was, from them, denominated *Nabatæna*; nay, ſo numerous were the *Nabathæans*, that we find them mixed with the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and people of *Moab*. The *Cedrei* or *Kedareni* and *Chanclei*, ſeem to have been two tribes of them, the former of which *Cellarius* places near the northern confines of *Arabia Felix*. The *Midianites* made a ſettlement behind the *Elanitic* gulph, and incorporated themſelves with the *Cuſhites*. If the *Hagareni* did not correſpond intirely with the *Iſhmaelites*, they muſt have been nearly related

Nations of Arabia Petræa.

[h] PTOL. ubi ſup. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. HIERONYMUS apud Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 344. Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. Num. c. x. ver. 12. Iſai. c. xv. ver 2. & c xxi. ver 2. Jer. c xlviii Exod. c. i ver. 11. LXX. in Gen. c xlvi. ver. 28, 29. & INTERP. ÆGYPT. ib. GUIL. BONJOUR. in monument. Coptic. ſect. 21. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 158. Vide CELLAR. geogr. ant. l iv c. 1 par. 1. ſect. 7. & chart. geograph. Arab. a SEN. & SAL. ed.

(E) To theſe we may add the inhabitants of the wilderneſs of *Mabon*, called in Scripture *Mehunim*, who bordered upon *Gerar* and *Pharan*, and conſequently were ſeated in the neighbourhood of *Egypt*. For a further account of this people, our readers may have recourſe to the fourth volume of the *univerſal hiſtory* (5)

[5] 2 *Chron.* c. 26. *ver.* 7. *Univerſ. hiſt. Vol. IV. p.* 67. *not.* (G).

to

to them. *Kimchi* inſinuates, that they were originally the children of *Hagar* by an *Arab*, after ſhe had left *Abraham*; but others rather apprehend they aſſumed their name from the ſtony region they inhabited. *Cellarius* thinks, that at firſt they muſt have been but an obſcure people, though neither *Trajan* nor *Severus* could reduce their metropolis, according to *Dio*. Their territory bordered upon the land of *Moab*, as may be inferred from ſcripture. In after-ages, the names of all the nations here touched upon were abſorbed in that of *Saracens*, which continued famous for ſeveral centuries over the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the world. It is obſervable, that the *Jeruſalem Targum* ſtyles the *Iſhmaelites Saracens*. That the *Arraceni* of *Pliny* were the *Saraceni* of *Ptolemy* and *Dioſcorides*, may be evinced by ſeveral arguments: 1. The ſame proper name has frequently an S and a vowel for its initial letters in different authors; as Ἀλμυδησσὸς and Σαλμυδησσὸς, Ἀνδράκωντος and Σανδράκωντος, Ἀξιταυία and Σξιταυία, Ἀσιράτης and Σιασιράτης, Ἀρδιαῖοι and Σαρδαῖοι, *Elana* and *Selana*, *Samnitæ* and *Amnitæ*, &c. 2. *Ptolemy* aſſigns the ſame ſituation to the *Saraceni*, that *Pliny* does to the *Arraceni*. 3. They had both the ſame origin, and deduced their names from that of the ſame city. This will more evidently appear from the account we ſhall give of the *Saracens* in the following ſection [i].

Some remarkable places of Arabia Petræa.

Before we leave *Arabia Petræa*, our readers will expect us to touch upon the following remarkable places. 1. The town of *Colzum* or *Kolzom*, giving name to the ſea adjoining to it, the *Cluſma*, as may be ſuppoſed, of *Ptolemy*, which ſtood on the weſtern extremity of the *Red* ſea, near the ſpot where the preſent city of *Suez* was erected, and not far from the antient *Heroopolis*. Betwixt this place and *Elath* or *Ailah* was *Eziongeber*, a celebrated port in the reigns of *Solomon* and *Jehoſaphat*, called afterwards *Berenice*. 2. The promontory of *Phara* or *Paran*, betwixt the *Heroopolitan*

[i] Diod Sic. l. ii. & iii. Ovid. metam. l. i. ver. 61. Strab. l. xvi. Plin. v. c. 11. l. vi c 28. & l xii. c. 17. Epiphan. hæreſ xi 1 Macc, c. ix ver. 35. Steph. Byzant. de urb. Ptol. ubi ſupra Gen c. xxv. ver 18. & c. xxxvii. ver. 25, 27. Hieronym. in loc. Hebr. & alib. Pſal. lxxxiii. ver. 6 & Kimchi in loc Dio ubi ſup. & alib. Euseb. in voc, *Madian*. Procop. de Bell. Perſ l. i. c. 17, 19. Marcian. Heracleot peripl. Sin. Arab Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 2. & alib. paſſ Cellar. geog. ant. l iii. c 14 Targ. Hierosol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver 25. Is. Casaub in comment. ad Strab p 32. col. 2. Gagn. lubi ſup. ſect 8, 9, & alib.

and

and *Elanitic* gulfs, on which ſtood the town of the ſame name. 3. The wilderneſs of *Sur*, extending from *Paleſtine* to the *Arabian* gulf, ſo celebrated in ſacred writ. 4. The deſert of *Sin*, which the *Iſraelites* enterd into after they had left that of *Sur*. 5. The wilderneſs of *Sinai*, which the ſame nation traverſed after the former. 6. That of *Paran*, terminated by *Kadeſhbarnea*, on the confines of *Canaan*. 7. That of *Zin*, contiguous to the ſouth-weſtern part of *Idumæa*, and terminated by *Kadeſh*. This may poſſibly have been the wilderneſs of ſolitude of *Kadeſh* or *Cades*, mentioned by the Pſalmiſt. 8. The mounts *Caſius* and *Sinai*, both which were in *Arabia*, according to St. *Paul*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. 9. The ſeveral ſtations of the *Iſraelites* here, on their march to the land of *Canaan* from *Egypt*, viz. *Zalmona*, *Phunon* or *Fenon*, *Oboth*, *Jim*, *Abarim*, &c. 10. *Adra*, in the northern part of *Arabia Petræa*, an epiſcopal ſee, over which *Proclus* preſided at the council of *Chalcedon*, according to *Lucas Holſtenius*. 11. *Eluſa*, which, according to the *Jeruſalem Targum*, ſeems to have correſponded with *Sur*, and likewiſe the ſeat of a biſhop. 12. *Boſtra*, twenty-five miles from *Adra*, a town of this region greatly honoured by *Trajan*, and called alſo *Philippopolis*, from the emperor *Philip*, ſurnamed *Arabs* by *Aurelius Victor*. 13. *Moca*, a city taken notice of by a medal of *Antoninus Pius*, as governed by its own laws. We ſhall paſs over in ſilence here every thing relating to the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*, though ſettled in *Arabia Petræa*, ſince they have been already treated of at large in a former volume of this hiſtory [k].

Arabia Deſerta was bounded on the north by the *Euphrates*, which, bending its courſe eaſterly, ſeparated it from *Meſopotamia* (F); on the weſt by *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia Petræa*; Arabia Deſerta.

[k] GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 88, 144, 145. PTOL. HIERONYM. CELLAR. &c. ubi ſup. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 7, 14. c. xx. ver. 1. c. xxv. ver. 18. Exod c. xv. ver. 22. c. xvi. ver. 1. c. xvii. ver. 1. c. xix. ver. 1. Num. c. x. ver. 12. c xiii ver. 3, 4. c. 32. ver. 8. Deut. c. ix. ver. 23. Num. c. xxxiv. ver iv. Joſ c. xv. ver 3. Deut. c. xi. ver. 8. 1 King c. ix. ver. 26 c. xxii. ver. 49. c xiv. ver. 22. 2 Chron. c. xxvi. ver. 2. MEL. l. iii. c 8. & ISAAC. VOSS in loc. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. & alib. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi ſup. SALMAS in Solin. p. 344. AUR VICT. TARG. HIEROSOL. & LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, apud Cellar. ubi ſup AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xiv. c. 27. ed. Valeſ. Num. Antonin. Pii apud Patin. aliiq; num. ant. apud Cellar. in loc. citat.

(F) It appears from *Strabo*, that all the *Arab* tribes bordering on *Meſopotamia*,

træa; on the east by *Chaldæa* and *Babylonia*, or more precisely by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries; and on the south by *Arabia Felix*, from whence it was likewise disjoined by several ranges of hills. The *Cauchabeni*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited that part of this province bordering upon the *Euphrates*, as the *Batanæi* did that upon the confines of *Syria*. The *Agubeni* and *Rhaabeni* were placed more southerly, towards the frontiers of *Arabia Felix*; and by the *Persian* gulf the *Orcheni*. Under the *Cauchabeni*, near the borders of *Babylonia*, the *Æsitæ* had their habitation; and above the *Rhaabeni* the *Masani*. In the interior part the *Agræi* were seated; and in the mountainous region, near *Chaldæa*, the *Marteni* or *Martini*. All these nations, or rather tribes, except the *Æsitæ* and *Agræi*, were very obscure; but those deserving some regard, a word or two concerning them may not prove unacceptable to our readers [1].

The Æsitæ. *Bochart* supposes the *Æsitæ* to have inhabited that tract, where the holy and patient *Job* was seated. He believes, that *Ptolemy* wrote Αυσίται *Ausitæ*; and that *Uz*, the son of *Nahor*, settling here, gave name to the whole district. This notion, it must be owned, as well as the emendation that supports it, is not void of a good degree of probability; for the septuagint version renders *in the land of* Uz ἐν χώρᾳ Αυσίτιδι, *in the land of the* Ausitæ; and *Haran* or *Charræ*, where *Terah*'s family resided, was on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, and consequently in the neighbourhood of this place. Add to this, that the *Chaldæans* and *Sabæans* are represented as *Job*'s neighbours in Scripture; which circumstance agrees extremely well with the country of the *Ausitæ* or *Æsitæ*, as being contiguous to *Chaldæa*, and having, according to *Ptolemy*, a city called *Sabe* situate in it. Further, *Buz* was *Nahor*'s second son; and we find, adjoining to this territory, a district called *Busitis*, of which *Elihu*, one of *Job*'s friends, was a native; and another of them came from *Tema* or *Thema*, a town of

[1] PTOL. ubi sup.

Mesopotamia, from their way of life, were by the *Greeks* and *Romans* denominated *Arabes Scenitæ*. That roving people, whom some authors make the same with the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, dispersed themselves over several parts of *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Felix*, as well as through almost every district of this barren province (6).

(6) *Strab. l. xvi. p.* 526. *Plin. l. v. c.* 24, & 16. & *l. vi c.* 28. *Vide etiam Chr. Cellar. geogr. antiq. l. iii. c.* 14. p. 586, 587, 594.

Arabia

Arabia Deserta, not very remote from hence: which considerations, as well as several others that might be offered, render it not a little probable, that *the land of* Uz, and *the territory of the* Ausitæ or *Æsitæ*, were one and the same country [m].

THE *Agræi* lay more westerly, and even close upon the skirts of *Arabia Petræa*; which possibly may have induced some learned men to call them *Agaræi*, and make them the same people with the *Hagareni* above-mentioned, whom we have placed in *Arabia Petræa*. If this be admitted, they must have possessed a good part of *Arabia*, and been much more powerful than *Cellarius* is willing to allow them. Be that as it will, it is certain *Pliny* in the same passage takes notice of the *Agræi* and the city of *Egra* or *Agra*; that, in the cabinets of the curious, antique (G) coins have been discovered, with the words ΣΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΕΥΣ, Jupiter *of* Agra, or Jupiter *the protector of* Agra, upon them; and lastly, that the situation the *Oriental* geographers assign *Hagr*, a name not very remote from *Agra*, quadrates well enough with such a supposition. But as it is not a matter of any great moment, whether the *Agræi* and *Hagareni* were the same people or not, whether their territories were extensive, or confined within narrow bounds, we leave our readers to take which side of the question they please [n].

The Agræi.

[m] BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 8. LXX. in Job c. i. PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi sup. FRID. SPANHEIM. in Jobi hist. p. 50. Gen c. xxii. ver. 21. Job. c. xxxii. ver. 2. &c. [n] JACOB. DE BARRY apud Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 933, & seq. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. ubi sup. MOHAM. ALFRAG. in clim. ii. astronom. c 9. ut & GOL. in loc. & lex. Arab. Vide etiam not. ad CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iii. c. 14. p. 592. & ABULFED. in Arab.

(G) That the coins here mentioned belonged to this city, seems plain, not only from the legend they exhibit, but likewise from the workmanship, taste, and manner of them, since they agree intirely with those of the cities in the neighbourhood of *Palestine*. They prove therefore *Pliny*'s text to have been corrupted, and that this present *Egra* was originally *Agra*. That *Jupiter* should have been honoured with such an appellation, will not appear strange, when we consider the *Diana Ephesia*, *Apollo Delphicus*, *Apollo Clarius* &c of the antients [7].

(7) *Jacob. de Barry apud Hadrian. Reland. Palæst tom. ii.* p. 933, & *seq. Vide etiam Plin. Macrob.* &c. & *Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iii. c.* 14. p 592.

Some curious particulars relating to Arabia Deserta.

It is very well known, that the antient *Ituræans*, *Edomites*, *Nabathæans*, people of *Kedar*, and other nations settled in *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*, led, for the most part, a wandering life, like their posterity the present *Bedoweens*, without houses, towns, or any fixed habitations. By far the greatest part of both these provinces or kingdoms was a lonesome, desolate wilderness, no otherwise diversified than by plains covered with sand, or mountains consisting of naked rocks and precipices; neither were they ever, unless sometimes at the equinoxes, refreshed with rain. The few vegetables therefore, which they produced, must have been stunted by a perpetual drought, and the nourishment afforded them by the nocturnal dews sufficiently impaired by the intense heat of the sun in the day. Throughout the sandy deserts were found huge mountains of sand formed by the violence of the winds, that continually blew over them in the daytime, though they ceased in the night. As for wells and fountains, they were so very rare in these parts, that it is no wonder they should have occasioned so much strife and contention. However, notwithstanding the natural sterility of the tract we are now upon, those vast plains of sand abovementioned were here-and there interspersed with fruitful spots, which appeared like so many little islands surrounded by an immense ocean, as has been observed by *Pliny*. These being rendered extremely delightful by fountains, rivulets, palm-trees, a variety of vegetables, and most excellent fruits, the *Arabs*, with their flocks, encamped upon some of them, and, having consumed every thing there, retired to others, as is the custom of the *Bedoweens* at this day. Such fruitful spots were likewise frequent in *Libya*, and by the *Egyptians* called *Auases* or *Abases*, as we learn from *Strabo*. The barren part of *Arabia Felix*, bordering upon the *Red-Sea*, was, in like manner, interspersed with such *Abases*; which probably gave name to the *Abaseni*, a nation settled there, and in the adjacent fertile region. A body of these crossing the straights of *Bab al-Mandab*, passed into *Ethiopia*, which from them received the denomination of *Abassia*. This, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. *Ludolphus*, appears to us much more likely, than that either the *Arabs* or *Ethiopians* should have been called *Abassines*, from we know not what mixture peculiar to the former nation; for the very notion of such a mixture is repugnant to the whole stream of *Oriental* antiquity, and even to the sacred writings themselves, as our readers will easily collect from several pas-

sages

sages of this history. It is certain the *Nubians* (H) a people inhabiting part of *Libya Interior*, abounding with *Abasses* and *Ethiopia*, went antiently under the appellation of *Abasseni*; which adds no small weight to our opinion That even the fruitful part of *Arabia Felix* itself should be called *Abasene*, is not to be wondered at, since it might as well derive this name from *Arabia Petræa*, as it did from thence that of *Arabah* or *Arabia*; for that *Arabia Petræa* was styled *Abasene*, appears from *Herodian* and *Dio*, who have given an account of *Severus*'s expedition into this country, in conjunction with a coin of that emperor, having on the reverse the word ΑΒΑΣΗΝΩΝ exhibited by *Goltzius*. And this takes off the whole force of the objection offered by M. *Ludolphus* against the etymon of *Abasene* or *Abassia* here proposed [o].

[o] HEROD. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. &c. pass. SHAW ubi sup. STRAB. l. ii. & alib. CASAUB. in Strab. l. xvii. p. 719. PLIN. l. v. c. 25. Voyage au Grand Emir par le chevalier D'ARVIEUX, pass. Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, &c. SCALIG. in comput eccles. Æthiop. de emend. temp. l. vii See before, p. 498, &c. BALTH. TELLEZIUS. l. i. c. 2, p. 5. J. LUDOLPH. comment. ad hist. Æthiop. p. 50, 51, 52. NONNOSUS apud Phot. HESYCH. in voc. Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι ARISTOT. hist. animal. l. viii. c. 12. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. PTOL. l. iv. c. 8. GEORG. ELMACIN. hist. Sar. l. i. c. 17. DIO, ubi sup. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 28. edit. Oxon. 1673. HUBERTUS GOLTZIUS in thesaur. rer. antiquar. p. 217. edit. Antwerp. 1618.

(H) That the *Nubians* were a branch of the antient *Ethiopians*, appears from *Aristotle*, *Ptolemy*, and others; and that the *Ethiopians* were nearly related to the *Egyptians*, after consulting *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, no one can doubt. The *Ethiopic* and *Egyptian* languages therefore, in early ages, must have been, in a manner, the same; which likewise may be immediately collected from the aforesaid authors. *Auases* or *Abases* therefore was probably an *Ethiopic* as well as an *Egyptian* word Now, that the *Arabic* tongue antiently agreed with the *Ethiopic*, cannot well be denied, so uncommon an affinity betwixt them remaining to this day; so that *Auses* or *Abases*, may be considered likewise as a word used by the antient *Arabs*. These points add great weight to the conjecture here proposed (8)

(8) *Herodot l ii. Strab. l. xvii. Dio Sic. l. iii. Aristot. hist. animal l. viii. c. 12. Ptol l. iv. c. 8. Hesych. in voc.* Νῶβαι-Πυγμαῖοι. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. Suid. Nonnosus apud Phot. Vide etiam Plin. l vi c. 29. Elmacin hist. Sar. l i c. 17. & Bochart. Phal l. ii. c. 23 l. iv. c. 26, &c.*

THOUGH

Towns of Arabia Deserta.

THOUGH *Ptolemy* has handed down to us a large list of the towns appertaining to *Arabia Deserta*, our readers will be apt to conclude, from the foregoing observations, that few of them were places of any great repute. That geographer makes *Thapsacus* on the *Euphrates*, a city of some note on account of the bridge over which *Alexander* and *Darius* marched their respective armies, its frontier on the side of *Mesopotamia*; but *Pliny* and *Stephanus* think this town belonged to *Syria*. Near the mountains separating *Arabia* from *Chaldæa*, stood *Themma*, *Thema*, or *Tema*, so called from *Thema* or *Tema* the son of *Ishmael*, and mentioned in various passages of Scripture; for the *Ishmaelites* extended themselves from the land of *Havilah* near the *Euphrates* to the confines of *Egypt*. *Seba* was upon the borders of *Arabia Felix*, and founded probably by *Seba Abraham*'s grandson; since all that patriarch's children by *Keturah*, according to *Moses*, moved towards the east. *Gadirtha*, *Auzara*, *Audattha*, or *Adittha*, *Balatæa*, *Pharga*, *Belgnæa*, and the other antient cities situated along the banks of the *Euphrates*, have long since disappeared; unless we will allow some traces of *Audattha*, or *Adittha*, and *Balatæa*, to be still visible in the modern *Haditha* and *Balladoc*. *Ammæa*, *Idacara*, and *Jucara*, towards the *Persian* gulph, are equally obscure; except the present *Al-Kere* should be thought to bear some resemblance to the two latter. *Salma*, *Calathusa*, *Arrade*, *Tedium*, *Odageita*, *Luma*, *Dumætha*, &c. in the mediterranean parts; *Artemita* and *Abæra* on the skirts of *Arabia Felix*; *Thauba*, *Erupa*, *Alata*, *Aurana*, *Choce*, *Barathena*, &c. to the northward, never probably made any considerable figure. However, that some memory of *Salma* seems at this day to be preserved in mount *Salma*, of *Dumætha* in *Dawmat-al-Jandal*, of *Auran* in *Auran*, and of *Alata* in *Aladi*, we think, cannot well be denied [F].

Arabia Felix.

Arabia Felix was limited on the north by the two provinces or kingdoms just described; on the south by the *Erythræan* sea; on the east and west by part of that sea, together with the *Arabiana* and *Persian* gulphs. In short, it pretty nearly answered to that tract, which is looked upon as the proper peninsula of the *Arabs* by the *Oriental* geographers. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was divided into five kingdoms, which well enough corresponds with the division of the proper *Arabia* into five provinces by the eastern writers. These

[F] PTOL. ubi sup. ARRIAN. l. i. p. 116. & l. iii. p. 165. STRAB. l. xvi. PLIN. l. v. c. 24. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. Vid. etiam chart. geograph. Arab. a CL. SAL. &c. ed.

provinces

provinces are *Yaman*, *Hejaz*, *Tehâmma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*; to which ſome add *Bahrein*, as a ſixth. But the more exact make this a part of *Irâk*, and therefore come nearer to an agreement with *Strabo*. However, others reduce them all to two, *Yaman* and *Hejaz*, the laſt including the three provinces of *Tehâmma*, *Najd*, and *Yamama*. The principal nations taken notice of by the antients as ſettled here were the *Sabæi*, *Gerræi*, *Minæi* or *Minnæi*, *Atramitæ*, *Maranitæ*, *Catabani*, *Aſcitæ*, *Homeritæ*, *Sappheritæ*, *Omanitæ*, *Saraceni*, *Nabathæi*, *Thamydeni*, *Bizomenæ*, &c. As the limits and ſituation of theſe nations cannot be determined with any manner of preciſion, we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in the particular geography of the *Happy Arabia* [q].

THE *Sabæi* ſeem to have poſſeſſed a very conſiderable territory in the ſouthern and beſt part of this peninſula. Their country was greatly celebrated amongſt the antients for the vaſt quantity of frankincenſe it produced. *Saba* or *Sabæ*, its metropolis, according to the antient geographers, ſtood upon a hill, at no very conſiderable diſtance from the *Red-Sea*, being a large, opulent, and ſtrong city. It was defended by a a caſtle, and, has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, together with the *Arab* nation in general, the reſidence of the queen of *Sheba*. However, provided we allow the modern *Mâreb*, in the province of *Hadramaut*, to correſpond with the antient *Saba*, this laſt muſt have been ſeated more to the ſouth, and near the coaſt of the *Erythræan* ſea, or, as it is now called, the *Indian* ocean. And that the modern *Mâreb* anſwers to *Saba*, muſt be admitted at leaſt extremely probable from *Pliny*, who, together with *Strabo*, mentions *Mariaba* or *Meriaba*, the ſame words apparently with *Mâreb*, as the capital of the *Sabæi*, but is intirely ſilent as to the city of *Saba*. According to the eaſtern geographers, the town of *Mâreb* or *Mârab* is ſomething above three days journey from *Sanaa* the capital of *Yaman*, in an eaſtern direction. From the ſame authors it alſo appears, that *Saba* was originally the name of a diſtrict, as well as a city, which could only be deemed a ſmall part of the kingdom of *Yaman*. But that this diſtrict ſhould have been always confined to the province of *Hadramaut* or *Shibâm*, if not a part of it, as they ſeem to inſinuate, cannot be allowed; ſince frankincenſe, for the production of which the territory of the

The Sabæi.

[q] PTOL. ubi ſup. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 1129. GOLII not ad Alfragan. p. 78, 79. HERODOT. DIOD SIC. AGATHARCHID. CNID. MEL. PLIN. STEPH. BYZANT. MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. AGATHEM. aliique antiq. ſcript. paſſ.

Sabæi

the *Sabæi* was so famous, is only found in the province of *Shibr*, different from that of *Hadramaut*. The *Arabs* assert both the town and district to have been so denominated from *Saba* the son of *Jexhab*, and grandson of *Joktan*, whose name imports *to lead into captivity*, because he was the first who reduced men to a state of servitude. *Pliny* makes the *Persian* and *Arabian* gulphs the eastern and western boundaries of this nation. The maritime towns were *Marana*, *Marma*, (I) *Corolia*, *Sabatha*, &c. and inland cities *Nascus*, *Cardaua*, *Carnus*, &c. *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, founded probably by *Raamah* the son of *Cush*, seated on the *Persian* gulph, seems likewise to have appertained to the *Sabæi*[r].

The Gerræi *and* Minæi.

The *Gerræi* and *Minæi*, according to *Strabo*, brought vast quantities of frankincense, and other kinds of perfumes, from the upper or southern parts of *Arabia Felix* to the sea-ports; which is a strong presumption of their being two tribes or cantons of the *Sabæi*. We find the towns of *Bilæna* or *Bilbana*, *Gera*, and *Magindana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* as belonging to the *Gerræi*; and the *Minæi*, a powerful nation, joined with the *Gerræi* by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. The last author calls the region of the *Minæi*, *Minæa* or *Meinæa*, and makes its northern frontiers seventy days journey from *Ailah*. Its principal city was *Carna* or *Carana*, called, as should seem, *Carnus* by *Pliny*, and placed by him in the country of the *Sabæi*; which brings no small accession of strength to what we have just advanced. Some authors take notice of the *Charmæi* as a people contiguous to the *Minæi* and *Gerræi*, but deliver nothing of moment concerning them[s].

The Adramitæ.

As for the *Atramitæ* or *Adramitæ*, they undoubtedly inhabited part at least of the province at this day named *Hadramaut*

[r] Diod Sic. l. iii. Agatharchid. Cnid. peripl. p. 63. Ppol. ubi sup Dionys perieg v. 927, &c Gotii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 86, 87 Geogr Nub clim. ii. par. 6 & alib. [s] Diod. Sic, l. iii Strab. l xvi.

(I) It is possible that this town might be seated on some part of the *Red sea* abounding with *coral*, especially since that sea was famous for the production of this marine vegetable; which if we admit, it may appear probable, that *Corolia*, received its name from the *coral* in its neighbourhood. Notwithstanding what has been advanced by *Plin.* the word *coral* seems to be of *Oriental* extraction For הרול חרל or חירל signifies *a thorn, a nettle, a thistle*, &c. which are vegetables, and consequently bear some analogy to *coral* Some may perhaps imagine that *coral* was so denominated from the town we are here speaking of (9).

(9) *Plin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Schind pentaglot. in voc.* חרל.

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or *Hadramautta*, and conſequently were a tribe of the *Sabæi*. Their metropolis was called *Sabota* or *Sabatha*, as may be inferred from *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; beſides which the port of *Cane*, at the ſouthern extremity of *Arabia Felix*, belonged to them. *Xibân*, or *Shibâm*, and *Tezim*, are now the principal towns of *Hadramaut*, both of them about a day's journey from the *Indian* ocean. *Shibâm* ſtands upon a rough and rocky mountain of the ſame name, is fortified with a citadel of great ſtrength, and rendered almoſt impregnable by its ſituation. It goes likewiſe under the name of *Hadramaut* amongſt the *Arabs*, lies in about 13° 30 N. latitude, and is ſeven days journey from *Aden*. The province was denominated *Hadramaut* from one of the ſons of *Joktan*, whoſe deſcendants firſt peopled it. *Shibâm* and *Tezim* were alſo the names of two tribes who founded, and ſettled themſelves in, the cities ſo called, as we learn from the *Arab* hiſtorians. *Ebijma*, *Dama*, *Egiſtæ*, *Trulla*, *Maphath*, and other places fixed by *Ptolemy* here, deſerve not the leaſt attention [t].

THE *Maranitæ* or *Maranenſes* muſt have been in the neighbourhood of the two former cantons, though we cannot pretend to aſcertain their ſituation. The metropolis of this nation was probably the *Mara* or *Amara* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Mara* of ſome of the *Oriental* geographers [u]. *The* Maranitæ.

Cellarius makes the *Catabani* a people of good conſideration; which is confirmed by *Pliny*, who tells us, that the *Larendani*, *Catabani* and *Gebanitæ*, had many towns, particularly *Nagia* and *Tamna* that contained ſixty-five temples. *Tamna* muſt have been the ſeat of ſome *Arab* prince governing the *Catabani*, according to *Strabo*; from whence we may conclude, that they inhabited the province of *Tehama* ſtretching out as far to the ſouthward as the city of *Aden*. *Golius* ſays, that the word ſignifies a violent heat; and that the country was ſo denominated from its being greatly expoſed to the ſolar rays, whoſe heat there is very intenſe. But as many other places in *Arabia* were ſubject to the ſame inconvenience, our readers may poſſibly ſuppoſe it rather to have deduced its name from *Tema* the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whoſe poſterity in proceſs of time might ſettle themſelves in it. This ſeems to be confirmed by *Almotarenzi*, who ſays, that *Iſhmael* himſelf reſided in *Araba* a diſtrict of *Tehama*. *Tebala*, the capital of *Tehama*, a town of conſiderable note, built by *Tebala* the ſon of *Midi-* *The* Catabani.

[t] PLIN. ubi ſup. PTOL. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 82.
[u] PTOL. l. viii. COTBODIN &. EBN JOUN. apud Gol. ubi ſup p. 84. PTOL. geogr. l. viii.

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[t] PLIN. ubi sup. PTOL. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 82.
[u] PTOL. l. viii. COTBODIN &. EBN JOUN. apud Gol. ubi sup p. 84. PTOL. geogr. l. viii.

an, ſtands in the road from *Mecca* to *Sanaa* the metropolis of *Yaman* *.

The Aſcitæ. THE *Aſcitæ* poſſeſſed all that tract about the promontory *Syagrus*, the cape *Ras al Ghat* of the moderns, including, as ſhould ſeem, part of the provinces of *Omán* and *Mahra*. Nay, they muſt have ſpread themſelves much farther, if we ſuppoſe *Haſca*, a maritime town on the coaſt of *Hadramaut*, to have been ſo denominated from them, whether any traces of the *Aſcitæ* are ſtill viſible in *Maſkat* an *Arab* town on the bay of *Ormuz*, a little above a degree north of the extremity of cape *Ras al Ghat*, and almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, we muſt ſubmit to the judgment of our curious and inquiſitive readers *.

The Homerites. *Ptolemy* mentions the *Homerites* as a nation ſeated in the ſouthern part of *Arabia Felix*, and bounded on the eaſt by the *Adramitæ*, or province of *Hadramaut*. His *Arabiæ Emporium* he likewiſe places in their country, as *Pliny* does his *Maſſala*. Some authors make them the ſame people with the *Sabæans*, whilſt others, conſider them in a different light. For our part, we look upon *Sabæi* and *Homeritæ* to have been different names of the ſame nation, and are countenanced herein by the *Oriental* hiſtorians. For theſe inform us, that the *Sabæans* were called *Hamyarites* from *Hamyar* the ſon of their great anceſtor *Saba*; and that they ruled over almoſt the whole country of *Yaman*. Though the kingdom of the *Hamyarites*, or *Homerites*, was at length tranſlated from the princes of *Hamyar* to the deſcendants of *Cahlân* his brother, yet they all retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. We find them ſtyled *Immireni*, by *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes Byzantius* gives them the name of *Ethiopians*, inſinuating them to be the *Macrobii* of *Herodotus*, which yet we are by no means diſpoſed to admit. They made a great figure amongſt the antient *Arabs* before the time of *Mohammed*, as will more fully appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory *.

* CELLAR. ubi ſup. p. 598, 599. PLIN. PTOL. STEPH. BYZANT. ubi ſup GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 95. KELEBÆUS in lib. de etymis locor. apud Gol. ubi ſup. p. 85. Geogr. Nubienſ. & YACÛT ibid. ALMOTAREZZI in *Mogreb* apud Cl. Pocokium in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 33.

* PTOL. & ABULFED. in Arab. * PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. GOLIUS in Alfragan. p. 86, 87 Poc. ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p 65, 66. PHILOSTORGIUS. l. ii. num. 6. & l. iii. num. 4. THEODORUS LECTOR, l. ii. p. 567. THEOPHANES BYZANTIUS in excerpt. de legat. Vid. & CELLAR, ubi ſup. p. 599.

THE

THE *Sapphoritæ* of *Ptolemy* cannot be considered as a people distinct from the *Homerites*, notwithstanding the authority of *Ptolemy* and *Cellarius*. They were only the citizens of *Sapphar*, or, as *Pliny* has it, *Saphar*, a city of note in the dominions of the *Homerites*. *Ptolemy* assigns this place a position nearly agreeing with that of the present *Sanaa*, which we cannot help looking upon as extremely probable, especially as *Saphar* is affirmed to be the metropolis of this country by *Pliny*. The *Arabs* believe, that all the mountainous part of the region producing frankincense went, in the earliest times, by the name of *Sephar*; from whence the excellent *Golius* concludes this tract to have been the mount *Sephar* of *Moses*. A strong presumption of the truth of which notion is, that *Dhafâr*, the same word with the modern *Arabs* as the antient *Saphar*, is the name of a town in *Shihr*, the only province of *Arabia* bearing frankincense, on the coast of the *Indian* ocean, five parasangs from (K) *Merbât*, as we learn from *Safioddin*, who likewise informs us, that this thuriferous mountainous country of *Dhúfar* is about three days journey long, and of an equal breadth. *Bochart* therefore deserves little regard, when he intimates, that the *Mesha* of *Moses* was the *Muza* of *Ptolemy*, or the *Mocha* of the moderns, a celebrated port of the *Red Sea*, about four or five days journey from *Dhafâr*; since this is much too narrow an extent of territory to receive all the posterity of the thirteen sons of *Joktan*, as we are assured by *Moses* the tract between *Mesha* and *Sephar* did. For which reason we cannot help preferring the sentiments of *R. Saadias* and *R. Abraham Zachutus*, who assert *Mesha* to be *Mecca*; especially since it is a point agreed upon by the *Arabs*, that *Mesha* was one of the most antient names of *Mecca*. Some authors believe, that in early times there stood a city called *Dhafâr* or *Saphar*, the *Arabic* letter ظ frequently answering to the *Hebrew* ס and *Greek* Σ, in the neighbourhood of *Sanaa*, and others, that *Sanaa* itself

The Sapphoritæ.

(K) A parasang is about three miles. Eight parasangs, according to *Abulfeda*, or twenty four miles, make a station, or a day's journey. But the *Nubian* geographer says, that a station consists of thirty miles (10).

(10) *Abulfed Geogr. Nub.*

went

went formerly by that name; which in a great measure confirms what we have just advanced [y].

The Omanitæ.

WE find the *Omanitæ* taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, and *Omanum* their chief city represented by him as one of the most considerable places in *Arabia*. It cannot be doubted but the *Omân* of *Alfraganus*, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of *Yaman* and *Bahrein*, is the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, and the country, in which it is seated, the district of the antient *Omanitæ*. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the *Homerites*, and consequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of *Omân* is defended by a strong garison of *Arabs*. Either the tract itself, or the metropolis, seems also to have been called antiently *Sohâr*; but at this day the former is denominated *Omân*, and the latter *Sohâr*. The province of *Omân* stretches itself out three hundred miles on the coast of the *Persian* sea, which is there called the sea of *Omân*. In the time of *Ptolemy*, *Omanum*, or *Sohar*, was a famous mart, but has been in a manner deserted by merchants for several ages [z].

The Saracens.

THE *Saracens* or *Nabotheans* possessed that part of *Arabia Felix* bordering upon *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*; but what extent this territory was of, we no where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the *Thamudeni*, *Thamuditæ*, or *Thamydeni*, a people also mentioned in the *Koran*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the (L) *Thamydeni* inhabited part of the coast of the *Arabian* gulph; and *Pliny* intimates their principal city to have been named *Badanatha*. In fine, *Golius* believes them to have occupied a good part at least of the province of *Hejâz*, and particularly that district wherein *Hagr*, or *Al Hajr*, the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy*, is situated; which, as well as other considerations that

[y] PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi sup. PLIN. l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14. ARRIAN peripl. mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. R. SAADIAS in vers. Arab. Pentat. POCOCK. in spec. hist. Arab. apud GAGN. ubi sup. fect. 2. SAFIODDIN. in lex. geographic. BOCHART. Phal. p. 169. RR ABRAH. ZACHUTUS & SAADIAS apud BOCHART. ibid. GOL. ubi sup. p. 84. [z] PLIN. l. vi. c. 23. PTOL. in Arab. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 80, 81. Geogr. Nubiens. & philosophus Xirasita in clim. ii.

(L) The *Thamydeni* were the tribe of *Thamûd*, so famous amongst the *Arab* writers of whom we shall have occasion hereafter frequently to speak (11).

might

might be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, if not intirely the ſame people with them [a].

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the *Thamydeni* were likewiſe ſeated the *Bnizomenæ*, who lived upon wild beaſts taken in hunting. In their country ſtood a temple held in the higheſt veneration amongſt all the *Arabs*. It is probable this temple was ſacred to *Iſis*, as *Diodorus* relates an iſland near the *Bnizomenean* coaſt to have been more immediately under her protection. Theſe likewiſe muſt have been ſettled in ſome of the maritime parts of *Hejâz*, but their ſituation, for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the *Nabathæans*, as well as their neighbours the *Thamydeni* [b]. The Bnizomenæ.

WE might here mention ſeveral other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to *Arabia Felix*. But ſince theſe either coincide with ſome of the *Ethiopic* cantons already deſcribed, as the *Troglodytes*, &c. or may be conſidered as branches of the *Saracens*, *Nabathæans*, *Sabæans*, *Homerites*, &c. our readers will excuſe even a bare enumeration of them. The ſame may be ſaid of that large catalogue of obſcure and inſignificant towns and villages belonging to theſe tribes, to be met with in *Ptolemy*, of which that geographer himſelf had no idea. However, they will not diſpenſe with an omiſſion of certain towns and ſea-ports of *Arabia* hitherto paſſed over in ſilence, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and hiſtorians [c].

Nyſa was a town of *Arabia* on the *Red Sea*, near the confines of *Egypt*, famous for the education of *Bacchus*, who from thence, and his father *Jupiter*, received the name of *Dionyſus*. *Arga* and *Badeo*, two maritime cities in a ſouther-ly direction from *Nyſa*, had royal palaces, in which the ſovereigns of the country ſometimes reſided. *Pudni* we find eſteemed by *Ptolemy* as one of the principal places of *Arabia Felix*. *Muſa* or *Muza* was a celebrated empory and harbour, to which the *Arab* merchants reſorted with their frankincenſe, ſpices, and perfumes. The beſt authors take the modern *Mocha* or *Mokha* to correſpond with the antient *Muſa*; but, in our opinion, *Moſa*, at preſent a ſmall, but handſome, town near ten leagues from *Mokha*, ſeems to bid the faireſt for that antient mart. This does not only appear from the very *Remarkable places in* Arabia Felix.

[a] PLIN. & CELLAR. ubi ſup. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. GAGN. ubi ſup ſect. 9 [b] DIOD. SIC l. iii. [c] Vide STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. &c.

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WE find the *Omanitæ* taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, and *Omanum* their chief city represented by him as one of the most considerable places in *Arabia*. It cannot be doubted but the *Omân* of *Alfraganus*, and capital of the province of the same name, the common boundary of *Yaman* and *Bahrein*, is the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, and the country, in which it is seated, the district of the antient *Omanitæ*. From whence it appears extremely probable, that they were under the jurisdiction of the *Homerites*, and consequently ought to be looked upon as a clan of that people. The citadel of *Omân* is defended by a strong garison of *Arabs*. Either the tract itself, or the metropolis, seems also to have been called antiently *Sohâr*; but at this day the former is denominated *Omân*, and the latter *Sohâr*. The province of *Omân* stretches itself out three hundred miles on the coast of the *Persian* sea, which is there called the sea of *Omân*. In the time of *Ptolemy*, *Omanum*, or *Sohâr*, was a famous mart, but has been in a manner deserted by merchants for several ages [z].

The Saracens.

THE *Saracens* or *Nabathæans* possessed that part of *Arabia Felix* bordering upon *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deserta*; but what extent this territory was of, we no where find. Contiguous to them the antients placed the *Thamudeni*, *Thamuditæ*, or *Thamydeni*, a people also mentioned in the *Koran*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that the (L) *Thamydeni* inhabited part of the coast of the *Arabian* gulph; and *Pliny* intimates their principal city to have been named *Badanatha*. In fine, *Golius* believes them to have occupied a good part at least of the province of *Hejâz*, and particularly that district wherein *Hagr*, or *Al Hajr*, the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Stephanus* and *Ptolemy*, is situated; which, as well as other considerations that

[y] PTOL. & CELLAR. ubi sup. PLIN. l. vi. c. 23. & l. xii. c. 14. ARRIAN peripl mar. Erythr. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. R. SAADIAS in vers. Arab. Pentat. POCOCK. in spec. hist. Arab. apud GAGN. ubi sup. sect 2. SAFIODDIN. in lex. geographic. BOCHART. Phal. p. 162. RR. ABRAH. ZACHUTUS & SAADIAS apud BOCHART. ibid. GOL. ubi sup. p. 84. [z] PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 80, 81. Geogr. Nubiens. & philosophus Xirasita in clim. ii.

(L) The *Thamydeni* were the tribe of *Thamûd*, so famous amongst the *Arab* writers of whom we shall have occasion hereafter frequently to speak (11).

(11) *Abulfed. Gol. Pocock, &c.*

might

might be offered, plainly evinces them to have been nearly related to the *Saracens* and *Nabathæans*, if not intirely the ſame people with them [a].

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that in the neighbourhood of the *Thamydeni* were likewiſe ſeated the *Bnizomenæ*, who lived upon wild beaſts taken in hunting. In their country ſtood a temple held in the higheſt veneration amongſt all the *Arabs*. It is probable this temple was ſacred to *Iſis*, as *Diodorus* relates an iſland near the *Bnizomenean* coaſt to have been more immediately under her protection. Theſe likewiſe muſt have been ſettled in ſome of the maritime parts of *Hejâz*, but their ſituation, for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, cannot now be exactly determined. However, we doubt not but they appertained to the *Nabathæans*, as well as their neighbours the *Thamydeni* [b]. *The* Bnizomenæ.

WE might here mention ſeveral other nations, or rather tribes, taken notice of by the antients as appertaining to *Arabia Felix*. But ſince theſe either coincide with ſome of the *Ethiopic* cantons already deſcribed, as the *Troglodytes*, &c. or may be conſidered as branches of the *Saracens*, *Nabathæans*, *Sabæans*, *Homerites*, &c. our readers will excuſe even a bare enumeration of them. The ſame may be ſaid of that large catalogue of obſcure and inſignificant towns and villages belonging to theſe tribes, to be met with in *Ptolemy*, of which that geographer himſelf had no idea. However, they will not diſpenſe with an omiſſion of certain towns and ſea-ports of *Arabia* hitherto paſſed over in ſilence, that were held in good repute by the old geographers and hiſtorians [c].

Nyſa was a town of *Arabia* on the *Red Sea*, near the confines of *Egypt*, famous for the education of *Bacchus*, who from thence, and his father *Jupiter*, received the name of *Dionyſus*. *Arga* and *Badeo*, two maritime cities in a ſouther-ly direction from *Nyſa*, had royal palaces, in which the ſovereigns of the country ſometimes reſided. *Pudni* we find eſteemed by *Ptolemy* as one of the principal places of *Arabia Felix*. *Muſa* or *Muza* was a celebrated empory and harbour, to which the *Arab* merchants reſorted with their frankincenſe, ſpices, and perfumes. The beſt authors take the modern *Mocha* or *Mokha* to correſpond with the antient *Muſa*; but, in our opinion, *Moſa*, at preſent a ſmall, but handſome, town near ten leagues from *Mokha*, ſeems to bid the faireſt for that antient mart. This does not only appear from the very *Remarkable places in* Arabia Felix.

[a] PLIN. & CELLAR. ubi ſup. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97. GAGN. ubi ſup. ſect. 9 [b] DIOD. SIC. l. iii. [c] Vide SIRAB. PLIN. PTOL. &c.

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Ozâl from its founder the ſon of *Joktan*, as the *Arabs* pretend. They likewiſe make *Sanaa* the ſon of *Ozâl* to have communicated that name to it by which it goes at preſent. Some aſſert it to be the *Saphar* of *Ptolemy*, as above obſerved. *Sanaa*, towards the beginning of the laſt century, conſiſted of good houſes built with lime and ſtone, being as large as *Briſtol*. It ſtands in a barren and ſtony valley, ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance with high hills, one of which overlooks the town to the northward. On this hill the *Arabs* have built a ſmall caſtle to keep off the neighbouring mountaineers, who ſometimes inſult the city. The inhabitants have no water but what they receive from wells, which are very deep. Wood is brought from far, and conſequently very dear. On the eaſt ſide ſtands the caſtle environed with mud-walls, flanked with towers and redoubts, in which every night are poſted proper guards. The king of *Yaman* does not now reſide here, but at *Muab*, a town built by one of the laſt monarchs of this country, not a mile from *Dhamâr* a little to the S. E. of *Sanaa*. About three quarters of a mile from this place, on a pretty high hill, the prince above-mentioned built a palace or pleaſure-houſe, to which he frequently retired, in order to divert himſelf; and, from the pleaſant country in which it was ſeated, ſtyled it *Hiſn almawâheb* [k], or the *caſtle of delights*. 4. *Saba*, or *Mâreb* in the province of *Hadramaut*, of which an account has been given above. It is at preſent little better than a village, and ſtands above three days journey E. of *Sanaa* [l]. 5. *Shibâm*, *Dhafâr*, &c. towns of a very high antiquity, have been [m] already deſcribed. 6. *Omân* or *Sohar*, the *Omanum* of *Ptolemy*, was formerly frequented by the merchants of various nations; but has for ſeveral ages been deſerted by them. This ſeems to have been occaſioned by the vicinity of a ſmall rocky iſland called *Kis*, ſo low that it cannot be diſcovered at any diſtance, on which many ſhips were daſhed to pieces. *Kis* lies a little to the eaſt of *Charec*, another ſmall iſland oppoſite to the coaſt of *Omân*, and famous for a pearl-fiſhery, according to *Abulfeda*. *Iacutas* and the *Nubian* geographer make both theſe iſlands, now called the iſles of *Sohar*, about half a day's ſail from the main land of *Arabia*; but authors are not agreed in this point. The heats in *Omân* are frequently ſo intenſe, that they have paſſed into a proverb amongſt the *Orientals*. The

[k] La Roque, p. 232, & alib. Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 83, 84. Sir Henry Middleton's journey to *Sanaa*. [l] Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 86, 87. [m] Idem ibid. p. 82, ut & Abulfed. in Arab.

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THE best part of *Arabia Felix*, or that which the *Greeks* called *most happy*, was probably the country of *Yaman*; the delightfulness and plenty of which ought to be attributed to its mountains. For all that part lying along the *Red Sea* is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over; but in return bounded by the aforesaid mountains, which, being well watered, enjoy an almost perpetual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The principal of these mountains taken notice of by the antients were *Cabubathra*, *Melan*, *Prionotus*, and *Didymi*, whose *Arabic* names have not hitherto been brought into *Europe*. As the *Greeks* and *Romans* were little acquainted with this region, we must allow *Ptolemy* to have been very inaccurate in his geography of it; which might also be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary. Admit this, and we may be allowed to suppose, that the present *Arab* river *Falj*, emptying itself into the *Bay* of *Basra*, is the *Prion* of *Ptolemy*; and the modern city *Masfa* his *Mæphath*, situate about 0°. 30′. N. of the source of that river. However, it must be owned, that a river of *Omân*, falling into the *Indian* ocean at *Sûr*, about 0°. 40. N. of *Maskat*, possibly the *Moscha portus* of *Ptolemy*, bids likewise fair for the *Prion*. No other rivers of note are to be met with in *Yaman*; which is not to be wondered at, since the streams, which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast [o].

Yaman or *Tehâma* of the *Greeks Soil, mountains, rivers, &c. of* Yaman.

Hejaz, either so named, because it divides *Najd* from *Tehama*, or because it is surrounded with mountains, is limited on the south by *Yaman* and *Tehâma*; on the west by the sea *Hejaz, with its chief cities, 'Al Kolzom*; on the north by the deserts of *Shâm* or *Syria*; &c.

[n] PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. Geogr. Nubiens. & philos. Xirasita in clim. ii. ABULFED. in Arab. YACÛT. & EBN. MARUPH. apud Gol ibid. 78, 81. [o] LA ROQUE voy de l'Arab. heur. p. 121, 123, 153. PTOL. STRAB. PLIN. ubi sup ABULFED. in Arab.

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[n] PLIN. PTOL. ubi ſup. Geogr. Nubienſ. & philoſ. Xiraſita in clim. ii. ABULFED. in Arab. YACÛT. & EBN. MARUPH. apud Gol ibid. 78, 81. [o] LA ROQUE voy de l'Arab, heur. p. 121, 123, 153. PTOL. STRAB. PLIN. ubi ſup. ABULFED. in Arab.

three hundred and seventy cubits long, three hundred and fifteen broad, and supported by four hundred and thirty-four [q] pillars. It must not be forgot, that the *Arabs* have a tradition amongst them, that *Ishmael*, with his mother *Hagar*, fixed his residence here; which seems to have induced them frequently to visit *Mecca*, and hold it in high veneration, even before the age of *Mohammed*. They likewise believe *Zemzem* to have been the well, near which *Hagar* sat down with her son *Ishmael*, and was comforted by the angel. *Abulfeda* places the city we are now upon in 67°. 31′. long. and 21°. 20′. N. lat. Some of the orientals make the patriarch *Abraham* to have been the founder of it; but others with more reason attribute its foundation to one of the sons of *Ishmael*. It does not follow from *Moses*'s mentioning *Mesha* as inhabited by the posterity of *Joktan*, that *Mecca* was built before the time of *Ishmael*, supposing those places to have been the same, since he more than once uses the appellations by which towns went in his age, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, were it in any manner necessary [r]. 2. *Medina*, which, till *Mohammed*'s retreat thither was called *Yathreb*, is a city standing in a plain, surrounded with a brick wall, and about half a degree from the coast of the *Red-Sea*. *Abulfeda* intimates, that one of its antient names was *Taibah*, a word importing *salubrious*, derived from the healthy air its inhabitants breathed. It is about half as big as *Mecca*, ten days journey from thence, and salt in many places. In some parts its territories produce palm-trees, fruits, and several salsuginous plants. About the mountains *Air* and *Obud*, the first of which is about two leagues to the south, and the other as many to the north, of *Medina*, the country is fruitful in dates. The name *Yathreb* was derived from the chief of the tribe that first settled here, whom the *Arabs* make the great-grandson of *Aram*. *Golius* takes it to be the Ἰάθριππα of *Ste-*

[q] R SAADIAS in version. Arab. Pentat. ABRAHAM ZACHUT. in Sefer Juchasin, 135. Gen. c. x. ver. 30. c. xxv. v. 15. PITT's account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p 96, 107. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 98, 99, SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Pocock. in not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 122, 124, 125. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. p. 51. ALGIAWHARY apud Abulfed. in Arab. p. 40. ALB SCHULT. in ind. geographic. ad vit. Saladin. sub voc. *Machasum & Mecca*. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Gagn. in not. ad Abulfed. Arab p 29. 30. ut & ipse ABULFED. ibid. Vid. etiam ADR. RELAND. lib de relig Mohammed, & effig. *Caabæ* cum *Templ.* ei circumd. ibid. [r] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. Gen. c. x. & c. xxxi. ABULFED, & ALB SCHULT. ubi sup.

planus

phanus, and the Λείψανα of *Ptolemy*. Here *Mohammed* lies interred in a magnificent building, covered with a *cupola*, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city. Its situation has not been exactly defined, some authors determining its longitude to be 67°. 30′. and others 65°. 20′. and its latitude either 24°. or 25°. N. The most ingenious Mr. *Sale* must be deemed guilty of an error, when he makes mount *Thaber* two leagues distant only from *Medina* since that mountain is in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*. *Medina* is dignified by the *Mohammedans* with the title of *the city of the prophet*, from the kind reception *Mohammed* met with there, as we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to observe [f]. 3. *Thaifa* or *Taifa*, a town sixty miles to the east of *Mecca*, behind mount *Gazwan*, where the cold is more intense than in any other part of *Hejaz*, but the air most salubrious. It had the name or *Vegja* given it at first by its founder. The *Turks* call it the region of *Al-Abbâs* from the uncle of *Mohammed*, who fixed his residence here. The word *Taifa* plainly alludes to the wall with which this town is surrounded, Lat. 21°. 20′. N°. 4. *Gjudda* or *Jodda*, a port and maritime city, the bulwark of *Mecca*, must undoubtedly be a place of great antiquity, though scarce ever taken notice of by the *Greek* or *Roman* authors. The town of *Aidâb*, on the confines of *Abassia*, stands on the opposite shore, where great numbers of the *African Mohammedans* take shipping, in order to visit the holy city of *Mecca*. Lat. 21°. 45′. N°. 5. *Yanbo* [c], or *Al-Yanbo* [c], is undoubtedly the *Iambia* of *Ptolemy*, and not far from *Medina*, or as the *Arabs* more properly style it, *'Al-Madinah*. We find it represented as a small city by *Abulfeda*, who likewise cites *'Ebn Saîd*, as affirming it to have a castle, and several fountains, in its neighbourhood. The port is about a day's journey from the high road leading to *'Al-Madînah*. A little to the east of *Yanbo* [c] stands mount *Radwâ*, about seven stations from *'Al-Madînah*, from whence a vast quantity of the whetstone is exported into various regions. All the district of *Yanbo* [c] produces palm-trees, wa-

[f] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 97, 98. ABULFED in Arab. p. 40, 41. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. ubi sup. PTOL. & STEPH. BYZANT. apud Gol. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI vulgo geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 5. KALKASHENDI p 400. POCOCK. in not. ad specim. hist. Arab. pass SAFIODDIN. in compend. lexic. Yacût. & ipse YACÛT. sub litera ع *'Ain*. AL SHARITANI apud Pocock ubi sup. Vid. etim Cl. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. Arab. p. 31. & SAL. prelim. disc. p. 5. [g] GOLIUS ubi sup. p. 99, 100. SHARIF AL EDRISI Clim. 2. par. 5. ATWAL, RASM, ULUGH BEIGH apud Abulfed. ubi sup.

ter,

ter, corn, &c. and was inhabited by the *Hhasanites*, who lived after the manner of the antient *Arabes Scenitæ*, and resembled them in all particulars. *Ebn Hhawkal* observes, that the *Hhasanites* and *Giafarites*, whose territories were contiguous, so weakened one another by bloody wars, that their country became a prey to the king of *Yaman* [w]. 6. *Madian*, the *Modiana*, of *Ptolemy*, and *Midian* or *Madian* of Scripture, is a city of *Hejaz*, at present little better than a heap of ruins. It is situated on the eastern shore of the sea *'Al-Kolzom*, at no great distance from the gulph of *Ailah*. The *Arabs* have several traditions relating to this place, *viz.* that it received its name from the tribe of *Madian*, who first built and inhabited it; that *Shoaïb*, the son of *Mikaïl*, the son of *Yashjar*, the son of *Madian*, of that tribe, was the same person with the father-in-law of *Moses*, called in Scripture *Reuel* or *Reguel*, and *Jethro*; and that the well, whence *Moses*, or, as they call him, *Músa*, watered *Jethro*'s flocks, still remained when *Abulfeda* wrote his geographical description of *Arabia*. Most authors agree, that the *Midianites* ought to be looked upon as the descendants of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who afterwards seem to have coalesced with the *Ishmaelites*; since *Moses* names the same merchants who sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Ishmaelites*, and in another *Midianites*. The sacred historian makes *Jethro* both the priest and prince of *Midian*. *Ptolemy* asserts the latitude of *Modiana* to be 27°. 45′ N. which almost exactly corresponds with that assigned it by *'Ebn Saïd*, *viz.* 27° 50′ N. though other *Oriental* writers place it in [x] 29° 00′ N. lat. 7. *Hejr*, or *'Al-Hbeg'r*, in 28° 30′ N. lat. according to *'Ebn Hhawkal*, was the seat of the tribe of *Thamud*, the *Thamydeni* of the antients. This clearly evinces *Hejr* to be the *Egra* or *Agra* of *Pliny*, since that author makes the *Thamydeni* neighbours to that city. As *Ptolemy* likewise is far from being accurate in his determination of the longitude and latitude of places, we may safely enough take his *Negra*

[w] Golius. Sharif. al Edrisi ubi sup. Atwal. Kanun Raim apud. Abulfed. ibid. [x] Ebn Said & Ebn Hhawkal apud Abulfed in Arab, p. 45. ut & ipse Abulfed. ibid & alib. Ptol. in Arab. [y] Ptol. Arab Golii not. ad Alfraganum, p. 143, 144, Abulfed & Ebn. Said ubi sup. Sharif al Edrisi clim. iii par. 5. p. 109 Al Beidawi, Tarikh Montakhab, Gen c. xxv. ver. 2. c. xxix. ver. 1. c. xxxvi. ver. 36 Exod c. ii. ver. 18. c. iii. ver. 1. Vide etiam D'Herbelot. bibl. Orient. art. *Shoaib*. Prid life of Mahom. p 24, & alib. *Shalled bakkab*. p 12. Deut. c. xxv. ver 13. 14. Sal. in not. ad *Al Kor*. sur. vii p. 123 & Gagn. ubi sup sect. 6.

for

for the *Egra* of *Pliny*, and *Hejr* of the moderns, since the latitude of the former differs but two degrees from that of the latter of these towns. *'Al-Hbeg'r* stands amidst a ridge of rocky mountains, out of which many houses have been cut, as some suppose, by the *Amalekites*, or their ancestors the *Adites*, *Iramites*, *Thamudites*, &c. But this notion we cannot rely upon, as depending chiefly on the authority of the *Koran*. *'Ebn Hawkel* calls this ridge of mountains *'Al-Athâleb*, i. e. *the fragments of stones* [y].

Tihama, or *Tehama*, is a small province, whose limits have not been sufficiently defined by the *Arab* geographers, who have sometimes confounded it with *Yaman* and *Hejaz*. *Tehama*, according to *Golius*, derived that name from its sandy soil, as it did another, *viz. Gaur*, from its low situation. It is bounded on the west by the *Red-Sea*, and on the other sides by *Hejâz* and *Yaman*, extending almost from *Mecca* to *Aden*. *Abulfeda* mentions several towns in this province undoubtedly of great antiquity, but unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Tamna* of *Pliny*, and *Thumna* of *Ptolemy*, by the latitude he assigned it, *viz.* 17° 15′ N. seem to bear some relation to *Tehama* [z]. Tehama.

As the *Nabathæans* possessed the best part, if not all, of the province of *Hejâz*, contiguous to *Tihama*, the *Thimanei* of *Pliny*, neighbours to the *Nabathæans*, must be the *Arabs* of *Tihama*.

THE province of *Najd*, which word signifies *a rising country*, lies between those of *Yamama*, *Yaman*, and *Hejaz*, and is limited on the east by *Irâk*. *Najd* is peculiarly opposed to *Tehama*, as the name implies, though this last has several ridges of mountains in it [a]. Najd.

Yamama, also called *Arud*, from its *oblique situation* in respect of *Yaman*, is encompassed by *Najd*, *Tehama*, *Bahrein*, *Omân*, *Shihr*, *Hadramaut*, and *Sala*. The chief city is *Yamâma*, which gives name to the province, and was anciently called *Jau*, or *Gjauwa*. It is four degrees to the E. of *Mecca*, and deduced its name, according to the excellent *Golius*, from the niece of *Tasm*, whose brilliant and piercing Yamama.

[y] EBN HHAWKAL apud Abulfed. ubi sup. p 43. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 96. PTOL. in Arab. STEPH BYZANT. de urb. PLIN vi. c 28. ABULFED. ubi sup. SHARIF AL EDRISI apud Bochart. Phal. l. i. c 44. POCOCK. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p 37. ALB. SCHULT. in Ind. geograph. ad vit. Salad. sub. voc *Erakimum*. Vide etiam *Al-Kor.* ur. lxxxix, ver. 6.
[z] GOLIUS ubi sup. p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim ii. par.
[a] PLIN. l. vi c. 28 PTOL. ubi sup. [illegible] GOLII ubi sup p. 91. Abulfed. in Arab. pass.

eyes rendered her ſo famous amongſt the *Arabs*, that one of their proverbs was, *more ſharp-ſighted than* YAMAMA. This lady governed *Yamama*, and therefore the quality above-mentioned was the more conſpicuous in her. However, ſome authors relate, that there was a river, or fountain, in this province, called *Yamama*, from whence the province itſelf was ſo denominated. The falſe prophet *Moſeilama*, *Mohammed*'s competitor, rendered this place famous by reſiding in it. But, he being vanquiſhed and killed it ſubmitted to *Abubecr* [b].

Bahrein. THOUGH the more accurate *Oriental* geographers make *Bahrein* part of *Irâk*, yet a ſhort deſcription of it ought not to be omitted here. *Bahrein* then, in the moſt extenſive acceptation of the word, denotes the maritime tract lying between *Baſra* and the fartheſt limits of *Omân*; to which the *Arabs* have given the name of *Bahrein*, i. e. *Of two ſeas*, or *the country of two ſeas*, becauſe it connects the *Perſian* gulph with the *Indian* ocean. In a more confined ſenſe it is applied to an iſland, or rather two, of the *Perſian* gulph, in 26° 30′ N. lat. about a league from the town of *'Al-Katif* ſeated on that gulph. One of theſe iſlands ſeems to be the *Ichara* of *Ptolemy*, and *Icharia* of *Strabo*. As *Jûiſâr* and the other principal towns of *Bahrein* were built after *Mohammed*'s death, our readers will expect ſome account of them in the modern hiſtory of *Arabia* [c].

The principal iſlands on the coaſt of Arabia. As for the iſlands of *Ænus*, *Timagenes*, *Zygæna*, and many others, both in the *Arabian* and (M) *Perſian* gulphs, enumerated

[b] GOLII notæ ad Aſfraganum, p. 95. SHARIF AL EDRISI clim. ii. par. 6. GEORG. ELMACIN. hiſt. Sar. l. i. c. 2. [c] GOLIUS ubi ſup. p. 96. PTOL. ubi ſup. STRAB. l. xvi. ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xi. c. 9. SHARIF AL EDRISI, Yacût, & ABULFED. apud Goi. ibid. p. 78, 81.

(M) The antients frequently called the *Perſian* gulph, or gulph of *Baſra*, as well as the *Indian* ocean, the *Erythræan* or *Red Sea* as we learn from *Herodotus*, *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Philoſtratus*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Dionyſius Afer*, and *Ælian*. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for that appellation; but the moſt probable ſeems to be the reflection of the ſolar rays in that hot climate, which gave the water a reddiſh colour. The learned Dr. *Prideaux* without a ſufficient foundation aſſerts this to have been the only proper *Red-Sea* of the antients; ſince, according to *Pliny*, the *Arabian* and *Perſian* gulphs were both branches of that ſea. He ſeems likewiſe to be miſtaken, when he affirms the whole *Arabian* gulph to have been

merated by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Ælian*, &c. as appertaining to *Arabia*, they merit not the leaſt attention. But it may not be improper to obſerve, that, in our opinion, *Ptolemy*'s iſland of *Socrates* may be looked upon as the ſame with the *Socrota* of the moderns. 'Tis true, he places the former two or three degrees more to the northward, than the latter is found to be by experience. However, his inaccuracy, which we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, and the little acquaintance the *Greeks* and *Romans* had with the people of *Arabia Felix*, ſufficiently account for ſuch a difference; which being admitted the affinity of the names *Socrates* and *Socotra* ſeems no inconſiderable argument in favour of the conjecture here propoſed. With this obſervation we ſhall cloſe our deſcription of *Arabia* [d].

[d] DIOD. SIC. l. iii. STRAB. PTOL. & ÆLIAN. ubi ſup.

SECT. II.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, learning, arts and ſciences, diſpoſition, manner of life, &c. *of the* Arabs.

Some of the poſterity of Cuſh *ſettle in* Arabia.

THE deſcendants of *Cuſh* formed a kingdom in that part of *Arabia Petræa* bordering upon *Egypt*, and extending itſelf along the eaſtern ſhore of the *Red-Sea* towards the frontiers of *Paleſtine* and *Arabia Felix*, in very early times, as has been already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians*. His ſon *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabtah*, *Regma* or *Raamah*, *Sabtecha*, and grandſons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, ſeated themſelves likewiſe in the Happy and Deſert *Arabia*, as appears from the cities *Sabota*, *Rhegana*, *Rhegama* or *Rhegma*, *Saba*, *Saue*, *Saptha* or *Saptah*, *Dedan*, and the country of the *Sabæi*, whoſe metropolis was the great city *Sala*; all of which preſerved very ſenſible footſteps of the names of the firſt planters of thoſe two provinces or kingdoms.

been the *Yam Souph* of the *Hebrews*; ſince 'tis highly probable, that the *Heroopolitan* gulph only was ſo called by that people (12).

(12) *Herodot. l. i. c.* 180. *& l iv c.* 37. *Strabo. l.* xvi. *Polyb. l.* v. *Philoſtrat vit. Apollon. l. iii c.* 50. *p.* 136. *Mel. l iii. c.* 8. *Plin. l. vi c* 23, 26. *Solin. c.* 58. *Dion. Perieg. v.* 1132. *Elian. hiſt. animal. l.* xvi. *c.* 14. *Prideaux & Shaw ubi ſup.*

doms. However it seems to us most probable, for the reasons already given, that the bulk of the *Cushites* made settlements in other parts. As a farther proof of this, it may be observed, that the eastern writers take little or no notice of them [e].

Casluhhim Caphtorim, Hhorites. &c.

As for the *Caslûhhim*, *Caphtorim*, and *Hhorites*, occupying the hilly district about mount *Seir*, though very antient, they never made any considerable figure. The posterity of *Edom*, who after their excision seized upon the tract they inhabited, in process of time intermixing with the proper *Arabs*, formed one people with them. But neither do the present *Arabs* look upon *Esau* or *Edom* as one of the proper founders of their nation [f].

WE have already observed, that the *Arraceni* and *Saraceni* of the antients were the same people. From the situation assigned them by the old geographers, it can scarce be doubted but that the *Arra* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* was the capital of the region they inhabited, and gave them the appellation they went under. *Strabo*, describing *Ælius Gallus*'s expedition into *Arabia*, intimates, that the province of *Ararena* was thirty days journey from *Petra*, and fifty from the city of the *Negrani*, or *Nagara Metropolis* of *Ptolemy*, *i. e.* the modern *Nag-ran*; that it was for the most part desert, and inhabited by the *Nomades*, or *Arabes Scenitæ*; and that the interjacent tract betwixt it and the former city was a wild pathless region, interspersed in some parts with palm-trees. All which particulars, as well as the name itself, clearly evince this province to be the country of the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni*, which had the abovementioned *Arra* for its capital city. From several circumstances in the description of the expeditions into *Arabia* made by *Trajan* and *Severus*, to be met with in *Dio*, it appears that the *Arraceni* or *Saraceni* were likewise sometimes in the east denominated *Agareni*, and their chief town *Arra Atra*, or, as *Herodian* calls it, *Atræ*. It is therefore highly probable, that the antient *Saracens* were styled *Hagarenes*, either from the disposition of the tract they inhabited, or from *Hagar* the mother of *Ishmael* [g].

IN order to confirm what is here advanced, it may be farther observed, that *Stephanus* mentions a country

[e] See before, p. 476, 497, & seq. & alib. Gen. c. x. ver. 7. AGATHARCHID Cnid. apud Phot. DIOD. Sic. l. iii. STRAB. PLIN. PTOL. ubi sup. HYDE hist. rel. vet. Pers. p. 31, & alib. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 9. [f] Gen. c. x. ver. 14. c. xxxvi. ver. 8. c. xiv. ver. 6. Deut. c. ii. ver. 12. Vide etiam Cl. GAGN. distrib. sect. 4. [g] See before, p. 568. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. PTOL. in Arab. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 781. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 735. & l. lxv. p. 855. HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 29. edit. Oxon. 1678. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 14.

and

called *Saraca*, inhabited by the *Saraceni* (N), as contiguous to that of the *Nabathæans*; and that the *Arab* geographer *Yâcût* takes notice of the town *'Al-'Arakh* seated on *Agja*, one of the two celebrated mountains of the *Taïtes*, or tribe of *Taï*, the *Taueni* of *Pliny*, and Ταϊνοὶ *Taini* of *Bardesanes* in *Eusebius*, who joins them with the *Saracens*. From hence, in conjunction with the reasons alledged by the learned Mr. *Gagnier*, we may conclude, that *Pliny* called this nation *Arraceni*; and that *Dioscorides* was the first of the antients now extant that prefixed to that word the hissing letter S, as has been determined by the excellent *Salmasius* [b].

THE *Jerusalem Targum* takes the name *Ishmaelites* and *Saracens* to have been of an equal extent, and to have denoted the same nation. This not only included the *Arabes Scenitæ*, bordering upon *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Chaldæa*, but likewise those separated by the *Red Sea* from *Ethiopia*; all of whom we find in Scripture going under the general name of *Arabians*. That the word *Saraceni* cannot be derived from any of the following sources, notwithstanding the authority of the

[b] STEPH. BYZANT. in voc. Σάρακα. PTOL. ubi sup. YACUTUS geogr. Ar. apud Gagn. ubi sup. sect. 9. PLIN. ubi sup. BARDESANES apud Euseb. de præp. evang. p. 277. Vide etiam HARDUIN. in Plin. ubi sup. GAGN. diatr. sect. 9. & SALMAS. in exercit. Plinian. p. 344. col. 2. sub init.

(N) Mr. *Gagnier* thinks, that the *Saracens* of *Arabia Felix* and *Arabia Petræa* were two different nations; and that the latter received their name *Araceni* from the city of *Arke*, *Araketne*, or *Petra*, their metropolis But in the first article, we humbly conceive, he seems to contradict himself; since in the former part of the *Diatriba* so often cited, he appears to us to be of opinion, that the *Ishmaelites* spread themselves gradually over *Arabia Felix* as well as *Arabia Petræa*; and that the *Ishmaelites*, *Arabes Scenitæ*, and *Saracens*, were frequently taken for the same people. This notion we own ourselves inclined to espouse, as being not only supported by the proofs brought by Mr. *Gagnier* for that purpose, but likewise by Scripture, all those authors who have so justly represented the *Saracens* as a most numerous and powerful nation, *Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius*, and other eastern writers (13).

(13) *Gagn. diatrib. sect.* 11. *Vide etiam sect* 1. 4. 6. *Jud.* c. xxi. *ver.* 13. *Jer* c xlix. *ver.* 28. *Targ Hierosol. in Gen.* c. xxxvii *ver.* 25. *Mohammed. Al Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p.* 110. *ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.*

learned men here mentioned, we believe our readers will allow [i].

1. *Joannes Damascenus*, *Nicetas Choniates*, and others, suppose this word to have been of *Greek* extraction, alluding to *Sarah*'s sending away *Hagar* empty, without any sort of necessaries or accommodations. But this is too absurd to merit any attention. 2. *Scaliger* deduces the name *Saraceni* from the *Arabic* سرق *sarak*, i. e. *He stole privately*, alluding, as that great critic observes, to their ancestor *Ishmael*, who lived upon rapine and robbery. This, it must be owned, carries with it a greater appearance of truth than the former, since it is much more probable that the word should be of an *Arab* than a *Greek* origin. But the misfortune is, that *Ishmael* was not a pick-pocket, but a robber or highwayman; and therefore the root سرق *sarak* by no means comes up to the signification of *Saraceni* as determined even by this author himself. 3. Dr. *Pocock* asserts *Saraceni* to import *Oriental*, or *people of the east*. But as Mr. *Gagnier* has demonstrated, that the chief arguments he has offered in defence of this opinion hold equally true of the *Chaldæans*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, they prove too much, and therefore we think not the least regard is due unto them. The etymon of *Saraceni* we have given must therefore be allowed to approach the nearest to truth. As the *Saracens* were so celebrated a nation, and such different notions relating to their name, which points out their origin, have been advanced, we could not well avoid the prolixity our readers may possibly think us guilty of on this occasion [k].

Two classes of the Arabs.

IF we follow the *Oriental* writers, we must divide the *Arabs* into two classes, *viz. the old lost* Arabians, and *the present*. The most famous tribes amongst the former were *Ad*, *Thamúd*, *Tasm*, *Jadis*, the first *Jorham*, *Amalek*, *Amtem*, *Hasbem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*. Though these were very numerous, yet they are now either all destroyed, or lost and swallowed up among the other tribes; nor are there any cer-

[i] Targ Hierosol. in Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. 2 Chron. c. xvii. ver. 11. & c. xxi. ver. 16. Isai. c. xiii. ver. 20. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. 4. fin. [k] JOANNES DAMASCENUS de hæres. apud Cotelerium ecclesiæ Græc. monument. p. 320. NICET. CHON. MS. in bibliothec. Colbert. HIERONYM. comment. in Ezech. lib. viii. c. 25. FULLER. in Miscel. sacr. c. 12. Jos. SCALIG. ap. Fuller. ibid. Pococke. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 35. GAGN. ubi sup. sect. xi. p. 62, 63. MOHAMMED. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, & SAFIOUDIN apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 35.

tain

tain memoirs or records extant concerning them. However, as the memory of ſome very remarkable events, that happened amongſt them, and the cataſtrophe of ſome of theſe tribes have been preſerved by tradition, and ſince confirmed by the authority of the *Koran*, we think it not improper to give our readers a ſuccinct and conciſe account of them [l].

THE tribe of *Ad* deduced their origin from *Ad*, the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*, who after the confuſion of tongues ſettled in *Al Ahkâf*, or *the winding ſands* in the province of *Hadramaut*, upon the confines of *Oman* and *Yaman*, where his poſterity greatly multiplied. The firſt prince that reigned over them was *Sheddad* the ſon of *Ad*, of whom we find many fabulous things related by the eaſtern writers. Some of theſe however tell us, that *Ad* had two ſons *Sheddâd*, and *Sheddîd*, who jointly ſwayed the ſceptre after his deceaſe, and extended their dominions from the ſands of *Alaj* to the trees of *Oman*. *Sheddîd* dying firſt, his brother became ſole monarch, and having built a ſumptuous palace, made a delightful garden in the deſerts of *Aden*, in imitation of the *celeſtial paradiſe*, which he called *Irem*, after the name of his great grandfather. When it was finiſhed, he ſet out with a great retinue in order to take a view of it; but, being arrived at a place within a day's journey of it, they were all deſtroyed by a terrible noiſe from heaven. However, according to them, the city ſtill remains, though inviſible, being preſerved by Providence as a monument of divine juſtice, *Sheddâd* propoſing by this impious imitation to create in his ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration of himſelf as a god. *Al Beidawi* adds, that one *Abdallah Ebn Kelabah*, or, as *D'Herbelot* calls him, *Colabah*, in the reign of the *khaliſ Moâwiyah*, accidentally had *Irem* diſcovered to him, as he was ſeeking a camel he had loſt; but ſeeing no creature there, he was ſo terrified, that he ſtayed no longer than to take with him from thence ſome fine ſtones, which he ſhewed the *khalif* [m].

AFTER the death of *Sheddâd*, the kingdom of *Ad* was governed by a long ſeries of princes, of whom the *Oriental* hiſtorians deliver many particulars, that have no great appearance of truth. The *Adites* in proceſs of time falling from the

[l] GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 159. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 5. JALLALO'DDIN. in lib. *Alkôbar*. Vide & *Poockium* ubi ſup. p. 38, 39. [m] Gen. c. x. ver. 22, 23. Al Kor. Mohammed, c. 89. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 51, 498. AL BEIDAWI. JALLALO'DDIN. ubi ſup. Poock. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 35, 37.

worſhip of the true GOD into idolatry, GOD ſent the prophet *Hûd*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Heber*, to preach to and reclaim them. But they refuſing to acknowledge his miſſion, or to obey him, GOD ſent a hot and ſuffocating wind, which blew ſeven nights and eight days without intermiſſion, and, entering at their noſtrils, paſt through their bodies, and deſtroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had liſtened to *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place. Others relate, that before this terrible deſtruction they had been previouſly chaſtiſed with a three years drought; and therefore ſent *Kail Ebn Ithar*, and *Morthed Ebn Saad*, with ſeventy other principal men, to *Mecca*, then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whoſe prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Becr*, to obtain of GOD ſome rain. *Kail*, continue theſe authors, having begged of GOD, that HE would ſend rain to the people of *Ad*, three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered him to chuſe which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the laſt, thinking it to be loaden with the moſt rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempeſt broke forth from it which deſtroyed them all. Some authors affirm, that *Lockmân* king of the *Adites*, after his ſubjects had been afflicted with a drought for four years, to incline them to hearken to the preaching of *Hûd*, and brought to the very brink of deſtruction, went with ſixty others to *Mecca* to beg rain; which they not obtaining, *Lokmân* with ſome of the company ſtayed there, and by this means eſcaped being involved in the common calamity. They farther relate of this *Lokmân*, that his life was extended by GOD to the length of thoſe of ſeven eagles, each of the ſix laſt of which ſucceeded the inſtant its predeceſſor expired. The few *Adites* with *Lokmân* that ſurvived their countrymen, gave riſe to a tribe called *the latter Ad*, who were afterwards changed into apes. *Hûd* returned into *Hadhramaut*, and was buried near *Hajar*, where there is a ſmall town now ſtanding called *Kaber Hûd*, or *the ſepulchre of Hûd*. When the Arabs would ſignify the high antiquity of any thing, they ſay *as old as king Ad*, in like manner as the *Greeks*, when they would expreſs any thing extremely antient, made it contemporary with *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, and *Ogyges* [n].

Thamûd. THE tribe of *Thamûd* were the poſterity of *Thamûd* the ſon of *Gather* or *Gether*, the ſon of *Aram*, who falling into ido-

[n] POCOCK. ibid. AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. *Houd*. ISM. ABULFED. ANNAL. MUSLEM. & AL-JANNABIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 36.

latry,

latry, the prophet *Sâleh* was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true GOD. M. *Bochart* takes this prophet to be *Phaleg*, and M. *D'Herbelot Salah* the son of *Arphaxad*, and father of *Heber* or *Hûd*. The learned Mr. *Sale* determines in favour of M. *Bochart*, because, says he, the prophet *Sâleh* lived between the time of *Hûd* and of *Abraham*. On the contrary, we own ourselves of M. *D'Herbelot*'s opinion, because the identity of names is a stronger argument in favour of that opinion, than any small inaccuracy in chronology of the *Arab* historians can be against it. Besides, it does not appear from any *Oriental* author, that the prophet *Sâleh* did actually live between the times of *Hûd* and *Abraham*, as Mr. *Sale* suggests; nay, Mr. *Sale* himself disproves this, when he cites with approbation an eastern author making him later than *Abraham*. Some few of the *Thamudites* received *Sâleh* as a true prophet, but the rest, as a proof of his mission, required that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence; which having obtained of GOD, the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned. But instead of believing, the *Thamudites* cut the ham-strings of the camel, and killed her; at which act of impiety GOD being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake, and a terrible noise from heaven; which, some say, was the voice of *Gabriel* the archangel crying aloud, *Die all of you*. *Jonda Ebn Amru*, prince of the *Thamudites*, proposed this miracle to *Sâleh*, promising, that if it was wrought, he and his people would believe. Accordingly *Jonda* acknowledged the prophet's mission, but the greatest part of his subjects perished in their infidelity, as above observed. *Sâleh*, with those reformed by him, was saved from this destruction. The prophet afterwards went to *Palestine*, and from thence to *Mecca*, where he ended his days. This tribe first dwelt in *Yaman*, but being expelled thence by *Hamyar* the son of *Saba*, they settled in the territory of *Hejr*, in the province of *Hejaz*, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the *Koran*, are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the *Thamudites* being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake, who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature. They will likewise confute those commentators on the *Koran*, who affirm that the largest of the old *Adites* were a hundred cubits high, and the least of them sixty. By comparing the eastern writers with those of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we

we shall find, that the tribe of *Thamûd* corresponded exactly with the *Tamadeni* or *Thamydeni* of *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy* [o].

Tasm *and* Jadis. THE tribe of *Tasm* were the descendants of *Lûd* the son of *Sem*, and the tribe of *Jadis* a branch of the posterity of *Gether*, as we learn from *Abulfeda*. Both these tribes lived promiscuously together under the government of *Tasm*, till a certain tyrant made a law, that twenty maids of the tribe of *Jadis* should not marry, unless first deflowered by him; which the *Jadisans* not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and, inviting the king and chiefs of *Tasm* to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them, slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe. However, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of *Yaman*, *Dhu Habshân Ebn Akrân*, assaulted *Jadis*, and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes. As all the traditions relating to *Tasm* are reckoned of a very dubious authority, when any thing is advanced without a proper foundation to support it, the *Arabs* call it *a story of Tasm*. The notion many of the *Orientals* have of *Tasm*'s grand-daughter, *Yamama*, our readers will find in the former section, where we gave a short description of the province of the same name [p].

Jorham. ALL that we find delivered by the *Arabs* of the former tribe of *Jorham* is, that their ancestor was an antediluvian, and one of the eighty persons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were saved with *Noah* in the ark [q]. This tribe was cotemporary with that of *Ad*, and utterly perished, in a manner to us unknown.

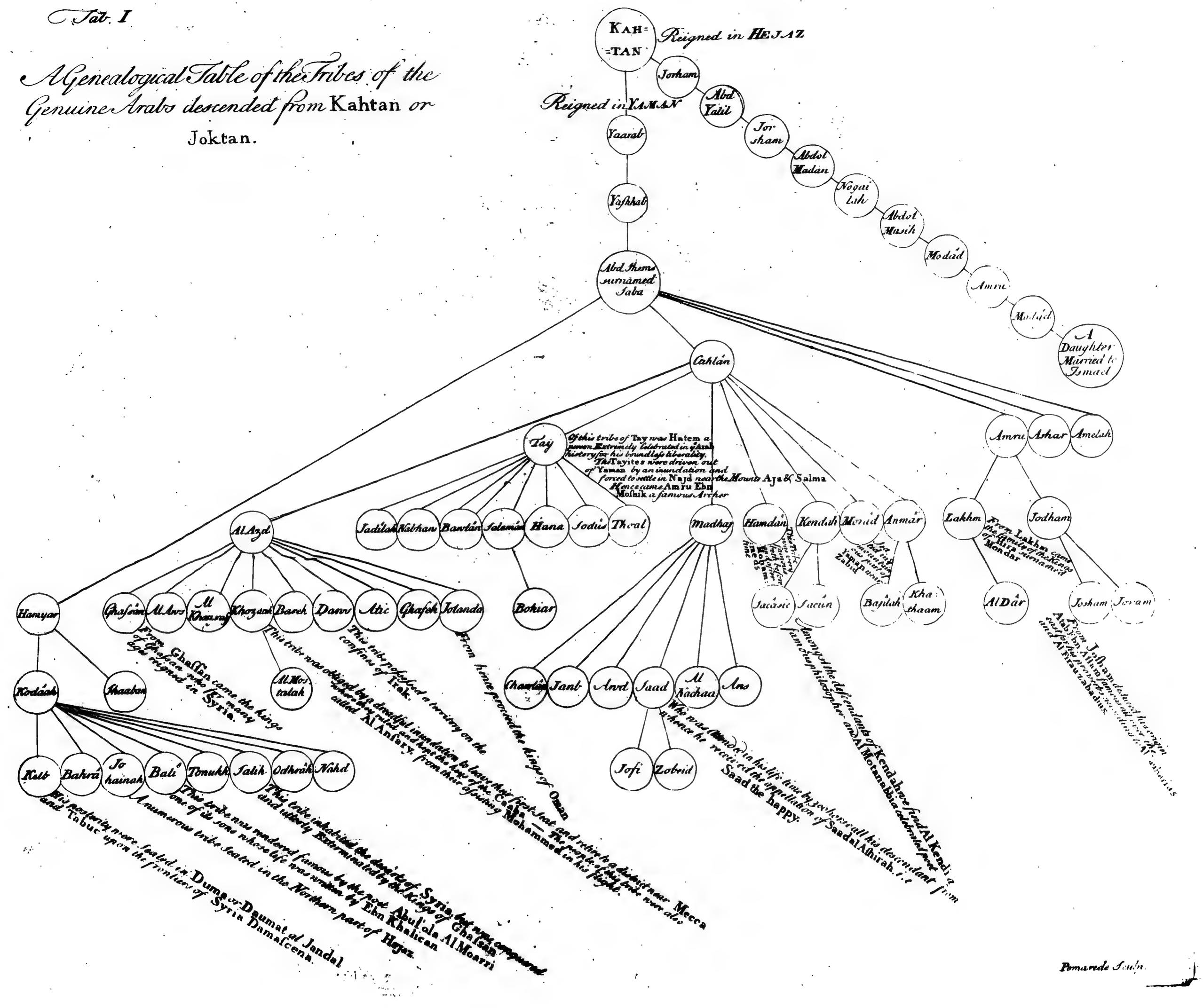
Amalek. SOME of the *Oriental* authors inform us, that *Amalek*, the progenitor of the tribe of the same name, was the son of *Eliphaz* the son of *Esau*, though others make him the son of *Ham* the son of *Noah*. This tribe under their king *Walid*, the first who assumed the name of *Pharaoh*, before the time of *Joseph*, conquered *Egypt*, according to the eastern writers, who seem to confound the *Amalekites* with the *Phœnician*

[o] Gen. c. x ver. 23. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. 366, 740. ABULFEDA. AL ZAMAKHSHARI. Al Kor. MOHAMMED. c. vii. & c. xv. BOCHART. geogr. sacr. SALE's prelim. disc p. 7. & note upon the *Koran*, c. vii. p. 124 EBN SHONAH. ABU MUSAAL ASHARI. Poc. ubi sup. p. 37, 57. DIOD. SIC. l. iii. PLIN. & Poc. ubi sup. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. sub voc. *Tasmin*. [p] Poc. ubi sup. p. 37, 38, 60. ABULFED. Descr. Arab. ad ALRAGANUM, p. 95. See before, p. 592. [q] ABULFED. Poc. ubi su. EBN SHONAH.

shepherds

Tab. I

A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs descended from Kahtan or Joktan.



From Ghassan came the kings of Ghassan who reigned in Syria many ages.

This tribe was obliged by a dreadful inundation to leave their first Seat and retire to a district near Mecca called Al Anfary. from their discovering Mohammed in his flight.

This tribe professed a territory on the confines of Irak.

From hence proceeded the kings of Oman

This tribe inhabited the confines of Syria but was conquered and utterly Exterminated by the Kings of Ghassan

This tribe was rendered famous by the poet Abul'ola Al Moarri one of its sons whose life was written by Ebn Khalican

A numerous tribe seated in the Northern part of Hejaz

His posterity were seated in Dumat or Daumat al Jandal and Tabuc upon the frontiers of Syria Damascena.

Among the descendants of Kendah were Al Kendi a famous philosopher and Al Motanabbia celebrated poet

Who was banished in his life time by Soulieman all his descendants except Saad the happy.

From Lakhm came the Kings of Hira surnamed Mondar

From Jotham descended the ancient Arabian Princes mentioned in the Koran and Al Firauzabadius.

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ſhepherds of *Manetho*. After they had poſſeſſed the throne of *Egypt* for a conſiderable period, they were expelled by the natives, and at laſt totally deſtroyed by the *Iſraelites* [r].

As for the tribes of *Amtem*, *Haſhem*, *Abil*, and *Bar*, all that the *Orientals* know of them is, that by ſome means or other they became extinct, moſt of them being cut off, and the reſt incorporating with the other tribes [s]. Amtem, Haſhem, Abil, *and* Bar.

ACCORDING to their own hiſtorians, the preſent *Arabs* are ſprung from two ſtocks, *Kahtân*, the ſame with *Joktan*, the ſon of *Eber*, and *Adnân* deſcended in a direct line from *Iſhmael* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Hagar* (O). The poſterity of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba*, i. e. the *genuine* or *pure Arabs*, and thoſe of the latter *al Arab al Moſtâreba*, i. e. *naturalized* or *inſititious Arabs*, though ſome reckon the antient loſt tribes to have been the only *pure Arabians*, and therefore call the deſcendants of *Kahtan* alſo *Motareba*; which word likewiſe ſignifies *inſtitious Arabs*, though in a nearer degree than *Moſtâreba*; thoſe acknowledging *Adnân* for their great anceſtor, being the more diſtant graff. As *Iſhmael* was *The preſent* Arabs *deſcended from* Kahtan *and* Joktan.

[r] Gen. c. xxxvi. ver. 12. D'HERBEL. p. 110. EBN SHONAH. Num. c. xxiv. ver. 20. MIRAT. CAÎNAT. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. Exod. c. xvii. ver. 18, &c. 1 Sam. c. xv. ver. 2, &c. & c. xxvii. ver 8, 9. 1 Chron. c. iv. ver. 43. [s] JALLALO'DIN. apud Pocock, ubi ſup. p. 39. ut. & ipſe Pocock. ibid.

(O) As the genealogy of theſe tribes is of great uſe to illuſtrate the *Arabian* hiſtory, our readers would have judged this work incomplete, had we not here inſerted the two genealogical tables of the deſcendants of *Kahtan* and *Iſhmael*, formed by the late learned and ingenious Mr. *Sale* from the moſt approved *Oriental* authors. In order to render that of the deſcendants of *Iſhmael* the more perfect, we have added thereto the nine generations between *Iſhmael* and *Adnân*, which is the moſt approved ſeries of deſcents between them; though this, as here obſerved, cannot be abſolutely depended upon; for *Al Beihaki* reckons one generation leſs, differing alſo in the names in the following manner: *Iſhmael*, *Nabet*, *Yaſhab*, *Yârab*, *Yarah*, *Yâbur*, *al Mokaruwam*, *Odad*, *Odd*, *Adnân*, and *Mohammed* himſelf, according to a tradition of his wife *Omm Salma*, counted but three perſons between *Iſhmael* and *Adnân*, *viz.* *Berâ*, *Zeid* and *Odad*. With the tables here exhibited, we have intermixed ſome few additional obſervations, that may tend either to illuſtrate or correct them, as our readers will find, by comparing them with the originals in Mr. *Sale*'s excellent *preliminary diſcourſe*. We muſt not forget to remark, that in the firſt ſeries of deſcents between *Iſhmael* and *Adnân* Mr. *Sale* has omitted *Odd*, which makes him run counter to the beſt *Oriental* writers, and therefore in that particular we have diſſented from him.

by origin and language a *Hebrew*, it is no wonder thoſe ſuppoſed to be deſcended from him ſhould have no claim to be admitted as *pure Arabs*; however, ſince he contracted an alliance with the *Jorhamites*, by marrying a daughter of *Modâd*, accuſtomed himſelf to their manner of living and language, and became blended with them into one nation, they have certainly a right to be conſidered as *Moſtáreba*. The uncertainty of the deſcents between *Iſhmael* and *Adnân* is the reaſon why they ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they therefore look upon as the father of their tribes; the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted. It is remarkable, that the eaſtern writers ſcarce take any notice at all of *Abraham*'s progeny by *Keturah*, though they undoubtedly made up a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of *Arabia*. Their names were, *Zimran*, *Jokſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, or *Madian*, *Iſhbak*, and *Shuah*. Notwithſtanding the *Arabs* affirm *Iſhmael*'s wife to have been a genuine *Arabian*, the Scripture ſays ſhe was an *Egyptian*; which greatly ſhakes the authority of their hiſtorians, except it ſhould be admitted, that he had a ſecond wife, or ſeveral at once. His ſons were *Nebaioth*, *Kedar*, *Adeel*, *Mibſam*, *Miſhma*, *Dumah*, *Maſſa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jetur*, *Naphiſh*, and *Kedemah*; beſides which he had a daughter called *Mahalath* and *Baſhemath*, whom *Edom* took to wife. Some writers make *Kahtân* a deſcendant of *Iſhmael*; but among the *Orientals* this is not the moſt received opinion. However, it agrees the beſt with the *Chaldee* and *Arabic* paraphraſts, who believed the name of *Iſhmaelites* to be as general and extenſive as that of *Arabs* [t].

Government of the Scenite Arabs.

WE have already obſerved, that the cuſtoms, manners, and genius, of the *Arabs*, except in matters of religion, are in effect the ſame at this day that they were betwixt three and four thouſand years ago; and therefore we may preſume, that the antient and modern forms of government of this nation may be conſidered as agreeing in almoſt all particulars. The *Arabes Scenitæ*, therefore, as their ſucceſſors the preſent *Bedoweens*, were governed by *Shekhs* and *Emirs*. The *Shekhs* ſuperintended only particular *Dou-wars*, that is, *collections of tents* called *Hayvas*, anſwering to villages or towns, already deſcribed. Every one of theſe *Dou-wars*, therefore, might have been looked upon as a little principa-

[t] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 21. c. xxi. ver. 1, &c. AHMED EBN YOSEF AL-JAUHAR AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, ABUL FED SHAHABODDIN AHMED EBN YAHYA, &c. Vide etiam POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 51, 52.

liti-

A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the naturalized Arabs, being the Descendants of Ishmael the Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd the Jorhamite.

Ismael
Kidar
Hamal
Nobet
Sala: man.
Al Ho meisa
Al Yasa.
Odad
Odd
Adnan
Add
Nizar
Ar
Kodaah
Anmar
Al Yas
Modr: eah
Kais Aylan
Tribes of
Hawa: zen
Kelab
Okail
Amer
Jashah
Khafa jah
Beer
Kelal
Thakif
Nomair
Bahe: lah
Maizen
Gatfan
Abas
Adwan
The of Rabiah
Tribes of Jashm.
From Okail proceeded the royal family of Mufal. Pocock p. 47.
From Kelab the lords of Haleb or Aleppo descend their origin of Saleh Ebn Merdas. Pocock not. ad Specim. Arab. p. 47
From Khafajah sprung a race of Emirs, who have governed Irack for a great number of ages. Pocock p. 47.
Saad
Kais
Khozai mah
Hud hud
Galeb
Kena nah
Asad
Banu
Cähel
Asad
Dudan
Ta bakhah
Banu
Khondaf
Tamim
Rabbah
Dabbah
Moza: nah
Rabiah
Asad
Dobiyah
Nemr
Lokaim
Ajal
Abdal Kais
Asja
Saline
Dhob: yan
Fiza: rah
Al Hawn
Al Kamah
Adal
Al Daish
Al Nadr
Malec
Fehr surnamed KORAISH
Amer
Malec
Al Khabrish a Tribe
Feras
Some authors have falsely imagined this Tribe to have been Abassines or Ethiopians. Pocock p. 48.
Jo: dailah
Anzah
Wayel
Beer
Taglab
Shaiban
Honai fah
From Taglab sprung one Colaib, king of the Wayelites, who was slain by one Jassas, which occasioned a bloody war between the Becrites and Taglabites
From whom was descended the false Prophet Moseilama.
Malcan
Abd Manâf
Amru
Ghafar
Bacr
Leith
Al Harith
Madlaj
Dumm
Al Doiyal
NB. Anmar is reckoned among the posterity of Rabiah by Dr. Pocock in not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 47
Among the descendants of Dobiyah are the renowned host Motalasmes

Pinnarde Sculp.

lity, governed by the chief of that particular family, which was of the greateſt name, ſubſtance, and reputation, amongſt the *Arabs* that compoſed it. The *Emirs* or *Emeers*, the phylarchs of the *Greeks*, ruled over a whole tribe, and conſequently their authority extended to many of the above-mentioned *Dou-wars*. It is probable, that they were ſometimes dignified with the title of (P) *Shekh al Kibeer*, as ſome of their ſucceſſors are at this day. And laſtly, from what has been obſerved of the *Phylarchs* of the *Nomades*, agreeing in moſt points with the *Arabes Scenitæ*, we may conclude, that the *Emirs* were under the denomination of one particular prince, who was the ſovereign of theſe *Arabs*, or at leaſt diſtinguiſhed from the other *Emirs* by the title of the *Grand Emir*, conſonant to the form of government ſtill prevailing amonſtg the modern *Bedoweens*. However, we take this prince not to have been entirely deſpotic, but conſidered by his ſubjects only as their ſupreme magiſtrate, who maintained them in the poſſeſſion of their private laws, privileges, and cuſtoms *.

Of thoſe that dwelt in cities and towns.

THE *Arabs* that dwelt in cities and towns were undoubtedly ruled in the ſame manner as the *Bedoweens*. That many cities of *Arabia Felix*, particularly thoſe of the *Adramitæ* or *Chatramotitæ*, were governed by princes of their own, we learn from *Eratoſthenes* in *Strabo*. That author likewiſe informs us, that the order of ſucceſſion in theſe cities was not hereditary, but that the firſt child born in any of the noble families after the king's acceſſion was deemed the preſumptive heir to the crown. As ſoon, therefore, as any prince aſcended the throne, a liſt was taken of all the pregnant ladies of quality, who were guarded in a proper manner, till one of them was delivered of a ſon, who always received an education ſuitable to his high birth. However, *Artemidorus* in the ſame author intimates, that the *Sabæan* nation

* See before, p 350. not. (B). SHAW ubi ſup p 286, 287, 288, 300, 310. See before p. 354. APPIAN. in Libyc. 67. Les mœurs & les coûtumes des Arabes, p. 115, 116, à Paris, 1717.

(P) *Shekh* or *Sheikh* شيخ according to *Golius*, is equivalent to the Latin *senex*, *ſenior*, *doctor*; or *auctoritate*, *principatu*, *pietate* & *ætate præditus*. *Emir* or *Emeer* امير according to the ſame author, is to be deduced from the verb امر *mandavit*, *juſſit*, *præcepit*, &c (15).

(15) *Gol. in voc.*

had only one ſovereign; which manifeſtly implies, that all the little princes or *Emirs* above-mentioned had a ſupreme head preſiding over the whole region. And that regal government prevailed here, as deſcribed by *Artemidorus* and *Eratoſthenes*, ſeems confirmed by Scripture, when the Pſalmiſt mentions the KINGS OF ARABIA *and* SABA. The *Arabians* were for ſome centuries under the government of the deſcendants of *Kâhtan*; *Yârab*, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of *Yaman*, and *Jorham*, another of them, that of *Hejâz*. The kings of *Hamyar*, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of *Yaman*, or at leaſt the beſt part of it, had the general title of *Tobba*, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, and was affected by theſe princes, as that of *Cæſar* was by the *Roman* emperors, and *Khalif* by the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed*. There were ſeveral leſſer princes, who reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, and were moſtly, if not altogether, ſubject to the king of *Hamyar*, whom they called *the great king*; but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon. *May you avert all malediction*, or *May God be propitious to you*, was the form in which the antient *Arabs* uſed to addreſs themſelves to their king [u].

Laws of the Arabs. THE principal civil inſtitutions amongſt the *Arabs*, that ſeemed to wear the face of laws, were the following: 1. That eſtabliſhing the above-mentioned order of ſucceſſion. 2. That in force among the *Sabæans*, whereby the king was ſolemnly inveſted with his prerogative by an aſſembly of the people. 3. That injoining the ſaid king never to go out of his palace after he had taken upon him the reigns of government. 4. That commanding his ſubjects to ſtone him to death, in caſe he ſhould be found guilty of a violation of the former law. 5. That obliging them to an abſolute and implicit obedience to all his commands, conſiſtent with the aforeſaid fundamental condition. As the other political maxims the *Arabs* obſerved may be conſidered as coinciding with their cuſtoms, there is no neceſſity of touching upon them here [w].

Religion. THE religion of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, which they call the *ſtate of ignorance*, was chiefly groſs idolatry; the

[u] ERATOSTHENES, & ARTEMIDORUS apud Strabon. l. xvi LXX. in Pſal. lxxii ver x. AL-MOTAREZZI in lib. Mogreb. AL JAUHARIUS, ABULFEDA, EBN AL ATHIR, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock ubi ſup p. 65, 66. ut & ipſe POCOCK ibid. [w] AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS de mar. rubr. l. v. c. 30. apud Photium, p. 1374. ERATOSTHENES apud Strabon. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe STRABO ibid.

Sabian

Sabian religion having almoſt over-run the whole nation, though there were alſo great numbers of *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, amongſt them. The idolatry of the *Arabs*, as *Sabians*, chiefly conſiſted in worſhipping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they begged as their mediators with GOD. For they acknowledged one ſupreme GOD, the creator and lord of the univerſe, whom they called *Alla Taâla*, *the moſt high* GOD; and their other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they called ſimply *Al Ilhat*, i. e. *the goddeſſes*. "Theſe words, ſays Mr. *Sale*, "the *Greeks* not underſtanding, and it being their conſtant "cuſtom to reſolve the religion of every other nation into "their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others, "they pretended the *Arabs* worſhipped only two deities, *Oro-*"*talt* and *Alilat*, as thoſe names are corruptly written, "whom they will have to be the ſame with *Bacchus* and "*Urania*; pitching on the former as one of the greateſt "of their own gods, and educated in *Arabia*; and on the "other, becauſe of the veneration ſhewn by the *Arabs* to "the ſtars." But the impertinence of this obſervation will be touched upon immediately *.

Moſt of the Arabs Sabians.

THAT the *Arabs* ſhould eaſily be led into the worſhip of the ſtars, is not at all ſurpriſing, ſince by obſerving the changes of the weather to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them for a conſiderable period, they might eaſily be induced to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country. Hence poſſibly it came to paſs, that they had ſeven celebrated temples dedicated to the ſeven planets; one of theſe in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dahac*, to the honour of *Al Zoharah*, or the planet *Venus*, and was demoliſhed by the *Khalif Othman*. By the murder of this *khalif* was fulfilled as the *Mohammedans* pretend, the prophetical inſcription, ſet, as is reported, over this temple, *viz. Ghomdán, He who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain.* The

* Poc. not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 133. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 251. MAIMONID. in moreh nevochim. par. iii c. 29. HOTTINGERI hiſt. Orient. l. iv. c. 8. HYDE hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. PRIDEAUX in connect. p. 1. b 3 HERODOT. l. iii c. 8. ARRIAN. p. 161, 162. STRAB. l. xvi. GREG. ABULPHARAG. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 281, &c. AL-SHAHRESTANIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra. p. 108, ut & ipſe POCOCKIUS ibid. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 15, 16.

temple

temple of *Mecca* is also said to have been consecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn*. That planetary worship was the first species of idolatry, we have already observed; and therefore it is no wonder the *Arabs*, at present the most antient nation in the world, should have been infected with it. To what has been already offered on this head, we shall here beg leave to add the testimony of *Pausanias*, who intimates, that the worship of the planets was earlier than the first arrival of the *Pelasgi* in *Greece*; and that before this time they had statues erected in their honour. This observation will not only illustrate, but likewise bring a fresh accession of strength to what has been advanced in a former note [y].

Worship the fixed stars, as well as the planets.

But besides those stars which were the general objects of worship throughout *Arabia*, there were some more peculiarly reverenced in particular provinces. Thus the *Hamyarites* chiefly worshipped the *Sun*; *Misam*, *al Debarân*, or *the bull's eye*; *Lakhm* and *Jodâm*, *al Moshtari*, or *Jupiter*; *Tay*, *Sohail*, or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius*, or *the dog-star*; and *Asad*, *Otâred*, or *Mercury*. *Abu Cabsha*, a worshipper of *Sirius*, whom some will have to be the same with *Waheb*, *Mohammed*'s grandfather on the mother's side, though others make him of the tribe of *Khozâah*, used his utmost endeavours to persuade the *Koreish* to leave their images, and worship this star. For which reason, when *Mohammed* endeavoured also to draw them off from image-worship, they nicknamed him the son of *Abu Cabsha*. However, the *Arabs*, together with the *Indians* in general, paid a greater regard to the fixed stars, than to the planets; which distinguished the *Sabians* amongst them from those amongst the *Greeks*, who directed their worship to the planets. The *Arabs* did not only attribute their rains to the influence of the fixed stars, but likewise their winds, storms, tempests, heat, cold, and all kinds of alterations in their atmosphere. They differed, however, amongst themselves in this, that some ascribed the influence producing all the meteorological *phænomena* to the rising, and others to the setting, of the constellations known amongst them by the name of *Al-Anwa* [z].

As likewise angels, or intelligences.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, we find only three mentioned in the *Korân*, viz. *Allat*,

[y] Poc. ubi supra, p. 163. Al-Jannabi. Shahrestani. Pausan. Laconic. p. 202. See vol. xvi. p. 463 not. (P). [z] Abulpharag ubi supra, p. 160. Al Shahrestani Abulfed. Al-Jauharius, Ebn'ol. Athir, & Al-Firauzabadius apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 163, 164. ut & ipse Pocock p. 130, 131.

All-

Tab II Part II

The Tribe of Koreish

Fehr surnamed KOREISH

Hareth

Gâlel-

Mohârel-

Banu

Kholoj

Lowa

Tayem al Adrum

Banu Mohareb or Sheiban

Amer- | Jaud | Khuzaimah | Al Hâreth | Caal- | Aâmah | Jesham | Anf | Amru

Amru | Al-d Wadd

Hosais

Monah

Ada — Of whose Posterity was Omar Ebn al Khattab.

Of this Family was Omeyya Ebn Khalf

Jemah | Jahm

Keiul-

Tayem | Yokadhah

Of this Family was Amru Ebn Al As

Of this Family was Abu Beer

Zahrah

Kosa

Makhzum — Of this Family were Khaled Ebn al Walid and Abu Jahl

Abd Menaf

Abdal Lâr

Abd Menaf

Abdal Uzza — From Him was descended Khadijah Mohammed's first wife

Waheb

Shibah

Hâshem

Abd Shams

Al Mottallel

Nawfal

Mother to Mohammed — Aminah

Halhem not sent summer & Winter to Yaman

Abdal Mottallel — Omeyya — From whom were descended Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb and Othmân Ebn Affân

Aba Tâlab | Al Abbâs | Hamzah | Al Hâreth | Abu Lahab | Al Ghidâk | Abdollah | Ichel | Al Mokaw ram | Al Zobeir | Ketham | Derar | Abdal Caaba

Ali

MOHAMMED

Ahmed Ebn Yusef. Al Jauhar. Al Firuzabadius. Ismael Abulfeda. Shahaboddin Ahmed Ebn Yahia &c. vide etiam Al Porochium in Not. ad Spec. hist. Arab. p. 40—52 & Sale Vid. Sup. p. 89

Romande Sculp

Al-Uzza, and *Manah*; these they called *goddesses*, and *the daughters* of GOD; an appellation they gave not only to angels, but also to their images, which they believed either to be inspired with life by GOD, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they paid them divine honours, because they believed them to intercede for their votaries with GOD. The *Arab Sabians* likewise, in common with those of other nations, imagined, that the *Sun*, *Moon*, and fixed stars, were habitations of intelligences of a middle nature betwixt men and the Supreme Being, who actuated their orbs in the same manner as the human body does the soul; and that this was the true cause of all their motions. These beings, they had a notion, became mediators between GOD and them; for the necessity of a mediator they clearly discovered from the beginning, and therefore, as GOD's mediators, directed divine worship to them. They first worshipped them by their *tabernacles*, i. e. their orbs themselves; but these, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address themselves to them in their absence. To remedy this defect, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these inferior deities to be as much present by their influence, as in the stars themselves; and that all addresses to them were rendered as effectual before the one, as before the other. And this may be considered as the origin of image-worship. All other material particulars relating to the *Sabians*, omitted here, will either be found in note (Q), or a former volume of this history [a].

Allat

[a] Al Kor. MOHAMMED. c. liii. Poc. p. 138. GOL. MAIMONID. HOTTING HYDE, PRIDEAUX. ubi supra, SHAHRESTANIUS apud Hyde, c. v. p. 124. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 720. HOUSAIN WAEZ comment. Pers. in Al-Koran. c. 2. Lib. Phir. Gj. apud Hyd. ubi supra. KALKASHEND apud Hyde, ubi supra. p. 125. EBN AL ATHIR apud Pocockium, p. 136, 139.

(Q) The *Sabian*, *Jewish*, and *Christian* religions are the only religions tolerated by the *Korân*. We are told, that the eastern writers vary greatly in their notions of the religious tenets of the first sect; though those here mentioned seem to be attested by the best of them. The *Sabians* produce many strong arguments for the unity of GOD, and address themselves to HIM in the following terms: *I dedicate myself to thy service, O GOD! I dedicate myself to thy service. O* GOD! *Thou hast no companion, except thy companion, of whom Thou art the absolute master, and of whatever is his* From whence

Allat. *Allat*, whom some of the *Arabs* called *Allah*, was the idol of the tribe of *Thâkif*, who dwelt at *Tayef*, and had a temple

whence it appears, that they suppose idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offer sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to GOD, *who was also formerly often put off with the least portion*, as *Mohammed* upbraids them. The reason assigned by them for this was, that *the idol wanted what was* GOD's, but GOD HIMSELF *wanted nothing*. A sort of baptism they admit, and profess a great veneration for St. *John Baptist*, styling themselves, in their language, which is composed of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Mendai Jabia*, i. e. *disciples of St. John*; and by this name they go amongst the *Christians* of the *Levant*. Besides the book of *Psalms*, the only true Scripture they read, they have another supposed to have been wrote by *Adam*, which they regard as their bibles, whose language almost entirely agrees with the *Chaldee*, but the characters differ from those of all other nations. *Ebn Shonah* makes them the descendants of the most antient people in the world, and intimates, that besides the books just mentioned, they have others esteemed equally sacred, particularly one full of moral discourses, denominated by them *the book* of *Seth* and *Enoch*, or, as they name him, *Edris*. They are obliged to pray three, or, according to others, seven, times a day; the first half an hour, or less, before sun rise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations: the second prayer they end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying of which they perform five such adorations as the former: and the same they do the third time, concluding just as the sun sets. They are very fervent in their devotions. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlick, and some other pulse and vegetables. As to the *Sabian Kebla*, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one affirming it to be the north, another the south, a third *Mecca*, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions. They have a great respect for the temple of *Mecca*, as also the pyramids, in the third of which they believe *Sabi*, the author of their religion, lies buried. They go on pilgrimage to *Harran*, either out of regard to the memory of *Abraham*, or of *Sabi Ebn Mari*, who lived in *Abraham*'s time, and is looked upon by some as the first propagator of their religion. *Ebn Hazem* asserts *Sabianism* to have been the universal religion till the age of *Abraham*, from whence all the succeeding sects were derived. According to *Al Shareftani*, the *Sabians* say, that the difference betwixt them and the *Mahammedans* consists in this, that among creatures they give the preference to spirits, angels, or intelligences moving the celestial orbs; whereas the *Mohammedans* chuse to pay the greatest honour to *body* and *matter*, i. e. *men*; as prophets, patriarchs, &c. *Houssain Vaez*, in his *Persic* commentary on the *Koran*, says, that they were a sort of

ple consecrated to her in a place called *Nakhlah*. We shall see more of this deity hereafter, when we come to the modern history of *Arabia*, especially that part of it which re-

of *Sadducees*, not believing a future state. We must not omit observing, that at the pyramids they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, and offered up incense. *Ebn Khalecan*, in his life of *Ibrahim al Sabi*, affirms, that the *Sabians* are as antient as the *Magians*, but different from them; however, that both of them pretended to deduce their origin from *Abraham*, whom they confounded with *Zerdusht*. The same author relates, that the word *Sabi* in the *Arabic* tongue denotes one who leaves the religion of his forefathers, and introduces a new one; for which reason the *Koreish*, by way of reproach, called *Mohammed Sabi*, or *Sabian*. The eastern *Christians* scruple not to affirm, that *Constantine the Great* himself professed *Sabianism* before he became a convert to *Christianity*. *Shareſtani* divides the *Sabians* into two sects, those that worship the stars, and those that worship images. The first maintain, that GOD created the world, but has commanded his servants to pay great regard to the stars, and to turn themselves towards those luminous bodies whenever they pray; the other, that by the mediation of images, they have access to the stars, and, through the assistance of those intellectual agents informing them, to the Supreme Being. They all believe, that the souls of wicked men will be punished for 9000 ages, but that afterwards they shall be received to mercy. Their feasts in general they have appointed upon the days when the exaltations of the planets happen; but the greatest of them, in particular, upon the day that the sun enters *Aries*, which, with them, is the first day of the year, when they all wear their best cloaths. They celebrate the feast of every planet in a chapel dedicated to him, and derive their religion from *Noah* himself. The *Sabians* of mount *Lebanon* seem to pay a greater regard to *Seth*, than the Supreme Being; for they always keep their oath when they swear by the former, but frequently break it when they swear by the latter. They likewise maintain, that once in 36125 years there will be a complete revolution in all mundane things. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues; GOD they call GOD of gods, and LORD of lords; but those intelligences supposed to actuate the stars gods and lords. This sect say, they took the name of *Sabians* from the above-mentioned *Sabi*, though it seems rather to be derived from צבא *Saba*, or *Tsaba*, the *host* of *heaven*, which they worship. Before the growth of *Christianity* and *Mohammedanism*, the greatest part of the world professed the *Sabian* religion. The other particulars, relating to this sect, our readers will find, either in a former part of this work, or in the authors here referred to (16).

(16) *D' Herbel. Prid. Poc. Gol. Hyd. Hottinger. aliique auctor. hic laudat.*

lates to the transactions wherein *Mohammed* was more immediately concerned [b].

Al-Uzza. *Al-Uzza* or *Al Ozza*, was the idol of the tribes of *Koreish* and *Kenanah*, and part of the tribe of *Salim*, as some affirm; but a tree called the *Egyptian* thorn, or *Acacia*, worshipped by the tribe of *Ghatfan*, first consecrated by one *Dhâlem*, who built a chapel over it named *Bos*, so contrived, as to give a sound when any one entered, according to others. When *Khâled Ebn Wâlid*, by *Mohammed's* order, had demolished the chapel, cut down the image, or tree, and slain the priestess of *Al Uzza*, *Mohammed*, alluding to the death of the priestess, said, she was *Al-Uzza*, who therefore will never hereafter be worshipped. The name *Uzza* is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty* [c].

Manah. *Manah* was the object of worship of the tribes of *Hodhail* and *Khozâah*, possibly the *Cassanitæ* of *Ptolemy*, who dwelt between *Mecca* and *Medina*, and, as some say, of the tribes of *Aus*, *Khazraj*, and *Thakif* also. Dr. *Pocock* renders it highly probable, that the *Manah* of the *Arabs* was the *Meni* of the prophet *Isaiah*. This idol was a large stone, demolished by one *Saad* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, so fatal to the idols of *Arabia*. The name seems derived from *mana* to *flow*, from the *flowing* of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of *Mina*, near *Mecca*, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices. Some take *Meni*, or *Manah*, to be the name of a constellation; which notion is favoured by the most obvious signification of the word *Manah* in the *Arabic* tongue [d].

Wadd, Sawa Yaghûth, Yâûk, *and* Nasr. BESIDES these, we find five antediluvian idols taken notice of by the *Arabian* writers, *viz. Wadd*, *Sawâ*, *Yaghûth*, *Yâûk*, and *Nasr*. They are said to have been men of great repute and piety in their time, whose statues the *Arabs* at first reverenced with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship [e].

Wadd. *Wadd* was supposed to represent the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of *Calb*, in *Dawmat al Jandal*. For a further account of him, we must refer our readers to the authors here cited [f].

[b] ABULFARAG. p. 160. Poc. ubi supra, p 90. [c] AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN & Al FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocock. ibid. [d] AL JAUHAR. AL-BIDAWI, AL-SHAHREST. ABULFED. AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS, & AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. Isai. c. lxv. ver. 11. Vide etiam Poc. spec 90, 91, 92. [e] Al Koran. MOHAMMED. c. 71. Comment. Persic Vide etiam HYD. de rel. vet. Pers. p. 135. [f] AL-JAUHAR. AL-SHAHRESTAN.

Sâïud

Sawâ was adored under the ſhape of a woman by the tribe of *Hamadan*, or, as others write, of *Hodhail* in *Rahat*. This idol, lying under water for ſome time after the deluge, was at length, as the *Arab* writers aſſert, diſcovered by the devil, and worſhipped by thoſe of *Hodhail*, who inſtituted pilgrimages to it [g]. Sawâ.

Yaghûth was an idol in the ſhape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of *Madhaj*, and others, who dwelt in *Yaman*. Its name ſeems to be derived from *ghatha*, which ſignifies to *help* [h]. Yaghûth.

Yâûk the tribe of *Morâd* eſteemed as their proper object of worſhip, or, according to others, that of *Hamadan*, under the figure of a horſe. The name *Yaûk* probably comes from their verb *âka*, to *prevent*, or *avert* [i] (R). Yâûk.

Naſr ſeems to have been the proper deity of the tribe of *Hamyar*, whom we may conſider either as the *Homeritæ* or *Hamiræi* of *Pliny*, or adored at *Dhâl Khalaah* in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name ſignifies [k]. Naſr.

THE four deities *Sâkia*, *Hâſedha*, *Râzeka*, and *Salema*, were peculiar to the tribe of *Ad*. The firſt ſupplied them with rain, the ſecond preſerved them from all dangers abroad, the third provided food for their ſuſtenance, and the fourth reſtored them to health when afflicted with ſickneſs; according to the ſignification of their ſeveral names. To theſe may be added *Al-Daizan*, or *Saturn*, a moſt antient *Arab* idol, *Hhebar*, *al-Auf*, &c. mentioned by *Al-Jauharius*, *Al-Firauzabadius*, and others [l]. Sâkia, Hâfedha, Râzeka *and* Salema.

[g] Idem apud POCOCK. p. 93. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS & SAFIODDIN. ibid. [h] AL-SHAHRESTANI. ibid. [i] AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. AL-JAUHAR. EBN CHALECAN in vit. Al-Battanu. Poc. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 101, 338, 389, 390. [k] AL JAUHAR. SHAHRESTAN. & POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 93. [l] ABULFED. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in art. *Houd*.

(R) It is ſaid *Yâûk* was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to repreſent him to the life, perſuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and ſeven others, of extraordinary merit, had the ſame honours ſhewn them, till at length their poſterity made idols of them in earneſt [17].

(17) *Poc. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab* p. 91.

Jupiter Ammon *and* Bacchus *worshipped by the* Arabs.

As image-worship in some measure proceeded from the deification of dead men, who had been the authors of some signal advantages and benefits to the people they governed, or else greatly famed for their conquests, as well as the cause above-mentioned, it is no wonder the *Arabs*, as well as other nations, should fall into it. Sir *Isaac Newton* takes hero-worship, or the worship of deified dead men, to have been no older than the age of *Sesac*, the great *Egyptian* conqueror so often mentioned, who ordered all the nations he conquered, and amongst the rest a good part of the *Arabians* at least, to pay divine honours to his father *Ammenemes*, or *Ammon*, under the name of *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Ammon*. This therefore was the great hero-god of the *Arabs*, as well as of the *Egyptians*, *Garamantes*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, &c. and his son and successor, *Sesac*, who enjoined this worship, the *Bacchus*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, of the antients, little inferior to him. The *Arabs*, it is probable, set up oracles to *Ammon*, who reduced at least a good part of their country, as well as the *Libyans* and *Egyptians*; and *Sesac*, on account of his having coasted *Arabia Felix*, sailed to the *Persian* gulph, penetrated afterwards into *India*, where he erected two pillars on two mountains near the mouth of the *Ganges*, and another at *Dire*, a promontory of *Ethiopia*, was, according to very good authors, esteemed as his father's collegue in *Arabia*, as well as the other regions subjugated by him. This, considering the authorities on which it is founded, is a much stronger proof in favour of the *Arabs* really worshipping *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, or *Ammon* and *Sesac*, than what Mr. *Sale* has offered, from the supposed vanity and ignorance of the *Greeks*, is to evince the *Arab* worship of those deities to be purely imaginary. Nay, we may venture to add, that could he have produced a whole volume of *Arab* traditions, stuffed as they are with fables and absurdities, in support of his opinion, it would not have mended the matter; especially as he gives up the main point, by allowing *Bacchus* to have been educated in *Arabia*. For this concession, though the thing granted is false, must be deemed a sufficient reason, on his part, for the *Arabs* to have paid divine honours to so celebrated a personage as *Bacchus*, as well as his father *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Uranius* [m] (S).

[m] Newt. chronol. pass. Herodot. l. iii. Diod. Sic. l. i. Dionys. perieg. v. 623. Pocock. not. ad specim. hist. Arab. p. 106, 107. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 15, 16.

(S) The *Arabs* also worshipped *Mars*, according to *Suidas* (18).

(18) *Suid. in voc.* Ἄρης.

We

WE muſt not omit obſerving here, that the antient *Arabs*, in order to ſhew the high veneration in which they had their idols, reckoned it glorious to be accounted their ſervants and votaries; which they demonſtrated by the names given to their children, *viz. Abd Wadd*, *Abd Yaghûth*, *Abd Manah*, *Abdol Uzzah*, &c. i. e. *the ſervant of Wadd*, *the ſervant of Yaghûth*, *the ſervant of Manah*, *the ſervant of Uzzah*, &c. [n].

Arabs call their children after the names of their idols.

BESIDES the idols already mentioned, the *Arabs* worſhipped many others, the chief of whom was *Hobal*, brought from *Belka* in *Syria* to *Arabia* by *Amra Ebn Lohai*, pretending it would procure them rain whenever they wanted it. According to *Safioddin*, *Hobal* was placed without the *Caaba*, under the figure of a man. His ſtatue was made of red agate, which having, by ſome accident, loſt a hand, the *Koreiſh* repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the *Arabs* uſed in divination. This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the image of *Abraham*, found and deſtroyed by *Mohammed* in the *Caaba*, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, when he took *Mecca*, and ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as ſome ſay, was *Iſhmael*, with divining arrows in his hand. *Hobal*, according to *Al-Jannabius*, was the chief of three hundred and ſixty idols, a freſh one of which the *Arabs* might, if they thought proper, worſhip every day in the year. We are told, that among the idols in the *Caaba* was a wooden pigeon, as likewiſe another above that ſtructure, to deſtroy which, *Mohammed* lifted *Ali* upon his ſhoulders. *Aſâf* and *Nayelah*, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were alſo two idols brought with *Hobal* from *Syria*, and placed the one on mount *Safâ*, and the other on mount *Merwa*. They tell us, *Aſâf* was the ſon of *Amru*, and *Nayelah* the daughter of *Sahal*, both of the tribe of *Jorham*, who, committing whoredom together in the *Caaba*, were by GOD converted into ſtone, and afterwards worſhipped by the *Koreiſh*, and ſo much reverenced by them, that though this ſuperſtition was condemned by *Mohammed*, yet he was forced to allow them to viſit thoſe mountains as monuments of the divine juſtice. We are told, that theſe idols were firſt fixed on the mounts *Safa* and *Merwa* by one *Amru* in the reign of *Sapor* or *Sabor* ſurnamed *Dhil Actaf*, king of *Perſia*; but this notion has been exerthrown by *Abulfeda*. As for the idols *Saad*, an oblong ſtone

Have a great variety of idols.

[n] Al Koran, MOHAMMED Poc ubi ſupra, p. 95.

(n

on the shore near *Giodda*, *Soair* or *Sair* worshipped by the tribe of *Anza*, *Aud* adored by the tribe of *Becr Wayel*, *Nasr* or *Nosr*, *Al-Sharek*, from whence the *Arab* name *Abdol-Sharek* was derived, *Dar* whence *Abdol-Dar*, *Madan*, *Yalil*, *Awal* peculiar to the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, *Dul Caffain*, the deity of the tribe of *Daus*, *Bajar* or *Bajer* that of the tribe of *Azd*, *Al-Okaisar* worshipped in the eastern part of *Syria*, *Bag* or *Bagh*, from whence *Abulfeda* deduces the name of the city *Baghdad*, *Al-Chalasah*, *Dushshara*, the *Dysares* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, &c. it is sufficient just to have mentioned them. Besides these, according to the *Oriental* authors, every housekeeper had his houshold god, which he last took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad, and returning home [o].

Some of these idols stones.

Several of the *Arab* idols, besides *Saad* abovementioned, and *Manah* in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of *Ishmael* first introduced, according to *Al-Jannabius*. To us it seems most probable, that these great stones were the first public places of divine worship amongst the *Arabs*, on which they poured wine and oil, as *Jacob* did upon the stones that served him for a pillow, when he saw his vision. Afterwards they might worship these stones themselves, as the *Phœnicians*, in all probability, did; but this has already been touched upon. Some authors relate, that when the territory of *Mecca* grew too strait for the *Ishmaelites*, so that great numbers of them found themselves obliged to look out for new habitations, those that departed from *Mecca* took with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land; and at first only compassed them out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the *Caaba*. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the said *Ishmaelites* forgetting the religion, left them by their father, so far, as to pay divine honours to any fine stone they met with. To the idols already mentioned we may add another peculiar to the tribe of *Hanifa*, which was nothing more than a lump of dough. This they never presumed to eat, till they were compelled to it by famine [p].

[o] Abulfed Al Shahrstan. Sapioddin. & auct. lib. *Mostaraf*. Vid. etiam Pocock. ubi sup. p. 95, 97, 98. Ebn al Athir. Al Jannabius Al Koran. Mohammed. c. ii. Mohammed. Al Firauzabadius apud Pocock. p. 97. Al-Jauhar. Suid in voc. Δυσάρης Poc. p 98—106. [p] Al-Jauhar. Al-Beidwi, & Al-Zamakhsharius. Univers. hist. vol. xvi p. 483. Al Mostatraf. Al Jauharius. apud Pocock. p. 110.

The

THE *Perſians*, by their vicinity to, and frequent intercourſe with, the *Arabians*, introduced the *Magian* religion among ſome of their tribes, particularly that of *Tamim*, a long time before *Mohammed*, who was ſo far from being unacquainted with it, that from it he borrowed many of his own inſtitutions. The profeſſors of this religion acknowledged the world to have been created by GOD, as their ſucceſſors do at this day: but, being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the origin of evil, they held two principles, a good *Dæmon* or GOD, and an evil one. The firſt they ſuppoſed the author of all good, and the other of all evil, believing them to be repreſented by light and darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols, and that of the compoſition of theſe two all things in the world are made. The good principle or GOD they named *Yezad* or *Yezdan*, and *Ormozd* or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil *Dæmon* they called *Ahârîman* or *Airîman*, and the *Greeks Arimanius*. Though one ſect of the *Magi* aſſerted, as the *Manichæans* and other heretics did, both thoſe principles to have exiſted from all eternity, yet they were reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle or GOD only was eternal, and the other created, as appears from *Zoroaſtres*'s deſcription of the ſupreme BEING. Amongſt other tenets they maintained, that there were good and bad angels; the former guarding and protecting men from evil, and the latter inſtigating them to all kinds of wickedneſs. They alſo believed, that the wicked angels, after they had drawn men out of the paths of virtue, became the inſtruments of their puniſhment; and that theſe angels were continually meditating the ruin and deſtruction of mankind. As for *Zoroaſtres*, or *Zerduſht*, as the *Perſians* called him, he made no alterations in the doctrinal and fundamental points of the *Magian* religion, but only aboliſhed ſome ſuperſtitious rites and practices, that had crept in amongſt the profeſſors of it, who, according to Dr. *Hyde*, conſtantly adhered to the worſhip of the true GOD, as they received it from their great anceſtors *Shem* and *Elam*. But, as ſo ample an account has already been given of the *Magi*, and their ſyſtem of religion, we ſhall expatiate no farther on this head; but conclude it with obſerving, that whether we conſider the *Arabs* as *Sabians* or followers of *Zerduſht*, it muſt be allowed, that they held the exiſtence of *Dæmons*, *Genii*, or middle-intelligences, influencing the affairs of the world: a truth indeed near as extenſive as the belief of

Magian religion in Arabia.

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a God, and acknowledged by the antient heathen of almoſt all denominations [q].

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However, ſome of the pagan *Arabs* believed neither a creation paſt, nor a reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age. Others allowed both; among whom were thoſe, who, when they died, had their camel tied by their ſepulchre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and accompany them to the other world, leſt they ſhould be obliged, at the reſurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very ſcandalous. Some believed a *metempſychoſis*, and that of the blood, near the dead perſon's brain, was formed a bird named *Hamah*, which once in a hundred years viſited the ſepulchre; though others ſay, this bird is animated by the ſoul of him that is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries *Oſcuni*, *Oſcuni*, i. e. *Give me to drink*, meaning of the murderer's blood, till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. Some of the antient *Arabs* ſeem to have been addicted to augury, ſince they held an owl in great abhorrence, as imagining that it always brought ill news, and portended ſomething bad. The camel above-mentioned furniſhed the *Arabs* with a proverb, which they applied to all people doomed to a miſerable end. Thoſe who expected a future judgment, adored idols, as they pretended, that they might be hereby induced to intercede for them with God hereafter. It appears probable from ſome paſſages of the *Koran*, and the commentators on thoſe paſſages, that the antient *Arabs*, under the word *Jin* or *Genii*, comprehended both angels, good as well as bad, and that intermediate ſpecies of rational invitible beings going amongſt the preſent *Orientals* by the ſame name. From the ſame paſſages and commentators we may likewiſe infer, that moſt of the *Arabians* before *Mohammed's* time, in conformity to the *Sabian* ſcheme, paid religious honours to theſe *Genii*. The *Mohammedans* call the evil principle of the *Magi* the *Satan* of the Scripture, and *Sammaël* of the *Jews*, *Eblis*, which ſeems to be a corruption of the Διάβολος or *Diabolus* of the *New Teſtament* [r].

[q] Al Mostatraf Lord's account of the religion of the Perſees. p 5. Diog. Laert. in proœm. p. 6 Plut de Iſid. & in Dio. Lib *Sad-der* apud Hyd hiſt rel. vet. Perſ. paſſ. Damascius, Plutarch, & Shahrestani. apud Hyd ubi ſup. c 22. Prideaux in connect. p. i v. 3. Univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 200. & vol ix. p. 65, 106.. & alib. Vide etiam Pocockium in Spec hiſt. Arab. p 146——150. [r] Al-Shahriſtani Al-Jauhari Ebn al Athir. Al Damirius. Vide Pocockii not. ubi ſup. p. 131—136. Al-Koran. Mohammed c. 6, 7, 27, & alib.

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The Jewiſh *religion embraced by ſome of the* Arab *tribes.*

WHETHER St. *Paul* preached in any part of *Arabia*, properly ſo called, we cannot pretend to determine; but that the chriſtian religion was planted very early in this country, will not admit of a diſpute. The *Arabians* we find ranked amongſt thoſe nations, ſome of whoſe members firſt had the happineſs of being made converts to chriſtianity, ſeveral of them being preſent when the HOLY GHOST firſt deſcended upon the apoſtles. When the eaſtern church, ſoon after the beginning of the third century, was greatly harraſſed by diſorders and perſecutions, vaſt numbers of chriſtians fought for ſhelter in *Arabia*, who being for the moſt part of the *Jacobite* communion, that ſect generally prevailed among the *Arabs*. The principal tribes that embraced chriſtianity were *Hamyar*, *Ghaſſan*, *Rabiah*, *Taghlab*, *Bahra*, *Tenuch*, part of thoſe of *Tay* and *Kodaa*, the inhabitants of *Najran*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*. The people of *Najran* became converts to chriſtianity in the time of *Dhu Nowas* above-mentioned, and thoſe of *Hira* received a great accaſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of that prince. How *Al-Noaman*, ſurnamed *Abu-Kabis*, king of *Hira*, who

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[f] Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. 50, & 85. BARONII annal. ad ſec. 6. SIMEON epiſc. BETH-ARSAMENS. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Orient. tom. i p. 363—387. METAPHRASTES apud Surium, tom. v. p. 936, & alib. NICEPH. CALLIST. l. xviii. c. 6. Vid. etiam ABULFED. SHAHRESTANI, et SAFIODDIN, apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 137, 139.

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was ſlain a few months before *Mohammed*'s birth, came to profeſs himſelf a chriſtian, and brought off with him from paganiſm the whole nation he governed, will be hereafter related. According to *Abulfeda* his grandfather *Mondar* embraced chriſtianity, and built ſeveral churches for the chriſtians in *Hira*. *Safiuddin* ſays, that *Najran* was a biſhop's ſee, and remarkable for having a chriſtian church in early times. From *Shabreſtani* we learn, that *Mondar* king of the *Arabs* declared war againſt the emperor *Juſtinian*, becauſe he had treated ill thoſe who aſſerted only one nature in Chriſt, ſince the *Arab* chriſtians at that time were of the *Jacobite* perſuaſion. This is a ſufficient proof, that chriſtianity had got footing in *Arabia* before the reign of that prince. The *Jacobites* give out, that M. *Aſſeman* thinks it probable, that the *Syrian* biſhop *Jacobus Baradæus*, who according to *Abulpharagius*, viſited all the regions adjacent to *Syria*, and ordained there biſhops, preſbyters, *&c.* of the *Jacobite* ſect, firſt infected the *Arabian* chriſtians with *Monophyſiſm*. How our Saviour appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, to the *Jews* of *Hamyar*, who had challenged ſome neighbouring chriſtians to a public diſputation about *Dhu Nowas*'s time, our readers will be informed when we come towards the cloſe of this hiſtory [t].

Biſhopricks in Arabia.

IT is natural to ſuppoſe, that as the chriſtians were ſo numerous in *Arabia* before the age of *Mohammed*, they had ſeveral biſhops there, when that impoſtor firſt began to form a new ſyſtem of religion. Accordingly we find, that the *Jacobites* had two biſhops of the *Arabs* ſubject to their *Maſrian*, or *metropolitan of the eaſt*. One of theſe was ſtyled abſolutely *the biſhop of the Arabs*, whoſe ſeat was for the moſt part at *Akula*, which ſome authors make the ſame with *Cafa*, others a different town near *Baghdad*. The other had the title of *the biſhop of the Scenite Arabs*, of the tribe of *Taalab* in *Hira* or *Hirta*, as the *Syrians* call it, and ſeated in that city. *Gregentius*, who held a famous diſpute *ſub dio* for three days with *Herbanus* the *Jew*, before the king of *Hamyar*, was biſhop or archbiſhop of *Dhafar* or

[t] Gal. c i. c. 17. Act. c. ii, ver. 11. ABULPHARAG. p. 93, 149. ASSEMAN. diſſert. de Monophyſit. & Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p 166, 167. AL MOSTATRAF. ABULFED. SHAHRESTAN. & SAFIODDIN apud Pocockium, ubi iup. AL-JANNABIUS, ibid. p 62. EBN CHALICAN in vit. ABRAHAM. poet. GREGENT. diſput. cum Herban. Jud. in biblioth. patr. Pariſienſ. tom. i. PAGIUS ad an. 523. à num. 10 Vid etiam Cl LAMBECIUM, l. v. p. 131. & ASSEMANN. act. ad Simeon. Beth-Arſamenſ. epiſc. in bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 383.

Tephrah,

Tephrah, as it is called by the *Greek* authors, in the century preceding; *Mohammed* and that *Najrân* alſo was a biſhop's ſee at the ſame time, has been already obſerved from *Safioddin*. We find likewiſe, a prelate of this country ſtyled the biſhop of the *Tayites*, though the extent and limits of his dioceſe cannot ſo eaſily be defined. The *Neſtorians* had but one biſhop, who preſided over both the dioceſes of *Hira* and *Akula*, and was immediately ſubject to their patriarch. *Arabia* was in the earlieſt ages famous for hereſies, which might, as Mr. *Sale* obſerves, be in ſome meaſure attributed to the liberty and independency of its tribes. The ſpecification of theſe hereſies will more properly fall under our province in the modern hiſtory of the *Arabs*, when we ſhall enumerate the principal cauſes, that concurred to favour the propagation of the *Mohammedan* religion [u].

Other ſects in Arabia.

BEFORE we conclude our account of the religion, or rather religions, of the antient *Arabs*, we muſt obſerve, that ſome of them attributed a power to the fixed ſtars ſuperior to what even the *Sabians* themſelves allowed; inſomuch, that they would not take the leaſt ſtep without receiving a favourable omen from them. Several of them alſo not only worſhipped *Dæmons* or *Genii*, but likewiſe aſſerted them to be the daughters of GOD. The *Koreiſh* were infected with *Zendiciſm*, an error nearly related to that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*. We are told, that ſeveral of this tribe worſhiped one GOD, and differed from all the other religions of the country, before the time of *Mohammed* [w]. *different from thoſe already mentioned.*

Language.

As the *Arabs* are one of the moſt antient nations in the world, having inhabited the country they at preſent poſſeſs almoſt from the deluge, without intermixing with other nations, or being ſubjugated by any foreign power, their language muſt have been formed ſoon after, if not at, the confuſion of *Babel*. The two principal dialects of it were that ſpoken by by the *Himyarites* and other genuine *Arabs*, and that of the *Koreiſh*, in which *Mohammed* wrote the *Korân*. The firſt is ſtyled by the *Oriental* writers the *Arabic* of *Himyar* and the

[u] SAFIODDIN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. ABULPHARAG. in chron. Syriac. MS. ABULFEDA in deſcript. Iraæ GREGOR. diſp. cum Herban. ubi ſup. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 27. ASSEMAN. bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 166, 167. tom. ii in diſſert de Monophyſit. & p. 459. LAMBECIUS ubi ſup. SALE's prelim diſc. ſect 2. p. 34, 35.

[w] SHAHRESTANI Al-Koran MOHAMMED. c. vi. Al. MOSTATRAF. apud Pocockium, p. 136. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed p. 270. & MILLIUS de Mohammediſmo ante Mohammed. p. 311. SALE's prelim. diſc. ſect. 1. p. 24.

other *the pure* or *defecated Arabic.* As *Yarab*, grandfather to *Hamyar*, is ſuppoſed by the *Oriental* writers to have been the firſt whoſe tongue deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*, the *Hamyaritic* dialect, according to them, muſt have approached nearer to the purity of the *Syriac*, and conſequently have been more remote from the true genius of the *Arabic*, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the *Koreiſh*, termed by the *Korân the perſpicuous and clear Arabic*, is referred to *Iſhmael* as its author, who, ſay the above-mentioned writers, firſt ſpoke it, and, as Dr. *Pocock* believes, after he had contracted an alliance with the family of *Jorham* by marriage, formed it of their language and the original *Hebrew*. As therefore the *Hamyaritic* dialect partook principally of the *Syriac*, ſo that of the *Koreiſh* was ſuppoſed to conſiſt chiefly of the *Hebrew*. But, according to *Jallalo'ddin*, the politeneſs and elegance of the dialect of the *Koreiſh* ought rather to be attributed to their having, from the remoteſt antiquity, the cuſtody of the *Caaba*, and dwelling in *Mecca*, the centre of *Arabia*. For by this ſituation they were not only rendered more incapable of any intercourſe with foreigners, who might have corrupted their language, but likewiſe frequented by the *Arabs* of all the circumjacent country, both on a religious account, and for the compoſing of their differences, from whoſe diſcourſe and verſes they took whatever words or phraſes they judged moſt pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became tranſfuſed into this dialect. The *Arabs* are full of the commendations of their language, which is very harmonious, expreſſive, and, as they ſay, ſo immenſely copious, that no man uninſpired can be a perfect maſter of it, in its utmoſt extent. How much in this laſt article it is ſuperior to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, in ſome meaſure appears from hence, that ſometimes a bare enumeration of the *Arabic* names of one particular thing, and an explication of them, will make a conſiderable volume. Thus we are told, that *Ebn Khaleweih*, one of the moſt learned of the *Arab* grammarians, wrote a whole treatiſe, which conſiſted intirely of an interpretation of five hundred words ſignifying a *lion*; and another whoſe only ſubject was a collection of two hundred words denoting a *ſerpent*. *Mohammedes Al-Firauzabadius*, author of the great *Arabic* lexicon called *Kamus*, or *the Ocean*, relates, that he compoſed a piece, containing a deſcription of the nature and advantages of *honey*, together with an explanation of eighty different terms by which it was ſtyled; and yet that it had ſeveral other names. He likewiſe mentions another of his books, wherein he had enumerated above a thouſand words expreſſive only of a *ſword*. Notwithſtanding

ſtanding which the *Arabs* believe the greateſt part of their language to be loſt, which will not ſeem improbable, when we conſider how late the art of writing became generally practiſed amongſt them. For though it was known to *Job*, their countryman, to the *Edomites*, as well as the other *Arabian* nations bordering upon *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, and to the *Hamyarites* many centuries before *Mohammed*, as appears from ſome antient monuments, ſaid to be remaining in their character; yet the other *Arabs*, and thoſe of *Mecca* in particular, unleſs ſuch of them as were either *Jews* or *Chriſtians*, were to the time of *Morâmer* perfectly ignorant of it. It was the antient *Arabic* language, preceding the reign of *Juſtinian*, which ſo nearly reſembled the *Ethiopic*; for ſince that time, and eſpecially ſince the age of *Mohammed*, all the *Arabic* dialects have been not a little corrupted. This is now the learned language of the *Mohammedans*, who ſtudy it as the *European Chriſtians* do the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* [x].

A great affinity between the antient and modern Arabic.

A VERY great affinity between the antient and modern *Arabic* muſt, however, be allowed; ſo great an affinity, that in ſubſtance we may pronounce them the ſame. Many conſiderable advantages flow from a knowledge of the *Arabic* tongue, all which may be conſidered as ſo many inducements to the ſtudy of it: but amongſt theſe, the chief ſeems to be, an inveſtigation of the true meaning of many *Hebrew* words, whoſe *radices* cannot be diſcovered in the *Hebrew* original of the *Old Teſtament*, though they are ſtill preſerved in the *Arabic*. This we might prove by an induction of particulars, did not the diſcuſſion of ſuch a point more properly belong to the modern hiſtory of *Arabia*. For a complete hiſtory of the language we are now upon, as well as a full diſplay of the elegancy, beauties, and utility of it, we muſt refer our readers to a curious and learned piece publiſhed by the reverend Mr. *Hunt*, profeſſor of *Arabic* in the univerſity of *Oxford*, a gentleman as well verſed in the whole circle of *Oriental* literature as any of the preſent age [y].

Letters.

WE have juſt obſerved, that the *Hamyarites* were not ſtrangers to the art of writing. The character uſed by them, the moſt antient of any peculiar to the *Arabs*, wherein the

[x] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 150—154. JALLAL'ODDIN in lib. *Mezhar*, c. i. p. 9, 22, 27. AL JAUHARIUS & MOHAM AL-FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. Job. c. xix. ver. 23, 24 JOB LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. l. i. c. 1. n. 10. p. 60 CL. HUNT, in orat. Oxon. habit. de ant. & præſt. utilit. ling. Arab. p. 4—7, &c. edit. Oxon. 1739. [y] HUNT ubi ſupra. p. 48, & ſeq. Vide etiam auctor. ibid. laudat.

letters

letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, went by the appellation of *Al. Moſnad*, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed, without permiſſion firſt obtained. Could we depend upon what *Al-Firauzabadius* relates from *Ebn Haſhem*, this character muſt have been of a very high antiquity; ſince an inſcription in it, according to the laſt author, was found in *Yaman*, as old as the time of *Joſeph*. Be that as it will, *Morämer Ebn Moara* of *Anbar*, a city of *Irâk*, who lived not many years before *Mohammed*, was the inventer of the preſent *Arabic* character, which *Baſhar* the *Kendian*, who married the ſiſter of *Abu Sofiân*, is ſaid to have learned from thoſe of *Anbar*, and to have introduced at *Mecca*, but a little while before the inſtitution of *Mohammediſm*. *Morâmer*'s alphabet the *Oriental* authors agree to have been very different from the antient one of the *Hamyarites*, ſince they diſtinguiſh the *Hamyaritic* and *Arabic* pens. In *Mohammed*'s time the *Morameric* alphabet had made ſo ſmall a progreſs, that not a ſoul in *Yaman* could either write or read it; nay, *Mohammed* himſelf was incapable of doing either; for which reaſon he was called the *illiterate prophet*. The letters of this alphabet were very rude, being either the ſame with, or very much like, the *Cuphic*, which character is ſtill found in inſcriptions, and the titles of antient books; nay, for many years it was the only one uſed by the *Arabs*, the *Kôran* itſelf being at firſt written therein. According to *Khalican*, the preſent *Arabic* character was firſt formed from the *Cuphic* by *Ebn Moklah*, *Vazîr*, or *Viſir*, to *Al Moktader*, *Al Kaher*, and *Al Râdi*, *khâlifs* of *Baghdad*, who lived about three hundred years after *Mohammed*; and brought to great perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowâb*, who flouriſhed in the following century, and whoſe name is yet famous among them on that account. Others, however, attribute the honour of the invention of this character to *Ebn Moklah*'s brother, *Abdallah al Haſan*; and the perfecting of it to *Ebn Amid al Kâteb*, after it had been reduced to near the preſent form by *Abd' Albamid*. But the beſt authors contradict the laſt of theſe notions, as well as the former, by affirming, that *Yakût al Aſjuſſi*, ſecretary to *Al Muſtaſem*, the laſt of the *khalifs* or the family of *Abbas*, gave the finiſhing hand to it, for which reaſon he was ſurnamed *Al Kiaſab*, or the *ſcribe*. In order to perpetuate the memory of *Morâmer*'s invention, ſome authors call the *Arabic* letters *al Morameri*, i. e. *the progeny of Moramer*. The moſt remarkable ſpecimens of the *Cuphic* character, ſo denominated from *Cufa*, or *Cufa*, a city of *Irâk*, where ſome of the firſt copies of the *Koran* were written, are

are the following: part of that book in it on vellum, brought from *Egypt* by Mr. *Greaves*; some other fragments of the same book in it published by Sir *John Chardin*; certain passages of a MS. in the *Bodleian* library; the legends of several *Saracenic* coins dug up about twenty years ago on the coast of the *Baltic*, not far from *Dantzick*; and, according to Mr. professor *Hunt*, those noble remains of it that are, or were lately, to be seen in Mr *Joseph Ames*'s valuable collection of antique curiosities. As to the true origin of the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, we must own ourselves pretty much in the dark. However, that very learned and profound orientalist Mr *Schultens*, seems not very remote from truth, when he deduces the letters, of which they consist, from the most antient *Hebrew* or *Assyrian* [z].

Antient and modern alphabets, as likewise those of the African Saracens *and* Persians.

IN order to give our readers a clearer idea of what that learned gentleman has advanced on this head, we shall here insert both the antient and modern *Arabic* alphabets, together with that of the *African Saracens* published by *Kircher*, which seems to be the old *Humyaritic* character mentioned by *Al-Firauzabadius*, *Al-Jannabius*, *Ebn Khalican*, and *Georgius Ebn Amid*, under the title of *Al Musnad*. As the *Persians* were neighbours to the *Arabs*, and of the same religion with part of them, before the time of *Mohammed*, we have thought proper here likewise to give them the old *Persic* alphabet (S), which, we doubt not, they will look upon as a very agreeable curiosity [a].

[z] EBN KHALICAN. EBN HASHEM. AL-FIRAUZABADIUS. AL-JANNABIUS. GEORG EBN AMID. Job c. xix. ver. 23, 24. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 29, 30. CHARDIN's travels, vol. iii. p. 119. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. GRAVIUS apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 158. HUNT. ubi supra, p 12. Vide & Monarch. Asiatico-Saracen. stat. a M. GEOR. JACOB. KEHR. *Sleusinga Franco* Oriental. Lipsiæ 1724. ALB. SCHULT. institut. ad fundament. ling. Hebr. p. 20. ed. Lugd Batav. 1737.

[a] LOESCH. de caus. ling. Hebr. p. 224. ed. Francof & Lipsiæ, 1706. SCHULT. ubi sup. ATHAN. KIRCH. in prod. Copt. p. 199, 200. Romæ, 1636. AL-FIRAUZABAD. AL-JANNAB EBN KHALICAN, & GLOR. EBN AMID. Vide etiam POCOCK. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 154, 155.

(S) For this we are obliged to the reverend Mr. *Ballard*, fellow of *Wadham* college, *Oxford*, a gentleman of great erudition, and particularly eminent for his skill in the *Oriental* tongues.

The

The modern *Arabic* alphabet.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
1.	A or E.	Elif.	ا	ا	ا	ا
2.	B.	Be.	ب	ب	ب	ب
3.	T.	Te.	ت	ت	ت	ت
4.	T, blæſe, or liſping.	Thſe.	ث	ث	ث	ث
5.	G.	Gjim.	ج	ج	ج	ج
6.	Hh.	Hha.	ح	ح	ح	ح
7.	Ch.	Cha.	خ	خ	خ	خ
8.	D.	Dal.	د	د	د	د
9.	D, blæſe, or liſping.	Dhſal.	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
10.	R.	Re.	ر	ر	ر	ر
11.	Z.	Ze.	ز	ز	ز	ز
12.	S.	Sin.	س	س	س	س
13.	Sj.	Sjin.	ش	ش	ش	ش
14.	S.	Sad.	ص	ص	ص	ص
15.	D.	Dad.	ض	ض	ض	ض
16.	T.	Ta.	ط	ط	ط	ط
17.	D.	Da.	ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
18.	The *Hebrew* ע.	Ain.	ع	ع	ع	ع
19.	G. *Latin.*	Gain.	غ	غ	غ	غ
20.	F.	Fe.	ف	ف	ف	ف
21.	K.	Kaf.	ق	ق	ق	ق
22.	C.	Kef.	ك	ك	ك	ك
23.	L.	Lam.	ل	ل	ل	ل
24.	M.	Mim.	م	م	م	م
25.	N.	Nun.	ن	ن	ن	ن
26.	W.	Waw.	و	و		و
27.	H.	He.	ه	ه	ه	ه
28.	I.	Ie.	ي	ي	ي	ي

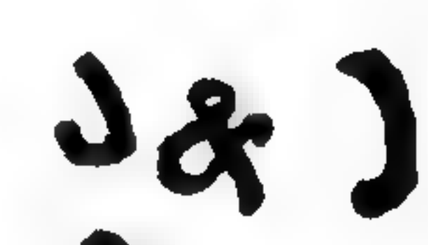
The

The old *Arabic* alphabet.			The old *Perſic* alphabet.
ا	ا	Elif.	
ب	ب	Be.	
غ	غ	Gain.	
د	د	Dal.	
ذ	ذ	Dſal.	
ه	ه	He.	
و	و	Waw.	Like the *Engliſh* U.
ج	ج	Gim.	Like the *Engliſh* V, and at the end of a word
ح	ح	Hha.	
ط	ط	Ta.	
ي	ي	Ye.	
ك	ك	Caf.	

The modern *Arabic* alphabet.

Order.	Power.	Name.	Figure.			
1.	A or E.	Elif.	ـا	ا	ا	ا
2.	B.	Be.	بـ	بـ	ـبـ	ـب
3.	T.	Te.	تـ	تـ	ـتـ	ـت
4.	T, blæſe, or liſping.	Thſe.	ثـ	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث
5.	G.	Gjim.	جـ	جـ	ـجـ	ـج
6.	Hh.	Hha.	حـ	حـ	ـحـ	ـح
7.	Ch.	Cha.	خـ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ
8.	D.	Dal.	د	د	د	د
9.	D, blæſe, or liſping.	Dhſal.	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
10.	R.	Re.	ر	ر	ر	ر
11.	Z.	Ze.	ز	ز	ز	ز
12.	S.	Sin.	سـ	سـ	ـسـ	ـس
13.	Sj.	Sjin.	شـ	شـ	ـشـ	ـش
14.	S.	Sad.	صـ	صـ	ـصـ	ـص
15.	D.	Dad.	ضـ	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض
16.	T.	Ta.	طـ	طـ	ـطـ	ـط
17.	D.	Da.	ظـ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ
18.	The *Hebrew* y.	Ain.	عـ	عـ	ـعـ	ـع
19.	G. *Latin.*	Gain.	غـ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ
20.	F.	Fe.	فـ	فـ	ـفـ	ـف
21.	K.	Kaf.	قـ	قـ	ـقـ	ـق
22.	C.	Kef.	كـ	كـ	ـكـ	ـك
23.	L.	Lam.	لـ	لـ	ـلـ	ـل
24.	M.	Mim.	مـ	مـ	ـمـ	ـم
25.	N.	Nun.	نـ	نـ	ـنـ	ـن
26.	W.	Waw.	و	و	و	و
27.	H.	He.	هـ	هـ	ـهـ	ـه
28.	I.	Ie.	يـ	يـ	ـيـ	ـي

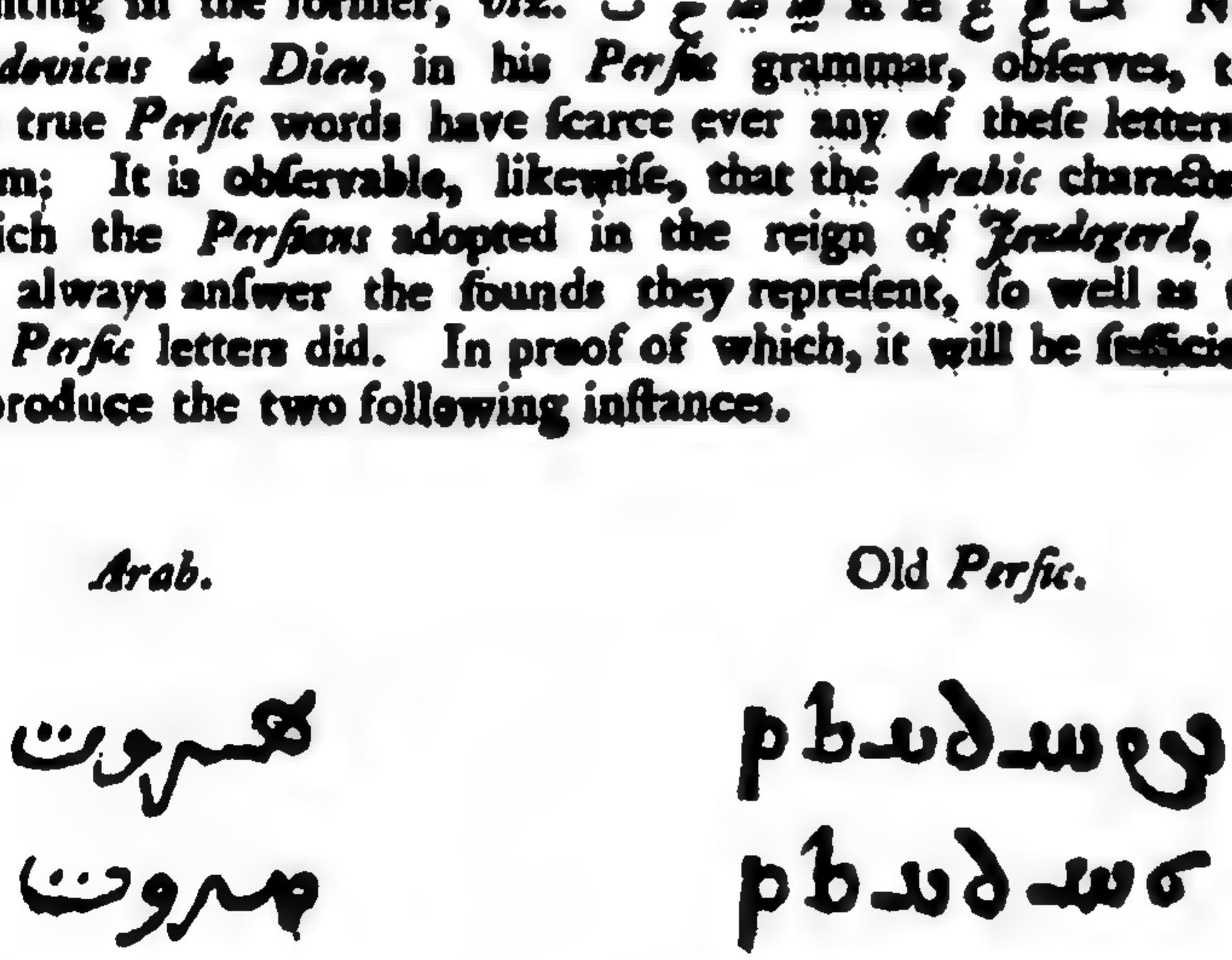
The old *Arabic* alphabet.			The old *Perſic* alphabet.	
ا	ا	Elif.	ا	
ب	ب	Be.	ب	
غ	غ	Gain.	ق	ڤ
د	د	Dal.	د	
ذ	ذ	Dſal.	ذ	
ه	ه	He.	ه ۀ	
و	و	Waw.	و	Like the *Engliſh* U.
ج	ج	Gim.	ج	Like the *Engliſh* V, and at the end of a word ۏ.
ح	ح	Hha.	ح	
ط	ط	Ta.		
ي	ي	Ye.	ى	
ك	ك	Caf.	ك	

The old *Arabic* alphabet continued.			The old *Perſic* alphabet continued.	
ل	ل	Lam.		
م	م	Mem.		
ن	ن	Nun.		
ه	ه			
و	و			
ص	ع	Sad.		
ع	ع	Ain.		Like the *Engliſh* F.
ف	ق	Fe.		Like the *Engliſh* P.
ز	ز	Ze.		
ق	ق	Kaf.		
ر	ر	Re.		at the end of a word.
ب	ش	Sin. Shin.		
ت	ت	Te.		Tch.
				Te.

The old *Perſic* vowels and diphthongs.

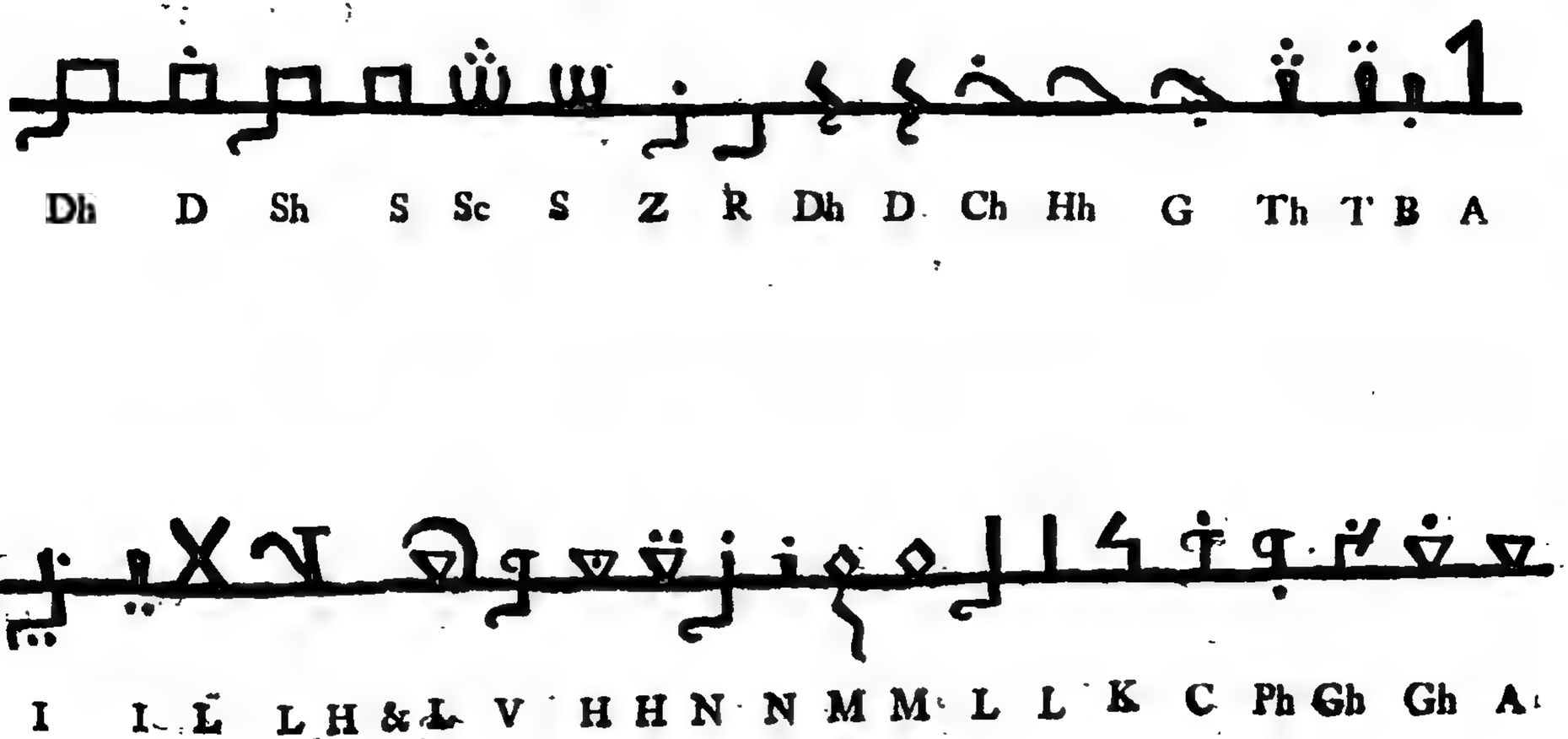


IT appears, from comparing the old *Perſic* and modern *Arabic* alphabets, that the following letters of the latter are wanting in the former, *viz.* ث ح ذ ض ظ غ ق Now *Ludovicus de Dieu*, in his *Perſic* grammar, obſerves, that the true *Perſic* words have ſcarce ever any of theſe letters in them; It is obſervable, likewiſe, that the *Arabic* characters, which the *Perſians* adopted in the reign of *Jezdegerd*, do not always anſwer the ſounds they repreſent, ſo well as the old *Perſic* letters did. In proof of which, it will be ſufficient to produce the two following inſtances.



The

The *African Saracenic* alphabet, probably the ſame as the antient *Hamyaritic*, given us by *Kircher*.



THOUGH

THOUGH by far the greateſt part of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed* could neither read nor write, every one of which went under the denomination of *Al-Ommio*; yet ſeveral of them became famous for their eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue. Herein they exerciſed themſelves by compoſing orations and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical and proſaic, the one being compared to pearls ſtrung, and the other to looſe ones. They endeavoured to excell in both, and whoever was able in an aſſembly to perſuade the people to a great enterpriſe, or diſſuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholſome advice, was honoured with the tile of *Khâteb*, or *orator*, which is now given to the *Mohammedan* preachers. They called an oration giving a detail of ſome glorious atchievements, delivered from the roſtra, *Khâtbah*, according to *Al-Barezi*, a word of the ſame oirgin with *Khâteb* above-mentioned. From what we find in ſeveral authors, they purſued a method very different from that of the *Greek* and *Roman* orators; their ſentences being, like looſe gems, without connection; ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the audience chiefly by the fulneſs of the periods, the elegance of the expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings (T). So perſuaded were they of

The learning, &c. of the antient Arabs

(T) Now we are ſpeaking of the *Arab* literature, our readers will expect ſome account of the fabuliſt *Lokmân*, ſo famous over all the eaſt. *Lokmân*, ſurnamed *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the wiſe*, or *the ſage*, according to *Saadi*, *Akramas*, and *Schaab*, was endued with the gift of prophecy, which came to him by ſucceſſion, he having been the ſon or grandſon of a ſiſter or aunt of *Job*. The author of *Taiaſſir* makes him the ſon of *Baura*, or *Bêor*, the ſon of *Nahor*, the ſon of *Terah*, and conſequently related to *Abraham* *Abouleits* gives *Lokman* the ſurname of *Abou Anam*, i. e. *the father of Anam*, thorgh others call his ſon *Mathan* The author of the book intituled *Ain al mâni* ſays, he was born in the time of *David*, and lived till the age of *Jonah*; but this exceeds all belief. According to the deſcription of his perſon by the *Arab* writers, he muſt have been deformed enough; for they ſay he was an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian* ſlave, and conſequently of a black complexion, with thick lips, and ſplay feet. But in return he received from GOD wiſdom and eloquence in a great degree, which ſome pretend were given him in a viſion, on his making choice of wiſdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the *Mohammedans* therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a ſage or wiſe man. Others relate, that when GOD, in order to reward his tranſcendent piety, offered to make him his vicegerent on earth, he choſe rather to remain in the condition

of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to underſtand the art of ſpeaking in public, except themſelves

dition of a ſlave, though with an entire reſignation to the divine will, begging that GOD would enable him to execute all HIS orders, in caſe HE thought proper to fix him in ſo ſublime a poſt. This, continue the ſame authors, ſo exceedingly pleaſed GOD, that he made him ſuperior to all other men in wiſdom; inſomuch, that he wrote ten thouſand proverbs and fables for the inſtruction of mankind. From ſeveral authors it appears, that he lived in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, and that by nation he was an *Ethiopian*, ſold to the *Iſraelites*, but by religion a *Jew*. The author of *Tarikh Montakhab* affirms, that the ſepulchre of *Lokman* was to be ſeen in his time at *Ramlah* or *Ramah*, near *Jeruſalem*; and that he was interred near ſeventy prophets, who had been ſtarved by the *Jews*, and all died in one day. He is ſaid to have obtained his liberty on the following occaſion: His maſter having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him ſuch exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his maſter being ſurpriſed, aſked him how he could eat ſo nauſeous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder, that he ſhould for once accept a bitter fruit from the ſame hand, from which he had received ſo many favours. Our readers will naturally obſerve, that *Lokman*, who lived in the time of the prophet *Hud* or *Heber*, could not be the ſame perſon with the fabuliſt here mentioned.

As moſt of the particulars relating to the perſon of *Lokman* here recited, as well as the quick repartees of which he is made the author by the commentators on the *Koran*, agree ſo well with what *Maximus Planudes* has written of *Æſop*, theſe two ſages are generally thought to have been the ſame perſon. The great reſemblance the fables of *Lokman* bear to thoſe of *Æſop* is an additional argument in favour of this notion. We are inclined to believe, that *Planudes* borrowed great part of his life of *Æſop* from the traditions he met with in the eaſt concerning *Lokman*, and concluded theſe two perſons to have been the ſame from the circumſtances above-mentioned. That the fables attributed to *Æſop* were of *Oriental* extraction, cannot well be denied, ſince they ſavour ſo much more of the genius of the *Orientals*, than of that of the *Greeks*. Fable or apologue was of a very high antiquity in the eaſt, and even the countries bordering on *Arabia*, if not in *Arabia* itſelf; as may be learned from the noble example of this form of inſtruction in the ſpeech of *Jotham* to the men of *Shechem*, which was made near two hundred years before the time of *Lokman*, ſuppoſing him to have been cotemporary with *David*. In fine, we are diſpoſed to think, that the *Arab* traditions concerning the wiſdom of *Lokman* were only corruptions of ſome paſſages of Scripture relating to *Solomon*, king of *Iſrael*, eſpecially if

we

themſelves and the *Perſians*; which laſt were reckoned much inferior in that reſpect to the *Arabians*. Two of the antient *Arabs*, who immortalized their names by their eloquence, were *Koſs* and *Sahban*, of the tribe of *Wayel*. Hence came the proverbs, *More expert in the art of ſpeaking than* KOSS, and *more eloquent than* SAHBAN. To their poetry they ſeem to have been chiefly indebted, for the poliſhing, and even preſervation, of their language, before the uſe of letters was introduced amongſt them; for which reaſon their authors generally conſider this and the ſtudy of their language together. In their poems, likewiſe, were preſerved the diſtinction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, and the memory of great actions. An excellent poet, therefore, reflected an honour on his tribe, ſo that as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratulate them on the occaſion, and themſelves made entertainments, at which the women aſſiſted, dreſſed in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging, to the ſound of timbrels, the happineſs of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies, and the purity of their language, and to tranſmit their actions to poſterity. For this was all performed by their

we admit the queen of *Sheba* to have been a *Nubian* or *Ethiopian*. This will appear at leaſt probable from 1 *Kings* c. iii. ver. 9—13. c. iv, ver. 30—34. compared with what has been already obſerved of *Lokman* from the eaſtern writers. The generality of theſe writers make *Lokman* cotemporary with *David* and *Solomon*, and of the ſame religion with thoſe princes; which adds no ſmall weight to our opinion. As for the deformity of his perſon, that might have been introduced by them, in order to ſet off the greater advantage, by ſuch a contraſt, the excellency of his wiſdom. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the thirty-firſt chapter of the *Koran*, from whence ſeveral hints relating to our ſage may be drawn, is intituled LOKMAN; nor that ſome fables going under his name have been publiſhed by *Golius*, at the end of his edition of *Erpenius's Arabic* grammar. What is here advanced will meet with a better reception from our readers, when they have conſulted Mr. *D'Herbelot* in the article *Lokman* (19).

(19) *Al-Zamakhſh. Al-Beidawi, &c. Al Kor. Mohammed.* c. 31. *Jud.* c. ix. ver. 7. *Marraccius in Alc.* p. 547. ed *Patavii*, 1698. *Saddi, Abrames, Schaab, &c. Maxim. Planud. in vit. Æſop Vahab. in comment. Turcic. ad Al-Koran. Mohammed. Poc in not. ad ſpecim. hiſt. Arab.* p. 36. *La vie d'Eſope, par M. de Meziriac, Bayle in dict. hiſt. art. Eſope. Ver. auctor. apud* D'Herbel *in art. Lokman. Vide etiam Lokmanni ſab. in calce gram. Arab. Thom. Erpenii, a Golio ed. Lugd. Bat.* 1656.

poems

poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instruction, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder, then, that poetry was in such esteem among them, that they looked upon it as a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; nor that even in their common discourse they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. As the *Arabs* considered an elegant and instructive poem as the summit of human performances, a spirit of emulation was kept up amongst their poets; in order to which, the tribes had once a year a general assembly at *Ocadh*, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our *Sunday*. This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name. The poems, that were judged to excel, were laid up in the king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called *Al Moallukât*, rather than from their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they also had by public order, being written on *Egyptian* silk, and in letters of gold; on which account they had also the name of *Al Modhahabât*, or the *golden verses*. It is worthy observation, that such a public congratulation, as has been already mentioned, was made only on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed; which they reckoned three great points of felicity. Though poetry was of so high an antiquity amongst the *Arabs*, they did not at first use to write poems of any just length, but only expressed in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules till some time after *Mohammed*, for this was done, as it is said, by *Al Khalil Ahmed al Farâhidi*, who lived in the reign of the *khalif Harûn al Rashid*. The first author of a poem that consisted of thirty verses, or *Al-Kasidah*, was *Mohalhel*. According to *Al-Khalil*, there are fifteen different kinds of *Arabic* verse; *Zamakhsharius* makes them sixteen, and others only eleven or twelve. *Mohammed* suppressed the fair and assembly at *Ocadh*, which occasioned poetry to decline in his time, and for some years after, the *Arabs* being then employed in extending their conquests; which having done, upon the return of peace this study was revived, and almost all sorts of learning encouraged, and not a little improved by them. However, this interruption occasioned the loss of

most

moſt of their antient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preſerved by memory. The *Arabian* poetry agrees with the *Greek* and *Roman* in this, that it conſiſts of *Ajzac*, *parts* correſponding with their *feet*; and theſe differ, according to the different number and quantity of ſyllables, as the *Greek* and *Roman* feet did. The whole art of the *Arab* verſification conſiſts in the due poſition of letters called *moveable* and *quieſcent*. A *moveable* letter has its proper vowel; a *quieſcent* letter one that has no vowel of its own, but is joined to the preceding letter, and with it makes one ſyllable. Thus, for inſtance in ﻫَﺮْﺜَﻪ *harſon* ﻫ (*H*) has its vowel (*a*), and therefore is *moveable*; but ﺙ (*R*) is deſtitute of one, and therefore joined to the preceding ﻫ (*H*), with which it forms but one ſyllable. We muſt not here omit taking notice of the quick tranſitions from ſubject to ſubject in the *Arab* poetry, nor of the moſt celebrated antient *Arab* poets, whoſe works were hung up in the *Caaba*, adorned in the above-mentioned manner: *viz.* 1. *Amriol Kais.* 2. *Tarafah.* 3. *Zohair.* 4. *Labid.* 5. *Antarah.* 6. *Al-Hareth.* 7. *Amru Ebn Kalthum.* Some authors, in the room of *Antarah* and *Al-Hareth*, ſubſtitute *Al-Aaſha* and *Al-Nabega*. The title affixed to every copy of verſes in the *Caaba* was, *Modhahhabato Fohlan*, i. e. *the golden verſes* of a *certain poet, which are the beſt he ever wrote* [b].

Some particulars relating to the chronology of the antient Arabs.

BEFORE we diſmiſs our preſent ſubject, it will be proper to take notice of ſome few particulars relating to the chronology of the *Arabs*. They divided the year into twelve months, whoſe antient names were, 1. *Mutemer*. 2. *Nagir*. 3. *Chavan*. 4. *Savan*. 5. *Ritma*. 6. *Ida*. 7. *Aſam*. 8. *Adil*. 9. *Natil*. 10. *Vaïl*. 11. *Varna*. 12. *Burec*. But *Kelâb*, the ſon of *Morrah*, from whom *Mohammed* was lineally deſcended, having from certain events happening in every month, given new names to them, the old ones in his time began to grow obſolete amongſt the *Koreijh*; and afterwards, by the authority of *Mohammed*, when he had brought

[b] AL-MOTAREZZI, in lib. *Mogreb*. EBN AL ATHIR. JALAL'ODDIN. in lib. *Mezhar*, c. 29. & alib. MOHAMMED EBN SALAIN, AL-JAUHAR. & AL-FIRAUZABAD. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra. p. 159—162. ut et ipſe Pocockius ibid. IBRAIM AL BAREZI in ſchol. ad ſermon. Nobatii. Poc. orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 10, 11. & not ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 162, 348. EBN RASHIK apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 160, 381. AL KHALIL & AL ZAMAKHSHAR. Vide etiam JALLALO'DDIN AL SOYÛTI, ibid. & p 159. Geogr. Nubienſ. Pocock in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 233. & SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 27, 28.

all the reſt of the *Arab* tribes under his power, were totally aboliſhed in every part of *Arabia*. As *Mohammed* made the uſe of the modern names, one of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of his followers, it is no wonder they ſhould ſtill prevail amongſt the *Mohammedans*. The firſt day of *Mutemer*, or *Muharram*, being the firſt day of the year, was celebrated by the antient kings of *Yaman* with great feſtivity and munificence, as it was likewiſe by the *Perſians* and other eaſtern nations. The nation we are now upon antiently divided the year alſo into ſix ſeaſons: 1. The ſeaſon of herbs, flowers, &c. 2. Summer. 3. The hot ſeaſon. 4. The ſeaſon of fruits. 5. Autumn, or rather the latter part of autumn. 6. Winter. That the antient *Arab* year was luniſolar, has been already obſerved; but the cuſtom of intercalating months, in order to make the courſe of the moon to agree with that of the ſun, was aboliſhed by *Mohammed*. The *Arabs*, like the *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, &c. antiently computed their time by weeks, or periods of ſeven days, as we learn from a very antient *Arab* poet, who died many ages before the publicatiion of the *Korân*. The old names of theſe days are given us by that poet in the following order: 1. *Enuel*. 2. *Bahûn*. 3. *Gebar*. 4. *Debar*. 5. *Mûnis*. 6. *Aruba*. 7. *Xijar*. We have already delivered our ſentiments concerning the origin of this manner of computing time, and may poſſibly ſay ſomething farther of it, when we come to the hiſtory of the *Indians* [b].

The ſciences they chiefly cultivated.

The ſciences chiefly cultivated by the antient *Arabians* were three; that of their hiſtory and genealogies, ſuch a knowledge of the ſtars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. They valued themſelves extremely on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder, if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. Their knowledge of the ſtars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or aſtronomical rules. The *Arabians* and *Indians*, as has been already hinted, applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtars, contrary to other nations, whoſe obſervations were almoſt confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences,

† Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 3—16. al Jauhar. Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p. 2. ed. Lond. 1723. Al-Korân. Mohammed paſſ Masud. & Novairi. apud Golium, ubi ſup. Phi of Xiraſit. Poet antiquiſſ. apud Golium, ubi ſup. Vide etiam Univ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 465. not. (R); & p. 520.

not

not their nature. The ſtars or aſteriſms, they moſt uſually foretold the weather by, were thoſe they call *Anwâ*, or the houſes of the moon. Theſe are twenty-eight in number, and divide the *zodiac* into as many parts, through one of which the moon paſſes every night. As ſome of them ſet in the morning, others riſe oppoſite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their riſing and ſetting, the *Arabs*, by long experience, obſerved what changes happened in the air; and at length came to aſcribe divine power to them, ſaying, that their rain was from ſuch or ſuch a ſtar. This expreſſion *Mohammed* abſolutely forbad them to uſe in the old ſenſe, unleſs qualified in ſuch a manner as to make the Supreme Being the director and manager of them. We find *Al-Rayeſh*, one of the kings of *Yaman*, furnamed *the philoſopher*, not ſo much on account of his learning, as of his great prudence and intellectual endowments. That the *Arabs* underſtood ſomething of phyſic before the time of *Mohammed*, appears from hence that the famous *Arabian* phyſician *Al Harith Ebn Khalda*, ſo celebrated amongſt his countrymen, was older than that impoſtor. They ſeem to have made no farther progreſs in aſtronomy, which they afterwards cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs and applauſe, than to obſerve the influence of the ſtars upon the weather, and to give them names; which it was obvious for them to do, by reaſon of their paſtoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they impoſed on the ſtars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were ſo nice in diſtinguiſhing them, that no language has ſo many names of ſtars and aſteriſms as the *Arabic*. For though they have ſince borrowed the names of ſeveral conſtellations from the *Greeks*, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more antient; particularly thoſe of the more conſpicuous ſtars, diſperſed in ſeveral conſtellations, and thoſe of the leſſer conſtellations, which are contained within the greater, and were not obſerved or named by the *Greeks*. Some of the chief of theſe are *Anwâ* in *Virgo*, *Benât Al Naſh* in *Urſa major*, *Aiyûk* and *Al Gjedyân* in *Auriga*, *Ma'laph* and *Al Himarein* in *Cancer*, &c. To wave all other arguments in favour of the high antiquity of the names of ſeveral ſtars and aſteriſms amongſt the *Arabs*, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that ſome of theſe names were prior to the time of *Job*; nay that, in all probability they were coeval with the firſt peopling of *Arabia*, ſince from the beginning the *Arabs* led a paſtoral life, lying altogether in the open air, and continually viewing their flocks and the ſtars; from whence it came to paſs, that the firſt appellations, given

to ſome of the latter, alluded to the former. Neither can we abſolutely reject what has been hinted by *Ricciolus*, *viz.* that ſome degree of attention is due to thoſe who believe aſtronomy to be as antient as *Adam*, and conſequently that ſeveral names of ſtars and conſtellations now in uſe amongſt the *Arabs*, may be ſuppoſed to pr-cede even the deluge itſelf. *Onirocritic*, or the art of interpreting dreams, this nation had in common with the *Egyptians*, *Chaldæans*, &c. as likewiſe divination by arrows, and, as is probable, ſomething of genethliacal aſtrology [c].

They had ſome knowledge of the mechanical arts, &c.

THAT ſome of the *Arabs* had a good degree of knowledge in ſeveral mechanical arts, appears from *Strabo*, who informs us, that the people of *Tamna* and the adjacent provinces had magnificent temples, and elegant houſes, built in the *Egyptian* taſte. The ſame author likewiſe relates, that in *Arabia Felix*, beſides the huſbandmen, there were many artificers, and, amongſt others, thoſe who made palm-wine, which, he intimates, was much uſed by the *Arabs*. As for the exerciſe of arms and horſemanſhip, they looked upon this as one of their principal accompliſhments, being obliged to practiſe and encourage it by reaſon of the independency of their tribes, whoſe frequent jarrings made wars almoſt continual amongſt them, which for the moſt part ended in field-battles. Hence it became a uſual ſaying amongſt them, that GOD had beſtowed four peculiar things on the *Arabs*, *viz.* turbans inſtead of diadems, tents inſtead of walls and houſes, ſwords inſtead of intrenchments, and poems inſtead of written laws. The principal arms uſed by the antient *Arabs* were bows and arrows, darts or javelins, and broad ſwords or cymetars. The bows and arrows were the moſt antient of theſe, being uſed by *Iſhmael* himſelf, according to Scripture. It is probable alſo, that ſome of them were acquainted with every branch of the military art cultivated by their neighbours, the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians* [d].

The diſpoſition of the antient Arabs.

WITH regard to the diſpoſition of the antient *Arabs*, it will be proper to remark, that they had their good and bad

[c] AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in Orat. ubi ſupra, p. 9. & not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 164. AL JAUHAR. AL. FIRAUZABAD. & EBN. AL ATHIR, ibid. p. 163. 164. GREG. ABULFARAG. p. 161. HYDE, in not. ad tabulas ſtellar. fixar. Ulugh Beighi, p. 4, 5. RICCIOLUS apud Hyde, ibid. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 31, 32. Gen c. xxi. ver. 20. [d] STRABO, l. xvi. POCOCK. in calce notar. ad carmen Tograi, p. 234. SEPHADIUS in comment. ad carmen Tograi, apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 161. SALE ubi ſupra, p. 29.

qualities,

qualities, their excellencies and defects, as well as other nations. Hoſpitality was ſo habitual to them, that in this they ſeem to have exceeded all their neighbours. *Agathaachides* repreſents them as the moſt hoſpitable people in the world to all nations, but particularly ſome of the *Greeks*. *Hatem* of the tribe of *Tay*, and *Haſn* of that of *Fezarah*, were principally famous on this account: the latter of theſe we are told, fell into as great a tranſport of joy, when he conferred any ſignal favour upon a petitioner, as others did when they received ſuch a favour. Nay, the contrary vice was ſo much in contempt amongſt the *Arabs*, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of *Waſet*, as with the greateſt reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny. As a mark of their hoſpitable diſpoſition, the *Arabs* uſed to light fires on the tops of hills, which in the night conducted travellers to their tents, and aſſured them of a kind reception. Every one of theſe fires they called *the fire of hoſpitality*, and the larger and higher it was, the greater honour and glory it reflected upon the perſon or perſons concerned in lighting it. The higheſt compliment that could be paid a man was, to paſs an encomium upon his munificence; as that moſt acceptable to a woman was, to celebrate her parſimony, and her beauty. The antients likewiſe commend the *Arabs* for being exact to their words, and reſpectful to their kindred; and they have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion, and penetration, as well as the vivacity of their wit; eſpecially thoſe of the deſert [e].

ON the other hand, that the *Arabs* had a natural inclination to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine, is acknowledged by their own writers. They had always been ſo much addicted to bear malice, that they ſcarce ever forgot an old grudge; which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, ought to be attributed to their frequent feeding on camels fleſh, that creature being moſt malicious, and tenacious of anger. And at this day the *Arabs* of the deſert, who eat little elſe, are obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices; which account,

[e] GENTIUS in not. ad Guliſtan Sheikh Sadi, p. 456, &c. Poet. Arab. apud Poc. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p 48. ABU ISHAC & EBN'OL. HOBAR. poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in not. ad carmen Tograi, p. 107 ut & ipſe POCOCK. ibid & p. 111—113 Vide etiam HERODOT. l. iii. c. 8. AGATHARCHID. Cnid. apud Photium, p. 1369, 1370. STRABO, l. xvi. D'HERBEL. bibl Orient. p. 121. & SALE ubi ſupra, p. 29, 30.

according

according to Mr. *Sale*, suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats f.

Scenite Arabs lived chiefly upon plunder.

THAT the antient *Scenite Arabs*, *Ishmaelites*, or *Nabathæans*, in conformity to the divine prediction, lived upon plunder, harrassing their neighbours by continual robberies and excursions, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*. That author observes, that it was in a manner impossible either to subdue or attack this nation of robbers; because they had wells digged at proper distances in their dry and barren country, known only to themselves; so that if any body of foreigners ever pursued or invaded them, they for the most part either died of thirst, or were consumed by the fatigues they found themselves obliged to sustain. Neither are their posterity less infamous at present, on account of the robberies they commit on merchants and travellers. This they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves, by alledging the hard usage of their father *Ishmael*, who being turned out of doors by *Abraham*, had the open plains and deserts given him by GOD for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. This therefore, they think, authorizes them to indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of *Isaac*, but also on every body else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and, instead of, *I robbed a man of such and such a thing*, to say, *I gained it*. We must not, however, imagine, that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen. The *Ishmaelites* also employed themselves in pasturage, as well as pillaging of passengers, and lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels, as above-mentioned. However, some of them used horses flesh, as well as that of camels, according to the *Arab* poet *Tograi*. They often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water, and of pasture for their cattle, invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of another. They generally wintered in *Irâk*, and the confines of *Syria*. Before the *Romans* subdued *Syria*, the *Scenite Arabs* made dreadful excursions into that

f Poc. not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 87, 88. BOCHART. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 1. SALE ubi supra, p. 30.

country,

country, where they committed great depredations, as we learn from *Strabo*[g].

BESIDES these free-booters, we find a more civilized kind of *Arabs*, who dwelt in cities and towns. These lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades, particularly merchandizing, wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of *Jacob*. The tribe of *Koreish* were much addicted to commerce, and *Mohammed*, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business; it being customary for the *Arabians* to exercise the same trade that their parents did, according to *Strabo*. Neither ought it to appear surprising, that the *Arabs* should have had such a genius for traffic, if their country produced such immense quantities of the most precious commodities, as some authors suggest. Balsam, cinnamon, and *Cassia*, the *Happy Arabia* abounded with, as likewise myrrh, frankincense, and all the most noble spices and perfumes. Cattle likewise its inhabitants had sufficient to supply all their neighbours with, and even many of the remoter nations. But, above all, the gold, which was the proper produce of this country, has been represented by *Agatharchides* and *Strabo* to be so copious as to exceed all belief. According to them, the *Alilæi* and *Cassandrini*, in the southern parts of *Arabia*, had gold in that plenty amongst them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver. In digging the earth they found some pieces of pure gold, which needed no refining, as big as olive-stones, others as big as medlars, and lastly others equal to walnuts. Hence it came to pass, that all the furniture of their houses, even their chairs, beds, cups, and vessels of all kinds, consisted of gold and silver. Nay, according to *Agatharchides*, they alone enriched *Syria* to a great degree under the *Ptolemies*, and rewarded the mercantile diligence and labour of the *Phœnicians*. Contiguous to the *Alilæi* and *Cassandrini* were the *Dedrbæ* or *Debæ*, through whose country passed a river so abounding with small gobbets of gold, that the mud at the mouth of it seemed to consist intirely of that metal. *Diodorus* relates, that this gold was of so bright and glorious a colour, that it added an exceeding lustre and beauty to the most valuable gems set in it. In short, con-

The more civilized Arabs *dwelt in towns*, &c.

[g] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. p. 92. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 12. Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 6, & alib. SALE ubi supra, p. 25, 30, 31. TOGRAI, ver 24. AGATHARCHID. CNID. & STRABO, ubi supra.

tinues the last author, *Arabia Felix*, at least the region of the *Salbæi*, was so immensly rich, that all the treasures of the world seemed to centre there; all the commodities of *Asia* and *Europe* being brought thither, as to an universal mart. But, notwithstanding the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches, *Strabo* intimates, that *Arabia* was aggrandized solely by trade, and that in reality a great part of their riches, which the antients imagined were the produce of *Arabia*, came from the *Indies*, and the coasts of *Africa*. For, the *Egyptians*, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the *Red-Sea*, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut, to prevent foreigners from penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information from thence. And this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why *Arabia* was so little known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Amongst other vessels the *Arabs* used on the *Red-Sea*, to carry on their commerce with *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, were some made of leather, the invention of which the reflux of that sea suggested to them [h].

Amongst the principal customs of the antient *Arabs*, besides those couched under some of the former general heads may be ranked the following:

Customs of the antient Arabs.

1. The antient *Arabs* used circumcision, either on the eighth day, according to *Philostorgius*, or after they had completed the thirteenth year of their age, when *Ishmael* was circumcised, as *Josephus* asserts. *Al-Gazalius* intimates, that they underwent the rite of circumcision when all their teeth were completely formed, and *Ebn al Athir* betwixt the tenth and fifteenth year, which seems to correspond pretty well with what we find advanced by *Josephus*. The *Arab* writers affirm *Mohammed* to have been born both without a navel and a prepuce. 2. They frequently fed upon black-puddings which consisted of the intestines of camels filled with their blood, which they called *moswadd*. 3. They were extremely addicted to divination and augury. When any one of them set out upon a journey, he observed the first bird he met with; and, if it flew to the right, he pursued his journey, but if to the left, he returned home. Some of them paid the like regard to the motions of all other animals. When a person, distrusting the fidelity of his wife, went a journey,

[h] Agatharchid. Cnid. Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Gen. c. xxxvii. ver. 25. La Roque, voyage dans la Palest. p. 109, & alib. Vid. etiam Sale, ubi sup. p. 25.

he

he tied together ſome of the boughs of a tree called *Al-Ratam*, and if upon his return he found them in the ſame poſition, he judged ſhe had been faithful to him, otherwiſe not. For the manner of their divination by arrows, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to Dr. *Pocock*'s *ſpecimen hiſtoriæ Arabum*. All the ſpecies of augury and divination were forbid by *Mohammed*; as likewiſe the plays of cheſs, dice, cards, &c. which in the *Korân* are comprehended under the name *Al Maiſer*. 4. When a ſhe-camel or ew had brought forth twins ten times, ſhe had an ear cut off, and was afterwards ſent to graze at liberty; but women were never permitted to taſte of her fleſh. 5. According to ſome authors, many of the idolatrous *Koreiſh* buried their daughters alive as ſoon as they were born, upon a mountain near *Mecca*, called *Abu-Dalamah*. 6. It was not uncommon for the *Arabs* to marry their father's wife, who, as they imagined, by an hereditary right, belonged to the eldeſt ſon, or, if he was already provided for, to one of his brethren; but this the moſt virtuous of them condemned as an ignominious and ſhocking crime, and ſtyled the perſon guilty of it *Al Daizan*. 7. Some of them married two ſiſters; which *Shahreſtani* looks upon as one of the worſt things they were guilty of. 8. Moſt of them went a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, obſerving ſome particular ceremonies, which our readers will find deſcribed by *Abulfeda*. 9. The *Caaba*, their great temple or place of religious worſhip from the remoteſt antiquity, was their *Kiblah*, or place towards which they turned themſelves when they prayed. 10. Every third year they intercalated a month, their years conſiſting of lunar months, as already obſerved. 11. They frequently waſhed their mouth and noſtrils, combed their hair, cleaned their teeth, pared their nails, and had other uſages conducive to external purification. 12. Whenever any one was found guilty of theft, they immediately cut off his right hand. 13. They addreſſed themſelves to their kings in theſe terms, *May you avert all malediction*, or, according to Dr. *Pocock*, in order to ſhew their profound reſpect and reverence for, as well as ſubmiſſion to, his perſon, *He hath averted all malediction*; i. e. *May* GOD *be propitious to you*, or *May* GOD *prolong your life*. This form of ſalutation was firſt uſed to *Yarab* the ſon of *Kahtân*, whoſe memory is held in great veneration by the *Arabs* to this day. 14. In *Arabia Petræa* a prince of one family, called the royal family, always governed, and was attended and ſerved by a perſon ſtyled the king's brother. 15. In *Arabia Felix* the king's brothers preceded his ſons, and had greater reſpect ſhewn them, as being more advanced in years. 16. The

Troglodytes, in the neighbourhood of *Arabia*, lived a paſtoral life, and kept their wives and children in common. They were governed by ſeveral tyrants, who had wives, whom none of their ſubjects muſt lie with, under the penalty of a ſheep. The women hung a fiſh-ſhell about their necks, which they believed to be a preſervative againſt all kinds of faſcination. 17. *Strabo* ſeems to intimate, that there was but one wife in a family, amongſt ſome tribes of the *Arabs*, with whom all the men lay by turns; and that, whilſt one was engaged with her, a ſtaff, which all of them walked with, was erected before the door of the tent, as a ſignal to prevent another's approach. But the ſenior of the family, who always governed it, lay with her in the night. Adultery they puniſhed with death; but eſteemed him only guilty of it, who had to do with a woman of another tribe. 18. The *Nabathæans* were good œconomiſts, and therefore inflicted puniſhment publicly on ſuch as ſquandered away their ſubſtance; but paid great reſpect to ſuch as increaſed it. 19. As they had very few ſlaves amongſt them, relations either ſerved at meals, and on other occaſions, or they aſſiſted one another, or, laſtly, ſerved themſelves; which uſage likewiſe, extended to their phylarchs. 20. At their feaſts they generally admitted only thirteen perſons; and had always two muſicians to perform during the whole entertainment. 21. Their phylarchs had ſo little power, that they were almoſt upon a level with the populace, and had their conduct frequently inſpected into, and were obliged to give an account of it in perſon to a public aſſembly of their reſpective tribes. 22. Their cities were not walled round, ſcarce any foreign invader ever attempting to diſturb them. 23. It was a common practice among the *Saracens* or *Scenite Arabs* to have mercenary wives, hired for a time, marrying in one place, bringing forth in another, and educating their children in a third. Nor is this matter much altered ſince the admiſſion of divorces; on the contrary, amongſt many of them it is in all reſpects the ſame. 24. According to ſome authors, the antient *Arabs* circumciſed their daughters, as well as their ſons. 25. When the *Sabæans* found themſelves near overcome by the ſtrong odours emitted by their perfumes and aromatic plants, they had recourſe to the fumes of bitumen, and the hair of goat's-beard, ſet on fire under the noſe of the patient, which recovered them. 26. They reaped twice a year, having two harveſts as well as the *Indians* and *Ethiopians*. 27. In their wars they brought into the field a great number of camels, carrying each of them two archers ſitting back to back, that in any general action they might be able to oppoſe the enemy both in rear and in front

front at the same time. Several other customs prevailing amongst the antient *Arabs*, depending upon the authority of the *Korân*, will be touched upon hereafter occasionally, when we come to consider the tenets and doctrines of that book [i].

[i] AGATHARC. CNID. ubi sup. DIO. SIC. l. ii. & l. iii. STRAB. l. xvi. PHILOSTORG hist. eccleſiaſt l. iii. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. i. c. 23. AL GAZALIUS & EBN AL ATHIR apud Pocockium, in not. ad spec. hist Arab. p. 319. AL ZAMAKHSHAR AL BEDAWI in c. v. Al-Korân, Mohammed. AL MOSTATRAF. MOHAMMEDES ALFIRAUZABADIUS & AL-DAMIRIUS apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 321, 322, 323, & seq. Korân, MOHAMMED pass. AL-SHARIZ AL IALLALOD, & AL JAUHAR apud Pocock. ubi sup. p. 324—339 ut et ipse POCOCK. ibid HADRIAN. RELAND. de relig Mohammed. p. 79, 94, 117, 118. AL MOTAREZZI apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p 55, 56, 57. ut et AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. EBN AL ATHIR, & ipse POCOCK AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xiv c. 4. & l xxiii. LUDOLPH. hist Æthiop. l. i. HEIDEG hist. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit 7. sect 29. p. 241. HAGR. RELAND. de relig. Mohammed. l. i p. 75. Vid etiam Al-Korân. MOHAMMED. ABULFED. alioſq; script. Orient. pass.

CHAP. IX.

The history of the Arabs, *to the time of* Mohammed.

JOKTAN the son of *Eber*, whom the *Arabs* call *Khatân*, had thirteen sons, who some time after the confusion of languages, at *Babel*, settled in *Arabia*, extending themselves from *Mesha* to *Sephar*, a mountainous district in the south-eastern part of that peninsula. To this district, in all probability, part of the provinces of *Hadramaut* and *Shihr* corresponds, particularly that adjacent to the city of *Dafar* or *Saphar*, in which some traces of *Moses's Sepher* seem still to be preserved. The names of these thirteen planters were, *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazarmaveth*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Havilah*, and *Jobab*. As for *Hadramaut*, *Seba*, *Ofir*, and *Kavilah*, the sons of *Kahtân*, mentioned by M. *D'Herbelot*, they were undoubtedly the same with *Hazarmaveth*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*; as appears not only from the affinity of names, but likewise the order in which the three last are placed.

Joktan *and his family settle in* Arabia *soon after the confusion of languages.*

According to *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, *Kahtân* had thirty-one ſons by the ſame mother, of whom all but two, leaving *Arabia*, went and ſettled in *India*. *Yarab*, the elder of thoſe two, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, giving name, if we will believe the *Arab* writers, both to their country and language, as has been already obſerved: *Jorham* the younger founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where his poſterity kept the throne till the time of *Iſhmael*. That *Yarab* and *Jorham* are the *Jerah* and *Hadoram* of Scripture, we cannot help thinking probable, though we are far from inſiſting upon it. Let this be admitted, and it will follow, that the ſecond king of *Yaman* was called *Jerah* or *Yareah*, not *Yarab*; and conſequently that the peninſula of *Arabia* (A), and the *Arabic* tongue could not have received their denominations from that prince, as the *Arabs* pretend. But whether *Yarab* and *Jorham* be the ſame perſons with *Jerah* and *Hadoram* or not, we cannot infer from the diſagreement betwixt their names, as M. *Gagnier* ſeems to have done, that every thing related by the *Arabs* of the former is a downright fiction; becauſe, as their language differed gradually more and more from the *Hebrew*, the *Arabs* undoubtedly altered the moſt antient proper names. Of this *Hazarmaveth* and *Hadramaut*, *Joktan* and *Kahtân*, which confeſſedly denote the ſame perſons, are a ſufficient proof. *Elmacinus* ſays, that *Kahtân* was the father of the *Arabs*, and that he begat many children, who choſe for their princes or leaders *Saba*, *Ophir*, and *Gjawilah*, i. e. *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*; which runs counter to what

(A) It is at leaſt equally improbable, that the peninſula of *Arabia* ſhould have been ſo denominated from we know not what mixture of different nations inhabiting it: for the *Arabs* agree, that they had only two principal planters, *viz.* *Khatán* and *Iſhmael*, whoſe families by intermarriages became one and the ſame. And it is generally allowed, that no people in the world have had a leſs mixture with foreigners than the *Arabs*, nor have preſerved their antient cuſtoms and manners more invariably the ſame than they have done. Nor indeed can we conceive an introduction of foreign cuſtoms amongſt them likely to be effected, ſince neither the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, or *Romans*, could ever ſubdue them; and as for the *Egyptians*, though *Seſac* obliged a good part of *Arabia* to ſubmit to him, his ſucceſſors could not long keep their footing there. All the other etymons of *Arabia*, except that we have already given, are ſo apparently remote from truth, that not the leaſt regard is due unto them (1).

(1) *Gagn. diatrib. ſect.* 1. *Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. apud Pocock &c.*

we

we find advanced by *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, *Abulfeda*, and others. And this diſagreement between the moſt celebrated eaſtern writers, with regard to the firſt kings of *Arabia*, clearly evinces, that none of them, at leaſt in this point, can be intirely depended upon [a].

As does Iſhmael the ſon of Abraham.

Iſhmael, and his mother *Hagar*, having been diſmiſſed by *Abraham* in the manner already related, retired into the wilderneſs of *Paran*, where they were ſupported by the Divine favour and aſſiſtance. GOD had aſſured *Hagar* in her diſtreſs, before the birth of *Iſhmael*, that her ſon ſhould be the father of a moſt numerous and potent nation; that he and his deſcendants ſhould be wild, and live in a ſtate of enmity with the reſt of mankind; and yet that they ſhould never be thoroughly ſubjugated by any foreign power. The truth of which moſt ſurpriſing prediction to demonſtration appears, from the manner of life, diſpoſition, power, government, &c. of the *Scenite Arabs*, or, as they are frequently now ſtyled, the wild *Arabs*, from the age of *Iſhmael* to this very day. For, from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to omit other antient authors, as well as the relations of all modern travellers, who have viſited the countries they inhabit, they now live in the ſame manner their father *Iſhmael* did, and have always done ſo from his time to the preſent. Their diſpoſition likewiſe is the ſame that, as it was predicted to be, it always has been; that is, *their hand has been againſt every man*, and conſequently *every man's hand againſt them*; ſince they always have, and ſtill do, for the moſt part, live by pillaging paſſengers of all nations. They never were reduced to, or leaſt for any time continued in, a ſtate of ſervitude, as appears from all the principal antient hiſtorians mentioning them, and their preſent almoſt abſolute independence on the *Turk*; which gives us an idea of their power and government, ſufficient to convince us of the agreement of both with the Divine prediction, relating to *Iſhmael* and his poſterity. The vaſt puiſſance and conqueſts of the *Saracens*, the deſcendants of *Iſhmael*, as well as the ſimilitude of their manners and thoſe of the *Iſhmaelites*, as foretold by GOD himſelf

[a] ABULFED hiſt. cap. 4. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Gen. c x. ver. 25—31. SAFFIODDIN. in lex. geographic. R. SAADIAS in verſion Arab. pentat. R ABRAHAM. ZACUTH. in Sefer Iuchalin. GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 82, 83 POCOCK. ubi ſup p 40, 45, 78, 151. D'HERBEL. bibl. Oriental. art. *Saba* & *Hegiaz* GAGN. in diatrib ſect 1, 2. GEORG. EBN'OL-'AMID 'EAMACIN in cod. MS. apud Gagn. ibid. Vid. etiam Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. I p. 237, & ſeq.

in the *Mosaic* history, likewise confirm the authority of Scripture in this particular. But this point our readers will find set in a just and proper light by two authors, who deserve well both of literature and religion [b].

Ishmael *forms an alliance with the* Jorhamites, *by marriage.*

Ishmael, as we learn from the sacred historian, held his residence in the wilderness of *Paran*, and married an *Egyptian*. In conformity to the Divine prediction to *Abraham*, he had twelve sons, the heads of so many tribes, which in after-ages grew exceedingly potent, whose names we have already given. The *Arab* writers say, that he took to wife the daughter of *Modad* king of *Hejaz*, descended lineally from *Jorham* the founder of that kingdom. Be that as it will, he died at an hundred and thirty-seven years of age, probably not far from the borders of *Egypt*. As the *Arabs* have always considered him, and still do consider him, as the father of the greatest part of their nation, and this notion is strongly countenanced by Scripture, we may look upon him and *Joktan* as the principal planters of *Arabia*. This seems an additional proof to those already offered, that the (B) *Cushites* did not settle in any great numbers here, or at least, that their settlement was not of any long continuance, but that they passed either through *Egypt*, or on the eastern coast of the *Red-sea*, and over the straights of *Bab al Mandab*, into *Ethiopia*. The silence of the *Orientals*, with regard to such a settlement, seems to confirm what is here advanced. We must not imagine, that the *Scenite Arabs* were the only descendants of *Ishmael*, though probably they might be the bulk of them; since *Moses* gives us to understand, that some *Ishmaelites* had castles and towns. For all other particulars relating to *Ishmael*, our readers may have recourse to the *Jewish* history [c].

[b] Gen. c. xxi. ver. 14—22. c. xvi. ver. 12. Univers. hist. Vol. II. p. 365, (M). DIOD. SIC. STRAB. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ubi sup. LA ROQUE, voyage dans Palestine, p. 213, 220, &c. Dr. JACKSON's works, Vol. II. Lond. 1673. Revelat. examined with cand. dissert. iv p 114—152. [c] Gen c. 21. ver. 20, 21. c xvii. ver. 20. AL JANNABIUS. Vid. etiam POCOCK. not. ad spec. hist. Arab p. 78, 79. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 17. ABULFED. AL-FIRAUZABAD. aliosque scriptor. Arabic. See before, pass. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 16.

(B) The scripture seems to distinguish the *Arabs* from the *Cushites*, when it makes a branch of the former contiguous to the latter. The passage here referred to will give great strength to what has been already advanced, in relation to the first settlements of the *Cushites* (z).

(z) 2 *Chron. c. xxi. ver.* 16. *See before pass.*

IN

IN order to render our history of the antient *Arabs* as complete as possible, we shall here give our readers catalogues of the kings of *Hamyar*, or *Yaman*, *Hira*, *Ghassân*, and *Hejaz*, extracted from the best *Oriental* historians.

Some particulars relating to the kings of Hamyar.

As the kings of *Hamyar* were the most considerable princes in *Arabia*, it will be proper to begin with them. But, before we do this, some particulars relating to them must be premised. The kingdom of *Yaman*, or at least the better part of it, particularly the provinces of *Saba* and *Hadramaut*, was governed by princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, the son of *Saba*, the great grandson of *Khatân*, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of *Cahlân* his brother, who yet retained the title of king of *Hamyar*. The *Hamyarites* were called *Homerites* by the later *Greek* and *Latin* authors, and *Immirenians* by *Theodorus Lector*; all their princes had the general title of *Tobba*, which signifies *successor*, as the *Egyptian* kings had that of *Pharaoh*, the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæsar*, and the successors of *Mohammed* that of *Khalif*. Several lesser princes reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, but they were chiefly, if not intirely, subject to the king of *Hamyar*, who was styled *the great king*. But, as history has recorded nothing of these *reguli*, that deserves the least attention, whe shall drop them, and immediately proceed to the series of the kings of *Yaman* or *Hamyar* [d].

1. *Kahtân*, or *Joktan*, the son of *Eber*, is said to have first reigned, and wore a diadem, in *Yaman*; but how long he sat upon the throne, or what remarkable events happened during his reign, we no-where learn [e]. Kahtân.

2. *Yarab*, the son of *Kahtân*, was a prince greatly celebrated by the *Arab* historians; but as the principal things related of him have already been taken notice of we shall proceed to his successor [f]. Yarab.

3. *Yashab*, son to the preceding prince, has had only his name transmitted down to us [g]. Yashab.

[d] MOHAMMEDES AL-FIRAUZABADIUS, BEN ATHIR. ABULFED. AL-JAUHAR. Vide etiam POCOCK. not ad spec. hist. Arab. p 65, 66. & SALE ubi supra, p. 9. 10. THEODOR. LECT. l. ii. p. 567 Vide etiam ASSEMAN. not. in Sim epis. Beth Arsamens. in bibl Orient. tom. i. [e] ABULFED. hist. c. 4, Scholi. in poem Ebn Abduni. GEORG. EBN'OL AMID ELMAC. ubi sup. [f] AL MOTAREZZI in lib. Mog. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 40. POCOCK. in orat. ante carmen Tograi. sub init. & alib. EBN SHOHNAH Vide etiam ABULFED. ubi sup. [g] POCOCKIUS, in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57.

4. *Abd*

Abd Shems. 4. *Abd Shems*, i. e. *the servant of the sun*, surnamed *Saba*, the son of *Yashab*, next ascended the throne; who, the *Arab* historians tell us, was successful in his expeditions against his enemies, carried off great spoils, and took many of them prisoners. Hence, they pretend, he derived his surname, which to us seems by no means probable: it is more likely, that it was used before in his family, since the Scripture mentions *Sheba* or *Saba*, one of the sons of *Joktan*. He is said to have built the city of *Saba*, or *Mâreb*, as likewise that stupendous mound or building, which formed the vast reservoir, above that city. By means of this reservoir, which received all the water that came down from the mountains, the kings of *Yaman* did not only supply the inhabitants of *Saba*, and their lands, with water, but likewise kept the territories they had subdued in greater awe, since, by cutting them off from a communication with it, they could at any time greatly distress them. *Abd Shems* had many sons, but the most noted of them were *Hamyar*, *Amru*, *Ozhlan*, and *Ashaar* [h].

Hamyar. 5. *Hamyar*, the son of *Abd Shems* or *Saba*, according to the *Oriental* authors, was so called from the red cloaths he wore. This seems a plain indication, that *Hamyar* was only a surname. He expelled *Thamûd* from *Yaman*, who took refuge in *Hejaz*. From this prince the tribe or kingdom of *Hamyar* deduced its name. Some assert, that not *Kahtân*, but *Hamyar*, was the first king of *Yaman* that wore a diadem [i].

Wayel. 6. *Wayel*, the son of *Hamyar*, according to *Abulfeda*, succeeded him in the kingdom; but other authors make his brother *Cahlân* his successor [k].

Alsacsac. 7. After *Wayel* reigned his son *Alsacsac* [l].

Yaafar. 8. *Yaafar*, the son of *Alsacsac*, next mounted the throne [m].

Dhu Riyash. 9. To him succeeded *Dhu Riyash* [n].

Al Nooman. 10. After him *Al Noeman*, the son of *Yaafar*, swayed the sceptre of *Yaman* [o].

Asmah. 11. Then came *Asmah*, the son of *Noeman* [p].

Shaddâd. 12. *Shaddad*, the son of *Ad*, the son of *Al Mutata*, the son of *Saba*, a very potent prince, succeeded *Asmah* [q].

[h] Idem ibid. Geogr. Nubiens. clim. ii. par. 6. Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 87. Vide etiam Sale ubi supra, p. 10. [i] Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al-Jannabius, Golii notæ ad Alfragan. ubi sup. Pocock not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 57. [k] Abulfed. apud Pocock. ubi supra, p. 58. [l] Al Jauhar. [m] Pocock. ubi supra, p. 58. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Poc. ubi sup. [q] Idem ibid.

13. *Lok-*

13. *Lokmân*, the brother of *Shaddâd*, was the next king, according to the moſt received opinion, though ſome authors are of a different ſentiment [r]. Lokmân.

14. HE was ſucceeded by his brother *Dhu Sadâd* [r]. DhuSadâd

15. *Al Hareth*, the ſon of *Dhu Sadâd*, next aſcended the throne. He greatly enriched the kingdom of *Yaman*, and was the firſt who had the title or ſurname of *Tobba* above-mentioned given him by his ſubjects [r]. Al Hareth

16. *Dhu'l Karnain Aſſaab*, the next king, was the ſon of *Rayeſh*. This was the *two-horned* prince mentioned in the *Korân*, and not *Alexander the great*, as we learn from *Ebn Abbas* [u]. Dhu'l Karnain.

17. *Dhu'l Manar Abrahah*, the ſon of *Dhu'l Karnain*, ſucceeded his father; but nothing remarkable happened during his reign [w]. Dhu'l Manar.

18. *Africus*, the ſon of *Dhu'l Manar Abrahah*, from whence that part of the world called *Africa* was ſo denominated, according to ſome of the eaſtern writers, next took the reins of government upon him [x]. Africus.

19. *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru*, the ſon of *Africus*, who reigned after his father, received the name or ſurname of *lord of terrors*, from the terror with which his ſubjects were ſtruck at the ſight of certain monſtrous men, or ſatyrs, or apes, as ſome will have it, whom he had taken priſoners in war, and brought into *Yaman* [y]. Dhu'l Adhaar Amru

20. The *Hamyarites* placed upon the throne *Sharhabil*, of the poſterity of *Alſacſac*, in the room of *Dhu'l Adhaar Amru*, whom for ſome enormity they expelled from thence [z]. Sharhabil.

21. *Al Hodhad*, the ſon of *Sharhabil*, ſucceeded his father [a]. Al Hodhad.

22. *Balkis*, the ſon of *Hodhad* is ſaid to have reigned twenty years. According to ſome authors, *Al Hodhad* was ſucceeded by a daughter named *Balkis* or *Belkis*, whom they aſſert to be the famous queen of *Sheba*, who had an interview with *Solomon*, king of *Iſrael*, at *Jeruſalem* [b]. Balkis.

23. *Naſherol'neam*, ſo called from his ſurpriſing magnificence and liberality, was likewiſe ſtyled ſimply *Malec*, or *king*. Naſherol'neam.

[r] AL JANNABIUS, AL FIRAUZABADIUS, &c. [s] Poc. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Al Korán MOHAMMED. c. 18. EBN ABBAS. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM, ubi ſup [w] POCOCK. ubi ſup. [x] AL JANNABIUS, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ſcholiaſt. in poem. Ebn Abnuni. &c. [y] POCOCKIUS, ubi ſupra, p. 59. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] GOLII notæ ad Alfragan. p. 296. Geogr. Nubienſ clim 1. par. 6 D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Balkis*.

Having had bad ſucceſs in an expedition, wherein his army was overwhelmed by torrents of ſand, he cauſed a brazen ſtatue to be erected, with this inſcription, in the old *Hamyaritic* character, engraven upon it; *There is no paſſage behind me; no moving farther; the ſon of* Sharhabil [c].

Shamer Yaraaſh. 24. *Shamer Yaraaſh*, the ſon of *Naſher*, ſwayed the ſceptre after *Naſhero l'neam*. We are told, that he was ſo denominated from the *tremor*, that always poſſeſſed him, and that he gave name to the city of *Samarcand*. That *Samarcand* was built by one of the *Hamyaritic* kings, ſurnamed *Tobba*, ſeems to be a point agreed upon by the beſt of the eaſtern writers. To confirm this notion, it is pretended, an inſcription in the old *Hamyaritic* character, was found under one of the gates of *Samarcand*; though what this inſcription imported, we are no-where informed. It is poſſible the authors that relate this may miſtake the old *Cufic* character for the *Hamyaritic*, ſince in the time of *Arabſhah* conſiderable quantities of *dirhems*, and a ſmall coin called a *falous*, with *Cufic* letters upon them, were frequently dug up at old *Samarcand*. That the *Hamyaritic*, *Cufic*, and modern *Arabic*, alphabets were derived from that of the *Hebrews*, as the excellent *Loeſcher* and *Schultens* with great reaſon ſuppoſe, ſeems farther to appear from hence, that the *Arabs*, in order to help the memory, diſtribute their letters into ſix words, *Abjad*, *Howaz*, *Hotai*, *Colman*, *Saaphas*, and *Karſhat*; wherein the order of the *Hebrew* alphabet is exactly preſerved. This, in conjunction with others, we take to be no contemptible argument in favour of what *Loſcher* and *Schultens* have advanced [d].

Abu Malec. 25. *Abu Malec*, the ſon of *Shamer*, after his father's death, took poſſeſſion of the throne [e].

Amran. 26. *Amran*, the ſon of *Amer*, a deſcendant of *Cahlân*, the brother of *Hamyar*, to whoſe family the kingdom of *Hamyar* was now tranſlated, was inveſted with the regal power upon the death of *Abu Malec*. The *Orientals* repreſent this prince as a wiſe man, or ſoothſayer [f].

Amru. 27. *Amru*, the ſon of *Amer*, ſurnamed *Mazikia*, or *Dilacerator*, becauſe every night he tore to pieces two garments he had worn the preceding day, ſucceeded the former king [g].

[c] Pocockius, ubi ſup. [d] Idem ibid. p. 60. D'Herbel. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Tobba*. Araushah in vit. Timur. Poc. in vit. Timur. Poc. in orat. ante carmen Tograi, p. 4. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Poc. ubi ſup. [g] Al-Jauharius, Al Firauzabadius, &c.

28. *Al*

28. *Al Alkran*, the ſon of *Abimalec*, governed *Yaman* af- Al Alkran
ter *Amru* [i].

29. *Dhu Habſhan*, the ſon of *Akran*, upon the laſt prince's Dhu Hab-
demiſe, took poſſeſſion of the government. This prince put ſhan.
to death *Taſm* and *Jadis* [k].

30. *Tobba*, or *Tobbaa*, the ſon of *Alkran*, ſucceeded *Dhu* Tobba.
Habſhan [l].

31. *Colaicarb*, or, according to ſome, *Molaic Yacrab*, aſ- Colaicarb.
cended the throne of *Hamyar* after the death of the laſt
prince [m].

32. *Abu Carb Aſaad*, the ſucceeding king, we find menti- Abu Carb
oned in the *Korân*. He lived ſeven hundred years before Aſaad.
Mohammed, adorned the *Caala* with hangings or tapeſtry,
and firſt introduced *Judaiſm* amongſt the *Hamyarites*. The
Oriental writers ſay, that he was put to death by his ſubjects,
probably on the ſcore of religion [n].

33. *Haſſan Tobbai*, his ſon, cut off all his father's murder- Haſſan
ers, and was at laſt ſlain by his brother [o]. Tobbai.

34. *Amru Tobbai*, the ſon of *Haſſan Tobbai*, was ſurnamed Amru
dominus lignorum, or *Lord of wood*, becauſe through the whole Tobbai.
courſe of his reign he was ſo infirm and indiſpoſed, that he
was always carried about in a wooden chair [p].

35. *Abd Celal*, the ſon of *Dul'awad*, entered upon the go- Abd Celal
vernment after *Amru Tobbai* [q].

36. *Tobba*, the ſon of *Haſſan*, the ſon of *Colaicarb*, ſur- Tobba.
named *Tobba Minor*, ſucceeded *Abd Celal* [r].

37. Next came *Al Hareth*, who embraced *Judaiſm* [s]. Al Hareth

38. The thirty-eighth king of *Yaman* was *Morthed*, the ſon Morthed.
of *Celal* [t].

39. *Waciaa*, the ſon of *Morthed*, was declared king after Waciaa.
his father's deceaſe [u].

40. *Abrahah*, the ſon of *Alſabah*, reigned after *Waciaa* [w]. Abrahah.

41. *Sabban* mounted the throne upon *Abrahah*'s death, or, Sabban.
according to ſome of the *Oriental* writers, *Ebn Dakikan*.
Ebn Dakikan had that famous ſword of *Ebn Maad Cerb* cal-
led *Samſama*; this ſword came afterwards into the hands of
the khâlif *Râſhid*, who with it cut in two ſeveral noble ſwords,
ſent him as a preſent by the *Greek* emperor, in the preſence

[i] Poc. ubi ſup. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL-JANNABIUS, &c. [n] Al Korân MOHAMMED. c. 50. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL-JANNABIUS, Scholiaſt. EBN ABDUNI, &c. [o] POCOCK. ubi ſupra, p 61. [p] Idem ibid [q] Idem ibid. [r] ABULFED apud POCOCKIUM, ubi ſup. [s] POCOCK. ubi ſupra. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] POCOCK. ubi ſup.

of that prince's embaſſadors, who brought them, without doing it the leaſt damage. How far this ſtory may be depended upon, we ſhall not take upon us to determine [x].

Dhu Shanater.

42. *Dhu Shanater*, according to *Al Firauzabadius*, had ſix fingers on each hand. He was dethroned by the *Hamyarites* for being abandoned to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, and abuſing ſeveral youths of ſome of the nobleſt families amongſt them [y].

Yuſef.

43. *Yuſef*, ſurnamed *Dhu Nowas*, from his flowing curls, lived about ſeventy years before *Mohammed*. He perſecuted all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was, throwing them into a glowing pit of fire; whence he had the opprobrious appellation of *the lord of the pit*. This perſecution we find mentioned in the *Korân* [z].

Dhu Jadan.

44. *Dhu Jadan*, i. e. *the perſon with a ſweet voice*, ſucceeded *Dhu Nowas*, and was the laſt of the *Hamyaritic* monarchs, according to *Abulfeda*; but *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* and *Al Jannabius* make *Dhu Nowas* the laſt prince of the true *Hamyaritic* line, reigning in a continual ſucceſſion. He was a bigotted *Jew*, as juſt obſerved, and treated his chriſtian ſubjects with ſuch barbarity, that *Eleſbaas*, or *Eleſbaan*, king of *Ethiopia*, ſent over forces to aſſiſt them. *Dhu Nowas*, not being able to make head againſt the *Ethiopians*, was at laſt drove to that extremity, that he forced his horſe into the ſea, and loſt both his crown and life together. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* above-mentioned, he reigned ſixty-ſix years, which, though improbable, does not exceed all belief, as does the length of his reign recorded by *Al Jannabius*. The *Najâſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, after this, eſtabliſhed the chriſtian religion in *Yaman*, and fixed upon the throne there,

Aryat.

45. *Aryat*, an *Ethiopian* [a].

Abraha al Aſhram.

46. *Abraha Ebn al Sabah*, ſurnamed *Al Aſhram*, i. e. *the ſlit-noſed*, from a ſlath in his face, where he had formerly received a wound, was the ſecond *Ethiopian* king, or rather viceroy to the *Najâſhi*, in *Yaman*. He was ſtyled *the lord of the elephant*; the reaſon of which appellation appears from the following ſtory, handed down to us by the commentators upon the *Korân*. *Abraha* built a magnificent church for the

[x] ABULFEDA, AL JANNABIUS. [y] AL FIRAUZABADIUS. Vide etiam POCOCK. ubi ſup. p 62. [z] BARONIUS in annal. ad ſec. 6. THEOPHAN. NICEPH. CALLIST. SIM. METAPHRAST. PAG. &c. Vide etiam ASSAMAN. bibliothec. Orient. vol. i. p. 359-385. [a] ABULFEDA, AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNABIUS. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahom. p. 61.

Chriſtian

Chriſtians in *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*, with a deſign to draw the *Arabs* to go in pilgrimage thither, inſtead of viſiting *Mecca*, as they before had done; which he imagined would greatly contribute towards their converſion to chriſtianity: for he doubted not aboliſhing paganiſm, could he deſtroy the veneration of the *Arabs* for the *Caaba*, by bringing them to a place more ſumptuous and grand, and which would more ſtrongly attract their curioſity, and gradually excite their devotion. This had ſoon ſuch an effect, that the devotion and concourſe of the pilgrims at the *Caaba* began conſiderably to diminiſh; which being obſerved by the *Koreiſh*, who were ſuperſtitiouſly fond of that place, they ſent one *Nofail*, as he is named by ſome, of the tribe of *Kenânah*, to offer an indignity to the chriſtian church at *Sanaa*, in order to leſſen that religious regard, which the *Arabs* began to have for it. *Nofail* therefore getting into it by night, upon a ſolemn feſtival, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements; and, making his eſcape by favour of the night, publiſhed every-where what he had done. At this profanation *Abraha* being highly incenſed, vowed the deſtruction of the *Caaba*, and to that end aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, wherein were ſeveral elephants, which he had obtained of the king of *Ethiopia*, their number being, as ſome ſay, thirteen; tho' others mention but one, at the head of which he advanced towards *Mecca*. The *Meccans*, unable to defend their temple and city, and terrified at *Abraha*'s approach, particularly on account of his elephants, none of which creatures had ever before been ſeen in *Arabia*, retired to the neighbouring mountains, where they intrenched themſelves. But GOD HIMSELF, at this juncture, interpoſed in an extraordinary manner: for when the *Ethiopian* drew near to *Mecca*, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, being a large one, and named *Mahmud*, refuſed to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would riſe, and march briſkly enough, if they turned him towards any other quarter. As he was the chief of the elephants, and, both by reaſon of his ſize and whiteneſs, greatly revered by the others, they immediately followed him, ſo that *Abraha* could not ſo much as reconnoitre the town. The *Meccans*, obſerving this from their retrenchment, were at a loſs to what to attribute ſo unexpected a motion, believing that the enemy were going to return home. In the mean time, whilſt matters were in this ſituation, a large flock of birds, called *Ababil*, like ſwallows, came flying on a ſudden from the ſea-coaſt, every one of which carried three ſtones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, of a middle

ſize

size betwixt a small lentil and a vetch, but so ponderous, that, being let fall, they pierced through the helmets and bodies of men, and even, according to some, the elephants likewise, which they threw down upon *Abraha*'s soldiers, certainly killing every one they struck. Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of them who had not been struck by the stones, into the sea: the rest fled towards *Yaman* but perished by the way, none of them reaching *Sanaa*, except only *Abraha* himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort of plague or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is said, that one of *Abraha*'s army, named *Abu Yacsam*, or, according to others, *Abraha* himself, escaped over the *Red-Sea* into *Ethiopia*, and, going directly to the king, told him the tragical story. Upon which, that prince asked him what sort of birds they were, that had occasioned such a destruction; in answer to which question he pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head; which he had no sooner done, than the bird let fall the stone, and laid him dead at the king's feet. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers say, that the names of all the persons to be destroyed were inscribed on the stones that destroyed them; that this flock of birds consisted of two sorts; one whose feathers were black, and bill white; the other all over green except the bill, which was yellow: and that they threw all their stones at once upon the *Ethiopians*. This memorable event, according to the *Mohammedans*, is said to have happened in the time of *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, and the very year in which that impostor was born [b].

THAT this piece of history has all the air of those fictions, with which the *Arab* writings in general, and the *Koran* in particular, abound, will readily be acknowledged by all our intelligent readers. We therefore, with Dr. *Prideaux*, rather take the fact therein alleged to be a creature of *Mohammed*'s brain, than a feat of evil spirits, as is suggested by father *Marracci*; and yet, supposing it a real fact, we

[b] Al Korân. MOHAMMED c. 105. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALAN. AL CESHAF, ABULFED. hist. Gen. Ar. JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, EBNO'L ATHIR apud Abulfed. Al GJUZIUS, in lib. de ritib. peregrinat. c. 78. KHONDEMIR, HOUSSAIN VAEZ. com. in Al Kor. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. in voc. *Abraha*. PRIDEAUX's life of Mahomet, p. 61. Vide etiam POCOCKIUM ubi sup. p. 64.

see

ſee no abſurdity in this laſt notion. The very learned Mr. *Sale*, to our no ſmall ſurprize, is of opinion, that this ridiculous ſtory, for ſo we cannot help terming it, is not without ſome foundation, ſince "it ſeems to him, that there was ſomething "extraordinary in the matter." The reaſons he alledges in ſupport of this opinion, are the two followihg: 1. The event is ſaid to have happened not above fifty-four years before the pretended revelation mentioning it was made; and therefore had it been a fiction, ſeveral living witneſſes could have diſproved it; which we find never was done, and conſequently may preſume, that the reality of this remarkable action could not be denied. 2. *Mohammed* had no occaſion to coin a miracle to gain the temple of *Mecca* any greater veneration, the people of *Mecca* being already ſo religiouſly attached to it, that he was obliged, contrary to his original plan, to make it the chief place of his new-invented worſhip. In anſwer to the firſt reaſon, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that, according to Mr. *Sale* himſelf, after *Abu Becr* had vouched for *Mohammed*'s veracity, in the twelfth year of his miſſion, which falls within the time mentioned, his diſciples were ready to ſwallow whatever he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them; that the ſtory, as told in the *Korân*, is ſuppoſed a revelation, and therefore might only deſcribe the ſupernatural unknown cauſe of a noted defeat; that Mr. *Sale* himſelf allows the thing might be worked up into a miracle, at which it muſt be owned, none of the preceding *Arabs* had ſo excellent a knack as *Mohammed*; and, laſtly, that the ſame turn and genius appear in this as in the moſt extravagant abſurdities of that impoſtor. To the ſecond reaſon it may be replied, that we are under no neceſſity to allow, though Dr. *Prideaux* ſuppoſes it, that the gaining a veneration to the *Caaba* amongſt the pagan *Arabs* was the motive to the forging ſuch a ſtory; on the contrary, it appears that this could not poſſibly be the motive, even from Mr. *Sale*'s own obſervation, *viz.* becauſe the *Meccans*, or pagan *Arabs*, held their temple in the higheſt veneration at the time this pretended revelation happened. But, notwithſtanding this, *Mohammed* might coin a miracle, either to draw the chriſtian *Arabs* to *Mecca*, and make them converts to his religion, or to render them odious to all the other *Arabs*; which, from the whole tenour of the ſtory, appears to have been his deſign. But as what Mr. *Sale* has offered on this occaſion ſeems rather to proceed from a deſire of ſhewing ſome diſreſpect to Dr. *Prideaux*, on account of his attachment to religion in general, than a full perſuaſion of the truth of what he ſeems to advance, we ſhall offer no-

thing

thing farther on this head, but immediately resume the thread of our history [c].

Yacsum. 47. *Yacsum*, the son of *Abrahah*, succeededhim; but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any antient historians [d].

Masruk. 48. *Masruk*, another son of *Abrahah*, and the last of the *Ethiopian* princes in *Yaman*, came to the throne after *Yacsum*. The *Ethiopians*, according to some eastern writers, occupied the kingdom of *Hamyar* about seventy-two years [e].

Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan. 49. *Seif Ebn Dhu Yazan*, of the old royal family of *Hamyar*, having obtained succours of *Khosrû Anushirwân*, king of *Persia*, which had been denied him by the emperor *Heraclius*, recovered the throne, and drove out the *Ethiopians*, but was himself slain by some of them, who were left behind. The *Persians* appointed the succeeding princes, *Wahzar*, *Marzaban*, *Sihan*, *Jorjis* or *Georgius*, and *Bazan*, till *Yaman* fell into the hands of *Mohammed*, to whom *Bazan*, or rather *Badhân*, the last of them, submitted, and embraced his new religion. This induced *Mohammed* to give *Shahr*, the son of *Bazan*, part of his father's dominions [f].

Duration of the kingdom of Hamyar. THUS stands the series of the kings of *Hamyar*, which we wish was more perfect. The petty princes already mentioned, tributary to the king of *Hâmyâr*, were styled *Al Kâil*, and the governors of provinces *Al Mâkâwel*. According to *Abulfeda*, this monarchy continued 2020 years, or above 3000, if we will believe *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, and *Al Jannabius*. The length of the reign of each prince must be allowed to be very uncertain. The history of the kings of *Hamyar*, surnamed *Tobba* or *Tobbai*, which the *Arabs* pronounce *Tababêah*, and *Tabbâïah*, has been wrote by *Shahabeddin Ahmed Ebn Abdalwahab*, *Al Bekri*, *Al Teïmi*, *Al Kendi*, surnamed *Nouaïri*, author of a universal history, which he dedicated to *Nasser Mohammed Ebn Calaoun*, sultan of the *Mamalukes*. For an account of this work we must refer our readers to M. *D'Herbelot*. *Nouaïri* died in the year of the *Hejra* 732 [g].

The inundation of Al Arem. IT has been already observed, that *Saba* made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a bason or reservoir, to supply the inhabitants of the city built by him, and called after his name, with water, which it constantly received from the mountains, as

[c] SALE's translation of the *Korân*, ch. CV. p. 501, 502. & not. PRID. ubi supra, & seq. LUDOVICUS MARRACCIUS, in refut. Alcoran. p. 823. Patavii, 1698. [d] POCOCK. ubi sup. [e] AL JANNABIUS. [f] POCOCK. ubi supra. p. 64, 65. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid. [g] AL JAUHARIUS, ABULFEDA, AL FIRAUZABADIUS. Vide etiam AHMED EBN YUSEF, & AL JANNABIUM, apud Pocockium ubi supra, p. 162, 63. D'HERBEL. in voc. Nouaïri, p. 674, 675. & voc. Tobba, p. 889.

also

alſo to keep the country his predeceſſors had ſubdued in greater awe, by rendering him maſter of the water. This building ſtood like a mountain above the city, and was by the *Sabæans* eſteemed ſo ſtrong, that they were under no apprehenſion of its ever falling. The water roſe to the height of almoſt twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every ſide by a work ſo ſolid, that many of them had their houſes built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water diſtributed by aqueducts. But at length GOD, being highly diſpleaſed at their pride and inſolence, and reſolving to humble and diſperſe them, ſent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were aſleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people. This inundation is ſtyled in the *Korân the inundation of* AL AREM, and occaſioned ſo terrible a deſtruction, that from thence it became a proverbial ſaying, to expreſs a total diſperſion, that *they were gone and ſcattered like* Saba. *Al Beidawi* ſuppoſes the aforeſaid mound to have been the work of queen *Balkis*, and that the above-mentioned cataſtrophe happened after the time of JESUS CHRIST. But both theſe notions run counter to the moſt received opinion, which attributes the building of AL AREM to *Saba*, and fixes its deſtruction about the time of *Alexander the Great*. Be that as it will, no leſs than eight tribes, *viz.* thoſe of *Anmâr*, *Jodhâm*, *Al Azd*, *Tay*, *Khozâab*, *Banu Amela*, &c. were forced to abandon their dwellings on this occaſion, ſome of which gave riſe to the kingdoms of *Hira*, and *Ghaſſân* [h] (B).

THE kingdom of *Hira* was founded by *Malec*, a deſcendant of *Cahlân*, in *Chaldæa* or *Irâk*; but after three deſcents the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*. Theſe princes, whoſe general name was *Mondar*, preſerved their dominion, notwithſtanding ſome ſmall interruption by the *Perſians*, till the khalifat of *Abubecr*, when *Al Mondar* *The foundation of the kingdom of Hira.*

[h] GOLII notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 87. Geogr. Nubienſ. clim. 2. par. 6. Al Korân. MOHAMMED. c. 34. AL BEIDAWI. JALLAL. Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66.

(B) At this time likewiſe, probably happened the migration of thoſe tribes or colonies which were led into *Meſopotamia* by three different chiefs, *Becr*, *Modar*, and *Rabia* from whence the three provinces of that country are ſtill named *Diyar Becr*, *Diyar Modar*, and *Diyar Rabia* (2).

(2) *Golii notæ ad Alfragan. p.* 232.

Magrûr, the laſt of them, loſt his life and crown by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walid*. The kingdom of the *Mondars*, ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of *Nadar Ebn Rabia*, continued, according to *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, ſix hundred twenty two years and eight months. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of *Perſia*, whoſe lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, as the kings of *Ghaſſân* were for the *Roman* emperors over thoſe of *Syria*. The *Lakhmians* were deſcended from *Lakhm* the ſon of *Amru*, the ſon of *Saba*. If the kingdom of the *Lakhmians* or *Mondars* was not of any longer duration than ſix hundred and twenty-two or twenty-three years, *Al Beidawi* ſeems not to be much miſtaken, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of *Chriſt*, notwithſtanding the authority of thoſe who carry it above three centuries higher. This ſpace was taken up by the reigns of the following kings, according to the beſt *Oriental* hiſtorians [i].

Malec. 1. *Malec*, who, ſay ſome of the eaſtern writers, flouriſhed in the time of *the kings of the provinces*, that is, of the governors *Alexander the Great* appointed to preſide over the provinces of *Perſia* [k].

Amru. 2. *Amru*, *Malec*'s brother [l].

Jodaimah. 3. *Jodaimah*, the ſon of *Malec*, ſurnamed *Al Abraſh*, who firſt uſed amongſt the *Arabs* that military engine called a *baliſta*. He defeated *Amru*, an *Arab* prince of the tribe of *Amalek*, who reigned in *Meſopotamia*, and put him to the ſword; but was afterwards himſelf aſſaſſinated, by the contrivance of *Zoba*, *Amru*'s daughter, with whom he was greatly enamoured [m].

Amru. 4. *Amru*, the ſon of *Ad* and *Rakaſh* the ſiſter of *Jodaimah*, by the aſſiſtance of one *Koſair*, who had been ſervant to *Jodaimah*, revenged the murder of his uncle by the following ſtratagem: *Koſair*, at his own deſire, had his ears cut off and was whipped in a moſt cruel manner, by *Amru*'s order; after which he fled to *Zoba*, making the heavieſt complaints of the inhuman treatment he had met with. By this means he ſoon became a confident of *Zoba*, who permitted him to convey into her caſtle ſome large cheſts, full, as was given out, of wares, but, in reality, of armed men, who immediately diſpatched her. The memory of *Amru* is ſtill preſerved amongſt the *Arabs* by ſeveral proverbs which particularly allude to him [n].

[i] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 66, 74, PROCOP. in Perſ. apud Photium. p. 71 &c. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, &c. [k] Poc. ubi ſupra, p 66. [l] Idem ibid. [m] MOHAMMEDES AL FIRUZABADIUS, AL JANNABIUS. AHMED EBN YUSEF. [n] POCOCKIUS ubi ſupra, p 67, 68.

5. *Amrio'l*

5. *Amrio'l Kais*, the ſon of *Amru*, ſurnamed *Albada*, ſucceeded his father [o]. Amrio'l Kais.

6. *Amru*, the ſon of *Amriol' Kais*, flouriſhed in the time of *Sabur*, or *Sapor*, *Dil Actaf*, king of *Perſia*. This *Perſian* monarch, whoſe ſurname imports as much, according to *Abulfeda*, cut off the ſhoulders of all the *Arabs* he took priſoners, in a war he had with that nation. His mother's name was *Mary*, whoſe ear-rings occaſioned a proverb amongſt the *Arabs*. If this piece of hiſtory may be depended upon, it is an additional proof of the truth of what *Al Beidawi* has advanced in relation to the time when the inundation of AL-AREM happened [p]. Amru.

7. *Aus*, the ſon of *Kalam*, an *Amalekite* [q]. Aus.

8. ANOTHER *Amalekite* prince, whoſe name is not known, ſucceeded *Aus*; after whoſe deceaſe the crown reverted to the family of the *Lakhmians*, after an interruption of two deſcents [r]. *An anonymous king.*

9. *Amrio'l Kais*, the ſon of *Amru*, next aſcended the throne. He was ſurnamed *Almohrek*, or the *burner*, becauſe he firſt tortured criminals with fire [s]. Amrio'l Kais.

10. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais*, ſurnamed *Alawar*, or *the blinkard*, who, when he had reigned thirty years, abdicated the government, and retired from the world, ſaying, *What ſignifies a kingdom that will certainly have an end?* *Al Nooman* built thoſe caſtles or towers called *Khaouarnak*, and *Al Sadir*, ſo celebrated by the *Arab* poets and proverbs. *Senemmar*, the builder of *Khaouarnak*, was thrown headlong from thence by *Al Nooman*'s order, which gave occaſion to the proverb, *The reward of* Seneminar. We are told, that *Al Nooman* became a convert to the *Chriſtian* religion, and in conſequence thereof thought fit to reſign the reins of government to his ſon *Hendu*, as juſt hinted. *Jezdegerd*, king of *Perſia*, committed the care of his ſon's education and the eſtabliſhment of his conſtitution to *Al Nooman*, who was afterwards very inſtrumental in fixing him upon the throne of his anceſtors. The cauſe of *Senemmar*'s tragical end, and all the other remarkable particulars relating to the reign of the prince we are now upon, our readers will find an ample account of in the hiſtory of the *Perſians* [t]. Amrio'l Kais.

11. *Al Mondar Ebn Noomah*, the *Hendu* of the *Perſian* hiſtorians, attended *Baharam*, the ſon of *Jezdegerd*, into *Perſia*, Al Montar. Ebn Noomah.

[o] Idem ibid. [p] ABULFEDA. AL-BEIDAWI. [q] Pocock. ubi ſupra, p. 68. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] AL FIRAUZABADIUS. SAFIODDIN ALMEIDAN. LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND. KHONDEMIR. &c. Vide etiam Univ. hiſt. VOL. xi. p. 70.

with an army of 40000 men, to enable him to dethrone one *Kerfa*, an uſurper whom the *Magi* had elected king. The ſucceſs and particulars of this expedition have been already related at large in that part of this work to which they moſt properly belong [u].

Al Aſwad

12. *Al Aſwad*, ſon to *Al Mondar*, overthrew the king of *Ghaſſân*, and took many of his relations priſoners, according to ſome of the *Oriental* hiſtorians; but *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* relates, that the king of *Ghaſſân* prevailed againſt him and ſlew him, after a ſhort reign [w].

An anonymous king.

13. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Al Mondar* whoſe true name has not reached us. It is probable, nothing of moment happened whilſt this prince ſat on the throne, ſince the eaſtern writers ſay little of him [x].

Al Kamah.

14. *Al Kamah*, ſucceſſor to the laſt king, was ſtyled *Al Damyali*, from the family of *Damyal*, of which he was a member. All the tranſactions that happened during his reign, are likewiſe buried in oblivion [y].

Amrio'l Cais, *the ſon of* Nooman.

15. *Amrio'l Kais*, the ſon of *Nooman*, the ſon of *Amrio'l Kais Al Mohrek*, next ſwayed the ſceptre of *Hira*. *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* aſſerts, that it was he who threw *Senemmar* headlong from the top of the caſtle of *Khaouarnak*, with whom agree herein *Abulfeda* and *Al Jannabius* [z].

Al Mondar. Ebn Maiſſamai.

16. *Al Mondar*, the ſon of the laſt king and *Mawiah* the daughter of *Aus*, a lady of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that ſhe was called *Maiſſamai*, i. e. *water of heaven*, governed after his father in *Hira*. From his mother he and his poſterity were likewiſe ſurnamed *Al Mondar Ebn Maiſſamai*; which appellation they had in common with the kings of *Ghaſſân*, according to *Al Jauharius*. For theſe laſt princes were ſo denominated from *Abu Amer*, of the tribe of *Azd*, the father of *Amru Mazikia*, who by his ſurpriſing liberality and beneficence ſupplied the want of rain, furniſhing his people with corn, when an extreme drought had rendered it ſo dear, that they were incapable of buying it. This prince was depoſed by *Khoſrû Kobâd*, king of *Perſia* [a].

Al Hareth

17. *Al Hareth Ebn Amru*, of the tribe of *Kenda*, was placed on the throne of *Hira* by *Khoſrû Kobâd*, in the room of *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, whom he had depoſed. However, *Kobad*'s ſon and ſucceſſor *Anuſhirwân*, ſurnamed *the juſt*, in whoſe reign *Mohammed* was born, reſtored the lawful king to his dominions and drove away the uſurper *Al Hareth Ebn*

[u] Lebtarik. Mirch. Khondem. ubi ſupra. Univ. hiſt ubi ſupra. [w] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [x] Pocockius ubi ſupra, p. 69 [y] Idem ibid. [z] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. Abulfeda, & Al Jannabius. [a] Al Jauharius.

Amrio

Amru. *Kobâd* embraced the tenets of an impoſtor called *Mazdak*, who pretended himſelf a prophet ſent from GOD to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were deſcended from the ſame common parents; and in moſt points agreed with *Manes*. By rendering wealth and women common, he propoſed taking away the luſt of both; from whence, he inſinuated, generally aroſe the feuds, quarrels, and animoſities, that diſturbed the repoſe and tranquillity of mankind. Such a doctrine well ſuiting the diſpoſition of *Kobâd*, he not only profeſſed himſelf a convert to *Mazdak*'s religion, but likewiſe obliged all his dependents to do the ſame; and therefore, when *Al Mondar Ebn Amrîo'l Kais* refuſed this, he ſtripped him of his dominions, and appointed *Al Hareth*, who had declared himſelf a zealous follower of *Mazdak*, to preſide over them in his ſtead. But *Anuſhirwân*, called *Nouſchirvan* by the *Perſian* hiſtorians, in conſequence of a vow he had made before his acceſſion, reſtored the *Mondar* family to the throne of *Hira*, put *Mazdak* to death, and aboliſhed the profeſſion of his impious opinions. It is ſaid, when *Mazdak* knew his fate, he told *Anuſhirwân*, *that* GOD *had raiſed him to the throne of* Perſia *to protect his ſubjects, and not to deſtroy them.* To which that monarch anſwered, *True, abandoned villain; but doſt thou not remember, that with the utmoſt difficulty, even by kiſſing thy loathſome feet, I prevailed upon thee not to lie with my mother, when my father, at thy impudent requeſt, had given thee a permiſſion ſo to do? Yes,* replied *Mazdak*. Upon which, the king ordered him to be executed immediately, cut off many of his followers, and eſtabliſhed once more amongſt his ſubjects the ancient *Magian* religion [b].

18. *Al Mondar Ebn Amrio'l Kais* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Al Mondar*, ſtyled, according to *Al Jauharius*, *Modret ol' Hajarah*, from his ſurpriſing ſtrength and unparalleled bravery. Other authors, from his mother *Henda*, give him the ſurname of *Ebn Henda*. In the eighth year of his reign the falſe prophet *Mohammed* was born [c]. Al Mondar, Ebn Amrio'l Kais, Ebn Nooman.

19. *Kabus*, the brother of *Amru* comes next, of whom we find nothing worthy of notice related by the eaſtern writers [d]. Kabus.

20. *Al Mondar*, brother to the former prince, ſucceeded him [e]. *His brother*, Al Mondar.

[b] ABULFED. in vit. Anuſhirwân. SHARESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 70. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ibid. p. 71. MIRKH. KHOND. & Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 85. [c] AL JAUHARIUS. [d] POCOCKIUS ubi ſupra, p. 72. [e] Idem ibid

21. *Al*-

Al Nooman. Abu Kabus.

21. *Al Nooman*, surnamed *Abu Kabus*, was the twenty-first king of *Hira*, and became a convert to *Christianity* on the following occasion: In a drunken fit he had ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done; and, to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate* and the other the *fortunate day*; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day, should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument; but he that met him on the other day, should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of the unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Tay*, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the *Arabs* religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts, to make his family amends for the great loss they were to sustain, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the *Arab* was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the *Arab*, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to be brought out to execution. Those who were by represented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse the *Arab* appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided, by letting his surety suffer, asked him, what was his motive for so doing? To which he answered, he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and *Al-Nooman* demanding what religion that was, he replied the *Christian*. Whereupon the king, desiring to have the doctrines of *Christianity* explained to him, was baptized, together with all his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom. This prince, however, was not the first king of *Hira*, who professed himself a convert to the *Christian* religion; *Al Mondar*, the son of *Amrio'l Kais*, his grandfather, declared himself a *Christian*, and built large churches in his capital. As *Al Nooman* took a particular delight in tulips, and would not permit them to grow in all gardens

dens, the *Arabs* from him, call them *the variegated flowers of* Al Nooman. After a reign of twenty-two years, *Al Nooman* was slain by *Khosrû Parwiz*, by whom the kingdom of *Hira* was translated from the family of the *Lakhmians* to *Ayas* the *Tayite* [f].

22. *Mohammed*'s mission commenced in the sixth month of *Ayas*'s reign [g]. Ayas.

23. *Zadawaih*, the son of *Mahan* of *Hamadan*, succeeded *Ayas* [h]. Zadawaih

24. *Al Mondar Ebn Nooman*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Mondar*, *Ebn Maissamai*, surnamed *Al Maghrûr*, governed *Hira*, from the death of *Zadawaih* to the conquest of the kingdom of *Hira* by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walid*. The four royal families of *Persia*, governing that kingdom before this period, were the *Pischdadian*, the *Caianian*, the *Asbganian*, and that of *Khosrû*; which, as *Hira* was a state dependent on the *Persians*, we thought not improper to be observed [i]. Al Mondar. Ebn Noo. man. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Mondar. Ebn Maissamai. Al Maghrûr.

THE kingdom of *Ghassân*, as well as that of *Hira*, owed its origin to the inundation of *Al Arem*. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of *Azd*, who, according to some, settling in *Syria Damascena*, near a water called *Ghassân*, thence took their name; though others make them to have gone under this appellation before they left *Yaman*. Having driven out the *Dajaamian Arabs*, of the tribe of *Salih*, who before possessed the country, they made themselves masters of a very considerable territory. Here they maintained their kingdom four hundred years, as others say, six hundred, or, as *Abulfeda* more exactly computes, six hundred and sixteen. If *Ghassân* was their name prior to this migration, they probably were the *Cassanitæ* of *Ptolemy*. Be that as it will, five of the kings of *Ghassân* were named *Hâreth*, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* wrote *Aretas*; and one of them it was, whose governor ordered the gates of *Damascus* to be watched to take St. *Paul*. Dr. *Pocock* gives us the following list of the kings of *Ghassân*, extracted from the *Oriental* historians [k]. *The kingdom of* Ghassân.

1. *Jafnah Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Thaalibah*, *Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Mazikia*, to whom, after the excision of the royal family of Jafnah.

[f] AL MEIDANI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, ABULFED. &c. Vide etiam SALE ubi supra, p. 23, 24. [g] POCOCKIUS ubi supra, p. 73, 74. [h] Idem ibid. [i] PROCOP. de bell. Pers. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. ABULFED AL. FIRAUZABADIUS, & POCOCK. ubi supra. p. 74, 75. [k] AL BEIDAWI. POCK. not in spec. hist. Arab. p. 42, 45, 66, 75, 76, 77.

Salih,

Salih, the *Kodaenſian Arabs*, and the *Greeks* in *Syria Damaſcena*, ſubmitted themſelves.

Amru. 2. *Amru*, the ſon of *Jafnah*, who is ſaid to have built many monaſteries in *Syria*.

Amru. 3. *Amru*, the ſon of *Thaalibah*.

Al Hâreth 4. *Al Hâreth*, or *Aretas*, the ſon of *Thaalibah*.

Jabalah. 5. *Jabalah*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*.

Al Hâreth 6. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Jabalah*.

Al Mondar. 7. *Al Mondar Al Acbar*, that is, *the great*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*.

Al Nooman. 8. *Al Nooman*, the brother of *Al Mondar*.

Jabalah. 9. *Jabalah*, the brother of *Al Nooman*.

Al Ayham 10. *Al Ayham*, brother to the two laſt princes.

Amru. 11. *Amru*, who was brother to his three laſt predeceſſors.

Jafnah Alaſgar. 12. *Jafnah*, ſurnamed *Al Aſgar*, the ſon of *Mondar al Acbar*, who ſet the city of *Hira* on fire; whence his poſterity were ſaid to be of the family of *the incendiary*.

Al Nooman. 13. *Al Nooman Al Aſgar*, brother to *Jafnah*.

Al Nooman. 14. *Al Nooman, Ebn Amru, Ebn Mondar*.

Jabalah. 14. *Jabalah, Ebn Nooman*, who waged war with *Al Mondar, Ebn Maiſſamai*.

Al Nooman. 16. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Al Ayham*.

Al Hâreth 17. *Al Hâreth*, brother to *Al Nooman Ebn Al Ayham*.

Al Nooman. 18. *Al Nooman*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*.

Al Mondar. 19. *Al Mondar*, the ſon of *Al Nooman*.

Amru. 20. *Amru*, *Al Mondar*'s brother.

Hajar. 21. *Hajar*, brother to *Al Mondar* and *Amru*.

Al Hâreth 22. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Hajar*.

Jabalah. 23. *Jabalah*, the ſon of *Al Hâreth*.

Al Hâreth 24. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Jabalah*.

Al Nooman. 25. *Al Nooman* the ſon of *Al Hâreth*, who is called by ſome eaſtern writers *Abu Carb* and *Kotam*.

Al Ayham 26. *Al Ayham* the ſon of *Jabalah*, who was likewiſe lord of *Tadmor*.

Al Mondar. 27. *Al Mondar* brother to *Al Ayham*.

Sharahil. 28. *Sharahil*, brother to the two laſt princes.

Amru. 29. *Amru*, another of their brothers.

Jabalah. 30. *Jabalah, Ebn al Hareth, Ebn Jabalah*.

Jabalah. 31. *Jabalah*, the ſon of *Al Ayham*, and the laſt of the kings of *Ghaſſan*, who on the great ſucceſſes of the *Arabs* in *Syria*, under the khalif *Omar*, profeſſed *Mohammediſm*; but, receiving afterwards a diſguſt from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to *Conſtantinople*. As in the regal line of *Hamyar*, *Hejaz*, and *Kenda*, we find the name of *Hâreth*, or *Al Hâreth*, we think *Scaliger* had ſome colour of reaſon, when he aſſerted this to be a general name amongſt the

Arab

Arab emirs or phylarchs, though Dr. *Pocock* is of another opinion. The ſcholiaſt on the poem of *Ebn Abduni* differs ſomething from *Abulfeda* in his account of the kings of *Hira*. For he tells us, that *Al Hâreth*, *Ebn Amru*, *Ebn Amer*, *Ebn Hareth*, *Ebn Amrio'l Kais*, *Ebn Mazen*, *Ebn Al Azd*, ſurnamed *Ebn Abi Shamer*, was the firſt king; and that the whole ſeries of theſe princes contained thirty-ſeven kings, the laſt of which was *Jabalah*, who embraced *Chriſtianity* in the khalifat of *Omar*: which if we admit, and that St. *Paul* was at *Damaſcus A. C.* 34, as *Calviſius* will have it, the *Aretas* mentioned by that apoſtle was in all likelihood one of the moſt antient kings of *Ghaſſân* (C), and probably the firſt of them. From whence it will follow, that *Al Beidawi* has probability on his ſide, when he affirms the inundation of *Al Arem* to have happened after the birth of *Chriſt*; ſince the kingdom of *Ghaſſân* commenced immediately after that inundation. And ſome ſort of ſanction is given to this notion even by *Abulfeda* himſelf, when he intimates, that *Amru* the ſon of *Jafnah*, the ſecond king of *Hira*, founded many monaſteries in *Syria*. Be that as it will, had the *Arab* hiſtorians not been ſo defective in point of chronology, their works would have been much more valuable, and deſerved a much greater degree of credit, than at preſent the learned are willing to allow them [1].

[1] SCALIG. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 77. ut et ipſe POCOCK. ibid. & p. 78. ABULFEDA, Scholiaſt in poem. Ebn Abduni. 2 Cor. xi. ver. 32. SETH. CALVIS. apud Pocockium, ubi ſupra, p. 78. AL BEIDAWI. Vide etiam SALE's notes on the *Koran*, p. 354. & OCKLEY's hiſt. of the *Saracens*, vol. i. p. 174.

(C) In oppoſition to this it may be urged, that we find ſeveral princes called *Aretas*, kings of the *Arabs*, ſeated in *Syria*, or, at leaſt, near the frontiers of that country, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as likewiſe in *Joſephus*, before the period here hinted at. But to this it may be replied, that theſe princes might preſide over the *Dajaamian Arabs*, expelled by thoſe of the tribe of *Ad* above-mentioned, or reign in *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta*, eſpecially if we admit *Hareth* to have been a general name amongſt the *Arab* emirs or phylarchs. And, in ſupport of the laſt notion, it may be obſerved, that *Petra* was the metropolis of the *Aretan* princes mentioned by *Joſephus*. But we leave our readers to determine for themſelves in relation to the commencement of the kingdoms of *Hira* and *Ghaſſân*. The tranſactions ſpecified in the paſſages here referred to, in which the *Arabs* were concerned, our readers will find an account of in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, to which they properly belong (3).

(3) 1 *Maccab. c. v ver.* 39 *c. xi. ver.* 16, 37. *c. xii. ver.* 31. 2 *Maccab. c. v. ver.* 8 *c. xii. ver.* 10, *&c. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud l. xiv. c.* 2. *l. xvi. c.* 9, 10. *l. xvi. c.* 3. *de bell. Judaic. l. i. c.* 7. *& alib. See vol. x. p.* 22, 91, 166. *& alib.*

The kingdom of Hejâz.

It has been already obſerved, that *Jorham*, the ſon of *Kahtan*, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where princes of his line reigned till the time of *Iſhmael*, who married the daughter of *Modad*, one of thoſe princes. Some authors relate, that *Kidar*, one of *Iſhmael*'s ſons, had the crown reſigned to him by his uncles the *Jorhamites*; but, according to others, the deſcendants of *Iſhmael* expelled that tribe, who retiring to *Johainah*, were, after various fortune, at laſt all deſtroyed by an inundation. The following catalogue of the kings of *Hejaz*, taken from Dr. *Pocock*, is the beſt that has been hitherto exhibited to the public [m].

Jorham. 1. *Jorham*, the brother of *Yaarab*.
Abd Yalil. 2. *Abd Yalil*, the ſon of *Jorham*.
Jorſham. 3. *Jorſham*, the ſon of *Abd Yalil*.
Abd.Mad. 4. *Abdo'l Madan*, the ſon of *Jorſham*.
Nogailah. 5. *Nogailah*, the ſon of *Abdo'l Madan*.
Abd Maſi. 6. *Abdo'l Maſih*, the ſon of *Nogailah*.
Modâd. 7. *Modad*, the ſon of *Abdo'l Maſih*.
Amru. 8. *Amru*, the ſon of *Modad*.
AlHâreth. 9. *Al-Hareth*, brother to *Amru*.
Amru. 10. *Amru*, the ſon of *Al Hareth*.
Baſher. 11. *Baſher*, brother to *Amru*.
Modâd. 12. *Modad*, the ſon of *Amru*, the ſon of *Modad*.
Anonym. 13. —— *Anonym*.
Kidâr. 14. *Kidar*, the ſon of *Iſhmael*, whoſe mother, according to the *Oriental* hiſtorians, was of the houſe of *Jorham*.

Form of government in Hejâz

After the expulſion of the *Jorhamites*, the government of *Hejaz* ſeems not to have continued many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almoſt in the ſame manner as the *Arabs* of the deſert are governed at this day. The tribe of *Khozâah*, deſcended from *Cahlan*, the ſon of *Saba*, after the inundation of *Al Arim*, fled into the kingdom of *Hejaz*, and ſettled themſelves in a valley called *Marri*, near *Mecca*; in which territory they founded an ariſtocracy, aſſuming to themſelves both the government of the city of *Mecca*, and the cuſtody of the *Cauba* or temple there. Their name they derived from their being *cut off* or *ſeparated from* the other tribes of *Yaman* by the accident above mentioned. They continued maſters of the city and territory of *Mecca*, as well as preſidents of the *Cauba*, for ſeveral ages; till at length one *Koſa*

[m] Al. Jannabius. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 38. 78, 79. Vide etiam Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 11, 12.

(CC), of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, circumvented *Abu Gabſhan*, a weak and ſilly man, of whom, while in a drunken humour, he bought the keys and cuſtody of the *Caaba*, for a bottle of wine. But when *Abu Gabſhân* grew cool, and came to reflect upon what he had done, he ſufficiently repented of his imprudence; whence the proverbs of the *Arabs*: *More vexed with late repentance than* Abu Gabſhan; *More fooliſh than* Abu Gabſhan: which are applied to thoſe perſons who part with things of great moment for a trifle, and are afterwards ſorry for what they have done. The tribe of *Khozaah* endeavoured afterwards to give ſome diſturbance to the *Koreiſh* in the poſſeſſion of what *Koſa* had purchaſed; which furniſhed the latter with an opportunity of diveſting the former of the civil government of *Mecca*. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, it is not certain, whether the tribe of *Khozaah* were the deſcendants of *Iſhmael* or *Joktan*. We find *Amru*, one of their kings, a deſcendant of *Cahlan*, frequently mentioned by the *Arab* hiſtorians; but as nothing remarkable is related either of him, or his ſon *Caah*, we ſhall take no further notice of them. After the *Koreiſh* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Mec-*

(CC) *Koſa* was the ſon of *Kelâb*, who firſt gave the months of the year thoſe names by which the *Arabs* ever ſince have called them, even to this day. The antient names were *Mutemer*, *Nagir*, *Chavan*, *Savan*, *Ritma*, *Idz*, *Aſam*, *Adil*, *Natil*, *Vail*, *Varna*, and *Burec*. The preſent names *Kelâb* derived from ſome contingencies that happened in the months to which they are applied; which names, receiving a ſanction from *Mohammed*'s authority, who made them one of the diſtinguiſhing marks of his followers, have been continued ever ſince they were firſt impoſed. It will not be improper to obſerve here, that the *Arabs* had antiently four ſacred *months*, in which they could not carry on any war, eſpecially amongſt themſelves. Something of this kind was obſerved amongſt the *Greeks*; ſince, according to *Pauſanias*, they had always a reſpite from war, during the time of the celebration of the *Olympic* games. Some authors intimate, that the antient *Arabs* abſtained from war only in that month which is at preſent called *Muharrem* or *Moharrem* (3).

(3) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum*, p 3, 4, 5. *Cazvinius in lib. de admirandis creatar rer Alkodaius apud Pocockium, ubi ſup p.* 272, 273, 274. *Jaubar in theſaur. ling. Arab Pauſan p.* 293. *Vid. etiam Meſudem & Nowaïrium, apud Gol. ubi ſup.*

ca, they kept up there the ſame form of government that before had prevailed [n].

Besides the kingdoms that have been already taken notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of leſſer note. The tribe of *Kenda* in particular had ſeveral kings, of which the three following were the principal [o].

Hojr. 1. *Hojr*, ſurnamed *Acelo'l Morar*, i. e. *the eater of* Morar, a fruit of a bitter taſte, on which camels feed. That ſurname was given him by his wife, who had an averſion to him, becauſe his lips were ſo contracted, that they did not cover his teeth; which made him reſemble a camel, when brouzing upon the aforeſaid ſhrub. *Kenda*, from whom the tribe deduced its name, was alſo called *Thaur*. *Abulfeda* aſſerts, that before the time of *Hojr* the people of *Kenda* were without any kind of government; from whence many inconveniencies enſued; which induced them to chuſe him for their king [p].

Amru. 2. *Amru*, the ſon of *Hojr*, ſurnamed *Al Makſur*, i. e. *contracted* or *confined*, beecauſe he did not attempt to extend the dominions left him by his father [q].

AlHâreth. 3. *Al Hâreth*, the ſon of *Amru*, was by *Khoſrû Kobâd* elevated to the throne of *Hira*, and depoſed by *Anuſhirwân*, for the reaſons already mentioned. He endeavoured to avoid his enemies by flying to *Dijar Calb*, where he died, but in what manner we are not told. *Al Hareth* placed his ſon *Hojr* over the *Bani Aſad*, and his other ſons over other tribes. *Hojr* was the father of *Amrio'l Kais*, a celebrated poet. The *Bani Aſad* endeavouring to take off *Hojr* by treachery, he treated them with great rigour and ſeverity; which occaſioned his meeting with a violent death. *Amrio'l Kais*, being appriſed of this, aſſembled a body of forces out of the tribes of *Becr* and *Taglab*, with which he defeated the *Bani Aſad*. But afterwards, his troops being diſperſed through the fear of *Al Mondar*, he found himſelf obliged to fly to the *Romans*, in order to implore their protection, and died in his return home near *Ancyra*. Some authors ſay, that *Cæſar* gave him a poiſoned garment, which was the cauſe of his death; but *Abulfeda* looks upon this as a downright fable, meriting no regard.

[n] Pocockius. ubi ſup. p. 42, 50, 342. Eccheilensis. hiſt. Arab. p. i. c. 3. Fortal. Fidei, l. iv. conſid. 1. Abulfeda. Vide etiam Prid. life of Mahom. p. 2, 3, 4. [o] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 79, 80. [p] Abulfeda. Al-Jaunarius. Al-Firauzabadius. [q] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 79.

To

To the kings of *Kenda* here mentioned we find one *Ebn Ommil' Kotam* added by *Al-Firauzabadius* [r].

THE following princes, or chiefs of tribes, deserve likewise a place in the history of the ancient *Arabs*:

1. *Zohair Ebnol Habab*, who presided over the tribe of *Kelab*, and, by reason of his wonderful sagacity, was surnamed *the wise*. He attained to a very old age, and died at last covered with glory. He invaded the *Bani Gatfan* with a powerful army, because they pretended to build a temple in opposition to the *Caaba*, and entered into an alliance with *Abrahah al Ashram*, styled *master of the elephant*. Notwithstanding what has been said of him here, some authors intimate, that he came to his end by excessive drinking [s]. Zohair.

2. *Colaib Ebn Rabiah* governed the *Bani Maad*, the *Saraceni Maudeni* of *Procopius*, and was so proud, that he would not suffer any one to hunt in his neighbourhood, nor any camels to be watered with his, nor any fire to be lighted near that which he himself used. He was at last slain by one *Jassas*, for shooting a camel named *Sarab*, that he found grazing on a prohibited spot of ground. This camel belonged to an *Arab*, who had been entertained by *Basus*, a near relation of *Jussas*. The murder of *Ebn Rabiah* occasioned a forty years war: whence came the *Arab* proverbs: *A worse omen than* Sarab; *More ominous than* Basus. It may not be improper here to observe, that the kings and chiefs of the *Arabs* generally forbad others to bring their flocks upon those places and pastures, which they chose for themselves. In order to ascertain the limits of these pastures, when they came to a fruitful valley or plain, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground over which he could be heard, they appropriated to themselves [t] (D). Colaib.

[r] ABULFEDA in vit. Anushirwân, & alib. AL FIRAUZABADIUS apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 80. ut & ipse POCOCK. ibid. [s] POC. ubi sup. p. 81. [t] PROCOP. de bell. Pers. c. 19, 20: AL-JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD EBNO'L ATHIR. POCOCKIUS in not. ad carmen. Tograi, p. 80. & ubi sup. p. 82.

(D) Though the flocks and herds of inferior people were absolutely prohibited coming into that spot of ground, which was looked upon as the property of the prince, yet his flocks and herds might go into any of their pastures. *Mohammed* abolished this custom, and did not permit a spot of ground to be confined to the use of any particular animals, except horses that had served in wars carried on for the propagation of his religion, or camels consecrated to, and set apart for, sacred uses (4).

(4) *Poc. not. in carm. Tograi, p. 81 & not ad spec hist. Arab. p. 333.*

3. *Mo-*

Mohalhel. 3. *Mohalhel Ebn Rabiah*, brother to *Colaib*, formed an army out of the families of *Taglab*, with which he carried on a long and bloody war, as hinted above, with those of *Becr*, in order to revenge his brother's death [u].

Zohair. 4. *Zohair Ebn Jodaimah*, who received a certain toll or tribute from the *Arabs*, that frequented the celebrated fair of *Ocadh* above-mentioned, was assassinated by one *Khaled*, who afterwards fled to *Al-Nooman* king of *Hira*. That prince took him under his protection; however, he was privately murdered by one *Al Hareth*, who had pursued him, which occasioned long and bloody broils [w].

Kais. 5. *Kais*, the son of *Zohair Ebn Jodaimah*, had two famous horses, called *Dahes* and *Gabrah*, which ran with two others, upon a challenge, belonging to one *Hadifa*, for a prize of a hundred camels. This event gave rise to that bloody war called by the *Arab* historians the war of *Dahes* and *Gabrah*, which continued, without intermission, forty years. King *Kais*, in order to atone for so great an effusion of blood, is said to have embraced the christian religion, and even entered upon the monastic state [x].

THUS have we gone through the history of the antient *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, as far as it can be collected from the most noted of the *Arab* historians. But, in order to render that branch of this work we are now upon the more complete, we shall give a brief account of the principal transactions the antient *Arabs* were concerned in with the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, extracted from the most approved writers of the two last nations.

The Arabs never, at least for any long time, subject to the Egyptians

ACCORDING to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Sesostris*, that is, as *Josephus* and Sir *Isaac Newton* will have it, *Sesac*, in his father's life-time, subdued *Arabia*. However, that the *Arabs* were never thoroughly subjugated, nor even long paid any sort of homage to the kings of *Egypt*, appears from hence, that, according to the same author, *Sesac* himself was obliged to draw a line from *Heliopolis* to *Pelusium*, in order to secure *Egypt* from the excursions of the *Arabs* and *Syrians*. The *Scenite Arabs* contiguous to *Palestine* and *Syria*, therefore, at least, must have been independent on that prince. Nor indeed can it be inferred from *Diodorus*, that he ever traversed *Arabia Felix*, though he had a fleet of four hundred sail upon the *Red Sea*, but only coasted it, or at farthest seized upon some of its maritime provinces in his voyage to *India*. As the word *Arabia* sometimes denotes only *Arabia Deserta*, at

[u] Poc. ubi sup. p. 82. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. p. 83.

other

other times *Arabia Petræa*, and ſometimes *Arabia Felix*, or a part of that country, in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, it can by no means be inferred from any of them, that the whole peninſula of the *Arabs* ever was, at leaſt for any conſiderable time, in a ſtate of ſervitude to the *Egyptians*. But the contrary ſeems to appear, even from *Diodorus Siculus* himſelf, who gives us the moſt pompous account of the couqueſts of *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac* [y].

Neither the Medes, Perſians, *nor* Aſſyrians, *could ever get any conſiderable footing amongſt them.*

WE learn from the ſame author, that neither the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, nor *Perſians*, could ever get any conſiderable footing amongſt them. The *Perſian* monarchs, indeed, were their friends, and ſo far reſpected by them, as to have an annual preſent of frankincenſe: yet they could never make them tributary; and were ſo far from being their maſters, that *Cambyſes*, on his expedition againſt *Egypt*, was obliged to aſk their leave to paſs through their territories. This we learn from *Herodotus*; nor does any other antient author, that we know of, contradict him herein [z].

They were not afraid of Alexander.

WHEN *Alexander the Great* had ſubdued the *Perſian* empire, notwithſtanding his exorbitant power, the *Arabians* had ſo little apprehenſion of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, ſent no embaſſadors to him, either firſt or laſt; which, with a deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich a country as that they inhabited, made him form a deſign againſt them; and, had he not died before he could put it in execution, this people might poſſibly have convinced him, that he was not invincible. The happineſs of its climate, and its great fertility, as well as riches, induced him to attempt the conqueſt of *Arabia*, in order to fix there his royal ſeat, after his return from his *Indian* expedition. But, according to *Strabo*, he had another motive likewiſe to this hazardous undertaking: for, being informed, that the *Arabs* had only two divinities, *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, whom they worſhipped, becauſe they ſupplied them with all the good things they enjoyed, he was likewiſe deſirous, that they ſhould eſteem him as their third deity; and, in order to deſerve this, he propoſed firſt to conquer them, and then to leave them in the full poſſeſſion of their antient liberty and independency; which he believed would merit divine honours, as much as the greateſt benefaction. Full, therefore, of this ſcheme, he fitted out a powerful fleet, compoſed of ſhips built in *Phœnice*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*, to favour the operations of the land-forces.

[y] DIOD. SIC. l. i. JOSEPH. in antiquit. NEWT. in chronol. aliiq. ſcript plurim. paſſ. [z] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. p. 131. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 91, 97.

But

But death put an end to this, as well as all the other towering projects of that ambitious prince [a].

The Arabs cut in pieces a body of troops sent against them by Antigonus

Antigonus, after the reduction of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, advanced into that part of *Arabia* bordering upon those countries, having entertained a notion, that the *Arabs* were not favourably disposed towards him. However, he did not formally invade them, but detached *Athenæus*, one of his captains, with a body of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to ravage and lay waste the territories of the *Nabathæans*. That general marched to *Petra* without opposition, which finding in no posture of defence, the *Nabathæans*, then under no apprehension of an enemy, being gone to a neighbouring fair, and, having left only their wives, children, sick, and aged, in *Petra*, with an inconsiderable garison, he seized upon it, put to the sword, or took prisoners, all the soldiers found therein, and carried off a booty of five hundred talents of silver, together with a vast quantity of frankincense and myrrh. However, this advantage was owing rather to expedition and surprise, than the valour of his troops, he having traversed two thousand two hundred stadia in thrice twenty-four hours, and they not being apprised of his design; so that no dispositions could possibly be made by them for giving him a proper reception. But the *Arabs*, receiving intelligence of what had happened, left the fair, and having assembled a considerable body of forces, pursued the *Greeks* with great celerity. They found them asleep about two hundred stadia from *Petra*, without any guards posted to apprise them of any impending danger, not imagining it possible for the *Arabs* to come up with them so soon. Wherever they fell upon them, and destroyed the whole detachment, except fifty horse, that made their escape to *Antigonus*, and brought him the melancholy advice of the blow he had received [b].

Demetrius undertakes a second expedition against them with success.

However, the *Nabathæans*, dreading the resentment of *Antigonus*, sent a letter to him written in the *Syriac* (E) character,

[a] Strab. l. xvi. Arrian. 161. [b] Diod. Sic. l. xxi

(E) It is evident from this curious passage, that the *Nabathæans*, or *Ishmaelites*, used letters above three hundred years before the commencement of the christian æra. These letters probably were the same with those we see on several of the antient *Syriac* coins, struck in the times of *Alexander*'s successors, which resemble the *Phœnician*, if they were not that character. They likewise bear some resemblance to the most antient *Syriac* character called the *Estrangelo*, which the learned believe to be three hundred years more antient than the birth of Christ. This passage, in conjunction

character, to complain of *Athenæus*, and to excuſe what had happened. That prince, finding it impoſſible to deal with men inhabiting a deſert by pure force, diſſembled his reſentment, and diſowned the orders he had given *Athenæus*, telling their embaſſadors, that he was well ſerved for his unjuſt invaſion of their country. This gave great ſatisfaction to the *Arabs*, though, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt any unforſeen event, they erected watch-towers to give notice of an approaching enemy, and took care always to have ready a body of troops to repel any ſudden incurſion. *Antigonus*, finding them upon their guard, for ſome time continued in a ſtate of friendſhip with them; but at laſt imagining, that a fair opportunity of revenging the late diſgrace offered, he ſent his ſon *Demetrius*, with a choice detachment of four thouſand foot and as many horſe, to chaſtiſe them for it. But the watch-towers above-mentioned giving them timely notice of the enemy's approach, they threw a ſufficient gariſon into *Petra*, and made all the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for their defence. However, *Demetrius* arrived before *Petra*, and immediately attacked it with great fury; but was repulſed and obliged to draw off. The next day when he began to renew the attack, an *Arab* from the walls ſpoke to him in the following terms: "King *Demetrius*, what would you have? What "has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the wilder-"neſs, where neither water, corn, wine, nor other things "you cannot ſubſiſt without, are to be found? We inhabit "theſe deſolate plains for the ſake of liberty, and ſubmit to "ſuch inconveniencies as no other people can bear, in order

tion with the above-mentioned coins, ſeems to confirm that notion. The probability of a great affinity betwixt the moſt antient *Syriac* and *Arabic* alphabets from hence likewiſe plainly appears; and that they both, as well as the *Phœnician*, were deduced from the antient *Hebrew* or *Aſſyrian* letters, we have elſewhere obſerved. The preſent *Arabic* letters derive their origin from the ſame ſource. The alphabet of the *Mendæans* or *Nabathæans*, at preſent in uſe amongſt the poſterity of the old *Aſſyrians* and *Chaldæans*, given us by Dr. *Hyde*, is only a corruption of the old *Syriac* letters. In ſhort, this paſſage, as we apprehend, may lead us, by a proper attention to it, to ſeveral curious diſcoveries, equally entertaining and uſeful (5).

(5) *Diod. Sic. in loc. cit. Bernard tab. alph Univ hiſt. vol. ii. p. 266. & vol. xvi. p. 492. Hyde hiſt relig. vet. Perſ. p. 521. Monarch. Aſiatico Saracen. a Georg Jacob. edit. Lipſiæ, 1724 p.* 3—6.

" to enjoy it. You can never force us to change our sen-
" timents, nor way of life, neither can you, for want of ne-
" cessaries, stay long here; therefore we desire you to retire
" out of our country, as we have never injured you, to ac-
" cept of some presents from us, and to prevail upon your
" father *Antigonus* to rank the *Nabathæan Arabs* amongst his
" friends." *Demetrius*, having received such presents as were agreed upon between him and their chief, and hostages for their future good behaviour, raised the siege, and marched with his army to the lake of *Asphaltitis*, where he encamped. *Plutarch* relates, that *Demetrius*'s surprising intrepidity in the most imminent dangers so astonished the *Arabs*, that they not only suffered him to retire quietly out of their territories, but also to carry off with him an immense booty, and, among other things, seven hundred camels c.

They did not suffer Antigonus *to collect bitumen on the lake* Asphaltitis.

Antigonus was greatly dissatisfied with the ill success of this expedition, imagining, that the *Arabs* would grow more insolent upon it. But he appeared highly pleased with his son *Demetrius*, for discovering the lake *Asphaltitis*, which, it seems till that time, had been unknown to the *Greeks*, especially as he imagined his revenue would be much increased by the bitumen brought from off that lake. He appointed, therefore, *Hieronymus Cardianus* the historian his treasurer for that part of the revenue, ordering him to build ships, and collect all the bitumen that could be got out of the lake. But the *Arabs*, being apprised of this, drew together a body of six thousand men, with which they attacked the people *Cardianus* employed, and cut them almost all off; which obliged *Antigonus* to lay aside the project he had formed. Mr. *Sale* says, he does not find any of *Alexander*'s successors, either in *Ysia* or *Egypt*, ever to have made any attempts upon the *Arabs*, which we own ourselves astonished at. As greatly are we surprised to find, that the passage he quotes on this occasion makes directly against him d.

Pompey *made an* Arab *tribe tributary to the* Romans.

As for the *Romans*, they never conquered any part of *Arabia* properly so called; though that the *Arabs* submitted to *Lucullus*, is asserted by *Plutarch*. The most they did was, to make some tribes tributary to them, as *Pompey* did one commanded by *Sampsiceramus* or *Shams' alkerâm*, who reigned at *Hems* or *Emesa*. His people were more civilized, and lived under a better form of government, than the other *Arabs*, as we learn from *Strabo* e.

c Idem ibid. Plutarch. in Demetr. d Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 13, 14. e Plut. in Lucul. Strab. l. xvi.

That

THAT the *Arabs* frequently made dreadful incurſions into *Syria*, whilſt under the *Romans*, we have already obſerved from *Strabo*; and are now farther to obſerve, that theſe incurſions ſometimes brought upon them the *Roman* arms. *Pompey*, as we learn from *Plutarch*, obliged one *Aretas*, an *Arab* prince, whoſe dominions bordered upon *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſubmit to him, and to receive a *Roman* gariſon: and the ſame general likewiſe ſubdued the *Arabs*, who dwelt about mount *Amanus*, by his lieutenant *Afranius*. After which the king of the *Arabs* reſiding in *Petra*, who till now had made no account of the *Romans*, ſubmitted himſelf by letter to him; but that *Pompey* ever poſſeſſed himſelf of that ſtrong-hold, does not appear. *Plutarch* rather ſeems to inſinuate, that he was recalled from thence, by the death of *Mithridates*, before he could make full proof of the ſincerity of that prince's ſubmiſſion. And this is the more probable, becauſe *Gabinius*, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the government of *Syria*, made preparations for an expedition againſt the *Arabians*, but was diverted from his deſign by *Ptolemy*'s ſolicitation to be reſtored to his kingdom [f].

Agbarus, or, according to others, *Ariamnes*, not far from the time we are now upon, an *Arab* emir or phylarch, miſled and deluded *Craſſus* to his own deſtruction. Not long after which event, the *Arabs* probably defended the *Palmyrenians*, when *Antony* ſent a detachment of horſe to ravage their city. For *Appian* tells us, that the body of troops defending them conſiſted of archers, *who excelled in that way*; which is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the *Arabs* [g].

BUT none of the *Romans* ever penetrated ſo far into *Arabia* as *Ælius Gallus*, or *Ælius Largus*, as he is called by *Dio*, in the reign of the emperor *Auguſtus*. That general, after traverſing vaſt deſerts, came within two days journey of the aromatiferous parts of *Arabia*. For the carrying on of this expedition, he built eighty biremes, beſides ſeveral triremes, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels, imagining, that a fleet of ſuch ſhips would be of ſignal ſervice to him. But, finding himſelf deceived in that expectation, he equipped another fleet conſiſting of a hundred and thirty tranſports, with which, after he had put on board all his forces, he ſailed for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæans* on the coaſt of the *Red Sea*. As this was an extremely dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves, which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulf, and *Syllæus*, who had undertaken to be his guide, treacherouſly conducted him the

[f] PLUT. in Pomp. & alib. [g] APPIAN. de bel. civil.

worſt way through it, he was fifteen days in his paſſage, and loſt many of his ſhips. Had he marched his army by land, as was at firſt intended, he might have avoided this diſaſter; but *Syllæus* prevented the execution of that ſalutary deſign, informing *Gallus*, that there was no ſafe paſſage by land for his troops through the country of the *Nabathæans*, though nothing was more common than for merchants to travel through it in caravans almoſt as numerous as an army. Soon after his arrival at *Leucocoine*, a ſtrange diſtemper, that chiefly affected the mouth and thighs of the patient, made great havock in his army, which obliged him to remain inactive in that neighbourhood the remaining part of the ſummer and the following winter. This diſtemper, according to *Dio*, firſt ſeized the head, where, if it ſettled, it proved mortal; but if the humour occaſioning it retired into the thighs, the patient recovered. Early in the ſpring *Gallus*, moving out of his winter-quarters, advanced to the frontiers of *Hira*, where he met with a moſt kind reception from *Al Hareth*, or, as *Strabo* names him, *Aretas*, a near relation of *Abd Wadd*, or *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæans*, his ally. After a ſhort ſtay here, he reſumed his march, and in thirty days having croſſed a vaſt deſert, he arrived upon the borders of *Arrarena*, a country inhabited by the *Scenite Arabs*, and governed by one *Sabus*. This region he likewiſe traverſed in fifty days, and took poſt with all his forces at the city of *Najrân*, ſeated in a pleaſant and fruitful country, whoſe king abandoned it upon his approach. *Gallus*, having taken this city by aſſault, continued his march ſouthward, and arrived the ſixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had aſſembled with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; but as they were only a raw and undiſciplined multitude, armed with lances, bows, and arrows, ſwords, ſlings, hatchets, &c. in an irregular manner, *Gallus* eaſily routed them, and cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, with the loſs of two men only. He then made himſelf maſter of ſeveral conſiderable places, without oppoſition, and penetrated as far as *Marſyabæ*, a city of the *Homanites*, governed by a petty prince named *Ilaſarus*, or *Al Hareth*, which he beſieged ineffectually, being obliged to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, finding his men carried off daily in great numbers, by various diſtempers, proceeding from the heat of the climate, the inſalubrity of the air, water, and herbs of the country, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence purſue his route into *Egypt*. Accordingly, he ſet out on his march homewards, and, by the aſſiſtance of more faithful guides, reached the city of *Ne-*

gra,

gra, one of *Obodas*'s maritime towns, by the road of *Anagrana*, *Chaala*, *Malotha*, &c. in ſixty days. Here he imbarqued his troops, and, croſſing the *Arabian* gulf, landed at *Myos Hormus*, on the *Egyptian* ſide; from whence he led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*. The bad ſucceſs *Gallus* met with on this occaſion ought to be attributed chiefly to the treachery of *Syllæus*, whoſe view, in the total deſtruction of the *Roman* army, ſeems to have been the acquiſition of ſome of the *Roman* conquests for his maſter *Obodas*, who likewiſe concurred with his chief miniſter, by not ſupporting *Gallus*, as he had promiſed. Be that as it will, the *Roman* general diſcovered the perfidy of *Syllæus* before his return out of *Arabia*; but, for ſome political reaſons, he thought proper then to diſſemble his reſentment. However, after his arrival in *Egypt*, he ſent the traitor to *Rome*, where, for this and other enormous crimes, he had his head ſtruck off by the emperor's order; that thereby others might be deterred from the like villainous conduct for the future. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Gallus* ſpent two years in this unfortunate expedition [f].

FROM this time to the reign of *Trajan*, we hear little of *Arabia*; but the eighth year of that reign was famous for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, according to *Dio*. *Euſebius* relates, that the inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* computed their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the *Roman* empire. Nay, *Arrian*, *Eutropius*, *Lucian*, and *Dio*, intimate that *Trajan* conquered *Arabia Felix*, which ſeems to be confirmed by ſome medals coined after the fourteenth year of his reign; and meditated the conqueſt of *India*. But all this was groſs flattery, meriting not the leaſt regard, as will appear from the reception the *Hagarenes* gave him when he marched againſt them about ſix years after the period abovementioned. This, which happened in the laſt year of *Trajan*, is a convincing proof, that he never was maſter of *Arabia Petræa*, much leſs *Arabia Felix*, notwithſtanding the mean adulation of his coins, orators, and hiſtorians [g].

The Roman hiſtorians falſly aſſert Trajan to have conquered Arabia.

[f] STRAB. ubi ſup. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. DIO, l. liii p. 516, & ſeq ad an. U. C. 730. Vide etiam Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiii. p. 291, & ſeq.

[g] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 777. EUSEB. in chron. p. 206. ARRIAN. in peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 46. FRANCISC. MEDIOBARB. BIRAG p. 116. OCCO. p. 215. FEST. in breviar. p 551. EUTROP. in Trajan. LUCIAN. philop. See alſo, Vol. xiv. p. 506.

Trajan

That emperor is forced to retire out of Arabia.

Trajan, receiving intelligence, that the *Hagarenes* had declared againſt him, marched from *Cteſiphon* into their territories with a powerful army, and laid ſiege to their capital city. As it was ſituated on the top of a high and ſteep mountain, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, ſeated in a barren country and defended by a numerous gariſon, *Trajan* could not reduce it, though he made a breach in the wall. The emperor narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy knowing him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed a horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning. The apparitions of rainbows likewiſe dazzled and frightened them in an extraordinary manner. And at the ſame time they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies; ſo that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire. As the metropolis of the *Hagarenes*, from ſome circumſtances hinted at by *Dio*, muſt have been the ſame with the modern *Errakim* or *Arrakeh*, we cannot help thinking, that the *Romans* were never abſolute maſters of even *Arabia Petræa*, whatever homage they might have received from the *Arabs* of that country. Neither are their coins, an evidence of good authority in ſome points, to be relied on in the preſent caſe; as will more fully appear from an obſervation already made towards the cloſe of the hiſtory of the *Ethiopians* [h].

As is Severus *after he had ineffectually laid ſiege to* Atræ.

About eighty years after, the emperor *Severus*, being greatly incenſed at the *Arabs* bordering on *Syria*, for aſſiſting *Niger*, laid ſiege to *Atræ* their capital, with a formidable army and a vaſt train of military engines invented by *Priſcus*, the moſt celebrated mechanic of his age. He puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigour, not being able to bear, that of all nations the *Hagarenes* only ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt the *Romans*. Being repulſed in the firſt attack with great ſlaughter, he ordered a ſecond to be made; when he might have carried the place, but choſe rather to ſound a retreat, hoping, by this means, to induce the *Arabs* to ſue for peace; which he was determined not to grant, except they would diſcover their hidden treaſures ſuppoſed to be conſe-

[h] Idat. & Cassiodor. in Faſt Dio, ubi ſup p. 785. & l. lxxv. p. 854. Herodian. l. iii. p. 528. Vid. & Vol xiv. p. 506. & before, p. 546.

crated

crated to the *Sun*. But for a whole day they made not the leaſt overture. In the mean time, the ardour of his troops cooled to ſuch a degree, that the *Europeans* refuſed to begin another aſſault, and the *Syrians* were repulſed in one that they made. This ſo chagrined the emperor, that, when one of his officers repreſented to him, that he would engage to ſtorm the place with five hundred and fifty *European* ſoldiers, he replied, *But where ſhall I find ſo many?* GOD, ſays the hiſtorian, *preſerved the town by the backwardneſs of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next.* He was, therefore, obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire, with great precipitation, into his own dominions [1].

Short account of the Arabs to the time of Mohammed.

FROM this time to the birth of *Mohammed*, we find not many particulars of moment related of the *Arabs* in general, or of the *Saracens*, the moſt noted people of them, in particular, by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians. The *Saracens*, however, we are told, ravaged *Meſopotamia* in the time of the emperor *Conſtantius*, and joined the *Perſians* againſt *Julian*. That prince, it ſeems, and ſome of his predeceſſors, had paid the *Saracens* a penſion, that they might have a body of troops always on foot for the ſervice of the *Romans*: but this he took into his head to diſcontinue; and when they ſent deputies to complain of this treatment, *Julian* told them, that a *warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold*; which they reſenting, went over to the *Perſian*, and ever after continued faithful to him. *Mavia*, queen of the *Saracens*, ſent a body of her troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Goths*, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, by their vigorous ſallies, forced theſe barbarians to retire from before *Conſtantinople*, which metropolis they had beſieged. About the year of the chriſtian æra 411, they committed great diſorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; but ſoon retired of their own accord. In the reign of *Theodoſius*, *Alamundarus*, or *Al Mondar*, with a numerous army, aſſiſted the *Perſians* againſt that prince; but the greateſt part of his men, being ſeized with an inaccountable panic, threw themſelves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where, to the number of an hundred thouſand, they are ſaid to have periſhed. *A. D.* 452, the *Saracens*, *Nubians*, and *Blemmyes*, broke into the *Roman* empire; but were overthrown by the troops of the emperor *Marcian*, and forced to ſue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly

[1] DIO, p. 948. HERODIAN. l. iii EUSEB chron. SPARTIAN. in Sever. GOLTZ. p. 84. See Vol. xv. p. 57.

advantageous

advantageous to the empire. In the beginning of the sixth century, a prince of the *Mondar* family, who was a renowned warrior, did incredible damage to the *Romans*, as we learn from *Procopius*. He so harrassed them for fifty years together, by ravaging all their territories from the borders of *Egypt* to the confines of *Mesopotamia*, killing vast numbers of their subjects, and exacting immense sums for the redemption of others taken prisoners, that, to use *Procopius*'s expression, he brought them quite down upon their knees. He flew from *Egypt* to *Mesopotamia* like lightning, being so quick in his incursions, that the *Roman* troops scarce ever began their march to put a stop to his depredations, before he had brought his plunder home. He generally defeated the *Romans*, when he found himself obliged to come to an engagement with them. In one action he made a whole *Roman* corps prisoners, with their general *Demostratus*, the brother of *Rufinus*, and *John* the son of *Lucas*, for whose ransom he had an immense sum of money paid him. Being at the head of all the *Saracens* bordering upon the *Persian* dominions, and capable of making an irruption into which of the neighbouring *Roman* provinces he pleased, he was one of the most formidable enemies the *Romans* had. None of their generals, nor any of the *Arab* phylarchs in their interest, could ever make head against him. *Justinian*, in order to annoy him, vested *Aretas*, another *Arab* prince, with the regal dignity, thinking this would enable him to push on the war with greater vigour against *Alamundarus*, for so *Procopius* calls him. However, *Al Mondar* was victorious in every engagement with *Aretas*, either vanquishing him by downright force, or prevailing upon him to betray the *Romans*. In fine, this prince, with *Azarethes* the *Persian* general, defeated the renowned *Belisarius*, and scattered terror where-ever he came. The dispute he had with *Aretas*, who pleaded the cause of the *Romans*, about a territory called *Strata*, our readers will find related in *Procopius*. But as the rapid conquests of the *Saracens*, and the principal transactions they were concerned in, happened after the death of *Mohammed*, we shall reserve what we have to say of that warlike nation, till we come to the modern history of *Arabia* [k].

[k] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. l. xxv. & l. xxix. Socrat. p. 357—360. Evagr. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. Procop. de bel. Pers. l. i. p. 49, 50, 51—54, 55, 88. Vid. etiam Vol. xv. p. 477, 588, & xvi. p. 68, 128.

That

THAT *Arabia*, after the introduction of chriſtianity, was famous for hereſies, has been already obſerved. The *Hamyarites* were infected with the *Arian* hereſy in the reign of the emperor *Conſtantius*, as we learn from *Theophilus Indus* in *Philoſtorgius*. Some chriſtians of this nation believed, that the ſoul died with the body, and was to be raiſed again with it at the laſt day. Theſe *Origen* is ſaid to have convinced. The hereſies of *Ebion*, *Beryllus*, the *Nazaræans*, and *Collyridians*, were alſo broached, or at leaſt propagated, among the *Arabs*. The *Collyridians* were ſo denominated from a ſort of twiſted cake called *collyris*, which they offered to the virgin *Mary*, whom they worſhipped as GOD. Other ſects likewiſe there were within the borders of *Arabia*, who took refuge there from the proſcriptions of the imperial edicts; ſeveral of whoſe notions *Mohammed* incorporated with his religion, as will hereafter be ſhewn [1].

Arabia famous for hereſies, after the introduction of chriſtianity.

THE *Jews*, though an inconſiderable and deſpiſed people in other parts of the world, were very powerful in *Arabia*, whither they fled from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as well as the great havock made amongſt them by the emperor *Hadrian*, and brought over ſeveral tribes to their religion. The *Jews* of *Hamyar*, we are told, not far from the time of *Dhu Nowâs* above-mentioned, challenged ſome neighbouring chriſtians to a public diſputation, which was held *ſub dio* three days, before the king, and his nobility, and all the people. The diſputants were *Gregentius*, biſhop of *Tephra* or *Dhafâr* for the chriſtians, and *Herbanus* for the *Jews*. On the third day *Herbanus*, to end the diſpute, demanded, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worſhippers, ſhould appear from heaven in their ſight, and they would then believe on him; the *Jews* crying out with one voice, *Shew us your* Chriſt, *alas, and we will become chriſtians*. Whereupon, after a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning, *Jeſus Chriſt* appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a ſword in his hand, and an ineſtimable diadem on his head; and ſpake theſe words over the heads of the aſſembly: *Behold, I appear to you in your ſight, I, who was crucified by your fathers*. After which the cloud received him from their ſight. The chriſtians hereupon cried out, *Lord, have mercy*

Many Jews converted by a miracle to chriſtianity.

[1] SULPIC. SEVER. in hiſt. ſacr. p 112. &c. SOZOM hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 16, 17. EUSEB. hiſt. l. vi c 33. & c. 37. EPIPHAN. de hæreſ. l. i. hær. 40. ut & l. iii. hæreſ. 75, 79. THEOPHILUS INDUS apud PHILOSTORGIUM, l. iii. SALE's prelim diſc. p. 34, 35.

upon us; but the *Jews* were ſtricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized [m].

Concluſion of the hiſtory of the antient Arabs.

Dhu Nowâs, as has been obſerved, was a *Jew*, and perſecuted all, the chriſtians particularly, who were not of his religion. He burnt three hundred and forty chriſtians in the city of *Najrân* only. Not content with this, he ſent an embaſſy to *Al Mondar*, king of *Hira*, offering him large ſums of money, if he would perſecute the chriſtians throughout his dominions. The patriarch of *Alexandria* preſſing *Eleſbaas* (E) the *Najaſhi*, or king of *Ethiopia*, to revenge ſuch inhuman cruelty, that prince croſſed the ſtraights of *Bab-al-Mandab* with a fleet of four hundred and twenty-three ſail, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he made a deſcent in *Yaman*. With theſe forces he overthrew *Dhu Nowâs*, ſeized upon his kingdom, and made St. *Aretas*'s ſon governor of *Najrân*. The *Abaſſines* kept poſſeſſion of this kingdom, till they were driven out by *Seif* the ſon of *Dhu Yazan* of the tribe of *Hamyar*, who was, however, himſelf ſlain by ſome of them that had been left behind. The war

[m] Gregentius in diſput. cum Herban. Judæ & Sale ubi ſup. p. 22, 23.

(E) According to ſome of the *Syriac* writers, *Eleſbaas* or *Eleſbaan*, whom they call *Aidog*, king of *Ethiopia*, undertook an expedition againſt one *Dimion*, king of the *Hamyarites*, for maſſacring ſome chriſtian merchants, that were *Romans*, in their paſſage thro' *Yaman* into *Ethiopia*; which he did, to revenge the cruelties exerciſed on the *Jews*, of whoſe communion, it ſeems, he was a member, in the dominions of the *Roman* emperor. They add, that *Eleſbaas* did not undertake this expedition out of a religious motive, but to revenge the injury his ſubjects might ſuſtain in point of trade on this occaſion. Before the *Arab* and *Ethiopian* armies engaged, *Eleſbaas*, according to the ſame authors, vowed ſolemnly to embrace the Chriſtian religion, in caſe he was victorious. The armies then joining battle, *Dimion* was vanquiſhed and ſlain, and *Eleſbaas* or *Aidog* profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, and placed a chriſtian prince upon the throne of *Hamyar*. Upon the death of this king, the *Jews*, who were ſtill very numerous there, found means to fix *Dhu Nowâs* upon that throne, who, at their inſtigation, proved a bitter enemy to the chriſtians. The particulars of his cruel behaviour towards them are ſet forth at large by *Metaphraſtes*, *Simeon Beth-Arſamenſis*, and other authors of good repute already mentioned (5).

(5) *Simeon Beth Arſamenſ epiſcop & Joan. Aſiæ epiſc. apud Aſſeman. in bibl. Oriental. vol. i. p.* 359—385. *ut & ipſe Aſſeman. ibid.*

Or

of *the elephant* we have already given our readers an account of; and therefore ſhall conclude our hiſtory of the antient *Arabs*, or *the time of ignorance*, as it is called by the *Mohammedans*, with obſerving, that *Abd al Motalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, was prince or chief of the *Koreiſh* at the time this war happened; that *Mohammed* himſelf was born the very year the *Abaſſines* were overthrown in their expedition to *Mecca*; that on this year, *A. D.* 578, commenced the æra of *the elephant*, from which the *Arabs* computed their time for twenty years; and that another, called the æra of *the unjuſt war* (F), ſucceeded this, which continued to the *Hejra*[n] (G).

[n] ABULFED. hiſt. gen. AL GJUZIUS in lib. deritib. peregrinat. cap. 78. AL ZAMAKSHAR. AL BEIDAWI, JALLA. D'HERBEL. bibl. Orient. art. Abrahah. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 61, &c. AL KODAIUS apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 172, 173. SIM. METAPHRASTES in vit. S. Aret. & Socior. apud Surium, tom. v. p. 943. AL JAUHAR. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL SHARESTAN. JOB. LUDOLPH. in comment. ad hiſt. Æthiop. p. 61, 62, 255, 256. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 54. aliiq; auctor. ſupra laudat.

(F) This was called *the unjuſt* and *impious war*, becauſe the principal actions of it happened betwixt the *Kais Ailan* and the *Koreiſh*, two powerful *Arabian* tribes, in the ſacred months above-mentioned. Theſe ſacred months were *Mobarram*, *Rajeb*, *Dulkaada*, and *Dulhaga*. In them all acts of hoſtility amongſt the jarring tribes, how violent ſoever their reſentment might be, intirely ceaſed. They then laid aſide all weapons of war, and converſed together in the moſt friendly manner. Nay, if an *Arab* met with the perſon that had killed his father or brother, he could not then offer any violence to him. The *Hejra* did not take place, till it was agreed upon in the khalifat of *Omar*, that the *Arabs* ſhould ſuppute their time from thence (6).

(G) Several remarkable events ſupplied the *Arabs* with epochs before the *Hejra*, viz. the invaſion and reduction of *Yuman* by the *Abaſſines*; the expulſion of the *Amalekites*, by the family of *Jorham*, from the territory of *Mecca*; the battle of *Ebn Wayel*; the wars called *Al Baſus* and *Dahes*; the inundation of *Al Arem*; the fire *Derar*, which appeared in a ſtony diſtrict of the kingdom of *Yaman*, &c. The people of *Yaman*, however, for the moſt part, ſupputed their time according to the reigns of their kings (7).

(6) *Golii not. ad Alfragan. p.* 54. *Al Jauhar. Al Firauzabad Al Shareſtan. Al Kodnius, & Pocock, ubi ſup. p* 173, 174. (7) *Al Kodaius apud Pocockium. ubi ſup. p* 172, 173, 174. *ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Vide & Ludolph ubi ſup.*

CHAP. [X].

The history of the empires of Nice *and* Trapezond, *from their foundation, the former by* Theodore Lascaris, *and the latter by the* Comneni, *to their final abolition, the one by* Michael Paleologus, *the other by* Mohammed the Great.

THESE are the two last empires we have left to mention on the other side of the *Mediterranean*, and before we repass into *Europe*. We have given them the last place, and have joined them in the same chapter, as they were of the modernest date, smallest extent, and shortest duration, of any of those we have had occasion to
A C. speak of, either in *Asia* or *Africa*, that are now extinct; and
1204. as they were both dismembered from the *Greek* empire about the same time, that is, soon after the taking of its great metropolis by the *Latins*, mentioned in a former volume [a]. That of *Nice* was founded by *Theodore Lascaris*, and that of *Trapezond* by *David* and *Alexius Comnenus*, whilst *Baldwin* reigned at *Constantinople*.

The empire and emperors of Nice.

1. THEODORUS *Lascaris*, son-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having happily escaped out of *Constantinople* and fled into *Bithynia*, was there received with such demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, that he soon made himself master of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, from the *Meander* to the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*. These he erected into an empire, and fixed his imperial residence in the famous city of *Nice*, from which this new empire took its name [b]. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by two powerful enemies, his father-in-law and *Jubatius* sultan of *Iconium*, his old friend and ally, whom he called to his assistance against the new emperor. They march-

Theodore Lascaris founds the empire of Nice.

[a] See vol. xvi. p. 362. [b] NICET. in Bald. c. 1, & seq.

ed

ed accordingly againſt him with an army of twenty thouſand men, and laid ſiege to the city of *Antioch*, on the *Meander*, the then boundary of this new empire on that ſide. *Laſcaris*, though he could then muſter but two thouſand men, was yet forced to march to the relief of that place, leſt its falling into their hands ſhould open them a way to the heart of his dominions. They were ſurpriſed to find him come ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch a handful of men, againſt them; but ſuch was his valour and that of his troops, eſpecially of eight hundred of his *Italians*, that he gave the enemy a ſignal overthrow. But his *Greeks* being ſomewhat intimidated at the ſight of the ſuperior enemy, the ſultan, thinking that a proper time to renew the onſet, fell ſuddenly upon them, and, having ſingled *Laſcaris* out, threw him off his horſe at the firſt blow. *Laſcaris* ſoon recovered himſelf, unhorſed his competitor, ſtruck off his head, and, fixing it on the point of a lance, threw the enemy into ſuch a panic, that they betook themſelves to flight. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried in triumph to *Nice*, where he ended his days in a monaſtrey, where *Laſcaris* had confined him. The *Turks* were ſoon after glad to accept of ſuch a peace as he was pleaſed to grant to them; and another being concluded between him and *Henry* the brother and ſucceſſor of *Baldwin*, he was then at full leiſure to ſecure his new-founded empire to himſelf and ſucceſſors, which he did with vaſt ſucceſs and bravery, both againſt the *Turks* and *Latins*, during the ſpace of eighteen years [c].

Defeats Angelus and the Turks.

AT his death he left only a ſon, then an infant, and three daughters, the eldeſt of whom, named *Irene*, he had married to the brave *John Ducas*, ſurnamed *Vatazes*, to whom he bequeathed his new monarchy; tho' he had two brothers, *viz.* *Alexius* and *Angelus*, whom it might be expected he would have entruſted with the care of his ſon and empire: but he ſeems to have been more intent in ſtrengthening and inlarging the latter, than to ſecure it to his neareſt kindred; and accordingly named his ſon in-law his ſucceſſor, as the moſt capable of anſwering his deſign; and ſuch he really proved.

His death and ſucceſſor.

2. *John Ducas* was accordingly crowned at *Nice* by *Manuel* the great patriarch, and proved no leſs brave and ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. We have formerly had occaſion to mention his great ſucceſs againſt the *Turks*, and eſpecially the *Latins*, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles, and from whom he took a conſiderable number of places, which we ſhall forbear repeating here [d]. He died after a glorious reign

John Ducas crowned emperor, A. C. 1222.

[c] Idem ibid. c. 11 ad fin. See vol. xvi. p. 303 paſſ. [d] Ibid. p. 630, & ſeq. Vid. & GEOR. ACROP. l. i. c. 2.

of

of thirty-three years, in the ſixty-ſecond of his age, after having extended his conqueſts, not only in *Aſia*, but in *Europe*, and even almoſt to the gates of *Conſtantinople*; and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Theodore Laſcaris *crowned.* A. C. 1225.

3. *Theodore Laſcaris*; who, during his ſhort reign, was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt the *Bulgarians* and the deſpot of *Epirus*, as we have formerly ſeen[*]. One great overſight this prince was guilty of was the recalling of the traitor *Michael Paleologus*, who was gone from him over to the *Turks*, and reſtoring him to his former dignity; for that gave him an opportunity of depriving his ſon of the empire, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. *Theodore* died in the third year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

John Laſcaris *crowned* A. C. 1258.

4. *John Laſcaris*, then about nine years of age; for which reaſon his father committed him and the care of the empire to *Arſenius*, the then patriarch of *Nice*, and to the famed *Muzalo*, a perſon indeed of mean extract, but of great merit and fidelity, and deſervedly raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the empire. For this, *Muzalo* incurred the envy of the nobles, who, notwithſtanding the ſolemn oath which he had obliged them to take to the young prince, ruſhed with their ſwords drawn upon that brave miniſter, on the very day and place where the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed monarch were performed; and, in the midſt of the divine ſervice, diſpatched him at the foot of the altar, to which he had fled for ſanctuary. It is not improbable, that the treacherous *Paleologus* had the greateſt hand in the contriving and conducting of this aſſaſſination, as it was the moſt likely means to open him the way to the ſeizing on the imperial dignity, which he never muſt have ſo much as aimed at, whilſt the young prince was under the care of ſo brave and worthy a guardian. However that be, *Muzalo* was no ſooner diſpatched out of his way, but the traitor cauſed himſelf to be choſen to ſucceed him in the guardianſhip of the young emperor, and to be declared protector of the empire, without the leaſt notice or regard to the patriarch, who, tho' no conſummate ſtateſman, was yet a perſon of ſingular learning and merit.

Muzalo *aſſaſſinated*

Paleologus *choſen protector.*

His new dignity was ſoon after ſignalized with a complete overthrow, which his brother *John* gave to the deſpot of *Epirus*, who had then invaded the provinces of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The news of this action no ſooner reached *Magneſia*, the place where the new protector then reſided, but he

[*] Idem ibid. c. 12, & ſeq. See vol. xvi. p. 366, & ſeq.

was

was saluted emperor by a number of his creatures, both of the nobility and populace. For this the worthy patriarch threatened to excommunicate him and all his adherents; and *Paleologus* found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than by binding himself under a solemn oath to resign the empire to the young prince, as soon as he came to be of age. This having for the present satisfied the too credulous prelate, he was easily persuaded to crown him emperor. As we are no further concerned with any particulars of that usurper's reign, than as they relate to the *Nicean* empire, to which he now put an end, we shall refer our readers to what has been said of them in a former volume [f]; and only add here, that having soon after, that is, in the second year of his reign, taken *Constantinople* from the *Latins*, he removed the seat of the empire from *Nice* to that antient metropolis, where he caused himself to be crowned afresh emperor of the east. The unfortunate young prince fell a sacrifice to that tyrant's ambition, who caused, not long after, his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed the sole lawful and rightful possessor of the empire. *Arsenius*, now convinced, though too late, of his fatal credulity, thundered out an excommunication against him and all his adherents; but neither this, nor the great opposition which he met with from abroad, could wrest the empire from him, tho' it proved a very troublesome and thorny one, as we have elsewhere shewn [g]. This was the end of the *Nicean* empire, about fifty-seven years after its foundation. As for *Nice*, the metropolis of it, though it was in a great measure divested of its grandeur by the removal of the court to *Constantinople*, yet it continued to be so considerable a city, that it passed once and again from the *Greeks* to the *Turks*, and back again, till it was at length taken by *Orchanes* in the manner as has been heretofore related [h].

His treachery and treason. A. C. 1259.

A. C. 1261.

The empire of Trapezond.

The foundation of the empire of Trapezond. A. C. 1204.

THIS monarchy, which was founded, as we lately hinted, much about the same time with that of *Nice*, lasted much longer, and made a much more considerable figure in the world. It took its name from the famed city of *Trapezond* or *Trapesus*, which was now made the imperial seat of the *Comneni*, and metropolis of this

[f] See vol. xvi. p. 371, & seq. [g] Ibid. p. 374, & seq ex. PACHYM. l. i. & ii. pass. [h] Ibid. p. 387, & seq.

their

their new empire (A). *David* and *Alexius Comneni* (B), grandsons to the tyrant *Andronicus*, who had been

(A) *Trapesus* or *Trapezund*, called also *Trebizond*, and by the *Turks Tarabozan*, was a *Greek* city in *Pontus*, founded by the ancient *Sinopians*, and tributary to them, as we learn from *Xenophon*, who marched by it in his famous retreat, spoken of in a former volume (1). It is situate on the foot of a hill, which makes a kind of peninsula, on the *Black* or *Euxine Sea*, where it begins to turn towards the east. Its port is large and convenient, and the city itself well peopled, and surrounded with steep mountains 2).

It was formerly of such consideration, that the emperors of *Constantinople* always kept a deputy there; and, since its being brought under the *Turks*, it is become the residence of a begler-beigh After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had taken it, the *Romans* restored it, as they did most of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, to its former privileges and liberty (3).

But what rendered it still more famous was, its being made and continued the imperial residence of the *Comneni* from the foundation of their empire we are now upon, to the taking of it by *Mohammed* II. of which we shall speak in due place. The reader may see an account of its present situation, commerce, *&c.* in the volume last quoted.

Aristotle tells us of a kind of honey that was gathered off the box-trees in the neighbourhood of *Trapezond*, which was an almost infallible cure for the epilepsy; but adds, that if any person in health did venture to eat of it, it bereaved them of their senses (4): he doth not tell us indeed whether it was this very *Trapezond*, we are speaking of, or some other; for there were more cities of that name, particularly one in *Arcadia*, said to have been founded by, and named from, *Trapesus* the son of *Lycaon*.

(B) The family of the *Comneni* was very ancient and considerable. The reader may see a long account of it in the author quoted in the margin (5); but it became much more so after its having been honoured with the imperial diadem in the person of *Isaac Comnenus*, who was raised to that dignity against *Michael Stratiotices*, by the officers of the army, as we have formerly seen (6). *Andronicus*, the grandfather of these *Comneni*, was of that family, and uncle to *Alexius Comnenus* then upon the throne, but no more than twelve years of age: against him he raised a revolt, in which he caused himself and young *Alexius* to be saluted as co partners, and took him as his collegue to the empire, but soon after caused him to be murdered; for which, and his other tyrannies and cruelties, he was put to a most shameful and dreadful death (7).

(1) *See before vol. v. p. 29, & seq.* (2) *See Stephan de urb. Baudran. & al. in voc.* (3) *See before, vol. ix. p. 290.* (4) *De mirab. orb Vid. & Steph. de urb. lib voc. Paujan in Arcadic.* (5) *Du Fresn. apud Bizant de familiis Connen p. 166, & seq Nemm 28.* (6) *See vol. xi. p. 317, & seq.* (7) *Ibid. 328, & seq.*

lately

lately put to ſuch a cruel, yet deſerved, death by *Iſaac Angelus*, as we have formerly ſeen [l], were the firſt founders of it. Theſe, having the good fortune to eſcape out of *Conſtantinople* together, came and ſeized on the more eaſtern parts of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and erected them into an empire; and *Trapezond* being then the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable city in their dominions, they made it the ſeat of their reſidence, and called their new empire by its name. It doth not indeed appear, that they immediately took upon them the imperial title; much leſs, that they were ſoon acknowledged as ſuch. On the contrary, *Vincent de Beauvais* ſtiles them only lords of *Trapezond* [k]; but it is plain, that they ſoon arrived at a conſiderable height of power and intereſt, ſince the emperor *Baldwin*, about thirty-four years after their ſettling at *Trapezond*, ſought their alliance and friendſhip, and was by them aſſiſted in ſome conſiderable enterprizes againſt *Vataces* emperor of *Nice*, who had invaded ſome of his dominions, as we hinted under the laſt article, and elſewhere [l]. A. C. 1239.

However, it is not improbable, that neither theſe of *Trapezond*, nor thoſe of *Nice*, took upon them the title of emperors till ſome time after the foundation of their monarchies; perhaps, as ſome conjecture [m], not till the uſurper *Michael Paleologus* had ſeized on that of *Nice*, and got himſelf crowned emperor at *Conſtantinople*; at which time the *Comneni*, either in contempt to him, or becauſe they could not brook an inferior title to his, did likewiſe aſſume the imperial dignity. However that be, it is certain, that, after they had once aſſumed it, their ſucceſſors maintained it with great ſucceſs and bravery; and cauſed themſelves to be acknowledged as ſuch by foreign powers, as long as their empire laſted, that is, till it was ſubdued and put an end to by *Mohammed the Great*, who, like an irreſiſtible inundation, drove all before him, as we ſhall ſee at the concluſion of this chapter.

Their religion, patriarchs, &c.

THE *Trapezuntines* were of the *Greek* church, and, after the foundation of this new empire, they had a patriarch of their own; but, whether choſen by the emperor, or the clergy, can only be darkly gueſſed at. After their becoming ſubject to the *Turks*, the latter ſtill choſe their patriarchs, who were afterwards confirmed by the ſultan. This was done every-where, it ſeems, throughout the *Turkiſh* conqueſts, in the ſame manner as it was practiſed under the chriſtian empe-

[l] Ibid. p. 353. [k] See vol. ix. p. 237. [l] See vol. xvi. p. 639. & ACROP. in Vatac. c. 12, & ſeq. [m] CRUSIUS. annotat. in lib. i. Turco Græc. p. 60, & ſeq. BAUDRAND ſub. voc. *Trapez.* DU FRESNE, hiſt. Byzant. p. 106, & ſeq.

rors, that is, without paying any fine to the treasury. The clergy of *Trapezond* were the first who caused this dignity to be saddled with one of a thousand ducats; which by degrees came afterwards to extend to those of their other conquests. The occasion of it, being somewhat remarkable, we shall give our readers in the margin (C). As for other particulars of their religion, laws, customs, *&c.* there is the less necessity to dwell longer on them, considering that these two empires were only dismembered from the grand one, and differed in nothing from it but in their change of government, or rather governors. As for their trade, considering the excellent situation of their metropolis, and of some other of their cities, of which we have formerly given an account in the *Pontic* histo-

Trade.

(C) The *Trapezuntines* were at the same time under a patriarch named *Mark*, who was so ill beloved by his clergy, and by the nobles and people, that they agreed upon depriving him of his dignity, and to nominate unto it one *Simeon*, a countryman of theirs, then a monk or canon at the great church of *Constantinople*, a person of merit on several accounts, but especially for his extraordinary hospitality. To compass their design, they fell upon the following doughty expedient; they accused *Mark* of having introduced a new kind of simony, till then unheard of among them, that is, to have agreed to pay one thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, as soon as he was confirmed in his dignity. The innocent patriarch in vain endeavoured to wipe off the foul accusation by the most solemn oaths; his enemies had bribed so many considerable persons, some of them ecclesiastics, to swear it against him, that he was adjudged guilty, and not only *ipso facto* deprived of his dignity, but also worthy of excommunication and banishment. This being done, they took one thousand ducats, and went with them to the sultan, and told him, that since *Mark*, a person odious to the clergy and laity, had promised him that sum upon his elevation to the patriarchate, they would now pay it to his highness, provided they might be permitted to raise their favourite monk to it.

The sultan, who knew nothing of such a promise, could not at first forbear smiling at the proposal, and hesitated some time whether he should accept of it; at length considering, that this would serve for a good precedent to oblige the future candidates to that dignity to the payment of the like sum, owned to them, that *Mark* had indeed promised it to him: But continued he, and taking the money at the same time since he is so obnoxious to you, e'en turn him out, and appoint whom you will in his place; which was done accordingly (8).

(8) *Du Fresne. hist. Byzant. stemm.* 28. *p.* 169.

ry,

ry [n], we need not doubt, but the emperors encouraged it all they could; and the medals produced by *Tournefort* [o], as well as the coins mentioned by *du Freſne* [p], leave us no room to doubt of the trade and opulence, both of their empire and its metropolis, tho', ſince their falling into the hands of the *Turks*, they have fared like all the reſt of their conqueſts, and greatly failed of their ancient commerce and ſplendor. It only remains, that we give an account of the *Trapezuntine* monarchs from *Alexius* their founder to *David* their laſt emperor, and of their different wars, by which they maintained themſelves in their high dignity againſt ſo many powerful enemies, ſuch as were, ſome time, the *Latins* and the *Greeks*, eſpecially thoſe of the new *Nicean* empire, and at other times the *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Perſians*, &c. Theſe would doubtleſs make a conſiderable figure in this hiſtory, had they been tranſmitted to us in an uninterrupted ſeries; but the misfortune is, that the *Byzantine* hiſtorians, from whom we have all our chief intelligence, have only mentioned them occaſionally, and as they were immediately linked with the affairs of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire; ſo that we muſt be content with the ſeries of thoſe eleven emperors, and with ſuch few particulars as we find recorded of them. We ſhall only add, that the duration of the *Trapezuntine* empire was about two hundred and fifty-ſeven, or two hundred fifty-eight years, being founded in the year of Chriſt 1204, and ſubdued *An.* 1461, or 1462.

Emperors of Trapezond.

1. ALEXIUS *Comnenus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, and his brother *David*, were the ſons of *Manuel*, and grandſons of the tyrant *Andronicus Comnenus*. We have already ſpoken of the uſurpation and tyranny, as well as the diſmal end, of the latter. As for *Manuel*, he was the eldeſt ſon of *Andronicus*, but was ſo unlike his father in his vices, that he was diſinherited and impriſoned by him (D), and his next brother Alexius the Great

[n] See vol. ix. p. 236 & ſeq.
[o] Voyages au Levant.
[p] Hiſt. Byzant. ſtemm. 28, p. 168.

(D) Among other things, by which *Manuel* diſobliged his father, one was, that he conſtantly refuſed to marry *Agnes* the daughter of *Philip* king of the *Franks*, and wife of *Alexius*, the depoſed emperor of *Conſtantinople*, though his father earneſtly preſſed him to it, and promiſed him, upon his complying, to make him partner in the

 empire.

brother *John* appointed his ſucceſſor; but, when he found the whole populace exaſperated at it, he then tried in vain to appeaſe them, by pretending, that he always deſigned the empire for *Manuel*, and promiſing to name him to it. Upon the death of *Andronicus*, and the reſtoration of *Iſaac Angelus*, or rather ſoon after the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, *Manuel*'s two ſons, *Alexius* and his brother *David*, fled into *Pontus*, ſeized on *Heraclea*, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of that whole province, together with *Paphlagonia*, *Colchis*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with ſome others, of leſs note; and *Alexius* fixed his imperial ſeat at *Trapezond*[q]. He ſoon after made an alliance with *Baldwin* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and aſſiſted him againſt *Theodore Laſcaris*, as we have already hinted. It doth not, however, appear, that he took the imperial title, moſt authors being of opinion, that it was either his grandſon or great-grandſon that firſt aſſumed it[r]; and that he only took that of duke or lord of *Trapezond*, as he is called by an antient author, who mentions him on account of his being uſed to furniſh the ſultan of *Iconium* with two hundred lances[s].

He was ſucceeded by

2. ——— *Comnenus*; and he by

3. ——— *Commenus* (E); of whoſe name and father we know nothing but what was hinted in the laſt note.

John, the firſt who aſſumed emperor.

4. *John Comnenus*; the firſt, as is generally ſuppoſed, that took upon him the title of emperor. We hinted a little higher, that he was married to the daughter of *Andronicus* the emperor. His refuſal, which, our author ſays (9), he excuſed on account of ſuch a marriage being contrary to the eccleſiaſtical laws, did ſo incenſe the tyrant, that at laſt he caſt him into a priſon, and appointed his next ſon to ſucceed him (10).

(E) We have nothing recorded concerning theſe two, not even their names; only we are told, that *John*, the next in order, was the grandſon, according to ſome, or the great-grandſon (11), according to others, of the great *Alexius*. Among theſe the famed *Ogerius*, protonotary of *Michael Paleologus*, who wrote about the year 1279, calls the then reigning emperor, that is, the *John* we are now ſpeaking of, the great-grandſon of *Alexius the Great*; ſo that, according (12) to his account, there muſt have been two princes between theſe two laſt-named (13).

[q] Nicetas in Baldwin Acrop. c. 7. Aithon. c. 13. [r] Vid. Cruſ. ubi ſup. Du Freſne ſub. Alex. Mag. [s] Vincent. Bellovac. ſub ann. 1240.

(9) *Cruſius Turco Graec. p. 124, & ſeq.* (10) *Nicet in Andronic. lib. ii. n. 8. & ſeq. in Alex. Mag. n. 4. & in Iſaac. l. i. n. 1.* (11) *Gregoras, lib. v.* (12) *Oger apud. Wadd. ubi ſup.* (13) *Vid. Du. Freſne. ſub. Alex. Comn. p. 192.*

the

the probable reaſon of his aſſuming it, *viz.* out of emulation againſt *Michael Paleologus*. To this we may add what a cotemporary author, who was protonotary to the ſaid *Paleologus*, ſays [t]; *viz.* that *John* rather ſuffered himſelf to be complimented with it by the *Greeks*, out of ſpite and contempt to that uſurper, who by his ſubmiſſion to the pope, and uniting the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rendered himſelf odious to them. Another, who lived near the ſame time [u], hints much the ſame thing, when he ſays, that the province of *Trapezond* was antiently under the government of dukes, who were ſent thither in that quality by the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperors; but that one of thoſe governors, having made him abſolute maſter there, took upon him the title of king; and that he, that then reigned there, had aſſumed that of emperor. We do not find, however, that *Michael* made any oppoſition to this new-aſſumed title. The odium and other misfortunes he then laboured under, of which we took notice under the laſt article, rather obliged him to confirm it to him; at leaſt he thought fit to court his friendſhip and alliance by offering him his daughter *Eudocia Paleologina* in marriage; which *John* readily accepted of, and went to *Conſtantinople* to eſpouſe her: and it is probable enough, that his new title was then acknowledged and confirmed to him by his father-in-law. All that we know further of him is, that he was earneſtly courted by pope *Nicholas* IV. to engage in the holy war about the year 1291, and that he died about four years after, and left two ſons behind, by his wife *Eudocia*, viz. *Alexius* II. who ſucceeded him, and *John* his younger brother, whom that princeſs took with her, being then very young, to *Conſtantinople*, ſoon after the emperor's death [w]. A.C. 1231 A.C. 1295

5. *Alexius* II. was born 1282 [x], and left, by his father's laſt will, under the guardianſhip of *Andronicus Paleologus* the elder [y]. He married the daughter of an *Iberian* prince, tho' he had the offer of a much richer wife, which *Andronicus Auguſtus* had deſigned for him. He defeated the *Genoeſe*, and ſoon after entered into an alliance with them [z]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Alexius II. A.C. 1303

6. *Baſilius* I. who was forced to fight his way through to gain his paternal inheritance [a]. He was highly courted by Baſilius I. A.C. 1320

[t] OGERIUS, ap. Wadd. Vid. DU FRESNE, ſub. Joh. Comn.
[u] AITHON. C. 13. [w] PACHYM. lib. vi. c. 32, & ſeq. GREGORAS, lib. v & vi. Bzov. ſub. an. 1181. n 12. WADD apud Du Freſne ſub Joh. Comn. p. 192. [x] PACHYM. l. ix c. 27. [y] GREGOR l. v. [z] Iidem ibid. Bzov. ubi. ſup.
[a] GREGOR. l. xi.

pope

pope *John* XXII. to go over to the church of *Rome* [b]. His wife, or, as some think, his second, was *Eudocia* the natural daughter of *Andronicus Paleologus* the younger [c]. He was succeeded by,

Basilius II. 7. *Basilius* II called also the younger [d], to distinguish him, as is supposed, from his father. He married *Irene Paleologina*, the daughter of *Andronicus* the younger; which shews, that he must be different from the former, who had married *Eudocia*, another of that monarch's daughters; for it was contrary to the canons of the *Greek* church to marry two sisters. *Irene*, however, was afterward set aside to make way for another woman of the same name, with whom the emperor was fallen deeply in love; which so exasperated his queen, that she soon after hatched both their ruins: him she caused to be killed by some private means, and her she sent with her children under a guard to *Constantinople*. She governed the empire for some time, during which she dispatched some embassadors to her father, to desire him to send some proper person, to whom she might be lawfully married, and have children by, to succeed to the empire. The matter was no sooner known at *Trapezond*, than an insurrection was made against her; which ended in a civil war, in which *Tzanychita*, a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, who was head of one of the factions, was killed [e]. What became of her, or how the matter was concluded, we are not told; only that *Basil* the emperor died in the year of Christ 1339 [f]. He left children both by his wife, and by his concubine; the latter of which were, as we hinted, sent with their mother to *Constantinople*. He was succeeded by a son of the former,

Cut off by his wife, 1339.

— Comnenus. Alexius III. 8. —— *Comnenus*, whose christian name has not been transmitted to us, and this last by his son *Alexius*.

9. *Alexius* III. (F) and the famed princess *Eudocia Comnena* seem, by all circumstances of time, place, &c. to have been

[b] Od. Reinald sub. an. 1329. n. 95. [c] Greg. ibid. Vid. Du Fresne in Basil I. [d] Gregor. ibid. [e] Excerpt. ex Greg. ap. Du Fresne in Basil. II. p. 193. [f] Gregor. ibid Vigner in bibl histor.

(F) Some have imagined this last to have been the son of *Basilius* II. and have struck out the anonymous one, who stands the eighth in the list; but it is scarce credible, that he could be the son of that *Basil*, who died *An* 1339, whereas *Alexius* was still alive *A C* 1428, when he gave *Mary* his daughter to *John* then emperor of *Constantinople* (14).

(14) *Du Fresne, ibid. p.* 193.

brother

brother and ſiſter, though their father's name is not recorded by any hiſtorian; neither is it eaſy to gueſs, at what time the former began to reign. As to his ſiſter, ſhe was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and after having been married ſome time to a *Turkiſh* nobleman of great diſtinction, and having ſeveral children by him, as ſoon as ſhe was a widow, ſhe was courted and betrothed to *Manuel* the ſon of *John*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who brought her accordingly thither to conſummate his marriage; but here that old monarch, though decrepit with age, gout, and other infirmities, fell ſo enamoured with her, that he married her himſelf about the year 1380 [g], that is, towards the latter-end of his life and reign, at which time this *Alexius* was upon the throne of *Trapezond*. This laſt married, if we may believe *Laonicus* [h], ſome great lady of the *Cantacuzenian* family, who being already in love with a *Trapezuntine* nobleman, ſaid to have been the keeper of the imperial wardrobe, ſhe was reported to carry on a ſhameful intrigue with him. His eldeſt ſon was no ſooner appriſed of it, than he took an opportunity to diſpatch her paramour, and then ſhut her up with the emperor in a room, with a deſign to have ſent them both out of the world by the ſame way: he was, however, prevented by the people from committing that double parricide, and forced to flee into *Spain*. *Alexius* was ſo exaſperated at his ſon, that he diſinherited him, and named *Alexander* his younger ſon to ſucceed him; but *John* found means, by the help of ſome *Spaniards* and *Genoeſe*, to return to *Trapezond*; where he cauſed his father to be privately murdered, and afterwards to be magnificently interred in the cathedral of that metropolis, to avoid being ſuſpected to have had a hand in his death [i]. *Murdered by his ſon.*

10. *John* II. called alſo *Calo-Johannes*, having thus diſpatched his father, mounted the throne, but found it very difficult to keep himſelf upon it; for the *Turks*, by this time grown very powerful, fell foul upon him on all ſides, ſo that he was forced to pay an annual tribute of three thouſand ducats to *Amurat*, and afterwards to his ſon *Mohammed* II. to enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of it [k]. At his death he left only one ſon, named *Alexius*, then but four years of age, who was afterwards carried captive with the reſt of the family at the taking of *Trapezond* by *Mohammed* above- John II. 1449.

[g] LAONIC. l. ii. PHRANZ l. iii, c. 24. [h] Lib. ix. [i] Id. ibid. Vid. & PHRANZ. l. ii. c 1. DUCAS, c. 22. & 45. DU FRESNE ſub. Alex. p. 194. [k] PHRANZ. l. ii. c. 1, & ſeq. LAONIC. l ix.

mentioned,

mentioned, and a daughter named *Catharina Comnena*, who was by her uncle *David* given to *Aſan Beigh*, vulgarly called *Uſum Cazanes*, in order to prevail upon that monarch to aſſiſt him againſt the continual irruptions which the *Turks* made againſt him *. This was, however, done with this condition, that ſhe ſhould not be obliged to change her religion. *John* had theſe two by the daughter of one of the kings of *Spain*, whom ſhe married during his abode there [l]. Some will have her to have been *David*'s own daughter [m], the laſt emperor of *Trapezond*, but without any foundation; for *Laonicus* expreſly calls her the daughter of *John*; and *David* himſelf, in his letter to *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, ſays plainly enough, that ſhe was the daughter of *Calo-Johannes* [n].

David, *the laſt emperor*.

11. *David Comnenus*, the third brother of *John*, and laſt emperor of *Trapezond*, ſeized on the crown, in wrong of his nephew, the young ſon of *Alexius*. He was a man of a ſavage and cowardly diſpoſition [o]. He had married the princeſs *Irene*, of the *Cantacuzen* family, a lady highly celebrated for her greatneſs of ſoul and conſtancy under adverſities [p]. Againſt *David*, *Mohammed* II. ſurnamed *the Great*, who by that time had made himſelf maſter of *Græcia*, *Raſcia*, and *Servia*, and of the city of *Conſtantinople*, declared war, under pretence, that he had aſſiſted *Uſum Cazanes*, king of *Perſia*, and was become tributary to him. *David* had neither courage nor ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe him; ſo that he marched directly againſt his capital, and laid cloſe ſiege to it by ſea and land. The ſiege had laſted a little above a month,

Trapezond *taken by* Mohammed.

when *David*, having in vain implored the aſſiſtance of chriſtian princes, particularly of *Charles* VII. king of *France*, agreed to deliver up this metropolis, and with it the whole empire, on condition, that his and his family's lives ſhould be ſpared, and he permitted to carry with him all his children and treaſures into *Europe*; and that, when there, he ſhould have a ſufficient revenue aſſigned to maintain him and them. *Mohammed* at firſt refuſed theſe offers with great indignation, not doubting to be ſoon maſter of that metropolis; but a ſecond parely being deſired, he in appearance accepted of them; but having once got the unfortunate emperor in his power, he treacherouſly cauſed him to be loaded with chains, and to be kept

* Leunc. in pand. Turc. n. 188. & Vigner. bibl. hiſtor. in an. 1456. Vid. & Cruis. not. in Turcogræc. p. 61. [l] Id. ibid. [m] Spandugin pius in Aſia, c. 53. & al. [n] Laonic. ubi ſup. Æneæ Sylv. epiſt. 391. [o] Doroth. Monemb. ap Leon. Allat. de conſenſ. utr. eccleſ. [p] Phranz. l. iii Spandug. Laonic.

cloſe

close prisoner. Being now master of the city, he seized on the emperor's wife (G), daughters, and upon the rest of his family, with as many of the nobility as he found in that metropolis, and caused them to be sent in triumph to *Constantinople*. Of the rest of the *Trapezuntines* he chose as many as he thought fit for his service, and ordered eight hundred promising youths to be brought up janisaries. The handsome females he distributed among his captains and favourites, and some of the finest amongst his own sons. He left in the city none but the meanest of the people, put a strong garison of janisaries into the castle, another of common soldiers in the town, and made his admiral governor of both. The other cities of the empire submitted to the conqueror in a little while after; so that the whole was reduced to his obedience in few months, and he returned triumphant into *Constantinople* [q].

The royal family butchered by him. A. C. 1462.

SOON after his arrival thither, he sent the emperor *David* and his children prisoners to *Adrianople*; and not long after, upon some motions made, or pretended to have been made, in their favour by the wife of *Usum Cazanes*, he caused them to be put to death. He strove to root out, as much as lay in his power, the whole *Comnenian* family; and none of them were spared, but *George* the youngest son of *David*, who turned *Mohammedan*, and one of his sisters, who became afterwards *Mohammed*'s concubine [r]. Thus ended the *Trapezuntine* empire, in the year of Christ 1462, and in the 257th or 258th of its foundation [s].

[q] Iid. ibid. DOROTH. MONEMB. & al. Vid. & CRUIS. DU FRESNE, & auct. ab eis citat. [r] LAONIC. l. ix. & x. Hist. politic. p. 21. RICAUT. Ottoman empire, &c. [s] Iid ibid.

(G) So some authors affirm, and add, that she saw, with the utmost constancy, her husband, and seven of her sons, cruelly butchered by the tyrant, because they would not turn *Mohammedans*; and that she herself died soon after (15): but *Laonicus* affirms, that she found means, before the *Turkish* fleet appeared on their coasts, to make her escape to *Mamia* (16); but what the author means by that word, whether some place of safety, or some relation or friend, is not possible to guess. Another author affirms *David* to have been killed by a blow, which *Mohammed* gave him with his doubled fist (17).

(14) *Doroth. Monemb. Spandugin. Phranz & al.* (16) *Lib.* ix. (17) *Phranz. lib.* iii *c.* 2.

CHAP XI.

The antient ſtate and hiſtory of Spain, *to the expulſion of the* Carthaginians *by the* Romans; *and briefly continued to the deſcent of the* Northern *nations.*

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Spain.

Limits and extent of Spain.

AS the only land contiguous to *Spain* was *Gaul*, from whence it was ſeparated on the N. by the *Pyrenees*, we may conſider it as a peninſula. On the other ſides we find it ſurrounded by the *Mediterranean*, the *Sinus Gaditanus* or bay of *Cadiz*, the *Fretum Herculeum* or ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, the weſtern ocean, and ſea of *Cantabria*. It muſt have extended, from E. to W. near thirteen degrees, ſince *Liſbon* is 9°. 30′ W. of *London*, and cape *de Bauger* in *Catalonia* 3°. 15′. E. of that city; and from N. to S. about 9°. 40′. ſince cape *de Ortegal*, the northern extremity of modern *Spain*, is in 44°. 10′. N. lat. and the ſouthermoſt point of *Tariffa* in 35°. 50′. N. lat. According to this determination, antient *Spain*, including *Luſitania* or *Portugal*, was about five hundred and ninety-four miles long, and five hundred and eighty broad. As the natural limits of antient and modern *Spain* are the ſame, they may be looked upon intirely as the ſame region. Some modern geographers have aſſigned this kingdom too large an extent, as our readers will find by conſulting them [a].

Names of Spain.

THE generality of the *Greek* writers call *Spain* Ἰβηρία *Iberia*, either from a colony of *Iberians*, a people bordering upon mount *Caucaſus*, planted there, or from the *Iberus*, the *Ebro* of the moderns, one of the moſt noted rivers of this country. However, the antients, who lived before *Polybius*, by *Iberia* underſtood only that part of *Spain* extending from the *Pyrenees* to *Calpe*, or the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, and ter-

[a] STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. nat hiſt. l. iii. c. 1. PTOL. geogr. i. ii c. 4. Vid. & CHRISTOPHOR CELLAR. in geogr. ant. l ii. c. 1. ſub init. JOAN. LUYTS philoſ. profeſſ. introd. ad geograph. nov. & vet. c. 6. p. 50, 51. Traject. ad Rhen. 1692. MORDEN, MOLL, CLUVER. &c.

minated

CANTABRIAN
Artabrum p
Finister
Tranſmontani
Cantabri
Concani
Vellica
Juliobriga
Lucus Augusti
Lucus Asturum
Legio
Flavia Lambris
Lancia
Aqua Gibina
Bergium
Gravii
Interamnium Flavium
Aquæ Flaviæ
Brigæcium
Intercatia
Pintia
Palantia
Berones
Vaccæi
Numantia
Vxama
Clunia
Duriis R.
Mirobriga
Iturbida
Cauca
Aqueductus
Arevaci
Billbilis R.
Billbilis
Arcobriga
Segontia
Segovia
Controbia
Lusones
Mantua
Carpetani
Complutum
Titulcia
Alcharia
Olcades
Consaburum
Segobriga
Hedeta
Hedetani
Sedetani
Ilergetes
Iberus R.
Dertosa
Celsa
Herda
Carthago Vetus
Lacetani
Cempſi
Bargusii
Bortina
Calagurris Nasica
Calagurris Julia
Cæsaraugusta
Suessitani
Suessetani
Pompelon
Lacca
Vascones
Autrigones
Varduli
Caristii
Pyrenean Mountains
Illiberis Pompeii
Tropæa
Rhoda
Venoris Fumum
Emporiæ
Gerunda
Ausetani
Laletani
Blanda
Barcino
Pulmicatus R.
Iluro
Baleares Islands
Majorca I.
Minorca I.
Pityuſæ I.
Ophiuſa I.
Palma
Pollentia
Valentia
Sucro R.
Saguntum
Edetani
Oretani
Castulo
Mentesa
Tugia
Bæcula
Corduba
Calpurnani
Bæturia
Turdetani
Turdulorum
Turdulorum Campus
Mariana Mts
Julia Regiana
Julia Traducta
Tingis
Lixus R.
Mauritania
Baſtuli
Baſtitani
Hispalis
Obucula
Onoba Aſtuaria
Sexi
Malaca
Abdera
Portus magnus
Barbaria
Virgitanus
Sparta
Carthago Nova
Ilicitanus
Illici
Lucentum
Alonis
Tader R.
Ebora
Arucci
Arunda
Munda R.
Augustobriga
Lancia Oppidana
Lamego
Conimbrica
Caparra
Lusitani
Sellium
Concordia
Arabrica
Emerita Augusta
Pax Augusta
Badia
Metellinum
Myrobriga
Augusta
Vetus
Julia
Regiana
Mts
Marianus
Serpa
Araci
Ilurdetani
Julia Myrtilis
Ostium Oliſipponense
Pons Trajani
Tagus R.
Turmuli
Asturica Augusta
Brigæcum
Intercatia
Pintia
Vallatum
Interamnium Flavium
Aquæ Flaviæ
Lucus Augusti
Asturica
Legio
Lancia
Flaviobriga
Menosca
Oiasso
Concana
Flaviomirtia
Libirnia
Juliobriga
Autrigones
Varduli
Vascones
Ilurcis R.
Ilurcis
Calagurris Nascica
Suessitani
Pompelon
Lacca
Illiberis Pompeii
Tropæa
Rhoda
Venoris Fumum
Emporiæ
Gerunda
Ausetani
Laletani
Blanda
Barcino
Pulmicatus R.
Iluro
Iberus R.
Dertosa
Celsa
Herda
Carthago Vetus
Ilergetes
Lacetani
Cempſi
Bargusii
Bortina
Calagurris
Cæsaraugusta
Hedetani
Sedetani
Ilergetes
Billbilis R.
Billbilis
Arcobriga
Segontia
Segovia
Controbia
Lusones
Mantua
Carpetani
Complutum
Titulcia
Alcharia
Olcades
Consaburum
Segobriga
Hedeta

minated by the *Mediterranean*; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst, the *Greeks* and *Romans*. As the *Iberus* was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of *Iberia* from thence, as *Egypt*, according to some, did its name from the *Nile*, which *Homer* intimates to have been called *Ægyptus*. But, notwithstanding what is here advanced, we apprehend, that the true and proper *Iberia* was originally only that part of *Spain*, called *Celtiberia*, from a body of *Celts* settling in it, bounded by the *Iberus*, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Mediterranean*; which if we admit, it is no wonder that the *Phœnicians* gave it the name of *Iberia*. For the *Hebrew* עבר *Eber*, as well as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, or *Phœnician* עברא *Ebra* or *Ibra*, in the singular number, signifies a *passage*, and in the plural *bounds* or *limits*. The *Phœnicians*, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, *Eber*, *Iber*, *Ebra*, &c. and from thence styled the inhabitants of it *Iberians*; or have denominated the tract itself *Iberia*, from its situation, it having been generally considered by them as one of the remotest regions, or western *limit*, of the earth. Be that as it will, we can by no means think it probable, that any part of *Spain* was called *Iberia*, from a colony of *Iberians* settled there, since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. *Festus Avienus* places the *Iberi* upon the coast of the *Atlantic* ocean, to the west of the *Iberus*, a little river between the *Bætis* and the *Anas*, the *Rio Tinto*, or *Rio de Azeche* of the moderns. But his authority, with regard to the situation of the most antient *Iberi*, must give way to that of *Polybius* [b].

Whence called Spania or Hispania.

IT appears from *Bochart* and others, that the *Phœnicians* called *Spain*, at least that part of it known to them, שפניה *Sphanija*, or *Spanija*, from שפן *Shaphan*, or *Span*, a *rabbet*, because it abounded with those animals. In support of this notion it may be observed, that in many manuscripts of *Curtius*, *Justin*, *Capella*, *Apuleius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Athenæus*, &c. for *Hispania* is found *Spania*, as we learn from *Casaubon* and *Salmasius*. From the *Phœnician Spanija*, the *Romans* deduced

[b] CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. ubi sup. POLYB lib iii. HOMER. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipse BOCHART. ibid. VAL. SCHINDLER. lex. pentaglot. in voc. עבר CLAUDIAN. in Stilic. STRAB. l. iii p 169. & POSIDON apud Strabon. ibid. PHILOSTRAT. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. ii. c. 14. PIND. olymp iii. Scholiast. & scholiast. Pind. in loc. PLIN. nat hist l. iii c. 7. FESTUS AVIEN. in or maritim.

their *Spania* or *Hiſpania*; which appellation, as well as *Iberia*, in common with the *Greeks*, they applied to the whole continent of *Spain*. That this country, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of it, produced rabbets in vaſt abundance, may be evinced from the concurrent teſtimony of *Varro*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and many other writers of good authority; but, that the *Saphan* of the *Phœnicians* anſwered to *the rabbet*, can by no means be allowed. However, as the former, in many particulars, bore a near reſemblance to the latter, the *Phœnicians*, at their firſt arrival in *Spain*, might take them to be the ſame animal, and from thence impoſe upon this country a name, which has ever ſince prevailed. The antients ſometimes, from its ſituation, denominated *Spain* likewiſe *Heſperia*, and *Heſperia Ultima*; but theſe, and other poetical appellations, as being applied to other countries, deſerve little or no regard [c].

Various diviſions of Spain.

As *Spain*, before the *Carthaginians* made any conqueſts there, was inhabited by many cantons, governed by their own *reguli*, and independent on one another, it muſt have been originally divided into various petty kingdoms, the preciſe number of which it is impoſſible for us at this day to determine. What number of provinces the *Carthaginians* divided that part of *Spain* ſubject to them into, for want of ſufficient light from antient hiſtory, we muſt likewiſe own ourſelves incapable of aſcertaining. As for the *Romans*, the firſt diviſion they made of *Spain*, or rather that part of it they had reduced, was into *Hiſpania Citerior* and *Hiſpania Ulterior*; and this, according to *Livy*, took place immediately after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war. However, for ſome political reaſons, they thought proper to unite theſe two provinces, in the beginning of the *Macedonian* war; and again disjoined them in the conſulate of *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus*. This laſt diſpoſition of *Spain* remained till the reign of *Auguſtus*, who altered it, by dividing *Hiſ-*

[c] Rom. c xv. ver. 24, 28. Theophyl. ad Autolyc. l. ii. Euseb in chronic. p 13. Epiphan. in hæreſ. lx vi. ſect. 83. Pæan. de Hadrian. Scholiaſt. vet. Juvenal. in ſat. xiv. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. viii. ſub init. Salmas. & Casaub. apud Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 35. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Varro de re ruſtic. l. iii c. 12. Strab. l. iii. p. 144, 168. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 5. & l. viii. c. 29, 58. Ælian. de animal. l. xiii. c. 15. Galen. de aliment. l. iii. Shaw's phyſical obſervations, &c. in Syr. Phœnic. &c p. 376. Prosp. Alpin. hiſt. nat. Ægypt. par. i. c. 20. p. 80. & l. iv. c. 9. Hor. l. i. od. 36. & Cellar. ubi ſup.

pania

pania Ulterior into two provinces, viz. *Provincia Bætica* and *Lusitania*, and affixing the name of *Provincia Tarraconensis* to *Hispania Citerior*. In some of the succeeding reigns we find *Hispania Ulterior* and *Hispania Citerior* again mentioned; notwithstanding which, that the division introduced by *Augustus* continued as long as the *Romans* had any footing in *Spain*, appears extremely probable, both from the antient geographers, and many antique inscriptions exhibited by *Gruter* and *Reinesius*. Upon this plan, therefore, we shall here beg leave to give our readers a geographical description of antient *Spain* [d].

THE limits of (A) *Lusitania* not having been always the same, we cannot take upon us to define them. That it extended from the *Tagus* to the *Cantabrian* ocean, or at least the *Promontorium Celticum*, is intimated by *Strabo*. That part of it situated betwixt the *Anas* and the *Tagus* went by the name of *Celtica*, or the country of the *Celts*, as has been observed by *Isaac Vossius*. After *Augustus* had made the disposition of *Spain* above-mentioned, the *Anas* bounded *Lusitania* on the south; and the *Durius*, or *Doure* of the moderns, on the north; so that the whole tract lying betwixt the *Durius* and the *Cantabrian* ocean was annexed to the *Provincia Tarraconensis*. The interior limits of *Lusitania*, upon the frontiers of the *Vettones* and *Carpettani*, are fixed differently by different authors; which, as *Cellarius* intimates, may have been owing to a mistake adopted by some of those authors, *viz.* that the province of *Lusitania* corresponded exactly with the

Limits and extent of Lusitania.

[d] POLYB. & LIV. pass. CIC. pro Fonteio, c. 3. & pro lege Manil. c. 12. STRAB. in extrem. par. geograph. DIO, l. liii. p. 503. POMPON. MEL. l. i. c. 6. SOLIN. c. 23. TACIT an. iv. c. 13. PLIN. l. iii. c. 1. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. et LUC. HOLSTEN. in loc. GRUT. inscript. xiii. p. 31. et alib. REINES. inscript. class. ii. n. 13. & alib. Vid. et CELLAR. ubi sup.

(A) *Bochart* says, that the country called *Lusitania* derived its name from לוז *Luz* an *almond*, because it produced vast quantities of that fruit, as he proves from various authors. But we think, unless our readers shall take it to be of *Celtic* original, it ought to be deduced from לוז and תאנה or נא *Lux* and *Tani* or *Tana*, an *almond* and *fig*; for that *Lusitania* produced both those kinds of fruit, *Bochart* clearly evinces in the place referred to. It is plain, therefore, from hence, that the word *Lusitania* is not of *Roman* extraction [t].

[t] *Bochart. Chan lib. i. c 35. Vol. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in voc.*

country

country of the *Lusitani*; whereas, according to *Pliny*, not only the *Lusitani*, but the *Celtici*, *Turduli*, *Vettones*, &c. were seated in that province. The *Lusitani* possessed the district bordering upon the *Atlantic* ocean, and stretching itself from the mouth of the *Anas* to the *Promontorium Sacrum*, now known by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*. As for the *Celtici*, whose true name was *Mirobrigenses*, according to *Pliny*, their situation may be collected from what has already been observed. Some of the antient geographers make the *Turduli* and *Turdetani* one nation, particularly *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*; though they seem to have been considered in a different light by *Polybius*. Be that as it will, the *Turdetani* were undoubtedly a powerful people, since they occupied a considerable part both of *Lusitania* and *Bætica*, as appears from *Strabo*. The same may be said of the *Vettones*, who spread themselves over a large tract, terminated on the north by the *Durius*, and on the south by the *Tagus*. However, as the antients differ with regard to the extent of territory every one of those nations or cantons possessed, it is probable, that their frontiers were not always the same. Some authors assert *Vettonia*, or the country of the *Vettones*, to have been a province distinct from *Lusitania*, and limited on the south by the *Anas*; and this notion seems to be countenanced by an inscription in *Gruter*. The principal cities of this province are the following:

Olisipo. *Olisipo*, or *Olissippo*, called at present by the *English*, *Lisbon*, and, by the *Portuguese*, *Lisboa*. It stands at the mouth of the *Tagus*, and was corruptly named, by some of the antients, *Ulyssippo*; from whence some have imagined, that it was built by *Ulysses*, in his return home from the *Trojan* war. But this notion ought to be looked upon as a mere fiction, destitute of the least shadow of historical proof to support it. We cannot, therefore, but believe, that *Olisipo*, or *Olissippo*, which, from *Pliny*, the *Itinerary*, and *Gruter*, appears to have been the genuine proper name of this city, was originally formed from the two *Phœnician* words עליז עבא *alis ubbo*, or *alis ippo*, *the pleasant bay*. For, that the antient *Olisipo* was seated on a bay, we learn from *Mela*; and that the bay, on which *Lisbon* stands, is extremely pleasant, all the moderns allow. *Olisipo*, or *Lisbon*, the capital of the present

[a] STRAB. l iii. p. 96, 105, & alib. ISAAC VOSSIUS in Pomp. Mel. PLIN ubi sup. POLYB. ubi sup. PRUDENT. passion. Eulal ver. 186. PETR. DE MARCA, Marcæ Hispanic, l. ii. c. 2. GRUT. inscript p. 383. n. 7. & CELLAR. ubi sup.

present kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarve*, is in 39°. 10'. N. lat. and 9°. 30'. W. of *London* [f].

Talabrica, or *Talabriga*, a city seated upon the *Vacus*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Antoninus*, and *Appian*. The citizens of *Talabriga*, from their frequent violations of treaties concluded between them and the *Romans*, seem to have had an uncommon aversion to that people; which is the principal thing we find related of them [g]. Talabrica.

Langobriga (B), a town situated between the *Vacus* and the *Durius*, not far from the sea-coast. As both *Pliny* and *Antoninus* take particular notice of it, it must have been a place of some repute [h]. Langobriga.

Ara Ducta, or, according to *Reinesius*, *Ara Traducta*, a *Roman* town, standing to the W. of *Langobriga*. Our readers will find it in *Ptolemy*'s list of the towns appertaining to *Lusitania* [i]. Ara Ducta

Æminium, a city of this province, mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, near the northern bank of the *Munda*, a little to the S. of *Talabriga* [k]. Æminium

Conimbrica, a city seated on the opposite bank of the *Munda*. Out of the ruins of this place has arisen the modern *Coimbra*, one of the finest towns in *Portugal*, and celebrated all over the learned world, for the famous university which has so long flourished there [l]. Conimbrica.

Arabriga, *Sellium*, and *Concordia*, betwixt *Conimbrica* and the *Tagus*, seem to have been places of some note, though we have scarce any particulars relating to them handed down to us by the antient geographers [m]. Arabriga, Sellium, *and* Concordia.

[f] SOLIN. c. 23. GRUT. inscript. p 252. num. 5. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22. CELLAR. ubi sup. p. 56. POMPON. MELA & MERCATOR apud Bochart. ubi sup. ut & ipse Bochart ibid. [g] ANTONIN. itinerar. PLIN. l. iii APPIAN. in bell. Hisp. [h] PLIN. & ANTONIN. ubi sup. [i] PTOL. geograph. l. ii. c. 5. THO. REINES. apud CELLAR. ubi sup. [k] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi sup [l] PLIN. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND in antiquit. Lusitan. l. iv. [m] PTOL. & ANTONIN. ubi sup.

(B) The word *Brica* or *Briga*, in the old *Spanish* language, signified a city, as we learn from *Resendius*. Therefore *Cetobriga*, *Arabriga*, *Langobriga*, *Meidobriga*, &c. are equivalent to *the city of* Ceto, *the city of* Ara, *the city of* Lango, *the city of* Meido, &c. Hence, probably, came the words *Brigantes*, *Brigantii*, *Brigæcum*, *Brigobanna*, &c. all which are evidently of *Celtic* extraction (2).

(2) *Laur. Andr. Resend. in antiquitat. Lusitan. l. iv. in* Cetobriga.

Collippo,

Collippo. *Collippo*, a *Roman* municipium, between the *Munda* and the *Tagus*, upon the coaſt of the *Atlantic* ocean. We find this town named, by an inſcription in *Grater*, COLLIPRO; but, that the R there was originally a P, appears from the beſt manuſcripts of *Pliny*, as well as another inſcription. Not far from this city, in a ſouth-weſtern direction, ſtood *Eburobritium*, or, as, in our opinion, it ought to have been written, *Eburobriga*. As the ſtones, that preſerved the above-mentioned inſcriptions, were in the neighbourhood of *Liria*, ſome believe, that the ruins of the ancient *Collippo* are to be ſought for there [n].

Scalabis. *Scalabis*, or *Scalabiſcus*, as ſome think it called by *Ptolemy*, has been conſidered by *Cellarius* as the fifth *Roman* colony of *Luſitania*, ſurnamed *Præſidium Julium*. The *Spaniſh* writers almoſt unanimouſly agree, that the ſpot, on which this town ſtood, is at preſent occupied by *Santerien*, a *Portugueſe* town about forty miles N. E. of *Liſbon*; though the *Scalabiſcus* of *Ptolemy* had a ſituation aſſigned it to the N. of the *Munda* [o].

Aritium Prætorium, *and* Hierabriga. *Aritium Prætorium* and *Hierabriga*, in the neighbourhood of *Scalabis*, are mentioned by the *Itinerary*. The former place ſtood thirty-eight *Roman* miles from *Oliſipo* and the latter thirty [p].

Norba Cæſaria. *Norba Cæſaria*, a town of repute during the government of the *Romans* in *Spain*, on the ſouthern bank of the *Tagus*, near the famous ſtone bridge built over that river and dedicated to *Trajan*. *Pliny* calls the inhabitants of this city *Colonia Norbenſis*. Some *Spaniſh* authors believe *Norba Cæſaria* to have been contiguous to *Trajan*'s bridge. But other writers of that nation, well verſed in the antiquities of their country, maintain the contrary. The latter, in ſupport of their opinion, affirm the city of *Alcantara*, ſeated on the ſpot adjoining to the noble ſtructure above-mentioned, to have been built by the *Saracens*; but the former think it may have ariſen out of the ruins of the antient *Norba*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* ſeem to favour the ſentiment of thoſe who place *Norba* at ſome diſtance from the bridge; ſince they make that town, or, which is the ſame thing, the *Colonia Norbenſis*, to have been ſituated in a territory to the ſouth of the *Tagus*. Be that as it will, we are informed by an ancient *Roman* inſcription in *Gruter*, that the *Roman* municipia of *Luſitania*, by ſums raiſed amongſt themſelves, finiſhed the aforeſaid

[n] PLIN. PTOL. & RESEND. ubi ſup. GRUT. inſcript. p. 323. & p. 1155. [o] PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. & CELLAR. ubi ſup. [p] ANTONIN. itinerar. ubi ſup.

bridge,

bridge, in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*. The names of theſe municipia, or rather their inhabitants, have been preſerved by a ſtone, belonging formerly either to the bridge or the town of *Norba*, viz. *Icadita*, *Lancia Oppidana*, *Arabriga*, *Mirobriga*, *Lancia Tranſcudana*, *Colarnum*, *Meidubriga*, *Interamnia*, &c. Some, if not all, of theſe municipia undoubtedly made a conſiderable figure, though we are ſupplied with very few particulars relating to them by the antient geographers and hiſtorians [q].

Bletiſa was ſituated near ſome of the above-mentioned municipia, on the ſouthern bank of the *Durius*, as may be inferred from an inſcription in *Gruter*. The modern name of *Bletiſa* is *Ledeſma*, according to *Mariana*, who ſuppoſes the ancient and modern cities, going by thoſe names, to have been the ſame. As to any farther particulars of this place, we are intirely in the dark [r]. Bletiſa.

Salmantica, called at this day *Salamanca*, was in the neighbourhood of *Bletiſa*, as appears from the above-mentioned inſcription. It is at preſent famous all over the world, on account of the flouriſhing univerſity founded there, which, for ſeveral ages, has been deemed the principal ſeat of literature in *Spain* [s]. Salmantica.

Auguſta Emerita, the capital of this province in the *Roman* times, upon the *Anas*, was built by a body of ſuperannuated ſoldiers, to whom *Auguſtus* aſſigned a diſtrict in *Luſitania*; from whence this city deduced its name. This colony we find frequently mentioned by ancient *Roman* coins and inſcriptions. *Emerita* at firſt appertained to the *Turduli*, according to *Strabo*; though afterwards it was ranked amongſt the towns of the *Vettones*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. This may be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider, that the *Vettones*, in proceſs of time becoming more powerful than the *Turduli*, at length made themſelves maſters of their country. Our readers will find a more minute account of this city and colony in the authors here referred to [*]. Auguſta Emerita.

Ebora, called, by the *Romans*, *Liberalitas Julia*, was ſeated between the *Tagus* and the *Anas*, though it approached nearer the latter than the former river. The ſame ſpot is at Ebora.

[q] PLIN. PTOL. RESEND. ubi ſup. NONIUS & VASSEUS, apud Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 58. GRUT. inſcript. p. 162. GRUT. inſcript. p. 199. num. 2. MARIAN. l. vii. c. 4. CELLAR. ubi ſup. [r] PTOL. & GRUTER. ubi ſup. [*] STRAB. ubi ſup. DIO, l. liii. p. 114. NUM. Auguſt. & NUM. Tiber. apud Cellar. ubi ſup. p. 60. PRUDENT. ubi ſup. LUDOVIC. Nox. c. 31.

present occupied by *Evora*, where there has long flourished a famous university. This town was a *Latin* municipium, as appears from several antient coins and inscriptions †.

Salacia. *Salacia*, the *Alacer do Sal* of the moderns, stood some miles to the W. of *Ebora*. From some ancient inscriptions in *Gruter* it may be inferred, that this place was a *Roman* municipium [t].

Pax Julia. *Pax Julia*, the *Beja* of the moderns, a city in the southern part of the province, stood near the frontiers of the *Turdetani*, if it did not actually belong to that nation. It is taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus*. Near this place a vast number of *Roman* coins and inscriptions have been found within these few years. All the remaining tract to the south of this city, limited on the east, west, and south, by the *Anas*, the *Atlantic* ocean, and bay of *Gades*, from its figure, was called *Cuneus* by *Pomponius Mela* and *Strabo*. *Myrtilis*, *Balsa*, *Ossonaba*, and other places of this tract, deserve not any great regard. However, it may not be improper to observe, that, according to *Resendius*, *Mortola*, or *Mertolo*, a modern town upon the *Anas*, and *Tanilla*, or *Tavira*, a considerable city of *Algarve*, answer to the ancient *Myrtilis* and *Balsa*. As for *Ossonaba*, if we will believe the same author, it has for a long time lain in ruins, though some footsteps of it are still remaining, particularly in the walls of *Faro*, another town of *Algrave* upon the sea-coast. The *Lacobriga* of *Mela* stood under the *Promontorium Sacrum*, known in these times by the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, upon a spot occupied at present by a village called *Lagoa* by the *Portuguese*, near the city of *Lagos*, where some remains of it are still to be seen [u].

As the other towns of *Lusitania*, whose names only have been handed down to us by the ancient geographers, were either insignificant and obscure, or almost all traces of them have been lost, our readers will not expect any account or description of them. Neither is it reasonable in a work of this nature, to take any notice of what merits not the least attention [w].

Promontories of Lusitania. THE chief promontories of *Lusitania* were the *Promontorium Sacrum*, *Promontorium Barbarium*, and the *Promonto-*

† PLIN. ubi sup GRUT. inscript. p. 489. num. 9. NUM. var August. apud Cellar. ubi sup. p. 62. [t] PLIN. ubi sup. & alib GRUT. inscript. p. 13. num 16. [u] PLIN. PTOL. ANTONIN. ubi sup. POMPON. MEL. & STRAB. ubi sup. LAUR. ANDR. RESEND. in antiquit. Lusitan. & GRUT. in inscript. pass. [w] PLIN. PTOL. &c.

rium

rium Magnum, or *Oliſipanenſe*; to which ſome add a fourth, called, by *Pliny*, *Cuneus*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, or *Cape St. Vincent*, formed an angle projecting into the bay of *Gades* and the *Atlantic* ocean, which was termed the weſtern extremity of the world by *Strabo*. The *Promontorium Barbarium*, at preſent *Cape Spichel*, lay at the ſouth of *Oliſipo*, though not very diſtant from the mouth of the *Tagus*. The *Promontorium Magnum*, or *Oliſiponenſe*, ſtyled, by ſome of the moderns, *Cape de Rocca Sintra*, projected into the *Atlantic* ocean near *Oliſipo*, and was made by *Pliny* the common boundary of *Earth*, *Sea*, and *Heaven*. As for *Pliny*'s *Cuneus*, it is ſuppoſed to be the promontory at this day known by the name of *Cape St. Mary*, by *Cellarius* [x].

Ports and iſlands.

THE principal ports of this province were thoſe of *Oliſipo*, at preſent *Liſbon*, and *Hannibal*. The ſituation of the former is ſo well known, as not to admit of a diſpute; but that of the latter cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained. *Mela*, upon whoſe authority it intirely depends, places it near the *Promontorium Sacrum*; which is all that we can ſay of it. The only iſland taken notice of by the antients on the coaſt of *Luſitania*, is the *Londobris* of *Ptolemy*, the *Barlenga* or *Barlinges* of the moderns [y].

Mountains

THE *Mons Herminius* of *Hirtius*, the modern *Arminno*, ſeems to have been the only mountain of note in this country, of which we have nothing farther to ſay, than that, according to *Cellarius*, *Medobriga* or *Meidobriga*, ſtood at the foot of it [z].

Rivers.

THE moſt celebrated rivers of *Luſitania* were the *Anas*, the *Tagus*, and the *Durius*. The *Anas* is called at preſent the *Guadiana*, the *Tagus* the *Tajo*, and the *Durius* the *Douro*. To theſe may be added the *Munda*, which now goes under the name of the *Mondego*; and the *Vacus*, now called the *Voga*. They all flow from E. to W. and empty themſelves into the *Atlantic* ocean [a].

Curioſities.

WE ſhall here only mention two of the natural curioſities of *Luſitania*: 1. The lead-mine near *Meidobriga*, from whence *Pliny* denominates the inhabitants of that place *Plumbarii*; which ſtill exiſts. 2. The golden ſand, or ſmall particles of gold mixed with the ſand, of the *Tagus*. This we find atteſted by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ovid*, *Pliny*, *Silius Italicus*, &c. and the truth of it ſeems confirmed by *Reſendius*. For

[x] STRAB. l. iii. PLIN. l. iv. c 22. & alib & HARDUIN. in loc. PTOL. l. ii c 5. CELLAR. ubi ſup.

[y] MELA. l. iii c 1

[z] HIRT. c. 48. CELLAR. ubi ſup p 60, 61.

[a] PLIN. ubi ſup. CELLAR. ubi ſup. p. 54, 55.

that famous antiquary aſſures us, that ſome of theſe golden particles were found intermixed with the ſand of the *Tagus* in his time; that the laws of *Portugal* would not permit people to throw up the interior ſand on the banks of the *Tagus*, with which theſe particles are ſuppoſed to be incorporated, leſt the neighbouring fruitful fields ſhould be thereby damaged; and that the kings of *Portugal* have a ſceptre of the *Tagan* gold, than which no purer is to be found in the world [b].

Bœtica *deſcribed.*

The ſecond province of *Hiſpania Ulterior*, or further *Spain*, was *Bætica*, ſo called from the famed river *Bætis*, ſince *Tarteſſus*, and now *Guadalquiver*, or the great river. We have already mentioned its limits on the weſt or *Luſitanic* ſide; it was bounded on the ſouth by the *Mediterranean* and the *Sinus Gaditanus*, or gulph of *Cadiz*; and on the north by the *Cantabric* ſea, now the ſea of *Biſcay*. As to its limits towards the north-eaſt, or province of *Tarraco*, they cannot be ſo well fixed, becauſe they are rightly ſuppoſed to have been in a conſtant fluctuation, as each petty monarch had an opportunity to encroach upon his neighbour. Hence antient authors place thoſe on the ſea-coaſt differently, *viz.* *Ptolemy* at *Baræa* [c]; *Pliny* ſomewhat higher at *Murgis* [d]; though both ſituated on the *Sinus Virgitanus*, a little below new *Carthage*. The ſame may be ſaid of the inland ones, which are likewiſe differently placed, either higher or lower from the province of *Tarraco*, as may be ſeen by the authors above-quoted. The *Bætis* above-mentioned divided this province into two parts; on the one ſide of which, towards the *Anas*, were ſituate the *Turdetani* (A), from whence the country was

[b] Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 1. Ovid. met. l. ii. Plin. l. iv. c. 22. & l. xxxiii c. 4. Sil. Ital. l. i. ver. 234. Ptol. & Cellar. ubi ſup Laur. Andr. Resend. in antiquit. Luſitan. l. ii. [c] Univ. hiſt. l. ii. c. 4. [d] Hiſt. l. iii. c. 1. Vide Cellar. l. ii. c. 2. ſect. 1. Gerund.

(A) Some add, after *Polybius*, the *Turduli*, as different from them. We have already ſpoken of both. They were (1) ſituate on the ſame ſide of the *Bætis*, but higher up: but as that author rather diſtinguiſhes them only with regard to their ſituation; and *Ptolemy* ſeems to intimate, that they were but one people (2); we ſee no reaſon for making two of them, any farther than the diſtinction of higher and lower will go; eſpecially as *Strabo* makes the two names to be indifferently given to them (3); and theſe are by

(1) *Vid. Gerundenſ. paralip. l. i.* (2) *Lib. ii.* (3) *Lib. iii.*

ſome

was called *Turdetania*, but better known by the name of *Bæturia*. On the other side were ſituate the *Baſtuli*, *Baſtitani*, and *Conteſtani*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſts. The reader will find, under the next note, all that can be found concerning thoſe people (B). We forbear mentioning a great number of others, of which we know little more than the names. The reader may ſee them in *Cellarius* above-mentioned, and, if he cares to depend upon the *Spaniſh* authors for other ſituation, cities, and their particulars, he may conſult thoſe we have lately quoted both in the text and margin.

Its inhabitants.

WE come now to ſpeak of the *Roman* colonies in this province; and of theſe we ſhall, for brevity's ſake, ſingle out only ſome of the moſt celebrated ones; *viz.* that of the *Accitani*, ſituate between the *Baſtuli* and *Baſtitani*, along the ſame ſhore. We find it mentioned by *Pliny* [c], and by ſome antient inſcriptions, under the name of COLONIA JULIA GEMELLA ACCITANA [d], whoſe citizens were called *Gemellenſes*, becauſe that colony was made up of two legions, *viz.*

Roman colonies.

[c] Hiſt. l. iii. c. 3. [d] GRUT. p. 271. n. 6.

ſome authors (4) affirmed to have been the antienteſt people in all *Spain*.

(B) Of the firſt of theſe we have already ſpoken. The *Baſtuli*, ſuppoſed to be of *Phœnician* or *Libyan* extract, extended from the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſt, till, driven from thence by the *Moors*, they fled into the monntainous part of *Galicia*, which they then called by their name *Baſtulia*. The *Baſetani* or *Baſtitani* were ſeated higher up on the ſame coaſts. The territories of both theſe made what ſince became the kingdom of *Granada*, in which there is a ridge of very high mountains, called, from the latter, the *Baſtetanian* mountains. Mention is made alſo of their capital called *Baſtatina*, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that king *Ferdinand* was ſix months a beſieging it, before he could take it from the *Moors* (5).

The *Conteſtani* are by ſome placed in this province of *Bætica*, and by others in that of *Tarraco*. They were moſt likely ſeated between both. They are ſaid by *Ptolemy* (6) to have been ſettled there by *Teſta* one of their kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, and called from him *Conteſtani*; as well as a city called *Conſtantinum* (7); but that king, tho' mentioned alſo by *Manetho*, is generally ranked among the dubious, if not fabulous.

(4) *Vid Voſſ. chronic. Taraph. de reg Hiſp. Gerund. Gariqai. Antiqued. & al.* (5) *Bulgar commentar. Serdin. Comec. de geſt. F. Ximen.* (6) *Ubi ſup. Vid. & Taraph. ſub an* 1424. (7) *Id. ibid.*

the

the third and fixth, as appears by thoſe inſcriptions [e]. It is ſuppoſed to be the preſent city of *Guadix* in *Granada*, an antient epiſcopal ſee, formerly called the *Accitanus*, from *Acci*, the name of that city (C). Thoſe of *Gades*, *Corduba*, *Aſtigi*, and *Hiſpal*, were famed for their courts of judicature. The other four, whoſe ſituation is leſs known, together with their other municipal and free cities, in a much greater number than in any of the other two provinces, the reader may ſee in the author above-mentioned [f]; all which confirm what *Pliny* ſays of this [g], that it excelled them by far; for ſo it did in richneſs, extent, number of cities and harbours, fertility of its ſoil, commodious ſituation for traffic, and many other particulars: and this may be one great reaſon why the *Romans* cultivated and encouraged it more than they did the reſt.

Their cities.

How few of thoſe antient cities this province had before the coming in of the *Romans*, is not difficult to gueſs, if we only conſult the beſt antient authors with any tolerable attention; though if we were to truſt to the *Spaniſh* writers, it muſt have not only abounded with them, but they muſt likewiſe have been vaſtly large, populous, and opulent, even before the coming of the *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, and other nations, of whom we ſhall give an account in the ſequel. And yet theſe are affirmed by the ſame authors, eſpecially the *Tyrians*, to have built ſome freſh conſiderable ones, every one in the places where they ſettled themſelves; for all which we have no better grounds, than for that of *Ulyſippo* and its pretended founder, of which we ſpoke under the firſt article of this chapter: but when we come to examine things more cloſely, we find no ſuch traces of this boaſted number of cities. On the contrary it is plain, when the *Turdetani* had, at the inſtigation of *Hannibal*, aſſiſted the brave *Saguntines* their neighbours againſt the *Romans*, we read but of one city they had, the name of which is not ſo much as recorded (D); and

[e] See Cellarius, lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3. [f] Ubi ſup ſect. 2, & ſeq. [g] Lib. iii. c. 1. De his vid. Gedund. Taraph. Garib. Vasseum, & al.

(C) The *Spaniards* pretend, that *Torquatus*, a diſciple of *James* the apoſtle, was by him appointed the firſt biſhop of it (S).

(D) This the *Spaniards* think to have been called *Turbel*, ſituate near the ſpring-head of the river *Thurias* or *Durias*, and to which they have given the antient name of *Turdaia*.

which theſe cauſed to be razed, and the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves [h], as a determent to others from lending their aſſiſtance to any, whom they thought proper to war againſt. *Ptolemy* mentions but one ſea-port town on the coaſt of the *Baſtitani*, viz. that of Οὐργὴ *Urce*, ſince *Vergi*, in the bay of that name, though we find ſome conſiderable ones on thoſe coaſts; ſuch as *Menobia*, *Abdera*, *Portus Magnus*, *Beria*, and *Murgis*, and ſome others. On the iſlands it has likewiſe a conſiderable number, which *Pliny*, in his *Natural Hiſtory*, tells us, in his time amounted to an hundred and ſeventy-two. The greateſt part of theſe being, in all appearance, and from the *Roman* names given them, either founded or inlarged by that nation, ſuch as thoſe of *Aſta Nebriſa*, *Ugia*, and *Orippa* [i], on the banks of the *Bætis*, below *Hiſpal*, we have not time to dwell upon them, but ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort mention of thoſe of the greateſt note. Among theſe is the famed city of *Hiſpal*, now *Seville* (E) ſituate on the river *Bætis* above-mentioned, and the metropolis of this province. It was formerly a great emporium, by means of that navigable river, which brought vaſt number of merchandizes up to this city, and thence quite up to *Corduba*. This city is ſtyled by *Pliny Colonia Romulenſis*, and by ſome antient inſcriptions *Colonia Romulea*. We took notice above, that it was one of the four courts of judicature. The next city in rank to *Hiſpal* is *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, no leſs famed for its rich mines, and fertile ſoil, or, as the poet calls it [k], *aurifera terra*, than the other was for its trade. It is ſituate on the banks of the ſame river, was called a patrician colony, and is ſaid by *Strabo* to have been the work of *Marcellus* (F). *Tarteſſus* was once a famed antient

Hiſpal.

Corduba.

[h] LIVY, l. xxi c. 6. xxiv. c. 42. [i] De his vid. CELLAR. ubi ſup. [k] SIL. ITAL. l. iii ver. 401.

(E) Some pretend, that it was founded and named by *Hiſpal* one of their fabulous kings, and the ſon of *Hercules* (9); others, that it was ſo called from the *palus*, or marſh, on which it was founded; or rather from the *pali*, or ſtakes, upon which the foundation of it was laid (10). That of *Seville*, or, as it was antiently written, *Civilia*, is thought to be only a corruption of *Civitas Julia*, as it is called in ſome antient inſcriptions (11). But when or by whom it was founded, is not to be gueſſed at.

(F) Our author leaves us in the dark which of the *Roman* generals of that name he meant, ſo that the *Spaniſh* writers are much divided

(9) *Vaſſ. Garib. & al ſup citat* (10) *Paralip. c. 1.* (11) *Id. ibid c. 9.*

about

tient city, pleasantly situate between the two mouths of the *Bætis* (G), which made a kind of island, called, after the name of the city [l], *Tartessida*. This antient city is celebrated by some of the *Latin* poets, as situate on the farthest verge of the western shore [m]; but, for the other particulars of it, we must refer our reader to the last note, as we must do, for the remainder of the cities of this province, to the authors so often cited already, and especially to the late and accurate *Cellarius* in the chapter above-quoted; and for *Gades* or *Gadir*, now *Cadiz*, to what we copiously said of it in a former volume [n].

[l] STRAB ubi sup. [m] SIL. ITAL. ubi sup. ver. 399. & alib. OVID. metamorph. l. xiv. ver. 416. [n] Vol. xvi. p. 554. (A).

about it. *Vasæus*, often quoted, thinks, that it was he who was contemporary with *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; because he finds no mention made of this city before him (12). But *Nonius* thinks it to have been of much older date (13), since the same *Strabo* calls it *Coloniam primam*, or first colony which the *Romans* sent into this part of *Spain*. And it is mentioned by *Silius Italicus* in the second *Punic* war (14). As for the title of *Colonia Patricia* given to it, it is not only mentioned by *Pliny*, but by some antient inscriptions in *Gruter*, to which we refer (15); and this is further explained by what *Strabo* adds, that it was from the beginning inhabited by noble men of the *Romans*, and other nations (16).

(G) *Strabo* says, that the *Bætis* formerly emptied itself into the sea at two different places (17). One of them has been since stopped up. *Mela* mentions the city of *Carteia* in the same bay (18), which, he says, some fancy to have been the ancient *Tartessus*. Hence authors are divided in their opinions, whether these were two distinct cities, or the same with different names. We find nothing that can satisfy our readers on that head, ancient authors often confounding these two names and that of *Gades* together, as the learned *Bochart* and others have justly observed.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from *Tartessus* to that of *Gades*, on account of *Hercules*'s setting up his two columns there (19), it is rightly rejected. We have given a truer account of the foundation of *Gades* in a former volume, to which we refer, to avoid repetition (20). As for *Carteia*, a late author endeavoured to prove it to be the present town of *Rocadillo*, distant about four miles from *Gibraltar* (21); but the point is far from being cleared by him, and too dark and prolix for us to dwell longer upon, in a work of this nature.

(12) *Ibid. c.* 20. (13) *Ibid. c.* 19. (14) *Lib.* iii. *ver.* 401. (15) *P.* 460. (16) *Lib.* iii. (17) *Ibid.* (18) *De sit. orb lib.* ii. *c.* 6. (19) *Dionysius Alexandr. Vid. auct. Hisp. sup. citat & Geruud. paralip l.* i. (20) *Vol.* xvi. *p.* 554, (A). (21) *Conduit. discourse of the situat. of Carteia.*

WE

WE come now to ſay ſomething of the famous bays and ports of this province; the firſt of which, next to *Gades* above-mentioned, is that called *Portus Meneſtæus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*, who doth likewiſe place here the oracle of that name. The next is that of *Beſippo*, the country of the famed *Pomponius Mela*, and ſome others, without the ſtreights mouth. *Calpe*, *Carteia*, *Barbeſul*, *Cilniana*, *Salduba*, *Suel*, and *Malaca*, within the ſtreight, and on the coaſts of the *Baſtuli*. *Menoba*, *Selumbina*, *Abdera*, and *Portus Magnus*, and likewiſe the famed promontory of *Charidemus*, all which are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, and placed by them on the *Baſtitanian* coaſts. Beyond the promontory laſt mentioned are the cities of *Baria* or *Barea*, and *Murgis*, in the *Virgitanian* bay; the former of which is reckoned by *Ptolemy*, and the latter by *Pliny*, the laſt ſea-port of the *Baſtitani*, as we hinted a little higher. Thoſe antient authors are, however, neither well agreed, nor eaſily reconciled, about the ſituation, names, and ſome other particulars relating to thoſe cities. Thus, for inſtance, *Calpe*, which is by *Strabo* ſtyled a famed antient *Spaniſh* ſea-port, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, and others, only call a mountain: whence the learned *Bochart* and *Caſaubon* have thought, that *Calpe*, in the former, was inſerted, by the miſtake of the tranſcriber, for *Carteia*, eſpecially as no mention is made in the others of any city beſides it in that bay. But this has been in a great meaſure anſwered, by ſome learned men, from the inſcription on a medal, with theſe letters, C. I. CALPE; that is, as they read it [o], *Colonia Julia Calpe*: and this they back with a paſſage out of *N. Damaſcen* [p]; who ſays, that *Octavius* overtook *Cæſar* near the city of *Calpia*, which is the ſame with *Calpe*; ſo that *Strabo*'s text wants no amendment. *Barbeſul*, *Aſta*, and ſome others of the ſea-ports above-named, appear likewiſe to have been conſiderable colonies, as well as a number of iſland towns, in particular that of *Munda*, where *Cæſar* overcame the ſons of *Pompey*; but, as we are obliged to ſtudy brevity, we ſhall refer the reſt to the author laſt-quoted.

Bays and ſea-ports.

RIVERS of any note there are not in this province, except the *Bætis*, often mentioned already, or, as it is ſometimes written, *Bætes* and *Betis*. It hath, according to *Pliny* [q], its ſpring-head in the *Tugienſian* foreſt, ſo named by *Tugia*, a

The rivers Bætis, &c.

[o] SPANH. de præſt. numiſm p. 766. NORIS cenotaph. Piſan. p. 207. [p] Excerpt. VALES. apud Cellar. l. ii c. 1 ſect. 2. art. 34. [q] Lib. iii. c. 1

town mentioned by the *Itinerarium* of *Antoninus* (H), in the province of *Tarracon*, at the foot of the *Oreſpodan* mountains. Others of leſſer note are the *Barbeſola* near the city or mount *Calpe* above-mentioned, the *Saduca* which ſeems to have divided the *Baſtuli* from the *Accitani*, and ſome few others not worth dwelling upon. Mountains, of a conſiderable length and height, this province certainly abounds with. We find, however, but few mentioned by antient authors. *Ptolemy* takes only notice of two, *viz.* the *Mariani* and *Hipylæ*, the latter of which were ſcarcely known to any other antient writer [r]. Theſe, as they run along the territories of *Hiſpal* or *Seville*, were, we are told, called *Illipæ*; and, as they came nearer to *Corduba*, *Themarini* and *Orthoſiadæ* [s]: the former, which are by *Pliny* called *Ariani* (I), run along the famed deſert of the ſame name, now known by that of *Sierra Morena*, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Caſtulo*. The region of the *Baſtitani* was likewiſe full of them, as we hinted in a former note; and all that needs be added, with relation to them all is, that they abounded with metals and minerals of ſeveral kinds, particularly gold, quickſilver, copper, and lead, the greateſt quantities of which appear, however, to have been dug out of thoſe called *Mariani*, which the *Romans* improved to no ſmall advantage, having every-where their *procuratores rei metallicæ*, or overſeers of the mines. That of *Calpe*, mentioned a little higher, is neither famed for its height, mines, fertility, or on any account but that of its ſituation; and ſo no more need be ſaid of it.

Mountains.

Soil, climate, and produce.

The goodneſs of the ſoil and air of *Spain* in general is too well known to need any mention here. This province

[r] Lib. ii. c. 4. [s] Vid. Marin. Sicul. reb. Hiſp. lib. i. ſect. de montib.

(H) That author places it in the road between *Caſtulo* and *Malaca*, at about thirty-five miles diſtance from the latter.

(I) As theſe mountains are called, by the generality of authors, and by one ancient inſcription, by the firſt name; and, by the ſecond, only by *Pliny* and the *Itinerarium*; it is ſuppoſed, that the M, in theſe, was, by ſome miſtake of the copyiſts, dropped; but, whether they were the ſame, or different, is not of any great conſequence to inquire, with ſo little help, and under ſo great an uncertainty (22).

(22) *De his vid. Cellar. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *in fin. ſect.* 2.

was

was particularly remarkable for it, and we ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to give further proofs of it from the healthineſs and longevity of its inhabitants; and ſo little did they know of phyſic, that, if we may believe *Poſidonius*, they uſed to lay their ſick relations along the public ſtreets and roads, to have the advice of ſuch paſſengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were ſo robuſt and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but uſed to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themſelves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horſes and cattle, the former of which they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and eſpecially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it ſeems, ſo very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on thoſe healthy mountains, that it could not be uſed either for food or drink, or even, as we are told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheeſe with, without ſome mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greateſt perfection; but theſe are topics ſo well known to every reader, that we need not dwell longer upon them. As for mineral waters, they flow, in the greateſt quantity, both hot and cold; and the kingdom of *Granada* is famed for them, and for their medicinal virtues; which need not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt ridges of mountains that are in it, and the variety of metals and minerals they abound with. Some of them riſe ſo hot, as to exceed, we are told, even boiling water. The moſt famous of the warm kind are thoſe of *Hiſpal*, *Cordoua*, and *Granada*; to which they attribute the virtue of curing the moſt inveterate, and even the venereal, diſeaſes; which is not altogether improbable, conſidering the quantity of ſulphur and other minerals, they are impregnated with, and the great perſpiration which the heat of the climate gives to its inhabitants. There are two others of great fame here, *viz.* that called *Bætis*, from a ſmall town near it; it ſprings, in a ſmall rivulet, from the top of a very high rock, and falls, by two ſtreams, into two lakes; and its waters are noted for curing all hæmorrhages, by waſhing. The other is near the town of *Antequeria*, which is no leſs famed for diſſolving the ſtone, and carrying it off by urine [1]. We ſhould be drawn into too great a

Natural rarities.

[1] MARIN. SICUL. de reb. Hiſp. lib. i. cap. de fontibus.

length, were we to enter into so copious a subject as that of their artificial rarities; their stately buildings, such as bridges, churches, especially their palaces, whether those of the *Gothic*, or of the *Roman*, fashion: but one thing we cannot forbear observing, that there are some yet standing almost in their pristine grandeur, especially in the kingdom of *Granada*, built by the *Moors*, in a style peculiar to them, and which has scarce any thing common with the other two, and yet seems to exceed them in taste and magnificence. But as this country, as well as the several authors, who have written upon it, are so well known to us, we shall inlarge no further upon them.

Tarracon described

Tarracon was the third province in *Spain*. It was, as we observed before, styled by the *Romans*, *Hispania Citerior*, or nither *Spain*, and distinguished, by the name of *Tarraconensis*, from the ancient city of that name, which was then the capital of it, and the residence of the *Roman præses*, or governor. We have seen, under the two former articles, how hard it is to settle the limits of this province, with respect to those of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, on account of their frequent fluctuation. On the three other sides they are easily fixed, it having the *Mediterranean* on the east, the ocean on the west, and the *Cantabrian* sea, and the *Pyrenees*, on the north, by which last it is divided from *Gaul*. *Tarracon*, being by far the largest of the three, had a much greater number of cities, and variety of nations, as well as, in all likelihood, of petty kings and governments. It was divided into two parts by the famed river *Iberus*, now *Ebro*, which ran almost across the whole province, having its source on the north-west side of it, not far from the *Cantabrian* mountains; and very near the sea of that name, and by a south-east course, emptying itself into the *Mediterranean*, about thirty miles below the city of *Tarracon*. Along the south-west side of that river were seated the *Celtiberians*, the ancientest, and by far the most considerable, of all the nations of this province, if the others were not, indeed, so many distinct tribes descended from them, as we are apt to think they mostly were, from the greatest part of their names being of *Celtic*, rather than of any other, extract. This canton was called from them *Celtiberia*, and reached from the mouth of the *Iberus* quite to the country of the *Cantabri*, on the opposite coasts. Along the course of it, on that side, were, among other people of less note, the *Illercaones*, seated just within the mouth of it. Higher up are placed the *Ilergetani*, or *Sedetani*, *Pelendones*, *Lerones*, and, last of all, the *Cantabri*. Nearer to *Bætica*, and on the borders of it, were towards the *Mediterranean*, first, the *Contestani*, mentioned also under the last article; and, as you went forwards,

Cantabrians and Celtiberians.

forwards, acroſs the country, towards the oppoſite ſhore, you found another tribe of the *Turdetani*, the *Lobetani*, *Luſones*, *Carpetani*, *Arevacæ*, and *Vaccæi*; and theſe two laſt were ſevered from each other by the river *Duero*, which was the confine of *Luſitania* on that ſide; and, weſt of the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi*, were, on the *Cantabrian* coaſt, the *Tranſmontani* and *Artabri*; and in this laſt was the *Artabrum Celticum*, called alſo *Promontorium Nericum*, now cape *Finiſter*. In the inland are placed the *Aſtures*, *Auguſtani*, *Lucences*, and *Gravii*. On the weſtern coaſt, between the cape above-mentioned and the *Durius*, were the *Callaici*, alias *Callæci*, whoſe country was called *Callæcia*, one tribe or canton of which were called *Bracarii*, and the country *Bracara*, and theſe were ſeated on the banks of the *Durius*; the others were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Lucenſes*; and both were ſubdivided by *Ptolemy* into ſeveral tribes, ſuch as we ſhall ſpeak of, upon another occaſion, under the following note (A). All theſe are mentioned by ancient geographers, ſuch as *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, as ſeated, the former on the other ſide of the *Iberus*, and the latter on the hither ſide of the *Tagus*. On the other ſide of the *Iberus*, along the *Mediterranean* coaſts, were ſeated the *Latetani* and *Auſetani*, who were parted by the river *Rubricatus*, or, as *Mela* calls it, *Lubricatus*, now *Lobregat*, near the city of *Barcelona*. Along the *Iberus* were the *Ilergetes*, *Jacetani*, *Sueſſitani*, *Vaſcones*, *Vardüli*, *Autrigones*, and *Concani*; and theſe were ſeated between the head of the *Iberus* and the *Cantabrian* ſea. Nearer to the *Pyrenean* mountains, along that vaſt ridge, were the *Ceretani*, *Indigetes*, *Cenſi*, *Lacetani*, and ſome others of leſs note. Every one of them had its diſtinct metropolis, from which they either took their name, or, which is perhaps more likely, to which they gave that of their own tribe, as may be ſeen by thoſe we ſhall mention (B). We have already obſerved in general on this head, that

(A) This canton, which was ſince called *Gallicia*, and anciently *Celtica*, was, in all likelihood, either inhabited originally by the *Celtæ*, or was a colony of them ſent from *Gaul*; for many ſuch they were forced to ſend out of that kingdom into this and other countries, for want of room in their own, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to their hiſtory: the latter ſeems, however, the moſt probable, from the names by which they were diſtinguiſhed, ſuch as *Cœlerini*, *Grovii*, *Limici*, *Querquerni*, and ſome others, which to us appear to be of *Gauliſh* extract, and bear a viſible analogy with ſome of thoſe which we find in ancient *Gaul*.

(B) Thus the *Bracarii* had *Bracara*, the *Artabri Artabrum*, the *Aſtures Aſturia*, the *Sueſſitani Sueſſa*, the *Lacitani Lacca*, the *Ilergetes*

that thoſe diſtricts which end in *tania*, and the cities which end in *briga*, are of *Celtic* extract; and we ſhall add here, that this province abounds with ſuch, more than the other two, as may be ſeen by the liſt of the people we have given below; for where their name terminated in *tani*, the country of courſe ended in *tania*, as *Auſetani* and *Auſetania*.

Celtiberians their warlike fierceneſs.

Is is not our deſign to ſpeak particularly of every one of them, and much leſs of their cities, many of which we know little elſe of, than their names (C). We may ſay of them in general, that they retained more of the ancient *Celtic* valour, cuſtoms, language, and, we may add, fierceneſs, than thoſe of *Bætica*, or even of *Luſitania*, though the *Celtiberians* of this laſt province are ſaid to have been the braveſt people in all *Spain*, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel. And the reaſon, probably, of it is, that they were neither ſo much under the dominion of the *Romans*, nor ſo converſant with them, as thoſe in *Bætica*; for the deſcendants of the *Celtes* were every-where as famed for their tenaciouſneſs of their ancient religion, laws, cuſtoms, language, &c. as the *Romans* *gates Ilerda*, and ſo of the reſt, unleſs where the *Romans*, ſettling afterwards their colonies, did call thoſe towns by new names, though the people ſtill retained their old ones; eſpecially we find ſome few of thoſe places ſtyled *Julia* and *Auguſta*, as *Julia Libyca* in the canton of the *Ceretani*; *Cæſar Auguſta* among the *Lacetani*, *Auguſta Bracara*, *Porta Auguſta*, *Auguſti Lacus* in *Gallicia*, and the like.

Here, by the way, we muſt obſerve, that this laſt province was not called ſo from the *Galli*, as ſome have imagined, but from its ancient metropolis, which was called *Calle*, ſituate in a pleaſant valley upon the *Durius*, and near the mouth of it; and the port of it, being become a conſiderable one in time, was ſince named barely *Porto* and *Puerto* by the *Spaniards*, by the *Dutch Port a Port*, and by us *Oporto*. From theſe two, *Porto* and *Calle*, came the name of *Portugal*, or *Portucalle*. As for *Calle*, it muſt be owned, that it is not mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, &c. but we find it in the *itinerarium*, which places it on the road between *Uliſipo* or *Liſbon* and *Auguſta Bracara* (1).

(C) Thoſe who are deſirous to know more of theſe ancient people, may conſult, if they pleaſe, the *Spaniſh* writers we have often quoted in this chapter; though, for the moſt authentic account of them, we would rather refer them to the laſt quoted and accurate *Cellarius*, who has wholly grounded his own on the teſtimony of ancient authors, and rejected all the fabulous and uncertain traſh, which thoſe modern authors have intermingled in theirs upon more precarious, and ſometimes upon no, authority at all.

(1) *Vid Cellar. ubi ſup. lib. ii. c. 1 ſect.* 3.

were

were to propagate their own, wherever they conquered; and this was one conſtant cauſe, why the former choſe rather to yield their territories to the latter, when they could defend them no longer againſt them, and to retire into more mountainous lands, where they could freely live by themſelves, than to ſubmit to their laws, and conform to their manners, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

WE find, however, the following colonies of note (for we ſhall omit the others for brevity's ſake) to have been in time planted amongſt theſe *Celtic* ſettlements; *viz.* in *Aſturia*, the famed *Colonia Auguſta*. It is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; and in ſome antient medals, though differently placed [u], and was a court of judicature, according to *Pliny*, in the place laſt-quoted. It divided the *Aſtures* into *Auguſtanos* and *Tranſmontanos*, which confirms what we have lately hinted, the former being, in all likelihood, of *Roman* extract, ſettled here, whilſt the latter, of *Celtic*, removed over the ridge of mountains that parted them; for we find here alſo the ſeventh *Roman* legion, which was ſurnamed *Gemina*, ſettled between the *Aſturian* ſea and the capital of this diſtrict, called *Aſturia Auguſta*, now *Aſtorga*, a city ſtill of ſome note (D). This country was alſo celebrated by the poets for the gold it produced. The next was that infamous one of *Caligaris*, di- *Roman colonies.* *Auguſta Gemina.* *Caligaris.*

[u] Ap. Gruter. p. 193. n. 3. p. 426. n. 5. Vid. & GOLTZ HOLSTEIN. & HARDUIN. ap. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3 § 44. Vid. & STRAB. lib. iii. PLIN. l. iv. c. 22.

(D) *Ptolemy* indeed makes the *Aſtures* to have been of *Libyan* extract, and to have come over with the *Carthaginians*, and ſettled in this part of *Gallæcia*. The city was called *Aſtorga*, from its being ſituate on the banks of a river of that name, which flows into the *Durius*: and the *Romans*, having ſeized on it and the adjacent territories, called it *Auguſta Aſturica* (2). Some derive the names both of the river and of the city, from *Aſtir Memnon*'s coachman, who came thither with other *Trojans*, and planted a colony here (3), but this we look upon as fabulous.

As for the ſeventh legion above mentioned, we find it called in *Ptolemy legio ſeptima Germanica*; but as there is no mention of any ſuch, either in other authors, or in any antient inſcriptions, but often of *legio ſeptima gemina* (4), it is rightly ſuppoſed, that it is in that author a mere error of the copyiſt, who miſtook it for *Germanica*.

(2) *Georg. l. ii. Vid & Gerund paralip lib. iii.* (3) *Strabo de reg. Hisp ex Lucan & Sil Ital.* (4) *Nebrig. Hieronic Juban. Chron. Sebast.*

ſtinguiſhed by *Pliny* by the name of *Naſcica*, juſtly execrated, by the *Roman* authors [w], for the inſurrection and dread cataſtrophe of *Sertorius*, mentioned in a former volume, and too black to be repeated afreſh [x]. The city was at firſt a municipal one, and in ſome inſcriptions ſurnamed *Julia* (E), and then made a colony, with ſome others mentioned by *Pliny* [y], particularly thoſe of *Oſca*, *Ilerda*, and *Turiaſa*. *Calaguris*, ſince *Calahorta*, was the head town of the *Autrigones*, ſeated indifferently by geographers on either ſide, but, by the moſt exact, on the other ſide of the *Iberus*, as we hinted in the laſt note. *Grachuris*, or *Graccuris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* among the chief cities of the *Vaſcones*, was, as we are told by *Livy* [z], built by *Tit. Sempron. Gracchus*, who took it from the *Celtiberians*, and called it by his name. Its ſituation is uncertain, only the *Itinerarium* places it on the road to *Cæſar Auguſta*, at ſixty-four miles diſtance from it in the road to *Tarracō*. It is in ſome antient inſcriptions ſtyled *Municipium Graccuris*. Some chriſtian champions, who ſuffered here for the faith in thoſe early times, are in ſome martyrologies called the *Grachurian*, and in others the *Ilerdan*, martyrs, from the vicinity, probably, of thoſe two places. The laſt we ſhall name is the famed town of the *Vaccæi* called *Intercata*, celebrated by antient authors, for a ſingle combat, which was fought, at the ſiege of that city, between *Scipio Æmilianus* and a bold *Spaniſh* tribune, in which the latter was killed; and the former had no ſooner

Graccuris.

Intercata.

[w] Vid. Valer. Max. l. vii. c. 6. L. Flor. l. iii. c. 22. Juven. ſat. xv. ver. 93. [x] See before, vol. xii. p. 493. [y] Lib. iii. c. 3. [z] Epit. xlii.

(E) It is inſcribed, in ſome *Auguſtan* coins, Mvn. Calag Ivl. that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia*; and, in one of *Tiberius*, M. C. I. C. Celere, C Recto IIvir. that is, *Municipium Calaguris Julia, Caio Celere, Caio Recto, Duumviris.*

As there were two cities of that name, *viz.* this of *Naſcica*, and another ſurnamed *Fibularenſis*, ſome authors have placed them differently on the ſides of the *Iberus*; but *Peter de Marca* and *Cellarius* whom we chuſe to follow, place the former on the other ſide of that river. As for the latter, which was at ſome diſtance from it, and inferior to it in point of privilege and opulence (5), it was only remarkable for a manufacture of what the *Romans* called *fibulæ*, a kind of buckles or buttons to faſten their garments with; and was diſtinguiſhed by that name, on that account.

(5) *Vid. Cæſ. comment. lib. i. c. 40. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 3.*

eſcaped

escaped one danger, than he exposed himself to a greater, and was the first that scaled the walls of that place [a]. We come now to speak of some of the most celebrated cities of this province, at the head of which we may justly place the metropolis of it.

Tarraco, now *Tarragon*, situate on the *Mediterranean* coast, between the rivers *Iberus*, or *Ebro*, and the *Rubricatus*, now *Lobregat*. It was a colony planted there by the two *Scipios*, *Publ.* and *Cornel.* with a juridical court; and was the capital of *Hispania Romana* (F), not so much on account of the excellency of its harbour, as *Strabo* observes, as for its being commodiously situated for all those who travelled into this kingdom, whether by sea or land [b]. But *Spanish* authors, though they grant those two *Roman* generals to have planted a colony there, will by no means allow, that they founded the city, but fetch its origin and etymon much higher: we have given two of them in the last note. However that be, this city has been all along very famous, having been, since, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Arragon*, an archiepiscopal see, and famed for a council or two held there; the first by *John* the then metropolitan, and his twelve bishops,

Tarraco.

[a] Liv. epitom. xlviii Aurel. Vict. in Scip. Æmil. Appian in Iberic. &c. [b] Lib. iii. Plin, nat. hist. lib. iii.

(F) It is placed by antient geographers in the region or kingdom of *Cossetani* or *Cossitani*, situate between the two rivers abovementioned. It appears from antient medals to have been a very flourishing city, especially in *Augustus*'s time: and is called by one *Colonia victrix*, by another *Colonia victrix togata Tarraco*; and in a third are found these words, Genio Col. V. T. Tarrac. that is, *Genio Coloniæ Victricis Togatæ Tarraconensis*. There are still, it seems, quantities of such antient coins frequently dug up about the neighbourhood of it; which inclines one to think, it was formerly much larger than it is now, though it is at present very spacious, opulent, and considerable (6).

Those who make *Tubal* to have been the peopler of *Spain*, pretend, that he founded this city, to be a kind of safeguard for his flocks and shepherds, of which he had vast numbers; and that both he and this place had the name of *Tarraco* given them, that is, *the gatherer up of shepherds (7)*. Others will have it to have been built by *Hercules*, and to have been called *Aron*; whence the compound word *Tarracon* was insensibly contracted into *Tarraco* (8).

(6) *Vid. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. § 1. Marin. Siculus de reb. Hisp. l. iii.* (7) *Syncell. ex Eusebio. Isid. Orig. lib. xv. Hisp. sub initio.* (8) *Vid. Hieronym. post Isid.*

in the year of Chriſt 516, in which it was, amongſt other things, enacted that the celebration of the *Sunday* ſhould begin on *Saturday* evening. Hence that cuſtom hath, it ſeems, ſpread itſelf almoſt all over *Spain*, to leave off all kind of work from that time [c]. In another held under *Berengarius*, primate of the ſame place, 1180, it was ordained, that the dates of all public writings ſhould be computed from the year of Chriſt, which before were wont to be reckoned from the reigns of the *Frankiſh* monarchs [d]. Below *Tarraco* was the

Saguntus.

famed city of *Saguntus*, or *Saguntum*, on the ſame coaſt, of which having ſpoken amply in the beginning of this volume, and of its dreadful cataſtrophe, we ſhall refer our readers to it [e].

Valentia.

Valentia, another antient city a little below *Saguntum*, was the capital of the *Edetani*. It is ſituate on the mouth of the river *Turias*, about three miles from the ſea, and was anciently ſtyled *Colonia Julia*, and founded by *Junius Brutus*, whilſt he was conſul in *Spain* [f], and given to his army (G). It was afterwards deſtroyed, with *Hereminius* and his accomplices, by *Pompey*, and rebuilt by *Julius Cæſar*. It hath retained its antient dignity and grandeur, was once the metropolis of the kingdom, as it is ſtill of the province of that name, an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Spain*. The people of this city were formerly as much celebrated for their valour and honeſty, by *Tully*, as they are now, by their own authors, for their ſuperſtition and bigotry [g].

Complutum.

Before we leave this part of *Spain*, we muſt not omit the famous city of *Complutum*, now *Alcala de Henarez*, ſo called from the river *Henarez*, on whoſe banks it is ſituate in a pleaſant plain; and, as that river falls into the great *Tagus*, the cities here along are eaſily furniſhed with all kinds of proviſions and merchandizes. *Complutum* has now no biſhopric, but only a collegiate church,

[c] Vas. chronic. ſub an 516. [d] Taraph. ubi ſup. ſub an. 1176. [e] See before, p. 131, & ſeq. [f] Liv. epit. lv. Plin. lib. iii. c. 3. [g] De his vid. Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hiſp in fin. l. iii.

(G) The followers of *Beroſus* affirm this city to have been built by *Romus* the ſon of *Iſſa*, one of their antient, if not fabulous, kings; and to have been called by his own name *Roma*; and that the *Romans*, having ſince taken and inlarged it, gave it the name of *Rome* inſtead of it (*a*).

(*a*) Vide Ant. Nebriſſ. in Chron. Turpiſ. reg. Hiſp. ſub ann.

al.

and is a confiderable univerſity, having been greatly endowed by the celebrated cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbiſhop of *Toledo*; under whoſe auſpices, care, and immenſe charges, the firſt polyglot bible was compiled and printed in this city, and is from thence called the *Complutenſian* polyglot (H). Weſtward of, and between *Complutum*, and the antient city of *Toletum*, now *Toledo*, and on the ſame river *Tagus*, was ſituate the *Mantua* of *Ptolemy*, near which ſpot is ſuppoſed the town of *Madrid*, the now metropolis of all *Spain*, to have been ſince built (I); but of this, and many others, both on the ſea-coaſts and in the continent, we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing further, they being ſo well known to almoſt every reader. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the moſt conſiderable rivers, mountains, and promontories, in the courſe of this article; the reſt, that are of any note, together with ſuch natural rarities as may be worth obſerving, the reader will find in the following note (K), and in the map annexed.

THE

(H) This glorious Work the firſt of that kind, was performed by men of the greateſt learning, invited thither by that cardinal at a vaſt charge. It was a conſiderable time in compiling, and about four years in printing, that is, from 1514 to 1517; but the whole was not publiſhed till 1520, when it came recommended with a bull of pope *Leo* X. in ſixvolumes, including the lexicon. It was printed in four languages, *viz.* the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. The *Hebrew* was as correct as it could poſſibly be done, according to the original; but the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Vulgate Latin*, were corrected in ſuch a vaſt number of places, and from ſuch a prodigious number of manuſcripts, as were procured from all parts at no ſmall expence, in order to render thoſe three verſions more conformable to the original, that it, by degrees, dwindled into diſlike; but hath, however, this merit with the learned, that it ſerved for a model to thoſe which were ſince publiſhed in other kingdoms; among which that of *London* is juſtly eſteemed, in all reſpects, the moſt uſeful and exact, though not enriched with ſuch a variety of coſtly ornaments as that of Mr. *Le Jay*, printed at *Paris* (10).

(I) Hence we find it called by ſome *Mantua Carpetana*, by others *Madritum* and *Madrit*; but commonly now *Madrid* (11).

K. Beſides the cities above mentioned, we ſhould take notice of a very famed one, namely, new *Carthage*; but as we have had oc-

(10) *Vid. int. al Mattair. annal. typogr. Palmer, hiſt of printing. Calmet, diſcourſe of polyglots, & al. mult.* (11) *Vid. Mariana. Marin. de reb. Hiſp l.* ii.

Iſlands. THE chief iſlands, belonging to the *Tarraconian* province,
Gades. are, firſt, that of *Gades*, ſituate on the gulph of that name, between

caſion to ſpeak of it in the firſt part of this volume, we ſhall refer our readers to it (12). *Segobriga*, alias *Segobrica*, was, aswe are told, the capital of the *Celtiberi* (13), concerning whole ſituation authors, even *Spaniſh*, differ ſo much, that we can hardly ſay any thing about it. Some think there were two of that name, one in this province of *Tarracon*, and the other at the foot of the *Caſtellan* mountains; but the former, which is the moſt conſiderable, the authors above-quoted place in the neighbourhood of the antient *Numantia*, mentioned, not only by them, but by the *Itinerary*, which places it between *Uxama* and *Turiaſo*, near the river *Durius*. This laſt was, it ſeems, ſo excellently fortified by nature, that it neither had nor needed either walls, towers, or other fortifications, being ſeated on the top of a ſteep mountain, and ſheltered by much higher hills on three of its ſides, being only acceſſible on the fourth, which opened to a plain, but by ſuch narrow defiles, as could be eaſily guarded by a handful of men. Great wonders are told of this place by the authors under quoted (14); for it would ſwell this note too much, were we to deſcend to particulars. It was, however, quite deſtroyed by the two *Scipios*; but, ſince we find it mentioned by thoſe antient authors, and by the *Itinerary*, we need not doubt but it was rebuilt by ſome of their ſucceſſors. We have already given a full account of the *Numantine* war, and the ſad cataſtrophe of that famed city, and ſhall refer our readers to it (15), to avoid repetitions; and for the ſame reaſon we ſhall forbear mentioning any more of thoſe antient cities, whoſe names and further particulars have been ſufficiently taken notice of in the courſe of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* hiſtory; for thoſe of later date belong not to this, but to the modern, part of this work.

Mountains of note, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are the *Pyrenees*, which divide *Spain* from *Gaul* by a continued ridge of vaſt height and depth, and reaches from ſea to ſea. They are ſuppoſed to have been ſo called, from a fire which ſpread itſelf over the ſurface of them, and burnt with ſuch fierceneſs during ſeveral days, that it even melted the metals within their bowels, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. The *Idubedan* hills were another ridge, which croſſed one part of this province, and at the foot of which were the heads of ſeveral famed rivers, ſuch as thoſe of the *Tagus* and *Anas*, which flowed weſtward toward the ocean, on one ſide; and of the *Iberus* and *Turias*, which ran eaſtward into the *Mediterranean*, on

(12) *See before*, p. 242, & *ſeq.* (13) *Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 3. *Strab. lib.* iii. *Ptol. lib.* ii. *c.* 6. (14) *Id. ibid Flor. bell. Numant. Oros. l.* v. *c.* 7. *Vid.* & *Mariana, lib.* iii. & *auct. Hiſpan. Pancirol.* & *Cellar. ubi ſup. ſect.* 11. (15) *Vid. vol.* xii. *p.* 261, & *ſeq.*

the

between the ſtraights of *Gibraltar* and the river *Bætis*, and famed, not ſo much for its bigneſs, as for the concourſe of foreign nations thither from the earlieſt times, and for its celebrated city and temple, of which, as well as of its foundation, names, and other particulars, we have already ſpoken in this chapter, and in a former volume [h]. *Strabo* gives it the length of one hundred furlongs, and a much ſmaller breadth; yet it had, according to him, no leſs than five hundred horſemen in his time [i]: we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the famed temple of it in the ſequel. As for the city, we have, at the beginning of this volume, mentioned its being plundered by the *Carthaginians*, and taken by the *Romans* [k]. It was ſince erected into a biſhoprick, under the title of *Epiſcopatus Gaditanus* [l]. The next is the ſo much celebrated, and ſo hard to find, iſland of *Erythia*, where *Geryon* is ſaid to have kept his fine oxen, which *Hercules* came and ſtole from him [m]. Some have placed it near that of *Gades*: others think it was the ſame with it: and others have thought, that it was either ſunk into the ſea, or was to be ſought for among the rocks. We have, however, ventured, in a former chapter of this volume, to offer a conjecture concerning its ſituation; and ſhall refer our readers to it [n]. No leſs difficult has been the ſearch after thoſe ten famed iſlands called by the *Greeks Caſſiterides*, from whence the *Phœnicians*, the firſt diſcoverers of them, did fetch ſuch vaſt quantities of tin. We ſhould not have mentioned them here, the learned *Cambden* having fully ſhewn, that they are our iſlands of *Scilly*, had not ſome of the antients, as *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* [o], placed them on the *Spaniſh* coaſts, ſomewhat beyond the *Promontorium Celticum* or *Artabrum*, or *Cape Finiſter*; and others ſomewhere on the weſtern ocean, about the upper coaſts of *Luſitania* [p]. But as

Erythia.

Caſſiterides.

[h] Vol. xvi. p. 554, (A). [i] Lib. iii. [k] See before, p. 266. [l] VAS. chronic. c. 21. [m] HESIOD. theogon. ver. 289, & ſeq. [n] Before, p. 407, (F). [o] STRAB. l. iv. PTOL. l. iii. [p] DIOD. SICUL. l. v. c. 38. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22, & alib. MELA, & al.

the other. The *Oroſpedan* ridge ſeems to have ſeparated this province in part from *Bætica*. They were alſo called *Mariani Montes*, and now *Sierra Modena*. We ſpoke of them under the laſt article. A great many more this province abounded with, for a further account of which we muſt refer our readers to the antient and modern authors, lately quoted, as likewiſe for thoſe mines, minerals, mineral waters, and other curioſities, they and the neighbouring vallies produced, theb are mention of which would carry us far beyond our deſign.

there

there never could be found any ſuch iſlands on thoſe coaſts, they have been ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate with that of *Erythia* lately mentioned. However, as we ſhall have occaſion to reſume them, when we come to ſpeak of the *Britiſh* iſlands [q], we ſhall ſay no more of them here, but paſs to thoſe which are more conſiderable, and better known to us; and theſe are the *Baleares*, or *Gymneſiæ*, as they are called by the antients.

Baleares. These were diſtinguiſhed into *Major* and *Minor*, or, as *Mela* expreſſes it, *Majores* and *Minores*. Their bigneſs, ſituation, and other particulars, are ſo well known to every reader, that it were ſuperfluous to dwell upon them. All that we need to ſay of them here is, in what ſtate they were in thoſe antient times. In the former, now *Majorca*, *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* place the two cities of *Palma* and *Pollentia*, the one on the eaſt, and the other on the weſt; and theſe are by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*, ſtyled *Coloniæ*. In the latter, now *Minorca*, they place likewiſe two cities, *viz.* *Jamno* and *Mago*; which were, however, no more than caſtles or forts, if *Mela*'s judgment, who was of that country, is to be preferred to the others. But as they ſeem to have been both built near the mouths of two convenient harbours, which are in this iſland, it is hardly to be doubted, but theſe ſoon grew into conſiderable ſea-ports, eſpecially that of *Mago*, which became ſince a celebrated one, under the name of *Maon*. Theſe two iſlands were, on account of their ſituation and harbours, ſtyled *Fortunatæ*, and ſtand at about thirty miles diſtance from each other. They were at firſt poſſeſſed by the *Phœnicians*, who held them till *Q. Metellus* brought them under the *Roman* yoke, for which he got the ſurname of *Baleariçus* [t]. As to the etymon of *Baleares*, moſt authors derive it from the *Greek* Βάλλειν, which ſignifies, *to throw with a ſling*, becauſe the inhabitants of them were particularly famed for their ſkill in it [s]: yet, as the *Carthaginians* had theſe iſlands before any other, *Bochart* thinks they did give them that name, which is compounded of two *Punic* words, *Baal* and *Jarah*, which amount to the ſame ſenſe, and ſignify *a ſlinging-maſter*, or *a man expert at throwing*, &c. Their other names of *Gymneſiæ*, or *Gymnaſia*, is, according to the antient authors above-quoted, of *Greek* extract, and was given them on account of their inhabitants going naked in ſummer.

[q] See hereafter, vol. xviii. p. 226. [r] De his vid. Strab. & Ptolem. ubi ſup. D. Sicul. lib. v. c. 18. Mela, lib. ii. ad fin. Flor. l. iii. c. 8. [s] Vid. D. Sicul. ubi ſup. Strab. l. xiv. Plin. l. iii. c. 5. Eustat. ad Dionyſ. ver. 457.

Further,

FURTHER, towards the ſtraights, over-againſt the cape *Dianium*, now *Denia*, are the two iſlands called *Pityuſæ* by the antients, from the vaſt quantities of pine-trees which they produced [t]; the one of which, by far the larger of the two, though ſmaller than that of *Minorca*, was named *Ebuſus*, now *Ivica*; the other, *Ophiuſa*, now *Formentera*. They are both mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; and *Mela* adds, that the former was not only very fertile, but that it bred no kind of poiſonous, nor even wild, creatures, and that, if any were brought thither, they could not live in it [u], though the iſland abounded with paſture-ground [w], and with great variety of fruits, particularly a kind of figs, for which it was famed: ſome have even added ſugar-canes [x], which, it is ſaid, they boiled into ſugar, and made a traffick of; but this *Cellarius* has ſhewn to be a miſtake, and that it means no other, than the dried figs above-mentioned [y]. The other, by far the ſmalleſt, is thought by ſome to have been the ſame with that which the *Latins* called *Colubraria*; but the author laſt-quoted hath plainly proved, from the teſtimonies of *Pliny* and *Mela* that they were two different iſlands; and that the latter was at a much greater diſtance from that of *Ebuſus*, than the former; and both of them are ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, that we need ſay no more of them. As for *Ebuſus*, it was the name, both of the iſland and of the city in it, though the latter was more commonly called *Ebuſium*; for we find, in antient inſcriptions of *Gruter*, *Ordo Ebuſii*, and *Rp.* or *Reſpublica Ebuſii*; and are further told, that it was a colony of the *Phœnicians* [z]. The laſt iſland worth mentioning was called *Capraria*, and now *Cabrera*, probably from the number of goats it bred, as the *Colubraria* ſeems to have been from its great quantity of adders. It ſtands on the ſouth of *Majorca*, and is chiefly noted for being fatal to mariners. All theſe iſlands, and a great number of others mentioned by antient writers, now not to be found, and ſuppoſed to have been ſince ſunk into the ſea, did belong to this province of *Tarracon*, and underwent the ſame fate of paſſing from the *Carthaginian* to the *Roman* yoke. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving from *Pliny* [a], that this province was divided into ſeven *conventus*, or provincial aſſemblies, whoſe names the reader will

[t] PLIN. l iii. c. 5. [u] De ſit. in fin. lib. ii. [w] FEST. AVIEN. deſcript. orb. vet. 621. [x] NONN. c 94. in Stat. ſylv. lib. i. [y] Lib. ii. c. 1. ſect. 4. § 132. [z] SIL. ITAL. l. iii, ver. 362. [a] PLIN. l. iii c. 3. & al. ſup. citat.

find

find in the margin (L). It had ſeventy-nine towns, twelve colonies, twelve *Roman*, and eighteen *Latian*, cities, and an hundred and thirty-five *ſtipendiaria* or garriſons in the *Roman* pay, and one confederate.

(L) Theſe were the *Carthaginienſis*, *Tarraconenſis*, *Ceſar-Auguſtanus*, *Clunienſis*, *Aſturus*, *Lucenſis*, and *Braccarus*.

SECT. II.

The religion, laws, government, cuſtoms, learning, &c. *of the antient* Spaniards.

The religion of the antient Spaniards.

THERE is no doubt to be made, that, where-ever *Spain* was inhabited by the deſcendants of the *Celtes*, thither they brought their old religion, government, &c. What theſe were, we have given an account of in a former volume[a]; and ſhall ſpeak ſtill more largely upon in the next chapter, of the antient *Gauls*, the undoubted and immediate deſcendants of the antient *Celtic* ſtock; for we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, and ſo, indeed, we find, a great affinity between them in all theſe particulars, as they all ſprang from the ſame origin. But, as the *Gauls* are better known to us than the *Spaniards*, we ſhall refer the greateſt part of what we have to ſay on theſe different heads, till we come to their hiſtory: for, could we even admit what the generality of *Spaniſh* writers affirm after *Beroſus*, that *Tubal*, the fifth ſon of *Japhet*, came and peopled *Spain* ſo ſoon as an hundred and forty-three years after the flood, *Gomer*, his eldeſt brother, and the father of the *Celtes*, muſt have been as ſoon in poſſeſſion of *Gaul*; and both muſt, of courſe, be ſuppoſed to have brought the ſame religion, laws, government, &c. namely, that which they received from their grandfather *Noah*: and how tenacious both theſe, and other nations of the ſame *Celtic* deſcent, were of their own religion and laws, will be eaſily ſeen by the ſequel, eſpecially in the hiſtories of the antient *Gauls* and *Germans*. All that we ſhall ſay further of their religion here is, that it was, in all theſe countries, the ſame as that of the old patriarchs: they worſhipped one ſupreme Being, not in temples, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but in groves conſecrated to him. They believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ſuitable to their behaviour in this. They offered victims to him, and celebrat-

[a] Vol. v. p 227, & ſeq.

cd

ed ſome feſtivals in honour of him; and, in moſt things, obſerved a great ſimplicity in all their religious rites, during a long ſeries of ages, till, by intermingling with other nations, they degenerated into ſeveral of their ſuperſtitions, eſpecially into their various ways of divination, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in the next chapter. One bloody and inhuman cuſtom they gave, indeed, into very early, in common with moſt antient nations, *viz.* that of *human ſacrifices*; the origin of which having endeavoured to account for in ſome former volumes, we ſhall refer our readers to them, to avoid prolixity [b].

BUT, as this country came to be invaded by ſuch variety of other nations, ſuch as the *Egyptians*, who are ſaid to have introduced all the heatheniſh ſuperſtition of their country, the *Tyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, and a multitude of others, who ſettled amongſt them, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent ſection, it is natural to think, that every one brought their own religion and cuſtoms with them; and what theſe were, muſt be ſeen in the hiſtory we have given of each of thoſe nations in the courſe of this work; for it were endleſs to repeat it here. It is plain, ſuch a mixture of different nations muſt bring, not only a vaſt variety of religious laws and cuſtoms, but produce ſome alterations in each of them, as they mutually borrowed ſome doctrines and notions, rites and faſhions, from one another, as ſuited their taſte or circumſtances. Superſtition has no bounds, and perſons, either out of wantonneſs or impatience, will be eaſily induced to hunt after a variety of deities, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies. This, we find, was the caſe of the *Iſraelites*, though reſtrained from it under ſuch ſevere penalties: how much more will it be ſo, where every one is left at his own liberty? However, after the coming of the lordly *Romans*, whoſe conſtant policy it was, to introduce every-where their gods, religion, laws, *&c.* either by fair or foul means, we need not doubt but thoſe, that fell under their dominion, were obliged to ſubmit to this change. The inundation likewiſe of the northern nations, ſuch as the *Suevi*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, muſt likewiſe have introduced ſuch changes, as may be better imagined than expreſſed. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in their ſeveral hiſtories here enſuing; only thus much may be ſaid here, that though they had embraced chriſtianity, yet they were all of them infected with the *Arian* hereſy. This did not, however, ſlacken their zeal againſt the heatheniſh idolatry and ſuperſtition, which had been introduced there by the *Egyptians*,

[b] Vol. i. 290 (W). 459, ii. 462, iii. 106, in fin. (V).

Carthaginians, *Romans*, and other nations, whose temples, altars, statues, &c. they destroyed where-ever they came, obliging all that came under their power, to embrace their religion; but both *Sueves* and *Goths* did at length exchange their *Arianism* for the orthodox faith, the former, under the reign of their king *Ariamirus*, alias *Theodimirus*, and the latter under *Reccaredus*, who made open profession of it upon his accession to the crown. Their example was followed by the nobles, bishops, and clergy; and their confession of faith was presented to the famed council of *Toledo*, where some further regulations were made, for the preservation of orthodoxy, and for introducing a general conformity of worship. This great change was so much the more remarkable, considering the tenaciousness of those nations for their old religion, as it was brought about without persecution or any other violent means. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that the *Goths* did make many excellent laws and regulations, for the better government in church and state. We shall speak of them, in their history, in a subsequent chapter; and shall only mention here a famed liturgy peculiar to them, known by several names, such as, *officium Gothicum*, *Toletanum*, and *Mozarabicum* (A), and supposed by most authors to have been compiled by *Isidore*, then bishop of *Hispal* or *Seville*. This liturgy was confirmed by the *Toletan* council above-mentioned, though the pope did not suffer them to enjoy it many years, before he obliged them to exchange it for the *Roman*, not without a long and strenuous opposition from the *Goths*, especially those of *Catalonia*, who sent a number of deputies to the council of *Mantua*, to expostulate against such a forced innovation. Some extraordinary particulars we are told with relation to this successless deputation, which, as they display the unfair intrigues and arbitrary sway of the *Romish* court, as well as the superstitious practices of those times, we shall give to our readers in the margin (B).

It

(A) So called from the name of *Moxarabes*, which they then gave to those christians, who were under the subjection of the *Saracens*.

(B) The merit of these two liturgies, we are told, was to be decided by single combat; in which one champion was to fight for the *Gothic*, and the other for the *Roman*. They did so; and the latter lost the battle; but the *Roman* party raising some fresh chicane about it, it was again agreed to be tried by fire. Accordingly both books were flung into the flames, from which the *Gothic* was preserved, and the other burnt. But such was the prevalence of the pope's party, as it was managed by his then legate, that the synod

IT is probable, that, though the firſt inhabitants of *Spain* were under one monarchical government, upon their firſt ſettling in it, as well as thoſe of *Gaul*, *Germany*, and other *European* nations; yet as they came to increaſe in number and enlarge their territories, they ſplit themſelves into a multiplicity of petty kingdoms and common-wealths. This was the caſe of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, when *Cæſar* firſt came amongſt them, as we ſhall ſhew in due time; and much more may we ſuppoſe it to have been ſo here, conſidering the great variety of nations that came and ſettled amongſt them, of which we ſhall give a fuller account in a ſubſequent ſection of this chapter; for it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that moſt, if not all of them, brought and ſettled their own laws and form of government, than that they ſhould ſubmit to that of the antient inhabitants, eſpecially as many of the former came thither rather as conquerors, than colonies; from all which muſt neceſſarily reſult, not only a vaſt variety, but likewiſe a conſtant fluctuation of them, as they paſſed from one dominion to another, eſpecially when they came under that of the *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* (C). *Government, laws, &c.*

After

ſynod of *Leon* decided afreſh in favour of the latter. The *Gothic*, however, was far from being wholly ſet aſide. It was retained by ſeveral congregations, and by ſeven churches of *Toledo*, during a conſiderable number of years. Neither did it loſe its credit by being diſuſed, ſince even the famed cardinal *Ximenes* erected a chapel in the city, in which the divine worſhip was to be performed according to the *Gothic* or *Mozarabic* liturgy; but in the end means were found to get it condemned, and wholly ſet aſide, and with it the old character, in which it was writ (1).

This character was not, however, the old famed *Runic*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the *German* hiſtory, as has been affirmed by ſeveral authors: but the old *Gothic*, in which moſt, if not all books, eſpecially church ones, were written at that time in *Spain* and elſewhere; and was near the ſame with the old *Roman*, but of a coarſer mould; and was particularly uſed in all the *Viſigothiſh* dominions.

(C) How they were governed under the two former, may be ſeen by their hiſtory in the three laſt volumes; and how by the latter, in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters, as well as in the ſequel of this. One thing we muſt, however, obſerve here, with reſpect to the *Romans*, that it was their conſtant policy, in their conquered dominions, to diſtinguiſh between thoſe, that, through fear, or ne-

(1) *De hoc vid. Vaſ. chron. ſub. an* 717. *Comes de geſt. fr. Ximenei, lib. ii. & al. Vid Capzow German & Leddard vol. ii. p.* 284.

After the expulsion of the *Carthaginians* by the *Scipios*, of which we have given an account in a former chapter of this volume [c], *Spain* was governed by consuls, proconsuls, prætors, proprætors, and *præsides*, from that very time down to the reign of *Tiberius*, if not lower; for we find *L. Piso* prætor of the hither *Spain* in his time; and a rescript of *Adrian* directed to the consul of *Bætica*. The *presides* are mentioned likewise in subsequent reigns; but that title was of a more general signification, and applied to the governors of every inferior province. However, it continued under the government of forty-six emperors, from *Augustus*, who is said to have finished the conquest of it, to *Honorius*, in whose reign the *Romans* were expelled by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. Under these emperors, who governed the empire after their own arbitrary will, *Spain* was divided into two provinces; but soon after reduced into one, though under several governors, or *legati* and *tribuni* [d]. About the reign of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, it began to be governed by *comites*, or counts; and, if any of these were forced to be absent from their jurisdiction, they left the care of it to substitutes, who were called

[c] P. 260, & seq.

[d] TACIT. an. Vid. & VAS. chronol. c 13.

cessity, had either fought their friendship or protection, or willingly submitted to them; and those, who were subdued by force of arms. The former of these they permitted to preserve their laws and form of government, and only obliged them to pay a certain tribute, and to lend a number of auxiliary forces, and perhaps to quarter a number of their troops; but the others they forced to submit wholly to the *Roman* laws and government, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the next chapter; though, by the way, it must be observed, with respect to the former, that if they gave the least umbrage to their pretended protectors, they seldom failed of being stripped of their privileges, and of being reduced to the slavish state of the latter. This proved the case of the *Spaniards*, who were forced by degrees, to submit, not only to the *Roman* yoke, but to their religion, customs, *&c.* and even to their language (2).

We find, however, in some antient authors, the names of several petty kings of *Spain*, both in the times of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, who governed in their several little kingdoms, and lived in peace with, and acknowledged them both, or paid some tribute, perhaps, to them; such as *Mandonius*, whom *Livy* calls king of the *Ilergetes*, *Amusius* king of the *Lacetani*, *Andubal* mentioned by *Polybius*, and some others; but to these the *Romans* only give the title of *reguli*.

(2) *Vid. Aldrete compend. hist. de Hispania.*

vicarii.

vicarii. And laſtly, in the time of the *Goths*, thoſe provinces, that were ſubject to the *Romans*, were ſet under government of *duces* and *præfecti*. Under the *Goths* they were governed by nineteen kings, during the ſpace of two hundred years, that is, from *Athanaric*, who began his reign in the year of Chriſt 369, to *Leovigild*, an. 569. The *Suevi* reigned in *Galicia*, according to *Iſidorus*, an hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years, that is, from *Hermeric*, A.C. 408, to *Andeca*, who was defeated and dethroned by *Leovigild*, above-mentioned, and brought that kingdom under his ſubjection, A. C. 581. In this liſt of *Suevian* kings there is a chaſm of their names for an hundred years, from *Remiſmund*, who infected that kingdom with *Arianiſm*, A. C. 464, to *Theodimirus*, who embraced the orthodox faith, the hiſtorians not having thought them worthy to be recorded. The others are ten in number, including *Reccaredus* above-mentioned. Laſtly, the united kingdoms of *Goths* and *Suevi*, which began at *Reccaredus* the ſucceſſor of *Leovigild*, the firſt orthodox king of the *Goths*, A. C. 586, laſted an hundred and twenty-ſeven years, that is, to A.C. 713, when the *Moors* put an end to the kingdom, in the third year of *Roderic* their ſeventeenth and laſt king. Of all theſe, and their different nations, we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, every one in their order. As for thoſe of *Leon*, *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*, they will be ſpoken of in the modern hiſtory.

WHAT laws the antient *Spaniards* originally had, or what new ones were impoſed upon them by their conquerors, we are left to gueſs at. We are, indeed, told, that *Hercules*, upon his coming thither, did give them a body of them, ſuch as he had brought from his own country, whether *Egypt*, *Tyre*, or *Greece*; but what they were, we are wholly in the dark about. If we may, however, offer a conjecture from what we read about their neighbours the *Gauls*, who had a multiplicity of governments, ſome monarchical, ſome ariſtocratic, and ſome even democratic, and, of the former, ſome limited, ſome deſpotic, we may reaſonably conclude, that every one of them had their own laws, and ſuch as beſt ſuited to their genius, intereſt, and the ſafety of the whole; but theſe do not appear to have extended farther, than to the preſervation of each of their particular forms of government; for, in other caſes, each of them had their grand council, to deliberate, enact, explain, and decide, according to the preſent emergency, as they thought for the good of the community. By theſe all controverſies between man and man, town and town, diſtrict and diſtrict, were adjudged; and their power was ſuch, that even their kings, where *Laws.*

where they had not made themſelves wholly abſolute, of which we ſcarce meet with any inſtance, were obliged to ſubmit to their deciſion, ſave only that in all caſes, where the plaintiff was not ſatisfied with it, he had liberty to challenge his adverſary, and to determine the affair by ſingle combat. The ſame was likewiſe done between city and city, diſtrict and diſtrict, who appointed one or more champions to appear for them, and the cauſe was always adjudged to the conquering ſide; for it was a conſtant maxim amongſt all the deſcendants of the *Celtes*, that Providence always interpoſed in ſuch caſes, and that, wherever the victory fell, there was the ſureſt right.

Valour and diſcipline.

In the art of war and military diſcipline, we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other nations of *Celtic* extract, were very deficient, truſting too much to their ſtrength and bravery, and deſpiſing all other arts, and even defenſive weapons, as beneath a man of true courage; but, in this reſpect, the *Spaniards*, though no leſs brave and ſtout, had much the advantage of them, which muſt be chiefly owing to their being ſo early and ſo frequently viſited, intermixed, and ſubdued, by other warlike nations, from whom they received freſh and conſtant improvements: whereas the *Gauls* and other northern nations, being ſcarcely known till after the coming in of the *Romans*, and having no other wars to wage, except what they did amongſt themſelves, one petty kingdom or commonwealth againſt another, they were quite ignorant of martial diſcipline; and even their weapons were ſo clumſily made and ſo miſerably tempered, that they often became uſeleſs, before half the action was over. In a word, their way of fighting was ſo artleſs and rude, that, in many inſtances, it gave a double advantage to the enemy, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel. The *Spaniards*, on the contrary, had, by their continual wars with ſuch a variety of polite nations, made themſelves maſters of, and placed their chief confidence in, their expertneſs in every branch of the martial trade. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us [a], that the *Celtiberians* had ſuch an excellent way of tempering the ſteel, with which they made their weapons, that no ſhield or helmet could reſiſt them (D); and that they uſed them with equal

[a] Lib. ii. c. 1.

(D) This, our author tells us, was done by burying the ſteel ſome conſiderable time under-ground, that is, till the ruſt had eat up the ſofteſt

equal dexterity, both on horſeback and foot, and alternately, if occaſion required. He likewiſe commends them much for their extraordinary nimbleneſs in giving or avoiding blows; and adds, that they uſed likewiſe the ſame defenſive weapons that other nations did, ſuch as the ſhield, &c. And this is the reaſon why the *Romans* were ſo long ſubduing them, and ſpent more years in the conqueſt of this country, than *Cæſar* did weeks, if we may believe him, in the reduction of *Gaul*. In the former they were forced to proceed, as it were, inch by inch, againſt a ſtout and warlike nation, that knew how to take every advantage of ground, ſituation, diſpoſition, &c. in the other, every battle gained by *Cæſar*, and theſe, by his own confeſſion, were eaſily obtained through this want of ſkill, opened to him a way through whole provinces, who were glad to ſubmit to him on any tolerable terms. What increaſes the wonder is, that, at the coming in of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* had ſuſtained ſuch long and dreadful wars, eſpecially juſt before, againſt the *Carthaginians*, that one might have expected them to have been quite exhauſted of their ſtrength; and much more likely would they have been ſo by thoſe, which they were now engaged in, in a new one, againſt a more potent and numerous enemy; and yet it is plain, they held out againſt them near, if not quite, two hundred years, before they were intirely ſubdued; nor were they then wholly ſo, ſince we find there was a conſtant neceſſity to keep a numerous army and a watchful eye over them, and even quite to diſarm whole provinces, to keep them under a tyranny, which many thouſands of them thinking ſhameful and inſupportable, preferred a voluntary death to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſtate; ſo dreadfully abject did it appear to that fierce and warlike nation, ſays *Livy*, to live without arms [f]: and indeed what *Valerius Maximus* ſays of the *Celtiberians*, or *Spaniards*, was common to all the *Celtic* nation and their deſcendants, That they eſteemed nothing ſo glorious, as to die with their ſword in hand, and in defence of their liberty. We ſhall ſee many pregnant inſtances of this noble ſpirit in ſome ſubſequent chapters. Even by the confeſſion of ſome of their own authors, the victories, which they gained over them, did often coſt them ſo dear, that they deſerved nothing leſs than ſuch a pompous name [g]; and many a triumph they have celebrated over them, which, had it had its due, would have been turned into a

The length and difficulty of their conqueſt.

[f] De bell. Mac. lib. iv. [g] L. FLOR. l. ii,

ſofteſt and coarſeſt part of the metal: the reſt, that had reſiſted it, was what they made their weapons of.

doleful

doleful mourning for a bloody and signal defeat. Thus much we think is incumbent on an impartial author to say, in justice to any brave conquered people, though it be much more common now-a-days to see them treated with the same contempt and disregard by modern writers, as they were wont to be by their lordly conquerors. We shall conclude this article with a judicious remark, which has been long since made, with respect to this conquest of *Spain*, that though the *Roman* conquerors were always eager of taking the surname of those nations they subdued, such as *Asiaticus*, *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. yet none of them, not even *Augustus Cæsar*, who is complimented by *Livy* with having put the finishing stroke to it, nor any of his successors, though most of them ambitious enough of such high titles, ever took that of *Hispanicus*, *Ibericus*, or any other that this country was called by. *Q. Cæcil. Metellus* was the only one, who aimed at it, and would fain have obtained that of *Celtibericus*, but could not. This seems to argue the *Romans* to have been so conscious of the vast deal of blood and treasure, which it had cost them, more than any other, that they could see no reason for bestowing any such honours upon them; and for which there might not have been the least pretence, had the *Spaniards* been united into one common interest, instead of being divided into so many governments, and under so many heads; for this, after all, will be found the main cause of their falling under the *Roman* yoke.

Learning, arts and sciences.

How soon arts and sciences began to flourish in *Spain*, can only be guessed at. That they have an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, of which we shall mention only three of the most illustrious; *viz.* the famed *Stoic* philosopher *Seneca*, who was a native of *Corduba*; the learned orator *Quintilian*, and the great cosmographer *Pomponius Mela*, often quoted thro' this work: and though we find other *European* nations very slow and late in cultivating them, such as the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others, who affected a singular contempt for them, as unsuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, considering the vast concourse of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose they must have begun to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and that whatever natural reluctancy, such as was common to all people of *Celtic* extract, they may have had against them, necessity

ceſſity muſt have forced them to overcome it, in their own defence and preſervation. We ſhall ſay nothing here of thoſe trades and manufactures, for which they have ſince rendered themſelves famous for ſome ages, till they again relapſed into their antient pride and indolence, out of which they were but lately roufed up again. But, with reſpect to their antient ones, though we have not much of them upon record, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible they could have ſubſiſted without them, conſidering the continued invaſions they were expoſed to, and the many enemies they were forced to make head againſt. Even learning and the liberal arts, if we may believe *Strabo*, began early to flouriſh here [h]; for he tells us, that the *Turdetani*, a people of *Bætica*, were become very famous for them, and were poſſeſſed of a vaſt number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of law writ in verſe, and other pieces of poetry of above ſix thouſand years ſtanding; which laſt, however exaggerated, doth at leaſt ſhew, that there was ſome foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of ſeveral kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by ſeveral other antient authors, particularly one of their own nation [i], but more manifeſtly by what *Pliny* tells us [k] of one *Lartius Licinius*, a private perſon, who made no difficulty to give an immenſe ſum (E) for a book of *Pliny* II's commentaries.

Their language the old Celtic.

WE make no difficulty to affirm, that the original language of *Spain* was the old *Celtic*, of which we have given ſome account in a former volume [l], and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further of it in the next chapter; for, whether we ſuppoſe, with the generality of *Spaniſh* authors, that *Tubal* came thither by ſea and peopled that country, or, as we have elſewhere hinted, that the *Celtes*, or deſcendants of *Gomer* his eldeſt brother, ſpread themſelves thither by gradual migrations, the caſe will be much the ſame in this particular, becauſe, on the ſuppoſition of the former hypotheſis, *Tubal* and *Gomer* parting ſoon after the flood, their language muſt have been the ſame; that is, the *Tubalians*, or, as they are called by others, *Cetubales*, and the *Gomerians*, muſt have carried the ſame language into thoſe countries where they ſettled, whether we call it by the name of the one, or of the other; with

[h] Lib. iii. [i] POMP MELA. SIL. ITAL. COLUMEL. MARTIAL. LUCAN. & al plur. [k] Epiſt. lib iii. [l] Vol. v. p. 257.

(E) This ſum is by our author ſaid to have been forty thouſand *nummi*; which, according to the computation of this learned commentator, was equivalent to ten thouſand golden crowns.

this difference only, that it must have been much purer and nearer that of the antediluvian patriarchs, whether that was the *Hebrew* or any other; concerning which we shall not here repeat what we have said on the subject at the entrance of this work [m]. But as that *Berosian* account is now, by most learned men, (except the *Spaniards*, who are fond of their own antiquity, beyond other nations) rejected as fabulous, we have ventured here and elsewhere to ascribe the first peopling of *Spain* to the *Celtes* or descendants of *Gomer*. And what confirms this hypothesis is, that their antient language, as it is still preserved in some parts of *Spain*, appears to be the same with that which is spoken by our *Welsh*, who are descended from *Gomer*, and retain still their paternal name of *Gomerai*, and call their own language *Gomraeg*, as we have shewed in our history, quoted a little higher. We likewise there took notice of the vast affinity there is between it and the antient *Hebrew*, insomuch that to those, who are masters of both, they plainly appear to be only dialects of the same tongue; or, to speak, perhaps, more properly, the *Celtic*, or language of the descendants of *Gomer*, is a dialect of the *Hebrew*, or language of *Noah*. And hence the modern *Spanish*, as it is now spoken throughout that country, will afford us a new proof of what we have advanced on this head. Many learned men have observed, that it retains a great number of names, words, and, we might add, idioms too, which to them plainly appeared to be of *Hebrew* extract, but have been at a loss how to account for it. It is absurd to suppose, that they were brought thither by the *Jews*, who fled from their country, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was laying it waste; and came and settled there, as some have imagined; for that nation is rather famed for losing their tongue, than preserving it, much less for propagating it in any country they come to. This made *Aldrete* to think those words to be of *Arabic*, and not of *Hebrew*, extract, and to be of no longer date, than the coming in of the *Moors* [n]. Had that learned author had recourse to the old language, which is still kept in some parts of *Biscay*, *Navarre*, and *Catalonia*, he would have found [illegible] number of them, as would have convinced him that they are many centuries older than the coming in of the *Moors*: and, had he known any thing of the affinity there is between the *Hebrew* and the *Celtic* [illegible] easily concluded, that all those words and idioms in the modern *Spanish*, must have come from the

[m] Vol. i. p. 1, & seq. [n] Vol. iii. p. 401, & seq. [n] Antique, de la Langue, &c.

latter

latter, and not from the former; which would have removed all the difficulty, without having recourſe to the *Arabic*. What ſeems to have miſled him into this notion is, that there is likewiſe a great conformity between this laſt language and the *Celtic*: hence that ſurpriſing number of words and idioms common to the *High Dutch* and *Arabic*, which has puzzled ſo many critics, and cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, than by ſuppoſing them to be of *Celtic* original, which like the old *Arabic*, was, as we hinted a little higher, a dialect, or, as ſome chuſe rather to ſuppoſe it, both the *Hebrew* and they were dialects of the original tongue. If we allow then the *Celtes* to have been either the firſt, or even ſome of the firſt, inhabitants of *Spain*, there will be the leſs wonder there ſhould be ſtill found, in the modern language of that country, ſuch primitive words, notwithſtanding the length of time, and various changes it may have undergone, ſince it is no more than what may be obſerved, not only in the *High* and *Low Dutch* and other northern languages, but even in the *French*, the fartheſt removed and ſtrangelieſt altered from the old *Gauliſh* or *Celtic*. We may add, that the modern *Spaniſh* preſerves more of the maſculine grandeur, beauty, and energy, of the old *Celtic*, than any other in *Europe*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Spaniſh* nation, with reſpect to the antient *Celtic* grandeur and majeſty; and we may ſafely add of their pride, and ſingular contempt for, not only trade, commerce, manufactures and the like, but even for agriculture, which they looked upon as below their dignity and martial genius; and therefore turned them over, as much as they could, to their ſlaves, as we ſhall ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the *Gauls* in the next chapter.

The Latin introduced by the Romans.

BUT whatever the original language of *Spain* may have been at firſt, it muſt have ſuffered great changes under thoſe different nations, by whom this country was ſubdued, and of whom we ſhall give a further account in the ſequel: but the greateſt of all was under the *Romans*; for theſe made it their conſtant buſineſs to introduce theirs into every country that fell under their hands; at firſt by founding ſchools, and even univerſities, where youth might, with the *Latin* tongue and character, be taught the arts and ſciences, which was no ſmall inducement to inſpire them with a fondneſs for it; and where that failed, more forcible means were uſed, ſo that in time almoſt the whole kingdom came to ſpeak it as their mother tongue, only thoſe few tribes of the antient inhabitants, who perhaps, like our *Welſh* here, fled into ſuch mountainous countries, where they could not be conquered, and retained

tained their original one. The *Latin* continued no longer there than to the coming in of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, under whom it began by degrees to dwindle from its purity, as it did in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and other parts, where thoſe barbarous nations, as they were called, got any dominion, and to adopt their barbariſms, and to decline into the ſtate, in which we ſee it now. And here it muſt be obſerved, with reſpect to the *Spaniſh*, that it has ſuffered the leaſt corruption, and retains more of the antient *Latin*, of any in *Europe*. This makes us think, that it did not receive any conſiderable alteration under the *Moors*; otherwiſe it muſt have deviated much more from it, than it actually doth: beſides, it is not likely, whatever *Aldrete* might infer from his fancied words and idioms of *Arabic* extract, and of which we have given a more probable origin, that *Spaniards*, fond as they ever were of their old ways, would have adopted any thing from a nation, which could not but be hateful to them, as invaders and conquerors; and much more ſo, on account of their religion.

Their writing.

FROM what we have lately quoted out of *Strabo*, it is plain, the antient *Spaniards* muſt have admitted writing amongſt them many ages before either the *Gauls*, *Germans*, or any others of *Celtic* extract; ſince theſe, as ſhall be ſhewn in due place, made it a religious maxim to commit nothing to writing, either of their hiſtory, learning, or religion, but contented themſelves with preſerving them in proper poems, which their druids and bards learned by heart, and tranſmitted in the ſame way to their diſciples. But it is more than probable, that the former were, in ſome meaſure, forced to it by ſome of thoſe many nations, under whoſe dominion they paſſed from time to time, ſuch eſpecially as the *Phœnicians*, the *Carthaginians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*: but, which of thoſe different characters was firſt adopted, or became in vogue, we cannot pretend to ſay; only that, from the coming of the *Romans*, their letters, as well as language, drove out all the reſt, and was in uſe till their expulſion, when the old *Gothic* of which we gave an account at the beginning of this ſection took place. This laſt, though far inferior to the *Roman* in beauty, and more tiring to the eyes, continued in ſuch vouge throughout *Europe*, from the coming of the *Goths*, downwards, that all church divinity and law-books were written, and (even long after the invention of printing and reviving of the old *Roman*) were printed in it. We have ſeen there why, and how, it was at length condemned and ſet aſide.

In

IT will not be amiſs here to take notice of an odd way, which the *Spaniards* of old had of computing of time, and which was peculiar to that nation. It took its riſe in the reign of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, prevailed all over *Spain*, and was not aboliſhed till after the middle of the thirteenth century; that is, firſt, in *Arragon*, by *Peter* IV. *A. D.* 1358, in *Caſtile*, by king *John*, an. 1383, and in *Portugal*, by *John* I. an. 1415. This way was, toreckon the years by æras, or rather from the æra, as they called it, without any other explanation, inſtead of computing from the creation, flood, birth of Chriſt, or ony other remarkable epoch; and this was uſed, not only in their profane, but, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, in their eccleſiaſtic records. So that it has puzzled the learned not a little, at firſt, to fix the point of time of this æra, and to find out a tolerable etymon for that word thus uſed. It is not worth troubling our readers with their various conjectures upon it; for nothing but conjecture has as yet been offered, and ſome of them, too, forced and far fetched. It ſhall ſuffice to ſay here, that they are all agreed on one point, *viz.* that the æra did commence in *Auguſtus*'s time, ſome add, that it was inſtituted in honour of him; but they differ about the number of years which it preceded the birth of Chriſt. Some reckon it but barely twenty-ſix years, and think thoſe highly miſtaken, who give it any more [a]. Others think it began on the year, in which that prince ordered the world to be taxed, as the evangeliſt words it; and that it was called æra from the *æs*, or copper coin which was exacted by that decree [b]. Some carry it higher, to fifty-two years before Chriſt, which was, according to them, the year in which *Julius Cæſar* was killed and *Auguſtus* ſucceeded him [c]: the righteſt of them, in our opinion, are thoſe, who deduct the firſt four years out of that emperor's reign, becauſe, as he was then but one of the triumvirs, it is not likely the *Spaniards* ſhould have begun ſo ſoon to compliment him with this new computation; and conſequently think, that it did not take place till the fifth year of his triumvirſhip, when that country, together with *Gaul* and ſome other provinces, fell to his lot; and that was forty-eight years before the birth of Chriſt. As for the original of the word, thoſe that do not like that we mentioned above, which is that of *Iſidore* biſhop of *Seville* [d], will be leſs

An odd way of computing time in Spain.

[a] GERUND. paral. pomp. Hiſpan. l. x. in fin. [b] Idem ibid. ex Iſidor. [c] Vid. VASEI chronic. c. 22. [d] Epiſt. ad Vaſ. ap. eund. ibid.

pleaſed

pleaſed with ſome others, which *Spaniſh* critics have fetched ſtill farther. That of *Vaſeus*, who thinks that æra was a mark ſtamped on the coin, to ſhew the value of it; and that of *Reſendius*, who affirms that æra was nothing elſe but a term to ſignify a computation, or computed number; would appear moſt probable to us, if they were backed with any good authority[e].

Education. The education of their children in antient days chiefly conſiſted in training them up to martial deeds, uſing them to ſuch food and exerciſes as tended to make them ſtrong and robuſt, active and nimble; in inſpiring them with a love of liberty and a contempt of death. Theſe principles were ſo ſtrongly inculcated into them from their infancy, and ſo carefully riveted in them both by precept and example, as they grew up, as well as by the hopes of a glorious future life to the bold and brave, and of miſery and ignominy to the baſe and cowardly, that the whole nation ſeemed unanimouſly to prefer death before ſlavery, and looked upon it as the moſt glorious of all bleſſings to die fighting in defence of their country. Even their women, by being obliged to train up their children in the martial way, contracted ſuch a habit of bravery, that they ſeldom or never failed of ſhewing ſome ſignal examples of it to them, as often as an opportunity offered itſelf. But we ſhall defer ſpeaking more particularly on this head, till the next chapter, where we ſhall ſingle out ſeveral inſtances of this native valour, in theſe and other *Celtic* nations, even in thoſe of the ſofter ſex and tender years.

Commerce. We have already obſerved, that this country was not only excellently ſituate for trade and commerce, but abounded with ſuch commodities, eſpecially ſilver, as invited all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, to come thither for them, to ſettle among them, and even to ſubdue them; inſomuch, that ſcarce any kingdom under the heaven ever paſſed through ſo many different dominions as this. *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Tyrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Moors*, and many others, have had their particular ſettlements in it; and the greateſt part of them, if not all, have held it, or at leaſt ſome conſiderable ſhare of it, under their ſubjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, and founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it. What

[e] Iidem ibid.

condition

condition the country was in, before thoſe ſtrange nations came into it, we dare not ſay, though, if we were to believe one half of what the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians have written on this head, it muſt have been in a more flouriſhing condition than any other; ſince we are told by them, that, even before the coming of *Hercules*, it had a great number of rich and ſtately towns and cities, and theſe of great antiquity too[f]: and this ſeems in ſome meaſure confirmed by ancient writers, ſuch as *Strabo*, *Juſtin*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and others; and indeed, if they really had ſuch a ſucceſſion, as we are going to give in the next ſection, of long-lived and opulent monarchs, from *Tubal* the grandſon of *Noah* to *Geryon*, whom that hero overcame, there would be no room to doubt of the truth of ſuch ancient cities having been built before his time. But the misfortune is, that there is no other authority for thoſe reigns, than that of *Beroſus*, who, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, is juſtly looked upon now as a fabulous author, and that what the *Greek* and *Roman* authors mentioned above have ſaid of the pretended antiquity of thoſe cities, and their founders, was in all likelihood taken upon truſt from the *Spaniards* themſelves, who appear plainly enough to have been as fond of indulging this paſſion for antiquity, as ever the *Greeks*, or any other of their neighbours; but of this we muſt leave every reader to judge for himſelf.

To cloſe up the character of the ancient *Spaniards*, they poſſeſſed all the virtues of the old *Celtic* nation, and inherited fewer of their vices, than any others of their deſcendants; they were brave, noble, and magnanimous, and hoſpitable to a high degree, and ſo famed for their faithfulneſs, that, even after their being conquered by the *Romans*, ſeveral of thoſe emperors made no difficulty of preferring them to other people, to be their life-guard. They were ſober, frugal, patient under hardſhips, jealous of their honour, and, till a few centuries paſt, rather deſirous, as much as they could, to preſerve their own territories, than to go in ſearch of new ones abroad. As for the vices they had in common with all others of *Celtic* extract, and of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſubſequent chapters, thoſe of pride, cruelty, ſuperſtition, and lazineſs, are juſtly laid to their charge, as well as to that of the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and others[g]; but it doth not appear, that they imitated them in their ſumptuous banquets, much

[f] Vid int. al. GERUND. ubi ſup. l. i. GARSI de academ. Hiſp. Nomenclat. urb. Hiſpan. TARAPH. de orig &c. reg. Hiſp. VAS. chronic. & al. plur. [g] See vol. xviii. p. 116, 117, & ſeq.

his

leſs in their exceſſive fondneſs for ſtrong liquors; on the contrary, they are famed for their averſion to them, by which they preſerved themſelves from ſuch bloody quarrels, as were the natural conſequence of thoſe drunken revels, which we find to have been ſo indulged among their neighbours, and were commonly attended with the worſt effects.

SECT. III.

The origin, antiquity, and chronology, of the antient Spaniards.

Spain, its firſt inhabitants.

WE have, in ſeveral parts of this work [a], proceeded on the moſt probable hypotheſis, founded on the teſtimony of the beſt and moſt ancient authors, that the *Celtes*, the deſcendants of *Gomer* the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet* [b], were the firſt that peopled *Europe*, at leaſt as far as the *Danube* and *Rhine*, and even beyond. Whether this was done by gradual migrations from the place of their diſperſion after the flood, or by colonies brought thither by ſea, will, we think, be more properly inquired into in the next chapter, where we ſhall ſpeak of the *Gauls*, the immediate deſcendants of thoſe *Celtes*, and where we ſhall ſhew, from the beſt ancient teſtimonies, that theſe were, from the earlieſt times, found ſettled in every part of it, and even in this of *Spain*, notwithſtanding its being ſurrounded on three ſides by the ſea, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, before any nation that intermingled afterwards among them, of whom we have given an account in the firſt ſection of this chapter, and ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak at the entrance of the next [c]. According to this hypotheſis, it will be impoſſible to gueſs, about what time either this, or any other country of *Europe*, were peopled by them, or which of them claims the preference in point of ancientneſs before the reſt, or even to aſſert any thing of this country before the coming of *Hercules* into it.

BUT the *Spaniards*, ever fond of their own antiquity, beyond any other nation, having once adopted fabulous *Beroſus*, have fetched their origin from another ſpring, namely, from *Tubal*, the fifth ſon of *Japhet* [d], whom that author affirms to have come into, and reigned in, *Spain* from the year of the flood 143, to 258, and from whom they pretend to derive a re-

[a] See before vol. i. p. 368, & ſeq. Vol. v. p. 227, & ſeq.
[b] Geneſ. x. 2.
[c] See hereafter, ſect. 3 and 4 of chap. xi.
[d] Geneſ. ubi ſup.

gular

gular ſeries of long-winded monarchs, down to the three *Geryons*, who were killed by the *Egyptian Hercules*, to ſay nothing of a much longer one, which they likewiſe draw from this laſt hero, and ſome other new-comers from *Libya*, down to the time in which they allow the *Celtes* to have made their firſt entrance into *Spain*, viz. in the year of the flood 1350; ſo, that according to theſe authors, *Spain* had been a monarchy, and had laſted, one thouſand two hundred and twenty ſix years before the coming of the *Celtes* into it [e]. This account, how fabulous ſoever, not only with regard to *Tubal*'s reign, and of his pretended ſucceſſor, but likewiſe in ſome meaſure, with regard to thoſe of *Hercules*, as it is not only adopted by all the *Spaniſh* authors in general, but likewiſe by all the followers of *Beroſus*, we ſhall be obliged, before we go farther, to give our readers a compendious ſketch of it, eſpecially as we have all along in this work given an account of the fabulous, as well as the more certain, part of the hiſtory of each nation; and ſhall do the ſame in thoſe that follow, eſpecially in that of our own.

Beroſian *liſt of their kings.*

1. *Tubal*, having received his grandfather's bleſſing, came, according to thoſe hiſtorians, and ſettled in ſome parts of *Spain* (A), in the 134th year of the flood, and reigned

Tubal, *or* Thubal.

[e] Vid. int. al. GARIBAY. compend. hiſt. Hiſpan. l. vi. c. 4. & ſeq. VAS. chron. Hiſpan. c. 10. ſub. an. diluv. 1350. GERUND. paralip. Hiſp. SANT. MARIANNA, & al. mult.

(A) This *Beroſian* fable they think ſufficiently backed by what we read in *Joſephus* (1), who makes *Jubal*, or *Thubal*, as he is called, to have peopled *Spain*; and by St. *Jerom*'s comment on the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Ezekiel*, where he underſtands by *Tubal* either *Italy* or *Spain*; but this, at moſt, will only prove, that ſome of the patriarch's poſterity came and peopled this country, or perhaps came and ſettled in ſome part of it; but not, that he came thither himſelf, and founded a monarchy in it; which has been ſufficiently exploded in ſome former part of this work (2), and by the generality of authors, who have confuted the fabulous founder of that notion (3).

However, theſe partial ones, who have adopted it, have built many other conjectural ſchemes upon it; ſuch as the place where he landed, ſettled, &c. the ſyſtem of religion, laws, &c. he left with them, and the like; inſomuch, that they affirm, that his deſcendants did

(1) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 3. *p.* 233. (E) & 279.
(2) *See before vol.* i. *p.* 373, & *ſeq. Vol.* v.
(3) *Vid. int. al. Bochart phaleg. Sir Walter Raleigh. hiſt. Perizon. Pezron. Calmet. comm. in Geneſ.* x. 2. & *al.*

ed there to the year 258; during which interval *Noah*, called, by profane authors, *Janus*, came thither, and built two cities, the one of which he called, from his own name *Noela* in *Galicia*, and the other *Noega* in *Asturia*, and which, to this day, retains ſtill that of *Navia*.

Iberus. 2. *Iberus*, the ſon of *Tubal*, who began his reign in the year of the flood 258, reigned thirty-ſeven years, that is, to the year 295. From him our authors pretend, that the river *Iberus*, from which *Spain* was called *Iberia*, had its name. We have elſewhere given a much more probable etymon of theſe two names [f]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Idubeda. 3. *Idubeda*, by ſome called *Juballa*, and *Jubalda*, who reigned ſixty-four-years, gave name to the famed *Idubedean* mountains, peopled the province of *Briga*, now *Riola*, and called it by that name from,

Brigo. 4. *Brigo*, his ſon and ſucceſſor (B), who reigned fifty-two years, and left the kingdom to his ſon,

Tagus. 5. *Tagus*, who reigned thirty years, gave name to the river *Tagus*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Bætus *the laſt of* Tubal's *line*. 6. *Bætus*, from whom the river *Bætis*, and the province of *Bætia*, *Bætica*, formerly *Turdetania*, and ſince *Andaluſia*, had their names. He is ſaid to have been ſurnamed *Turdetanus*, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging, learning.

[f] See before vol. v. p. 233, (E). & before p. 698, 699.

ſtrictly adhere to the precepts given to *Noah* by God, and preſerved themſelves free from idolatry, polytheiſm, and all heatheniſh ſuperſtition, till *Hercules* brought thoſe plagues from *Egypt*, and infected *Spain* with them. But of this we ſhall have a fairer occaſion to ſpeak in the next chapter, where we ſhall enter into a more exact detail of the religion of the *Celtes* and *Gauls*.

(B) From him the *Briones*, or *Brigones*, ſituate along the long ridge of *Idubedean* mountains, are affirmed, by the *Navarrean* hiſtorians, to have been named as well as the city of *Cantabria*, anciently, according to them, *Cantabriga*; with the *Caſtellani* derive both from the *Galli Braccati*, who came and ſettled there.

The word *Briga*, which had the ſame ſignification in *Spain*, and in the cities *Cantabriga* and *Meidobriga*, which the ancient *Gallic Dur* or *Dunum*, in the names *Lugdunum*, *Noviodunum*, and the *German Burgh*, in *Friburg*, *Ausburgh*, &c. is likewiſe affirmed to have had its origin from him. But the word *Brig* or *Bric*, from which *Briga* and *Brica* differ only in termination, is certainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. Several other things are ſaid likewiſe of this king, without any foundation, which the reader may ſee in the *Spaniſh* authors lately quoted.

7. *Geryon.*

7. *Geryon* an *African*, or *Libyan*, of a gigantic ſtature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood 514, and reigned, according to ſome, twenty-five, and thirty-four years, according to others [g]. Againſt him came *Oſiris*, or, as he is called by others, *Dionyſius* king of *Egypt*, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant (C), and divided his kingdom between his three ſons, commonly called the three *Geryons*, after having firſt exacted a ſtrict promiſe from them, that they would reign amicably, and abſtain from thoſe plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had ſo juſtly puniſhed their father. Geryon.

8. THREE *Geryons*, ſaid to have been all of one birth, and the laſt of the *Geryonic* race, reigned with ſuch ſurpriſing concord, that they are thought to have given birth to the fable that repreſents them with a three-fold body. Theſe being ſuppoſed to have had a hand in the death of *Oſiris*, in revenge of that of their father, *Hercules*, his ſon, brought a great army from *Egypt*,, firſt gave them a total overthrow, and then o- Geryons.

[g] Conf. GARIBAY. compend. VAS. chron. Hiſp. ſub. an. diluvii 514.

(C) This *Geryon* was alſo called *Deabus*, and is ſurnamed by the *Greeks*, *Chryſco*, on account of the vaſt wealth which he had gotten by his plunders and robberies. He is ſaid to have brought over a number of wild or *Scenite Arabs*, and to have been the founder of the city of *Girona* (4). *Diodorus Siculus*, makes him the ſon of *Chryſaor*, or the golden ſword, the ſon of *Meduſa*. From his defeat is ſuppoſed to have ſprung the fable of *Hercules*'s overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away, ſpoken of in a former volume 5). *Juſtin*, indeed, makes mention of him, and of his vaſt herds of cattle (6); but *Strabo* and *Pliny* look upon the whole as a mere fable (7); and *Arrian* further affirms (8), that there never was ſuch a king as *Geryon* in *Spain*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, that *Hercules* (whom even ſome *Spaniſh* authors affirm to have been, not the *Egyptian*, but the *Greek* one, and ſon of *Jupiter* by (9) *Alcmena*) had been enticed over into *Spain* by the richneſs of its inhabitants: whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongſt them, forbidding the uſe or poſſeſſion of ſilver, which was ſtill in force ſome time after the coming thither of the *Carthaginians* (10). Something like this law was likewiſe among ſome of the ancient *Gauls*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter.

(4) *Lib. iv. c. 4. Vid & Aldrete, var. antiguedad. lib. iv. c. 18.* (5) *See before vol v. p. 455. ſub not.* (6) *Hiſt. l xliv.* (7) *Strab l. iii. Plin l iv. c. 22.* (8) *De geſt Alex. Mag l. ii.* (9) *Vid Gerundenſ. paralipom. l. ii. Ant. Nebrigenſ & al.* (10) *Vaſæi chronic. ſub an diluv* 539.

vercame and ſlew them, one after another, in ſingle combat: It is ſaid, that the columns between the *Carpean* and *Abylean* mountains were ſet up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to our authors near forty years, when they received this overthrow, and were buried in the iſle of *Cadiz* [h]. *Hercules*, who did not come ſo much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no ſooner overcome the three *Geryons*, than he made ready to paſs into *Italy*, and left the government of *Spain* to his ſon.

Hiſpal. 9. *Hiſpal* (D), who built the city of that name, now called *Seville*, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by *Cæſar*: and from *Hiſpal* began a new ſucceſſion of *Spaniſh* kings. He is ſaid to have reigned ſeventeen years, and to have left his kingdom to his ſon,

Hiſpan. 10. *Hiſpan*, or *Hiſpanus*, from whom the country took its name, which it hath preſerved ever ſince. He began his reign in the year of the flood 607, and reigned thirty-one years, and is affirmed to have been a noble and magnificent prince (E), and to have made the city of *Cadiz* his chief reſidence [i].

Hercules. *Hercules*, hearing of his ſon *Hiſpan*'s death, returned into *Spain*, and reigned there from the year of the flood 639, to 658. Being grown very old, he bequeathed the *Spaniſh* kingdom to *Heſperus*, one of his captains and companions; and died, and was buried at *Gades*, *Caliz*, where that ſtately monument was erected to him, which we mentioned in a late

[h] Garibay, ubi ſup. lib. iv. c. 12. ad fin. [i] Id. ibid. in fin c 14.

(D) In this expedition it is pretended that our *Egyptian* hero introduced the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his Country; to which another adds the bloody rite of offering up human victims (11). He had likewiſe two favourite companions with him, the one named *Zacynthus*, and the other *Baleon*; the former of whom gave his name to the famed city of *Zacynthum*, ſince *Saguntum* (12); and the other to the *Balearic* iſlands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca* (13).

Another ancient author, who was a *Spaniard* by birth, adds, that the *Tyrians* built a ſtately temple to this *Hercules*, which became famous, both for its antiquity and vaſt treaſures (14).

(E) To him ſome ancient authors have falſely aſcribed, among other ſumptuous works, the aqueduct of *Segovia*, which was done by the emperor *Trajan*, and the *Pharus* or famed tower of *Corunna*, a maritime city in *Galicia*, which was erected in *Auguſtus*'s time (15).

(11) *Lactant. l. i c 21.* (12) *Vid. Hieron. præm. in epiſt. ad Galat.* (13) *Luc Flor. l ix.* (14) *P. Mela, de ſit. orb. l. iii. c. 6.* (15) *Vid. Flor. Vaſ. chronic. Garibe & al. ub. ſup.*

note,

note, and which became in high veneration, not only among the *Spaniards*, but was reſorted to by moſt nations of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Afric* (F).

11. *Heſperus*, from whom both *Spain* and *Italy* were called *Heſperia*, but the former, by way of diſtinction, *Heſperia Magna*, and his brother *Atlas*, ſurnamed *Italus*, had accompanied *Hercules* in all his excurſions and conqueſts. Upon the death of that hero, *Heſperus* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor, as by his will and appointment. *Atlas*, who is ſuppoſed to have been left in *Italy*, upon the return of the other two in *Spain*, came thither alſo himſelf, and drove him out of his kingdom, in the year of the flood 669, after he had reigned there eleven years. Heſperus.

12. *Atlas*, after he had reigned ten years in *Spain*, is ſaid to have returned into *Italy*, in order to drive his brother thence alſo; for it ſeems that fugitive prince was fled thither, and was ſo well received there, as to give him new cauſe of jealouſy. Upon his departure he left the kingdom to his ſon, Atlas.

13. *Orus* or *Sicorus* (G), who reigned forty-five years. He gave his name to the river *Sicoris*, now *Segre*, which falls into the *Iberus*, or *Ebro*; and was ſucceeded by his ſon. Orus.

14. *Sicanus*, who had followed him from *Italy* into *Spain*; a prince ſaid to have been liberal and magnanimous. He gave name to the river *Anas*, now *Ana*; reigned thirty-two years, during which he is ſaid to have carried his ſucceſsful arms into *Italy* and *Sicily*, which was from him called *Sicania*, as it had been before *Trinacria*, and ſince, *Sicily* from his ſucceſſor. Sicanus.

15. *Siceleus* ſucceeded his father, and reigned forty-four years, during which he is ſaid to have paſſed over into *Italy*, Siceleus.

(F) It is hardly worth the while to trouble our readers with the various ſentiments of the learned concerning this famed hero; whether he was the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, or *Grecian Hercules*: eſpecially as we have had occaſion to ſpeak of him in ſome former parts of this work, to which we muſt here refer our readers (16), as well as to what we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of him in the next chapter.

(G) From this and the two following princes names, *Cicanus* and *Ciceleus*, it is ſuppoſed that their proper names were *Orus*, *Anus*, and *Eleus*; and that the *Cic* was a titular prænomen: and this is further proved by *Anus* giving his name to the river *Anas*, and *Eleus*; to that of *Eleo* (17).

(16) *See vol. xi. p. 122 vol. xvi p. 478, & (W). & before, 359. 422. & ſeq. Bauter. Vaſ. Garribai & al.* (17) *Id. ibid. c. 24. Vid. Ant. Nebrig. hiſt. reg. cathol. Vaſ. chronic. ſub an. diluv. 967, & al.*

and

and performed very great feats, and to have aſſiſted *Iaſius*, the grandſon of *Atlas*, by *Electra* his daughter, who was then at high wars with *Dardanus*, about the ſucceſſion to certain ſtates in that country. In this prince's reign the *Deucalian* flood is ſaid to have happened, and that *Moſes* was then likewiſe performing his wonders before the hardened king of *Egypt*.

Luſus. 16. *Siceleus* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Luſus*, who had accompanied him in his wars in *Italy*. He is ſaid to have been a brave prince, but vaſtly addicted to the heatheniſh ſuperſtitions that then prevailed. Some attribute the peopling of *Luſitania*, now *Portugal*, to him, from whom it was called by that name; others, to another *Luſus*, a chieftain and companion of *Bacchus*. We can affirm nothing certain about either. *Luſus* reigned thirty years, and was ſucceeded by,

Ulus. 17. *Ulus*, or *Sic-Ulus*, whom ſome make the ſon of *Luſus*, others of *Atlas*. He was ſo warlike a prince, kept ſuch vaſt armies and fleets, that he was called the ſon of *Neptune*. He paſſed over into *Italy*, to aſſiſt thoſe *Spaniſh* colonies, that had been ſettled there by *Atlas*, repreſſed their enemies there, peopled ſome countries in the neigbourhood of *Rome*, built ſome cities, aud particularly the famed caſtle of *Alſine*; thence he paſſed into *Sicily*, to aſſiſt thoſe *Spaniſh* colonies, which his predeceſſors had fixed there, and who, it ſeems, were ſadly harraſſed by the other inhabitants of that iſland, which, from his great feats there, he called by his own name. He reigned about ſixty years, and was ſucceeded by what means can ſcarcely be gueſſed [k], by,

Teſta. 18. *Teſta*, an *African*, or *Libyan*, to whom, however, the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians, give the character of a good and wiſe prince. Some of them affirm, that it was in the thirty fifth year of his reign, that a colony of *Greeks*, from the iſland of *Zacynthus*, now *Jaſanto*, came into *Spain* by ſea; and, with his permiſſion, ſettled in that part of it, which they called by the name of their native place, though they became afterwards better known by thoſe of *Saguntini* and *Saguntines*. Here then is a new and different account of the foundation of that famed city and people, of whoſe valour and ſad cataſtrophe we have ſpoken at large at the beginning of this volume [l]; and this, if right, deſtroys what we mentioned a little higher concerning the origin, which is given them by other authors. Nothing can be advanced on either

[k] Id. c. 23. Vas. ſub an. diluv. 893, & al. [l] See before, p. 131. & ſeq.

ſide

ſide but conjecture. As for *Teſta*, after a long reign of ſeventy-four years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon,

19. *Romus*, who reigned thirty-three years, and is ſuppoſed to have founded the city of *Rome*, in the province of *Tarragona*, ſince called *Valentia* from the *Romans* calling that city afterwards by this name, and inlarging and beautifying it, and making it the metropolis of it (H). In this prince's reign, the *Phœnicians* are ſaid to have made their firſt entrance into *Spain*; and about the ſame time alſo the famed *Greek* chieftain *Iacchus* or *Bacchus*, ſurnamed *Liber Pater*, with a conſiderable army, not ſo much with a deſign to conquer that country, as to ſpread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other, ſide of the world, where he is ſaid to have carried his conqueſts as far as the *Indies*. As he travelled through *Andaluſia*, he built the famed city *Nebriſa*, in the province of *Bætica*, ſince called *Veneria*, and now *Lebrixa*, the native place of the learned *Anthony Nebriſſenſis*, often quoted in this chapter; who ſays on this head, that *Luſus*, the ſon of *Bacchus*, gave name to *Luſitania*, and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the ſtruction of *Troy*. *Romus* was ſucceeded by, Romus. *Bacchus comes into Spain.*

20. *Palatuus*, the ſuppoſed founder of the city of *Palentia*, or *Palantia*. This prince had reigned about eighteen or nineteen years in great tranquillity, when a famous warrior, named *Licinius Cacus*, raiſed a war againſt him, and deprived him, according to ſome, of part, and, according to others of his whole kingdom, and forced him to wander about from country to country, whilſt he reigned uncontrouled, and encouraged all kinds of arts and handicraft trades, which, till then, had been much neglected in that country (I). At length *Palatuus* found means to recover his kingdom from him, after he had poſſeſſed it thirty-ſix years; and gave him *ſeated*. Palatuus. Cacus de-

(H) Others will have it, the people of that province built this famed city, and called it by that name, in honour of *Romus*; and that the *Greeks* called it *Rome*, and the *Latins Valencia*, as names of the ſame import in each language (18).

(I) Some authors are ſo fond of raiſing the fame of this uſurper, that they make him the firſt, who ſet about diſcovering the iron-mines in *Spain*, and ſet up the fabrication of that metal. He might, perhaps, have given greater encouragement to this manufacture than any of his predeceſſors; but that they ſhould have been ſuch ſtrangers in *Spain* to the working of ſo neceſſary a metal, is altogether improbable.

(18) *Garib. ubi ſup. c.* 24. *Id. ibid. c.* 26.

a total

a total overthrow near mount *Cæus*, now *Montcajo*, so called from him, after this overthrow. Some pretend, that he was slain upon it; others, that he retired into *Italy*: however that be, *Palatuus* reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by,

Erythræus 21. *Erythræus*, in whose reign is placed the founding of the famed city of *Carthage*, of which we shall say no more here, having given an ample account of it in a former volume [m]. He is said to have given name to the famed island of *Erythræa*, or *Erythia*, as it is called by *Mela* [n] and *Pliny* [o], an island which has been sought for far and near [p]. We have endeavoured, at the beginning of this volume, to give the best account of its situation, to which we shall refer our readers [q]. *Erythræus* was the last of the line of *Tesla*, in which the monarchy had lasted two hundred and forty-five years, according to some; or an hundred and twenty-three according to others [r], including the forty-six years of *Licinius*'s usurpation. He was succeeded by,

Gargoras. 22. *Gargoras*, surnamed *Mellicola*, because, as *Justin* hath it [s], he found out the use of honey and cultivating of bees. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, a wise prince, and a great promoter of industry. In his reign the famed city of *Troy* having been destroyed by the *Greeks*, of which, as well as its long siege, an account has been given in a former volume [t], many of those warriors, who either did not care, or were hindered, by contrary winds, from returning into their own country, came and settled in *Spain*, and built cities in several parts of it, and, amongst them, those which the reader will find in the margin (K). To *Gargoras* succeeded, if we may believe *Justin* [u],

23.

[m] Vid. vol. xvi. p. 410, & seq. [n] De situ, l. iii. c. 6. [o] PLIN. lib. iv. c. 22. [p] Conf. auct sup. citat. & ARRIAN. cum. mult. al. [q] Before, p. 407, (F). [r] Conf. ANT. NEBRICENS. GARIBAY, & VASÆUM, ubi. sup. [s] Hist. l. xliv. [t] Vol. v. p. 357 & seq. [u] Lib. xliv.

(K) *Teucer*, the son of *Telamon*, one of the first that came into *Spain*, settled in that part where the new *Carthage* was built, since called *Carthagena*, if he was not the founder of it. From thence he passed into *Galicia*, and gave name to that canton (19) He is likewise said to have built the city of *Salmantica*, now *Salamanca*, in memory of his own native country; though *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, who calls it *Elmantica*, says nothing of his founding it *Amphilochus*, a companion of *Teucer*, is said to have built that of *Amphiloqua*, since called *Aguas Caldas*, or hot waters, and now *Orense* in *Galicia*. *Diomedes* built *Tyde* on the banks of the *Minius*, now *Minho*, in memory

(19) *Justin. ex Trog. l.* xliv.

23. *Habis*, his grandſon, by a daughter, and a baſtard, but in all other reſpects an extraordinary prince, whether we conſider the many and ſurpriſing dangers he was obliged to go through, and from which he was delivered, as it were, by as many miracles, or the beauty and tallneſs of his perſon, or the many and ſignal benefits which the *Spaniſh* nation received from him during his reign, to which he was, ſuch was his apparent merit, nominated by his grandfather in his life. The *Spaniards* at that time were ſtill ſo very rude and uncivilized, that, they knew nothing of the uſe of bread, or of cultivating the earth. It was he, it ſeems, that firſt taught them to plow their land with oxen, to ſow and reap corn, to grind, knead, and bake it into bread. He likewiſe gave them many excellent laws, obliged them to live in towns, and appointed them ſeven courts of judicature in ſeven cities of his kingdom. Our author adds, that, after his death, his kingdom continued in his poſterity during ſeveral centuries; but we muſt not then ſuppoſe, that either he or they, or indeed any of his predeceſſors, were maſters of the whole country, but only of ſome conſiderable part, as we hinted a little higher, in ſpeaking of their government. How long this laſt king reigned, who ſucceeded him, *&c.* what other kings reigned in other parts of *Spain*, and many other things relating to the antient hiſtory of it, we are wholly left in the dark about, down to the coming of the *Carthaginians*, no antient hiſtorian having left us any thing about it. Only this chaſm is filled up, by ſome fabulous authors of theirs, with ſuch ſtuff as ſmells as rank of the fable, as what we have here in *England* from our own monkiſh books; we ſhall mention one or two of them, by way of ſample:

Habis *his excellent reign.*

IN the year after the flood 1250, that is, thirty-four years after the beginning of *Habis*'s reign, began, according to *A long and great drought.*

memory of his father *Tydeus*. It retains ſtill the name of *Tuy*, *Teya*, and *Tude*. Some other places and colonies theſe, and a few more, gave name to; as *Aſtur* to *Aſturias*, *Ulyſſes* to *Ulyſſpone*, now *Liſbon*, where he built alſo a temple to *Pallas*. *Strabo* (20) calls this city *Ulixipolis*, or city of *Ulyſſes*. *Mneſtheus* built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coaſts of *Audaluſia*, near the city of *Gades*, or *Caliz*; in which laſt, the *Andaluſians* ſay, was a ſtately temple, built by the ſame warrior, which became in time famous, and much reſorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world.

(20) *Strab. l.* iii.

theſe authors, ſuch an extraordinary drought, that it did not rain in all *Spain* during the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, inſomuch, that all the rivers of it, except the *Bætis* and the *Iberus*, were dried up, and the country become almoſt a deſert, for want of inhabitants. If ſuch a long and univerſal drought had really happened, it would rather be a wonder, that there were either man or beaſt alive in moſt parts of that vaſt country. They tell us, indeed, that about the ſame time a certain people, whom they call *Almonides*, came and ſettled in it; but if ſo, is it not very ſtrange, that no antient author ſhould have taken the leaſt notice of it [w]? for which reaſon the learned author, often quoted in this chapter, juſtly rejects both as fabulous [x]. Fifty-ſeven years after, *Homer*, or, as his right name was, *Meleſigenes*, travelled through *Spain* and *Italy*. This was before he loſt his ſight; and he, according to *Herodotus*, flouriſhed an hundred and ſixty-eight years after the *Trojan* war [y].

Year of the flood 1350. Before Chriſt 1649. *The* Gauls *and the* Rhodians *ſettle in* Spain.

About forty-two years after, the *Celtes*, or *Gauls*, are ſaid to have come firſt into *Spain*, and, about twenty years after, the *Rhodians*. Of the firſt it is affirmed, that they fought for ſome time with the *Spaniards*, or *Iberians*, as they were then called, about their ſettlements; but agreed at length upon a peace and mutual friendſhip; ſo that they, from that time, became ſo blended with each other, by intermarrying and living together, that they became as one people, under the name of *Celtiberians* [z]. From which account we would obſerve by-the-by, that this could only be one of thoſe colonies, which the *Celtes* in *Gaul* ſent into the country: for more than one or two they ſent from thence hither, as well as in other parts of *Europe*, as often as they were ſtraightened for want of room, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. It is, therefore, very probable, that theſe colonies, coming into *Spain*, after a few battles or ſkirmiſhes, being found, by the inhabitants, to be originally of the ſame ſtock, having the ſame, or near the ſame, language, religion, and cuſtoms, were readily admitted and blended with them. The *Rhodians*, who came thither by ſea, landed at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and built there a city, to which they gave their name. It was a biſhop's ſee till the time of the *Goths*, but now reduced to a heap of ruins. About ten years after, happened that great fire, which ſpread itſelf all over that vaſt ridge of mountains called the *Pyrenees*, and, from thence,

Year of the flood 1300. Before Chriſt 1699.

[w] Vas. ſub an. [x] Nebricens. ubi ſup. [y] Vide Strab. l. iii. [z] Diod. Sicul. bibl. lib. vi. Lucan. Hieron. & al.

Incendium

Incendium Pyrenæum, or, as others will have it, more properly, that thoſe mountains were thence called *Pyrenean*. This fire, we are told, was at firſt kindled by ſome ſhepherds [a], and burnt with ſuch fierceneſs for many days, that it ſpread itſelf almoſt over that whole ridge. As for what they add, that the intenſeneſs of the heat melted the ſilver in the mines, and made it boil up, and run down in rivulets along thoſe hills, it is juſtly looked upon as fabulous by *Poſidonius*, and by *Strabo* after him [b].

The Phœnicians carry off immenſe quantities of ſilver hence.

IT muſt be owned, however, that *Spain* muſt have yielded extraordinary quantities of that metal, if what we read in *Ariſtotle* be not greatly exaggerated, that the *Phœnicians*, who are ſuppoſed to have come thither about the 1500th year of the flood, exchanged their naval commodities for ſuch an immenſe weight of it, that their ſhips could neither contain, nor ſuſtain its load, though they uſed it for ballaſt, and made their anchors, and other iron implements, of ſilver [c] (L). Theſe are ſuppoſed to have likewiſe ſettled in *Spain*, and to have built ſeveral other cities, eſpecially in *Bætica*, and to have had the maſtery of the ſea for the ſpace of forty-one years, after which they went and ſettled in the *Balearic* iſlands.

Other nations that governed in Spain.

BESIDES the *Tyrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Phœnicians*, already mentioned, who obtained footing and dominion in this country, *Euſebius* mentions [d] ſeveral other nations, who did the ſame before the coming in of the *Carthaginians*, ſuch as the *Egyptians* a ſecond time, who held the dominion of the ſea thirty-five years, and built ſome cities, eſpecially *Tarracona*, which they ſo called from *Tarraco* their leader. The *Mileſians* are likewiſe affirmed, by the ſame author, to have held

[a] DIOD. SICUL. l. vi. Vid. & ARISTOT. de mirab. auſcult. [b] Lib. iii. [c] ARISTOT. & DIOD. Sic. ubi ſup. [d] EUSEB. chron. Vid. & TARAPH. reg. Hiſp. ſub A. ant. C. 840.

(L) In this expedition ſome of their authors affirm the *Phœnicians*, who landed at *Tarteſſus*, to have built the city of *Gades*, or *Caliz*, tho' *Strabo* affirms it to have been done on their third landing (21). Other authors aſcribe the building of it to the *Tyrians* (22); but we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid of the foundation of that famed place, in a former volume (23). As for the cities of *Malaca* and *Abdera*, *Strabo* plainly ſays, that they were built by the *Phœnicians* (24).

(21) *Garib. antiq. Hiſp. Vaſ. Gerund. & al. ubi ſup.* (22) *Plutarch. in Scipion. & al.* (23) *Vid ſup. vol.* xvi. *p.* 555. (24) *Lib.* iii.

ſome government there the ſpace of twenty-nine years. Next, the *Carians*, forty-eight years, from whom *Ptolemy* affirms, the *Cariſti* in *Spain* to be deſcended. The *Leſbians* ſucceeded them, who built ſeveral cities, and governed, according to the ſame *Euſebius*, ſixty-eight years. Then the *Phocians*, in the ſixteenth year of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and held the government forty-eight years; and from thence went and ſettled on the ſouth part of *Gaul*, and built the city of *Marſeilles*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the next chapter. Laſtly, *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and conqueſt of *Judæa*, is affirmed by *Joſephus* and *Strabo* to have reigned nine years in *Spain* [e], at the end of which it is ſaid that he abandoned it to the *Carthaginians*: though it is likely, that, as the *Spaniſh* writers affirm, a great part of that vaſt hoſt, which he had brought with him, ſettled there, and built cities and caſtles, which they called by their own, or ſome *Chaldee* names, by which they may be ſtill traced up to their original [f]; but upon the whole it ſeems probable, that moſt, if not all, of theſe nations, contented themſelves with the maritime parts, for the ſake of commerce, and the command of the ſea, and penetrated but a little way into the inlands, whilſt theſe might enjoy their own laws and government, and be glad to trade and barter with them, and ſo be leſs ſolicitous who were maſters of the ſea-coaſts and parts adjacent, ſo they could but enjoy the benefit of their commerce, and the produce of their own lands, in peace and quietneſs. If any of theſe ſtrangers were enticed, by the pleaſantneſs and fruitfulneſs of the country, to ſettle amongſt the antient inhabitants, whether this was done by permiſſion and conſent, or by force of arms, yet it could not be long before they became ſo blended with each other, that nothing remained of their origin, but the names they gave to thoſe places, which they either built or lived in. As for the *Celtiberi*, mentioned a little higher, they increaſed ſo faſt in that pleaſant and healthy country, that they were forced to have recourſe to their old method of ſending colonies abroad. Some of them ſettled in *Luſitania*, where they founded ſeveral cities, and called them by *Celtic* names (M); and from theſe colonies

Nebuchadnezzar.

Celtiberians *in* Luſitania.

[e] Antiquit. l. x. c. 9. Geogr. lib. iv. [f] Vid. Liv. decad. iv. Tarapha reg. Hiſp. ſub an. 571. Garibai, lib. v. c. 4. Vas. ſub an. U. C. 13, & 204.

(M) Amongſt theſe was the antient city of *Segovia*, or *Segobia*, famous for its celebrated aqueduct, and afterwards for its woollen manufacture;

colonies the *Luſitanians* had that of *Celtiberi* given to them: hence *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that of all the *Celtiberians* the *Luſitanians* were the ſtouteſt [g]. Another colony of them went into *Bætica*, where they likewiſe left ſeveral cities, and other monuments of their ſettlement. The goodneſs of the climate, however, joined to their laborious exerciſes and plain way of living, which made them ſo ſtout and long-lived, may be juſtly eſteemed one of the main cauſes of their multiplying ſo faſt, and being obliged to ſend abroad ſuch frequent colonies, a further proof of which we have in the long reigns of ſome of their monarchs formerly mentioned; and we ſhall cloſe this ſection with one more, in the perſon of the famed *Arganthonius* king of the *Tarteſſii*, who is ſaid to have reigned at *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, full fourſcore years [h], and to have died in the hundred and thirtieth, according to one [i], or hundred and fortieth, according to another, antient author [k], and is mentioned with admiration by others, for his long reign and life [l] (N).

Arganthonius his long life and reign.

[g] Lib. vi. [h] VALER. MAX. l. viii. c. 14. [i] ASIN. POLL. ap. eund. [k] VAL. MAX. ibid. [l] HERODOT. ANACR. CICER. de ſenect. BASIL. epiſt. ad Nepot. Vid. & VAS. ſub an. U. C. 129. GERUND. TARAPH. & al.

manufacture; and another of the ſame name, and built by another colony of *Celtiberians*, near *Corduba* in *Bætica*, and mentioned by *Cæſar* in his commentaries; though the other was the more famed of the two.

(N) *Herodotus* ſays, that he reigned in *Carteia*, al. *Tarteia*; *Anacreon*, that he lived an hundred and fifty years; *Pliny* gives him but an hundred and twenty; but *Silius Italicus* three hundred; and, as for the time in which he lived, it is impoſſible to aſcertain it, ſome making him contemporary with king *Sicalus*, the ſeventeenth king in our liſt, in the year of the flood 1514 (25). Others bring him down as low as the 130th year of *Rome*, or of the flood 1692 (26).

(25) *Liv. iii. Taraph. ſub an.* 1485. (26) *Faſ. ſub an. A. U.* 129.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the conquest of Spain *by the* Carthaginians *and* Romans, *to the coming in of the* Goths, *and other northern nations.*

THIS remainder of the *Spanish* history we give here in a separate section, not as designing to treat of it in that ample manner that it would deserve, were it detached from the body of this work, for that were a deviation from our original plan, and on the one hand draw us into superfluous repetitions, their conquest by the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* having been fully treated of in the history of those two nations; and, on the other, oblige us to anticipate those of the *Gauls*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. who conquered, or settled in, any part of this country, and which will, therefore, more properly belong to their several histories in the subsequent chapters. Our motives, therefore, for separating this part from that which we gave in the last section, are, first, to distinguish the true from the fabulous, or the certain from the uncertain: of this latter kind, at least, we look upon to be all that has been said in the last section, though, for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of it, we are forced to insert it in such a work as this; and, secondly, because in the remaining part of this history, still to be spoken of, we shall proceed in a more succinct method, to avoid all such needless repetitions, or anticipations, and content ourselves with giving our readers a kind of chronological summary of those conquests, and refer our readers for those, which have already been spoken of in this work, to the volumes and pages, where they are to be seen at full length; and for the rest, to the remaining chapters of this and the following volume, where they will be more amply related.

THEIR conquests by the *Carthaginians* was, if we may believe *Justin* and *Orosius*, occasioned by the *Tyrians*. These having founded the city of *Gades*, and built a temple to *Hercules*, were so infested by the jealous *Spaniards*, that they were forced to send to *Carthage* for help; which being readily granted, *Mejens* was sent with a fleet to their assistance, who suppressed their enemies, and inlarged their territories, by the reduction of several considerable places along that coast [m]. The richness of the country soon invited them to pursue their

[m] JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ult.

conquests,

conqueſts, and the vaſt treaſures, both in gold and ſilver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a ſtrong temptation to them [n], as they were engaged in ſuch a bloody and expenſive war with the *Romans*. This was accordingly performed with great ſucceſs, at firſt, by their great general *Hamilcar Barcas*, and afterwards by his ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal*, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inſpire him with greater hatred againſt the *Romans*, and with a more eager deſire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the ſubjection of *Carthage*. The ſucceſs which theſe generals met with, both againſt the *Spaniards* and againſt the *Romans*, whom they had courted to their aſſiſtance [o], has been ſo fully ſpoken of both in the *Roman* hiſtory [p], and in that of the *Carthaginians* [q], that we ſhall need only to refer our readers to thoſe places here cited in the margin. *Aſdrubal* likewiſe, another of their generals, who was left there to command during *Hamilcar*'s return to *Carthage*, was no leſs ſucceſsful there, and obliged the *Romans* to come to a treaty with him, of which the reader will find an account in a former volume [r], and which he inviolately kept with them whilſt he lived; but his death, which happened ſoon after [s]; and his being ſucceeded by young *Hannibal*, put an end to it: and that enterpriſing hero, though then but twenty-ſix years of age, began the war afreſh, and laid ſiege to the famed city of *Saguntum*. We have given already a full account of that ſiege, and the ſad cataſtrophe of its brave inhabitants, and ſhall refer our readers to it [t]. But *Hannibal* having undertaken his fatal expedition into *Italy* [u], the *Carthaginian* affairs began to decline apace, and their forces to receive many conſecutive overthrows here, both by ſea and land [w], eſpecially under *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who, being defeated by *Scipio*, was forced to retire to *Gades* [x]; where being again defeated at ſea, and, to complete his misfortunes, betrayed by *Maſiniſſa*, he was reduced to ſuch a deſperate ſtate, that, in revenge, he committed ſuch horrid cruelties, as rendered him and his nation odious to the *Spaniards* and *Romans* [y]. All this while

Year of the flood 2770. *Before Chriſt* 229.

[n] Dion. Sic. lib. vi. [o] See before, p. 117, & ſeq. [p] Vol. xii. p. 63, & ſeq. 76, & ſeq. [q] See before, p. 117, & ſeq. [r] Vol. xii. p. 68, and before, p. 123. [s] Vol xii. p. 70. [t] Vol. xii. p. 78, and before, 128, & ſeq. [u] See Vol. xii. p. 76, & ſeq. [w] See before, p. 167, 217, 221, 248, 259. [x] See before, p. 261, 262, 275. [y] See before, p. 277, 281.

the

the two *Scipios* not only gained ground againſt them by theſe frequnet defeats, but by ſome ſignal inſtances of their politeneſs rendered themſelves amiable to the *Spaniards*, as his enemies were become hateful to them [a]. At length two deciſive battles, which he won over them, were attended with the retaking of *Saguntum*, which had been rebuilt by *Hannibal*. Here he cauſed the *Turdetani*, who were found there, to be all ſold for ſlaves, for having joined *Hannibal* againſt that faithful city [a]. We ſhall not repeat here the circumſtances of the death of thoſe two generals; which was like to have quite altered the poſture of affairs, had not the brave *Marcius* recovered that great loſs by a bold and deſperate act, and with the few troops, which he could gather up, after the loſs of thoſe two battles, ſurpriſed and burnt the *Carthaginian* camp, which occaſioned, in the confuſion that then reigned, the deaths of thirty-ſeven thouſand of them, beſides near two thouſand more, who were taken priſoners by him [b]. He was ſucceeded by young *Scipio*, who, though at that time but twenty-four years of age, had been unanimouſly choſen proconſul of *Spain*, and came thither with a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. His wonderful ſucceſs there, the immenſe ſpoil he got at the taking of *New-Carthage*, his ſingular behaviour and continence towards a beautiful female captive, and his generous refuſal of the vaſt ranſom which her parents offered to him, gained him the affections of the *Spaniards* to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon him as a demigod, and began every-where to revolt from the *Carthaginians* [c]. Their generals made ſeveral vain efforts to ſtop the progreſs of this young hero, and were as often defeated by him [d]; as were alſo *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who had revolted from him [e]: at length, having thus far reduced the *Carthaginians*, he reſolved on a deſcent into *Afric*, to oblige them to abandon *Spain*. The ſucceſs of this expedition being foreign to this *Spaniſh* hiſtory, except that he actually forced the *Carthaginians* out of this country, and brought it under the *Roman* yoke, we ſhall refer our readers to thoſe places, where a full account is given of both [f].

Year of the flood 2793 *Before Chriſt* 206

Stript of its mines and treaſures.

The *Romans* being thus become maſters of this rich and noble country, or at leaſt of a conſiderable part of it, by the expulſion of the *Carthaginians*, one of their firſt cares was,

[a] See before, p. 243, 248, [a] Vol. xii. p. 110, 137. [b] Ibid. p. 141, 143. [c] Ibid. p. 152, 154, and before, p 59, & ſeq. [d] Vol xii. p. 158, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. p. 169. [f] Ibid. p. 170, & ſeq. and before, p. 249, & ſeq. See alſo our chronology of Carthage, from the year 661. to 684. Vol. xvi. p. 530, & ſeq.

to

to ſeize on all its valuable mines, eſpecially thoſe of ſilver and gold [g], and to ſtrip it of its immenſe wealth; and how conſiderable this was, may be gueſſed by the ſketch we ſhall give in the next note (A), of the prodigious quantities which their prætors,

[g] See 1 Maccab. viii. 3, & ſeq. LIV. OROS. &c.

(A) Thus we are told (1), that *Scipio* above-named, upon his return to *Rome*, carried with him fourteen thouſand three hundred and forty-two pounds of ſilver, beſides an immenſe quantity of coin, cloaths, corn, arms, and other valuable things. *L. Lentulus* is ſaid to have brought away a ſtill much larger treaſure, *viz.* forty four thouſand pounds of ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred and fifty of gold, beſides the money which he divided among his ſoldiery. *L. Manlius* brought with him twelve hundred pounds of ſilver, and about thirty of gold. *Corn. Lentulus*, after having governed the hither *Spain* two years, brought away one thouſand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold; and of ſilver two thouſand, beſides thirty-four thouſand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilſt his collegue brought from further *Spain* fifty thouſand pounds of ſilver.

What is ſtill more ſurpriſing, is, that theſe immenſe ſums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thouſand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of ſilver, four thouſand and ninety-five of gold, beſides coin, and other things of value, were brought away within the ſhort ſpace of nine years; for juſt ſo much time elapſed between the firſt and the laſt of theſe *Roman* prætors (2); and juſt after they had been as ſeverely fleeced, in all likelihood, by their other friends the *Carthaginians*. Theſe few inſtances ſhall ſuffice to ſhew, how rich this country muſt then have been, and what an immenſe treaſure it yielded to their conquerors; for though theſe laſt never ſlacked their hands, but kept ſtill on bringing freſh ſupplies from thence, yet we do not find, that it was at all exhauſted. On the contrary, it was this prodigious richneſs of the country that invited the northern nations many centuries after to come and ſeize upon, and drive the *Romans* out of, it, as we ſhall ſee in ſome ſubſequent chapters.

We are, indeed, told by *Strabo*, that when the *Carthaginians* firſt came thither, they found ſilver in ſuch amazing plenty, that their utenſils, and even mangers, were made of it (3); inſomuch, that *Poſidonius* ſaid of this country, that *Pluto*, the god of riches, had his reſidence in the bowels of it (4). And *Pliny* mentions ſeveral rich mines of ſilver dug there by the *Carthaginians*, one of which, called *Babel*, from the finder of it, yielded *Hannibal* three hundred

(1) *Livy, decad* iv *lib. i, ii, & iii.* (2) *Vid. Vell. Paterc. ab an urb.* 549. *ad a.* 558. (3) *Lib. iii.* (4) *Ap eund. ibid.*

prætors, even by the confeſſion of their own authors, carried out of it, and brought into the public, as well as into their own treaſury: but as it would be impoſſible to enter into a detail of all thoſe tranſactions that happened during their *Roman* bondage, without repeating all that has been ſaid in their hiſtory, in the foregoing volumes, we muſt in this, as well as in the ſubſequent chapters, refer our readers to what has been already ſaid there; and only add here one or two remarkable events, which have not yet been taken notice of, or but lightly touched upon. One of them is the grand embaſſy which the *Celtes* and *Spaniards* ſent out of this country to *Alexander the Great*, to congratulate him upon his vaſt ſucceſſes, to beg his amity, and that he would ſend proper perſons to adjuſt ſome differences that were amongſt them, that is, in all likelihood, between ſome of their petty kings. This embaſſy, it ſeems, was highly pleaſing to that conqueror, who heard of thoſe nations for the firſt time, and, having granted their requeſt, ſent them very honourably home [h]. *Oroſius* tells us, that the head of this embaſſy was called *Mauſinus* [i].

Embaſſy to Alexander

THE next is that noble puſh which was made by the *Celtiberians* in *Luſitania*, to ſuppreſs the *Roman* tyranny, and, if poſſible, to drive them further, if not quite, out of *Spain*. What their ſucceſs might have been, had not their leader *Viriatus* whom *Florus* calls a ſhepherd, and *Oroſius* a banditto, been diſpatched by the treachery of *Servilius Cæpio*, who hired that general's guards to aſſaſſinate him, may be eaſily gueſſed by the diſpatch he had made in croſſing the *Durius*, *Iberus*, and *Tagus*, ſeizing on *Galicia*, and ſome other provinces, and putting all the *Roman* colonies to fire and ſword; but his untimely death put an end to all farther oppoſition, it being found then ſo dangerous to head an army againſt ſo powerful and treacherous a nation as the *Romans* ſhewed themſelves on this occaſion [k]. How thoſe two brave brothers, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, fared, for daring to oppoſe them ſome time after, need not be here repeated [l], any more than the dreadful

[h] ARRIAN. geſt. Alex. M. lib. vii. [i] Lib. iii c. 20. [k] SIL. ITAL. OROS. lib. v. c. 8, & ſeq. Id. ibid. FLOR. l. liv. [l] See before, p 265, & ſeq.

pounds of ſilver *per* day (5). In a word, moſt antient authors have celebrated this country for its richneſs to ſuch a degree, that it hath only expoſed it the more to the invaſion of foreigners far and near.

(5) *Lib. xxxiii. c. 6.*

cataſtrophe of *Numantia* [m], *Saguntum* [n], and ſome other cities and people, for daring to defend their country againſt them. By theſe cruel and treacherous means theſe *Roman* invaders ſo far ſuppreſſed that noble love of liberty, for which this nation was juſtly famed, that very few attempts were afterwards made for regaining it; and thoſe did prove ſo unſucceſsful, or, to ſpeak more properly, were ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that it quite deterred them from even betraying the leaſt hope or deſire after their antient freedom, till at length they were quite forced to ſubmit to all their laws, cuſtoms, and religion; and, in a word, to be wholly romanized after their own arbitrary will. However, it is plain, that further *Spain* was not quite ſubdued till the fourth conſulate of *Marius*, *A. U.* 652, nor the *Celtiberians* till five years after, two years after *Dolabella* had triumphed over the *Luſitanians* [o]. The reſt is ſaid to have been conquered by *Auguſtus*, as we have formerly hinted.

WE ſhall conclude this chapter with a liſt of the *Spaniſh* prætors, as far as *Livy* has gone with them, and afterwards of the emperors, under whoſe government *Spain* continued from *Auguſtus* to *Honorius*, in the beginning of whoſe reign the *Romans* were driven out of it by the northern nations, whoſe hiſtory will follow in due time; by which means the reader will eaſily come at the remainder of the *Spaniſh* bondage under both, without our being forced to repeat what has been already ſaid in the *Roman* hiſtory, or anticipating upon what more properly belongs to thoſe of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, &c. hereafter; but as we ſhall but barely mention thoſe *Spaniſh* prætors and emperors, without entering into any further particulars of their reigns, we ſhall give the liſt of them in the following note (B), and ſo paſs over to the *Gauls*. But, before we leave *Spain*, we beg leave to add, that though the *Romans* carried off ſuch immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver out of it, as was hinted in the laſt note, they ſtill left enough behind in it to maintain their numerous armies and colonies, and build great cities, caſtles, forts, and particularly ſchools and academies, for all kinds of learning and exerciſes; to which we may add many other ſtately edifices, which were there reared by their prætors, conſuls, and eſpecially by their emperors; all which ſerved either to allure the *Spaniards* to the *Roman* yoke, or to deter them from ſhaking it off.

[m] Vol. xii. p. 261, & ſeq. [n] See before, p. 131, & ſeq. [o] Oros. ubi ſup. PLUT. in Mar.

(B) After *Scipio* above-mentioned had expelled the *Carthaginians*, *Spain* was governed by the following prætors, *viz.*

Hither *Spain* by	Further *Spain* by
L. Lentulus	*L. M. Acidinus*
Q. Fabius Butæus	*Q. M. Thermus*
Cato the censor	*Ap. Cl. Nero*
P. Cor. Scipio	*Sext. Digitius*
C. Flaminius	*M Fulv. Nobilior*
M. Bæbius Pamphilus	*A. Attil. Serranus*
L. Æmil. Paulus	*C. Flaminius*
M. Fulv. Nobilior	*Cn. Man. Vulso*
L. Manlius	*C. Catinius*
Quint. Crispinus	*C. Calpur. Piso*
A. Terent. Varro	*P. Sempronius*
Q. Fulv. Flaccus	*P. Manlius*
T. Sempronius	*L. Posthumius*
M. Titinius	*T. Fonteius Capito*
P. Licin. Crassus	*M. Cornel. Scipio*
Ap. Claud. Cento	Not mentioned by *Livy*
P. Fur. Philo	*Cn. Servil. Cæpio*
Cn. Fab. Buteo	*M. Mantienus*
M. Jun. Pœnus	*Sp. Lucretius.*

After them the senate reduced the country under one prætor, in the consulships of *P. Licin Crassus, C. Cass. Longinus*, an. urb. 583, which continued so only under the two following ones; *viz.*

C. Marcellus
Publ. Fonteius.

After whom it was again divided, and governed by

Cn. Fulvius	*C. Licinius Nerva*

Thus far *Livy*; and from this time, *viz.* A U. 701: *Spain* became a consular province, under the consulship of *Q. Fulvius* and *T. Annius*; and was governed by them, and their proconsuls and proprætors, as we learn from *Florus* and *Orosius*.

The emperors are as follow:

1. *Julius Cæsar*	17. *M. Aurelius*
2. *Augustus*	18. *Commodus*
3. *Tiberius*	19. *Pertinax*
4. *Caligula*	20. *Julian*
5. *Claudius*	21. *Severus*
6 *Nero*	22. *Caracalla*
7. *Galba*	23. *Macrinus*
8. *Otho*	24. *Heliogabalus*
9. *Vitellius*	25. *Alexander*
10. *Vespasian*	26. *Maximinus*
11. *Titus*	27. *Balbinus*
12. *Domitian*	28. *Gordianus*
13. *Nerva*	29. *Philip*
14. *Trajan*	30. *Decius*
15. *Adrian*	31. *Gallus*
16. *Antoninus Pius*	32. *Æmilianus*
	33. *Valerianus*

PART OF IRELAND
PART OF GREAT BRITAIN
GERMAN OCEAN
BRITISH OCEAN
Streights
AQUITAN
OCEAN
ANCIENT GAUL
SPAIN
OF
GREAT GERMANY
PART OF GERMANY
GERMANY
HELVETIA
GALLIA CISALPINA
LIGUSTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GULF OF GAUL
ADRIATICK SEA
HETRURIA
TUSCIA
CORSICA
Venta
Villa Faustini
Antona R.
London
Thames R.
Dubris
Novus Portus
Rhenus
Batavodurum
Batavorum
Cannefates
Frisiimajores
Chauri aut Chauci minores
Chamavi
Bructeri Agrivari
Amisia R.
Visurgis R.
Fulda R.
Luppia
Luppia R.
Siambri
Geldubа
Nouesium
Bonna
Lonus R.
Aliso R.
Ubiorum Ager
Menapii
Advatici
Toxandri
Morini
Portus Iccius
Gesoriacum
Nervii
Nemetacum
Atrebates
Nemetacum
Ambiani
Fanum Tungrorum
Silva Arduenna
Augusta Treverorum
Treviri
Mosa R.
Mosella R.
Mosa Mons
Vangiones
Mediomatrici
Nemetes
Tribocci
Nouiomagus
Borbetomagus
Leuci
Lingones
Rauracorum
Rauraci
Vindonissa
Rhine R.
Acronius
Luke
Sequani
Jura M.
Gabitanum
Lemanus
Mount Adula
Rhone R.
Veneti
Rhine R.
Pictones
Pictauum
Santones
Mediolanum
Antros I.
Novionagus
Petrocorii
Durannius R.
Burdegala
Tarbelli
Elusates
Ausci
Convenæ
Pyrenees M.
Lugdunum Convenarum
Tectosages
Volcæ
Tolosates
Volcæ Arecomici
Agatha
Narbo Martius
Ruteni
Cadurci
Aquitanum
Uxellodunum
Vellaunodunum
Cenabum
Aurelianis
Carnutes
Tricasses
Augustobona Tricassium
Agendicum
Senones
Mandubii
Alesia
Bituriges
Cubi
Aedui
Lemovices
Arverni
Augustonemetum
Gergovia
Segusiani
Allobroges
Vocontii
Segalauni
Tricorii
Maritimæ Alpes
Alpes Cottiæ
Taurini
Segusium
Ocelum
Eburovices
Diablindi
Cenomani
Aulerci
Ladus R.
Sarthe R.
Mayenne R.
Loire R.
Liger R.
Sequana R.
Matrona R.
Marne R.
Axona R.
Isara R.
Druentia R.
Durance R.
Vindana Portus
Venetica Insula
Namnetes
Condivincum
Andes
Curiosolitæ
Curiosolites
Venelli
Abrincatui
Lexovii
Biducasse
Biducassium
Velocasses
Bellovaci
Suessones
Rhemi
Remorum
Catalaunum
Tullum
Leuci
Lutetia Parisii
Melodunum
Meldi
Jamoritina
Augusta Veromanduorum
Augusta Suessionum
Durocortorum
Axona R.
Fiduna
Alauna
Cosedia
Segni
Ingena
Medio-lanum
Aulercorum Eburovicum
Rotomagus
Noviomagus Lexovium
Caletum
Vorganium
Olismi
Rhedones
Condate
Promontorium Curiosolitæ
Gobræum Promont.
Uxantos I.
Vectis I.
Portus Morinorum
Portus Itius
Gesoriacum
Ambiani
Samarobriva
Bellovaci
Suessones
Rhemi
Treviri
Vangiones
Mediomatrici
Nemetes
Tribocci
Leuci
Lingones
Rauraci
Sequani
Helvetia
Allobroges
Vocontii
Segalauni
Tricorii
Maritimæ Alpes
Alpes Cottiæ
Taurini
Segusium
Ocelum
Vada Sabatia
Genua
Pisæ
Arnus R.
Volaterræ
Tuscia
Corsica
Sicca
Portus Julii
Forum Julii
Arelate
Agatha
Narbo Martius
Volcæ Arecomici
Tectosages
Volcæ
Tolosates
Ruteni
Cadurci
Aquitanum
Uxellodunum
Gabalum
Lemovices
Arverni
Augustonemetum
Gergovia
Segusiani
Aedui
Cubi
Alesia
Bituriges
Senones
Mandubii
Carnutes
Tricasses
Agendicum
Augustobona Tricassium
Vellaunodunum
Cenabum
Aurelianis
Eburovices
Diablindi
Aulerci
Cenomani
Ladus R.
Sarthe R.
Mayenne R.
Loire R.
Liger R.
Sequana R.
Matrona R.
Marne R.
Axona R.
Isara R.
Druentia R.
Durance R.
Vindana Portus
Venetica Insula
Namnetes
Condivincum
Andes
Curiosolitæ
Curiosolites
Venelli
Abrincatui
Lexovii
Biducasse
Biducassium
Velocasses

33. *Valerianus*
34. *Gallienus*
35. *Claudius* II.
36. *Quintillus*
37. *Aurelianus*
38. *Tacitus*
39. *Florianus*
40. *Probus*
41. *Carus*
42. *Numerianus*
43. *Carinus*
44. *Diecleſian*
45. *Galerius*
46. *Conſtantine*
47. His three ſons
48. *Julian* II.
49. *Jovian*
50. *Valentinian*
51. *Valens*
52. *Gratian*
53. *Theodoſius*
54. *Arcadius*
55. *Honorius.*

CHAP. XI.

The antient ſtate of the Gauls, *to their conqueſt by* Julius Cæſar, *and from thence to the irruptions of the* Franks.

SECT. I.

The origin of the Gauls, *and extent of their country.*

Their origin, names, &c.

THE *Gauls* were certainly deſcended from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, as has been fully ſhewn in ſome former volumes [a], or, to ſpeak more properly, were the ſame people, under a different and more modern name, given them, in all probability, by ſome of their neighbours, whilſt they ſtill retained their primitive one of *Gomerai*, or deſcendants of *Gomer*, as thoſe ſtill do, who retain their antient language in its purity, eſpecially the northern *Welſh*. Other names they were known by, ſuch as they either ſeem to have aſſumed upon ſome particular occaſions, or ſuch as other nations thought fit to give them; of all which the reader may ſee a ſpecimen in the following note (A).

[a] See Vol. I. p. 368. V. p. 227, & ſeq.

(A) Of the firſt kind we may reaſonably reckon all thoſe, which are of *Celtic* extraction; ſuch as thoſe of *Celtes* and *Gaul*, which ſignify *brave* and *warlike*, *Armoric*, *maritime*, and the like. Even that

The

The name therefore of *Gaul*, *Galli*, and *Gallia*, is not only a foreign one, but of a recenter date, as are likewiſe thoſe other appellatives, by which *Julius Cæſar* [b], and other antient authors, diſtinguiſh one part of their country from another. Such are thoſe, for inſtance, of *Ciſalpina* or *Citerior*, *Tranſalpina* or *Ulterior*, and *Subalpina*, which was ſituate at the foot of the *Alps* [c]. The inhabitants however were formerly better known by the name of *Celtes* [d], and the country, in the whole, by that of *Celto-Gallia* [e], of which name we have given, in a former volume [f], the beſt etymon we could find. *Cæſar* afterwards diſtinguiſhed the whole country under the three following names, *viz.* *Belgia*, *Aquitania*, and *Gallia Propria*, or that which, according to him, was chiefly inhabited by the *Celtes* or *Gauls* (B). This laſt was further diſtinguiſhed

[b] Comment. l. i. c. 1. &c. [c] Plut. in Cæſ. & Marcel. Plin. hiſt. l. xvi. c. 11. Strab. Mela. Cluver. & al. [d] See Pausan. in Attic. c. 3. [e] Ptol. l. ii. c. 7. Diod. Sic. l. xxxix. & alib. [f] Vol. V. p. 227, & ſeq. paſſ. and notes.

that of *Belga*, which ſignifies *fierce* and *quarrelſome*, might have been given to that canton by their brethren and neighbours, on account of their retaining their original fierceneſs, from which the reſt had poliſhed themſelves by their commerce and intercourſe with other nations; thoſe of *Cis*, *Trans*, and *Subalpine*, from their ſituation on either ſide of the *Alps*; that of *Celto-Scythians* from their being neighbours to, and intermixed with, that nation; that of *Celtiberians* to thoſe that were ſeated on the other ſide the *Pyrenees*.

As they ſpread themſelves, by degrees, farther and wider from each other, and their original tongue ſplit itſelf into a great number of dialects, their appellatives became ſo numerous, and ſo vaſtly different from it, that it is with great difficulty they can be traced to their fountain-head. We ſhall therefore venture no farther, than upon ſuch ones as carry a kind of certainty of their extract, and refer ſuch of our readers, who are curious of ſuch etymons, to the authors quoted in the margin (1). He may likewiſe read that vaſt variety of names in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Mela*, *Cæſar*'s commentaries, *Diodorus Siculus*, and other antient authors.

(B) His words are theſe (2): "The whole country of *Gaul* is "divided into three parts, the firſt of which is inhabited by the "*Belgæ*, the ſecond by the *Aquitani*, and the third by thoſe whom "we call *Gauls*, but in their own tongue, are called *Celtes*. All

(1) *Bochart. phaleg. Scalig. theſ. temp. Cluver. introd. Pezron. antiq. des Celtes. Rowland. Mona antiq. Pelloutier hiſt. des Celtes. Hotteman. Franco-Gall. & al. mult.* (2) *Cæſ. bell. Gall. l. iv. c. i.*

"theſe

ed into *Comata*, whoſe inhabitants wore long hair; *Bracha-ta*, from their wearing breeches; and *Togata*, from the *Roman toga* being worn there. We ſhall endeavour to ſettle the limits of each of theſe in the following paragraph, and refer our readers for the other names by which it was occaſionally diſtinguiſhed, ſuch as that of *Armorica*, from its lying along the ſea-coaſts of *Aquitania*, from its abundance of water, *Cis* and *Tranſpadana*, and ſome others to the account given of them at the entrance of the *Roman* hiſtory above-quoted [g]. All that needs be added here is, that the words *Celto* and *Gaul*, ſignifying in the antient language, *brave* and *warlike*, that of *Belga*, *fierce* or *quarrelſome*, that of *Armoric*, *maritime*; theſe names were, in all probability, given them by other nations. As for thoſe of *Cimmerians*, *Cimbrians*, *Cumbrians*, and the like, they are plainly a corruption of their original one of *Gomerians* or *Gomerai*, as thoſe of *Galatians* and *Celto-Galatians* were of *Celto-Gaul*.

As for the *Galatia*, or *Celto-Græcia* of *Aſia Minor*; in which theſe *European Gauls* were ſettled by *Nicomedes*, who

[g] Vol. XI. p. 123, & ſeq.

"theſe have their language, manners, and cuſtoms different." The meaning of which words is generally taken to be, that he ſpeaks here of thoſe parts, which remained as yet unconquered by the *Romans*, and which retained ſtill their antient language and cuſtoms; whereas thoſe which were already ſubdued, had altered both by that time, to ſuch a degree, as to appear to him different from the reſt; ſuch was, for inſtance, that part, which was called *Togata*, from their having taken up the *Roman* dreſs, and, in all likelihood, ſeveral other of their cuſtoms, and by their intercourſe with them, might have very much altered their dialect from the reſt.

One thing is very remarkable, that *Cæſar* makes this province, which he likewiſe calls *Ciſalpina*, to begin at the foot of the *Alps*, and to have extended itſelf along the *Po*, as far as the *Adriatic* ſea, and the *Rubicon* (3); whereas *Strabo*, who quotes his commentaries (4), and *Diodorus Siculus* (5), plainly intimate, and the *Gauls* or *Celtes* inhabited all thoſe parts from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*, and we ſhall ſhew by and by, that they extended even beyond the latter, and poſſeſſed the greateſt part of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

However, the moſt that can be inferred from the paſſage quoted out of *Cæſar*, is, that he found *Gaul* ſo divided at his coming thither; and that by this time their language, manners, &c. were grown very different, though originally one and the ſame, as they were originally one and the ſame people.

(3) *Bell. Gall. l. iv. 2. Mela. l. iii. c. 2.* (4) *Strab. l. iv.*
(5) *Diod Sic. l v.*

And

had called them thither to his aſſiſtance, we ſhall, as much as we can, refer our readers to what has been ſaid of them in ſome preceding volumes [h], to avoid unneceſſary repetitions. All that need be added here is, that this province had *Cappadocia* on the eaſt; *Bithynia* on the weſt; *Pamphylia* on the ſouth; and the *Euxine* on the north. Here St. *Paul* founded a church, to which he directed that epiſtle, which is ſtill known by the name of the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and was written to reduce them from thoſe *Jewiſh* obſervances, to which ſome falſe teachers of the circumciſion had debauched them, and to confirm them in the true Goſpel liberty, which had been preached to them. We know little elſe of theſe *Galatians*, beſides what has been ſaid in the two volumes laſt quoted, except that we read in the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, of a ſignal overthrow, which the *Jews* gave them in the province of *Babylon*, where theſe, with a ſmall army of eight thouſand men, defeated and killed an hundred and twenty thouſand of the former. The text ſays nothing further concernig this ſignal victory, nor about the time in which it happened; ſo that we are left in the dark, whether it ſpeaks there of the *Galatians* ſettled in the province we are ſpeaking of, or, which is more probable, of the *Gauls* themſelves, who had by this time, if not long before, ſpread themſelves all over *Aſia*; for it muſt be obſerved here, that the name of *Galatai* was indifferently given, eſpecially by *Greek* authors, to the one and to the other. But to return to the antient *Gauls*:

The extent of Gaul.

We have already ſhewn in the hiſtory of the antient *Celtes* [i], that they were poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of *Europe*. There is ſcarce a province, or even a corner of it, in which they have not left ſome evident monument of themſelves, either in the names of cities and towns, cantons, and provinces, or of their rivers, lakes, mountains, promontories, or ſuch like. In every part of it, where either the *Phœnicians*, *Carthaginians*, or *Romans*, ſent their invading bands, there they are affirmed by antient writers to have found the *Celtes* or *Gauls* already ſettled [k]: not that they do expreſly mention them by theſe two names, for we have juſt obſerved on what account they had ſeveral other appellations given them, but yet ſuch as plainly appear, from the conformity of their language, religion, cuſtoms, &c. to have meant one and the ſame nation. However, we will not venture to

[h] See Vol. VIII. p. 200. & Vol. XII. p. 459. [i] Vol. V. p. 227, & ſeq. [k] Vid. Diod. Sic. l. v. Lucian. l. vi. Sil. Ital. l. iii. Appian. Ptol. & al.

ſay,

ſay, that they were all of the ſame *Celtic* extract that inhabited thoſe parts of *Europe*, either towards the ſea-ſide, ſuch as *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *French* coaſts, along the *Mediterranean*, or towards the north-eaſt, where they ſeem to have been ſo blended with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that it is next to impoſſible to aſſert their boundaries on that ſide. All that we pretend to conclude from thoſe antient writers, who have written moſt clearly and knowingly on this head, is, that the *Celtes* or *Gauls* plainly appear to have been the firſt, that peopled and poſſeſſed themſelves of, or claimed a dominion over them. After the general diſperſion that followed the flood, other nations might probably come afterwards, ſome by ſea, others by land, and have been permitted to ſettle amongſt them, there being more want of inhabitants than of room in thoſe early days, and in regions ſo remote from the place of their firſt migrations, as we have formerly hinted at the beginning of this *Univerſal Hiſtory*, and elſewhere [l].

Gauls *in* Spain *and* Portugal.

THE greateſt difficulty, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, is to prove the *Gauls*, or *Celtes* rather, to have been ſettled in *Spain* and *Portugal*, before any other nation; firſt, becauſe they were here called by the name of *Iberians*, or, at moſt, *Celtiberians*, from which ſome are apt to conclude the former to have been the name of the firſt inhabitants of that part, and the latter to have been given to the *Celtes*, who came over the *Pyrenees*, and ſettled amongſt them. And ſecondly, becauſe *Varro* [m] mentions no leſs than five different nations that were found there, when the *Romans* firſt invaded that country. Theſe were, according to him, the *Iberians*, *Perſians* (C), *Phœnicians*, *Celtes*, and *Carthaginians* (D).

As

[l] Vol. i. p. 349, & ſeq. & vol v. p. 227, & ſeq. [m] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. i. Vide & LUCIAN. APPIAN. DIODOR. & ubi ſup.

(C) As it doth not appear from any antient author, that the *Perſians* ſent other colonies into this country, it is ſomewhat difficult to gueſs, who theſe were, whom our author mentions with the other four. If we may be permitted to offer our conjecture, the name being of *Celtic* extract, and ſignifying *ſevered* or *divided*, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was given to ſome tribe or canton of this nation, on account of their rupture or difference from the reſt, either in their cuſtoms, laws, and ſuch-like, or for retaining their old ones, whilſt theſe had altered theirs, in complaiſance to the other nations they were intermixed with.

(D) We are not without ſome collateral proofs of this. The *Phœnicians*, as diſtinct from the *Carthaginians*, were the antient

As to the first, we have formerly shewn, that the word *Iberian* signified, in the antient *Celtic*, any people, country, or place, that was situate over, or on the other side of a sea, river, ridge of mountains, and the like [n]; so that these might be naturally called *Iberians*, on account of their situation over the *Pyrenees*, by those that lived on this side; and the *Celtiberians*, to distinguish them from those nations they were blended and intermixed with there. As to what is objected out of *Varro*, we have had occasion to hint, in the history of antient *Spain*, that neither the *Tyrian*, or *Phœnician* colonies, nor those of the *Carthaginians*, came thither till a long time after the *Celtes* or *Gauls* had been settled there, and peopled a great part of that country. All this seems self-evident, first from the consentient testimony of antient authors, the greatest part of whom expressly affirm it [o], and make those inhabitants to be of the same extract with those that filled the hither parts of *Europe*, to all whom they give the same common name of *Celtes*, and *Gauls*, and sometimes the more antient ones of *Cimmerians* and *Cimbrians* [p]. And secondly, from those traces and monuments they here left in almost every canton and province of that country: such as the names of seas, rivers, mountains, cities, and the like, all which are manifestly of *Celtic* extract.

In Italy. *Italy* cannot be supposed to have been long unpossessed by them, if they were not the first peoplers of it, concerning which we shall refer our readers to what has been said on that head in some former volumes [q]. It was indeed too fair a spot not to invite such a warlike and populous nation thither, had it been ever so well peopled beforehand; but, we think, we have made it at least very probable, that they came thither sooner than any other; for if the *Humbri* or *Umbri*

[n] Vol. v. p. 235. not. [o] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 33. l. iv. c. 49, & alib. EPHOR. apud Strab. l. iv. Vide & PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. i. c. 4. [p] STRAB. ubi sup. SICUL. l. v. & al. [q] See vol. v. p. 228, & vol. xi. p. 419.

Tyrians (6); and these are known to have sent a colony, and to have built a famous temple to *Hercules*, in the isle of *Gades*, and to have founded several considerable cities in *Spain* (7). And as to the *Carthaginians*, who were nearest neighbours to it, we have seen likewise, in a former volume, how early they invaded and settled in it (8).

(6) *Strab. l.* i. *sub init. Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 6. *See also vol.* ii. *p.* 296, *pass.* & (I), (K). (7) *See vol.* xvi. *p.* 477. 555. (8) *Vol.* xvi. *p.* 553. & *alib.*

really

really were, as they are affirmed by many authors to have been [r], the *aborigines*, or antienteſt people of *Italy*, and they were deſcended from the *Celtes* (E), as their name, and other concurring circumſtances, ſeem plainly to intimate [s], then it will ſcarcely be doubted, that they muſt have entered, and peopled that country very early, when we recollect what dreadful devaſtations the *Hetrurians* made among them, and how many hundreds of their towns and cities they deſtroyed in that invaſion, which they made upon them, and for the further particulars of which, we refer our readers to a former volume [t]. We ſhall ſhortly come to ſpeak of the *Germans*, and other northern nations, as well as of the iſles of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, *Iceland*, and others leſs conſiderable, all which do plainly appear to have been firſt diſcovered and peopled by the *Gauls* or *Celtes*: As for the *Germans*, they were ſo like the *Celtes* in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, except, as *Strabo* obſerves [u], their retaining ſome of their original fierceneſs, which was doubtleſs owing to their vicinity, and intermixture with the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, that they ſeem to have been one and the ſame nation; and this our author thinks to be the occaſion of their being called *Germans* (F). We ſhall find a much properer etymon for

[r] FLOR. l. i. c. 17. PLIN. DIO, HALICAR. & al. [s] Compare vol. v. p. 238, and vol. xi. p. 136. [t] Vol. v. ubi ſup. [u] Lib. iv. & vii.

(E) *Pliny* derives their name from the *Greek* ὀμβρος, which ſignifies a *ſhower*, becauſe they had been diſlodged from their country by a flood, occaſioned by violent ſhowers (9). But this etymon is far-fetched and forced, unleſs we will admit, that it carried the memory of their eſcaping the univerſal deluge with it; in which caſe it muſt be ſuppoſed, that they came early into thoſe parts, and ſet up ſome monuments of their deliverance there. But as to the name of *Umbrians* or *Humbrians*, it ſeems rather a ſoftening of the original one of *Gomerians* or *Cymbrians*.

(F) The word *Germanus* was that by which the *Romans* diſtinguiſhed brothers by the ſame father and mother, from thoſe which were only by the one or the other, whom they termed *uterini* or *conſanguinei*; and though the etymon itſelf be certainly falſe with reſpect to the *Germans*, yet it ſhews the great affinity which that author obſerved between them and the *Gauls*.

(9) *Nat. hiſt. l.* iii. *c.* 4.

that name in the ſequel. What made us mention it here, was a proof, that *Germany* was part of the *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* territories, at leaſt as far as the *Rhine* [w], if not as far as the *Danube* [x], though, as we have already obſerved, all that inhabited the countries between thoſe two great rivers, were very much intermixed with the *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, and other northern (G) nations. All that needs be added here is, that the *Helvetii*, *Rhætii*, *Norici*, and *Pannonians*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [y], are ſometimes called *Celtes*, and ſometimes *Gauls*, indifferently; and that their troops were ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Celtic* and *Gauliſh* legions in *Aurelian*'s time [z], as were alſo thoſe that lived along the foot of, or upon, the *Alps* themſelves.

Upon the whole then it appears evidently, that the antient *Gauls* or *Celtes* were poſſeſſed of the far greateſt part of *Europe*; that the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth, the *Atlantic* ocean on the weſt, the *Britiſh* and northern on the north-weſt, were the boundaries of their country; and that they extended towards the north as far as *Scandinavia*, *Polonia*, and *Muſcovy*; though theſe three nations, as well as thoſe that lived between the *Rhine* and *Danube*, were intermixed with a multitude of other people, of the greateſt part of whom we know but little, except their names. And thus much may ſuffice for the extent and limits of antient *Gaul*. How they came afterwards to be reduced within that narrow compaſs, in which we find them, when the *Romans* firſt invaded them, may be eaſily gathered from what has been already ſaid in the *Roman* hiſtory, and will further appear in the ſequel of this.

How they came firſt into Europe.

In the mean time it will not be improper, before we come to fix them according to that epocha, to inquire how this antient nation came at firſt to ſpread itſelf, as we have ſhewn they did, all over *Europe*, that is, whether they advanced

[w] Diodor. l. xxxviii. & ſeq. Ptol. l. ii. c. 9. [x] Tacit. German c. 1. Ptol. l. viii. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iv. c. 12. [y] See vol xii p. 317, (D). vol. xiii p. 314, (E), & ſeq. [z] Zos. l. ii c. 2. Liv l. xxi. c. 30. & ſeq. Polyb. l. iii. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. iii. c. 20, & alib.

(G) Such were the *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Sicambri*, *Burgundi*, *Quadi*, *Varbi*, *Hunns*, *Bastarnæ*, the *Rhætii*, *Norici*, *Pannonians*, *Mæſians*, *Thracians*, and many more, whoſe names and ſituation the reader will find in the ſeveral maps at the head of this hiſtory, and for the deſcription and particulars of which we refer him to the general index.

by

by gradual ſteps from the place of their firſt diſperſion, which we formerly fixed in *Phrygia* [a], or whether they came thither by ſea, and, landing, at firſt, on ſome of the *Italic* or *Mediterranean* ſhores, dilated themſelves from thence as far and wide as we find they did. Either hypotheſis has its difficulties. If that of *Beroſus* and his followers could be credited, that *Gomer*'s ſons ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of *Spain* and *Italy*, ſo early as an hundred and forty-two years after the flood, the gradual migrations will hardly be thought quick enough to have extended themſelves to ſuch vaſt tracts of ground in ſo ſhort a time; and it will be more natural to ſuppoſe, that they ſailed thither from *Leſſer Aſia*. But then it will be equally difficult to imagine, how they could, in the ſhort ſpace of an hundred and forty-two years, become ſuch expert mariners, as this ſuppoſes them to have been; and if we allow them a longer ſpace for making themſelves ſo far maſters of navigation, they may be as reaſonably thought to have expanded themſelves thus far by ſuch gradual migrations, as either want of room, curioſity, or deſire of change, may be ſuppoſed to have led them to. That they began by times to navigate, or to coaſt at leaſt, not only the *Mediterranean*, *Atlantic*, and other ſeas, but even on the main ocean, we ſhall preſently have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of their arts, commerce, *&c.* But it is ſcarcely to be believed, all things conſidered, that their rude ſkill in this art could bring them thither, ſo ſoon as the others could get thither by land. However, ſince ſome ancient authors have affirmed, that the firſt inhabitants of *Spain* came thither by ſea, ſome ſay from *Aſia*, and others from *Afric*, the moſt reaſonable opinion ſeems to be that, which allows theſe to have indeed come thither from thoſe parts, and to have ſettled in thoſe countries, though not till ſome conſiderable time after they had been diſcovered and peopled by thoſe, who came thither by land, and by gradual migrations. And this will further account, both for that great variety of names, dialects, and cuſtoms, which ſuch an intermixture muſt, of neceſſity, be ſuppoſed to produce, and for the loſs of that whole country in proceſs of time, when the *Gauls* were partly driven out of it, and the reſt ſubdued by their conquerors, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter.

THE ſame fate having attended them, not only in *Italy*, but likewiſe on this ſide of the *Alps*, where the provinces of *Noricum*, *Helvetia*, *Rhætia*, and that whole tract, which lies between thoſe mountains and the lake of *Geneva*, were taken from them, as we have ſeen in the *Roman* Hiſtory [b], the

The boundaries of Gaul ſtrengthened.

[a] Vol. i. p. 368. & Vol. v. p. 234.

[b] Vol. xiii. p. 317, & ſeq.

ed.

whole

whole *Gauliſh* extent came then to reach no farther than from that lake to the *Pyrenees*, having ſtill the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth, the *Rhine* on the north, and the *Britiſh* channel on the weſt; for, by this time, the *Britiſh* and other iſlands were detached from the inlands, and lived under princes of their own, though, in matters of religion, they ſtill kept a kind of conformity with, if not rather a kind of juriſdiction over, them, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. This was the ſtate of *Gaul*, and theſe its limits, when *Julius Cæſar* firſt came into it, as we have ſeen in a former volume, where we likewiſe took notice of ſeveral other changes, which were made in their boundaries, and new diviſions of their provinces and diſtricts by the conquering *Romans*, particularly by *Auguſtus*, and to which we beg leave to refer our readers, to avoid repetitions and prolixity [c].

For the ſame reaſon we think it ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here of its natural or artificial rarities, or to ſpend any longer time in deſcribing a country ſo near, and ſo well known to, us. We have deſcribed its ancient ſtate in a former volume [d], and there given an account of its moſt conſiderable rivers, lakes, mountains, *&c.* We have there likewiſe taken notice of the fertility of the country, and how early it had begun to be cultivated and improved, even as far back as the times of *Mercury*, who is affirmed by a learned modern, and not without ſome ſubſtantial proofs, to have reigned in *Gaul*, when it was in its full extent, and, by his wholſome laws and indefatigable pains to promote its trade and commerce into foreign countries, to have raiſed the *Gauliſh* nation to a ſurpriſing height of power and glory [e]. This reign hath indeed been very much ſuſpected by ſome other authors, who have written ſince [f], as fabulous and imaginary; but we do not think it as yet confuted by any thing that has been offered either againſt it, or in favour of the *Cteſian* hiſtory, which, we hope, we have, notwithſtanding all its many and learned advocates, ſufficiently confuted in our *Aſſyrian* hiſtory [g]. But, waving that intricate and controverted point, it is generally allowed, that this country was in as flouriſhing a condition, when the *Romans* firſt invaded it, as any in *Europe*, and their lands, commerce, arts, *&c.* cultivated and improved by its induſtrious

Its fertility, &c.

[c] Vol. xii. p. 532, & ſeq. Vol. xiii. p. 283. & xv. p. 360. & xvi. p. 157. [d] Vol. v. p. 235, & ſeq. [e] Pezron antiquit. des Celtes, c. 15. See vol. v. p. 255, & ſeq. [f] Fourmont. Vide & Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. ſub. indic. auctor. Bedford. chronol. & al. [g] Vol. ii, p. 142, & ſeq.

inhabitants,

inhabitants, in a manner altogether anſwerable to its excellent ſituation and climate (H) as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

HOWEVER, it muſt be obſerved here, that theſe improvements were of much later date than their firſt ſettlements; and that, if we except *Spain*, *Italy*, and the ſouthern parts of *France*, the reſt of their territories were too cold and diſcouraging to a nation that chiefly delighted in war, hunting, and ſuch-like exerciſes, and at a time when agriculture was,

(H) The ancient *Celtes* indeed, and thoſe *Gauls*, who were intermixed with the *Scythians*, did ſtill obſerve their old cuſtom of living in tents and waggons, or at moſt in huts built juſt to laſt them one year, after which they removed into freſh quarters; and as they lived chiefly on the fruits of the earth, and the milk of their cattle, they either wholly neglected agriculture, and all property in lands, or, at moſt, built themſelves a little houſe or cottage big enough for their family, in the midſt of as much ground, as they thought fit to cultivate for that year. The *Germans* and *Suevi* are obſerved by *Julius Ceſar* to have followed the ſame cuſtom in his days; who adds, that it was one of the chief taſks of their yearly magiſtrates to aſſign them ſuch lands, according to the exigence of their families; and as ſoon as the year was over, they removed into ſome other country (10).

Hence came the name and uſe of cantons: every tribe had a canton aſſigned to it, which was governed by its own magiſtrates, who were choſen from among them. This cuſtom, being derived from the ancient *Celtes*, had, it plainly appears, ſpread itſelf all over *Europe* and beyond (11). The *Romans* call'ed thoſe cantons *pagi*, which took up more or leſs ground, according to the largeneſs of the tribe; and, as ſoon as it was parcelled out among their families, each of them built a cot in the centre of his own ground; ſo that there were not any two to be ſeen contiguous to one another (12).

Even when they came to live in cities, as the *Gauls* did as ſoon any others in *Europe*, if we except perhaps *Italy* and *Spain*, they neither walled nor fortified them, alledging, that ſuch ſtrong places ſerved only to abate of the courage and fierceneſs of its inhabitants, and often proved the occaſion of their being brought into ſlavery (13). Whenever therefore they found themſelves invaded, they all marched out under their leaders, and engaged the enemy in open field, or, if they found themſelves unequal to the fight, they retired into either woods, marſhes, or other places of difficult acceſs, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(10) *L. i. c. 14. l* iv. *c. i.* l. *vi. c. 22.* (11) *Idem*, l. *i. c.* 12, 37. *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. *xxxi. c.* 3. *Strab* l. *iv. Polyb.* l. *ii* (12) *Idem. ibid, Vide & Dion. Halicarn.* l. *i. Sil. Ital.* l. *xv. & ſeq. Appian. Diodor, & al.* (13) *Tacit.* l. *iv. Bell. Gall.* l. *iii. c.* 29. l. *iv. c.* 19, *& ſeq. & alib,*

as it were, in its infancy; and it is moſt probable, that the fruitfulneſs of the warmer climates firſt put the northern inhabitants upon endeavouring to ſupply by art the defects of their ſoil and climate; for even in the times of the *Roman* emperors, we do not find, that they had either vines, olives, or any other fruit or grain, except corn [h]; and moſt authors, who have written on this ſubject, ſeem to attribute it wholly to the extreme cold to which they were expoſed. It is indeed very likely, that thoſe authors, being uſed to warmer climates, have ſomewhat exaggerated the coldneſs of theſe, which experience ſhews are nothing ſo ſevere as they have repreſented them [i]; but it is, at the ſame time, far from improbable, that they are become much warmer than they were in thoſe ancient times, partly by deſtroying a vaſt number of foreſts, which ſtagnated the air, and intercepted the warmth of the ſun; by draining many ſtanding waters and marſhy grounds; by cheriſhing it with warm manure, and other ſuch improvements, which are obvious to every naturaliſt. The *Romans* themſelves ſeem to have been ſenſible of this change, though they attributed it to ſome favourable alteration in the poſition of the earth, pretended to have been even foretold by that famous *Greek* aſtronomer *Hipparchus* [k]. But, however that be, it is plain, that theſe countries are ſo far from being ſo conſtantly covered with ice and ſnow, and their great rivers from being always ſo hard frozen, as to ſerve them inſtead of bridges, for croſſing whole armies over them in their winter excurſions, that we look upon it now as a kind of wonder, when-ever any of them chance to be frozen at any ſuch rate.

Climate grown warmer.

[h] Excerpt. ex Appian. de Celt. Var. de re ruſtic. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. v. Strab. l. iv. Cic. de conſuet. prov. Petron ſat. & al. [i] Vide auct. ſup. citat. & Herod. l. v. Plin. jun. panegyr. cxii. Amm. Marcell. l. xix. c. 2. l. xxxi. c. 9. Ovid. de triſt. eleg. x. ver. 8, & al. [k] Vide int. al. Columell. de re ruſtic. l. i. c. 1.

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CHAP. XI.

SECT. II.

The religion of the Gauls.

Their religion derived from the antient Celtes.

WE have already given an account of the religion of the antient *Celtes* in a former volume [a]; and as the *Gauls* were deſcended from them, as we have ſhewn under the laſt article, it is not to be doubted but it was continued and propagated amongſt them, in the ſame manner and form as they received it from them, till their intercourſe with other nations, or perhaps rather their ſubjection to them, gave birth to thoſe changes and intermixtures, which it afterwards underwent. To come therefore at a tolerable notion of true *Gauliſh* religion, we ſhould ſeek it amongſt thoſe *Gauls*, who were leaſt converſant with other people, and had leaſt occaſion or neceſſity of receiving or adopting any thing from them; inſtead of having recourſe to that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from whom whatever they might, in proceſs of time, borrow, that might cauſe a kind of reſemblance between them, yet originally they differed as much, not only in this, but in almoſt all other reſpects, as black from white. Much worſe have they ſucceeded in this point, who have transformed the *Gauliſh* deities into *Greek* and *Roman* ones, and ſpent a deal of time and pains to no purpoſe, to prove them to have been ſuch [b]; whereas we hope, in the ſequel, to give our readers indubitable arguments of their being of *Celtic* extraction. For the ſame reaſon we muſt be very wary, how we depend too much on thoſe few antient authors, whether *Greeks*

[a] Vol. v. p. 248, & ſeq. [b] SCHED. biblior. hiſt. Franc p. 29. Vide relig. des Gaul. præf. p. 4.

or *Romans*, who have occasionally spoken of them (A). These few scraps, they have left us of *Gaulish* religion, sufficiently shew, that they knew little of it; and that, even in those points in which they do not clash against one another (B), they have betrayed such a fondness and partiality for their own, as if they had looked upon it as the mother, and the other as the offspring of it. Upon which account *Josephus* makes no scruple to affirm [c], that all that the best of these had written of the *Gauls*, was without any foundation, and owing to an itch of saying such things of them, as no man had ever said before, or indeed could say. And, in fact, it could hardly be otherwise, con-

[c] Cont. Apion. l. i.

(A) The most considerable of these are, *Julius Cæsar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo* and *Pliny*, and they have written of it in such a loose, and yet concise, manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and, if these pages were to be reduced to their just value, would lose one half of their bulk (1); whether it be, that these authors have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things.

(B) According to those quoted in the last note, both the religion and customs of the *Gauls* are drawn in such colours, as would incline one to suspect them of innate partiality, or rather hatred, to that brave nation. *Diodorus*, among the rest, makes no scruple to tell us, that their ferocity was in nothing more remarkable than in their religious rites, in which, says he (2), nothing could be more impious, than the victims which they offered, nor more inhuman, than the manner in which they offered them. And, if we may believe *Procopius* (3), it seems as if this barbarous custom had been still in vogue some centuries after their embracing christianity.

A modern writer, however, has been at the pains to quote other authorities, to disculpate them from a great deal of this pretended inhumanity (4), and to prove, that they were famed for their virtue and morality. It is well, if both sides have not exaggerated in their turns. But, at the worst, the *Gauls* do not appear to have much outdone those other nations, who cry out so bitterly against them, in these execrable customs of offering human victims to their gods, of murdering some captives in their auguries, and such-like. On the contrary, we have shewed in some former parts of this work (5), that not only the antient *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. but even the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and others, made a common practice of them; and thus far their religions bore a resemblance, which soever of them were the inventors of these bloody ceremonies, concerning which we have nothing to add to what we have said in the volumes above quoted.

(1) *Relig. des Gaul. pref. p.* 2. (2) *Histor. l.* v. (3) *Gother. l* ii. *c.* 25. (4) *Vide Lewis, histor. Britan. c.* 2. *& auctor. ab eo citat.* (5) *See vol.* i. *p.* 290, (W), *p* 459. *& alib. pass. vol.* xiv. *p.* 511. xv. *p.* 99. xvi. *p.* 453, 459, 489, (A).

sidering

fidering that the *Gauls* made it a conſtant rule never to commit any thing to writing, according to a ſettled maxim amongſt them, that it was more glorious to perform noble deeds, than to ſpeak and write well [d]. Beſides, had they laid more open to their neighbours than they really did (C), yet could theſe have received no great intelligence concerning their religion, ſince their druids or bards made it a main part of their policy to conceal it, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable points of it, even from their own laity, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

IT will appear ſtill more unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the *Gauls* received any part of their religion from either the *Greeks* or *Romans*, if we conſider, beſides what has been hinted at the end of the laſt note, that their gods and goddeſſes, and their very names, plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extract, and exactly anſwering ſome eminent part of their character (D), not as gods and goddeſſes, but as heroes and heroines, famed for ſome peculiar excellency, and as ſuch deified, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, by the courteſy of their deſcendants; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not adopt, much leſs challenge them

[d] See CÆS. comment. l. vi. SALLUST. bell. Catilin.

(C) *Joſephus* (6) tells us accordingly, that their country was, in ſome meaſure, inacceſſible, becauſe nature had fortified them on all ſides with a kind of impenetrable ramparts, ſuch as were the *Alps* the *Pyrenees*, the ocean, and *Mediterranean*, the *Rhine*, &c. and with ſtrength and courage to defend their frontiers.

It is no leſs improbable, that their religion was brought in amongſt them, either over any of theſe then inacceſſible mountains, ſeas, or rivers; becauſe, on the one hand, the nations that antiently inhabited over the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, and on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, *Danube*, &c. were, as we have ſhewn, of the ſame *Celtic* extract with the *Gauls*, and had received the ſame religion, laws, and cuſtoms, with them from their anceſtors, ſo that we muſt, of courſe, ſuppoſe, that it was ſettled and practiſed amongſt them ſome ages before they either thought of making excurſions out of their own territories, or others, among whom they had, by their conqueſts, colonies, and warlike exploits, injected an univerſal dread, took into their heads to invade them. On the contrary, it appears from ſome authors, that even the *Romans* did not make any attempt on them till about four hundred years after they were known to be ſufficiently fixed in their religion, government, and diſcipline (7).

(D) This our reader will be beſt able to judge of, by turning to the fourth ſection, under the note (L), to which we refer, to avoid needleſs repetitions.

(6) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 16. (7) *Pauſan. in Phoc.* *Vid. relig. d. Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 3.

for their own, till many ages after, that is, as a learned author ſeems rightly to ſuppoſe [e], not till the former had been ordered by the oracle of *Dodona* to adopt the deities of the barbarians [f]; and the latter made it a ſtanding law not to invade any nations, till they had previouſly implored the favour of their gods, and promiſed to build them temples, and eſtabliſh their worſhip amongſt them.

Whether the *Gauls*, or antient *Celtes* rather, were the firſt introducers of theſe hypotheſes, or whether they adopted them in imitation of other antient nations, is a knot too hard for us to untie. However, it is plain they antiently adored a ſupreme Being under the name of *Eſus*, which ſeems only a corruption of the old *Celtic* word *Dhew*, from which the *Greeks* probably borrowed their Θεὸς and Ζεὺς, and the *Romans* their *Deus*. This notion was religiouſly preſerved by their druids; and if they, for wordly ends, or perhaps to pleaſe the people, whoſe impetuous deſire after this novelty they could not reſiſt, ſuffered the worſhip and images of theſe gods to be introduced amongſt them, yet they never looked upon them as any other than inferior deities, whatever the laity might be indulged to do in proceſs of time; but the worſhip of the true God was ſtill carefully kept up, and the oak eſteemed the ſymbol of the deity, as fire was among the *Perſees*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume [g]. To frame therefore a right notion of the religion of this, or any other, nation, we muſt not judge of it by the corruptions introduced into it by a mad populace, and winked at by the prieſts and philoſophers, but as it was believed and profeſſed by thoſe, who had the care of it. And in this caſe we ſhall perhaps find the moſt material difference between that of the *Gauls* and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, even in thoſe points in which they ſeem moſt to agree, we mean, the worſhip of the ſame gods, with reſpect to the different characters which they gave, and ideas they entertained of, them, the latter ſeeming calculated to ſooth the moſt inordinate paſſions, and authoriſe the worſt of crimes, and the former rather quite oppoſite to it; and this is what the modern author laſt quoted has taken no ſmall pains to ſhew in two main inſtances, *viz.* from the contrary notions which theſe entertained of their gods, and from the moral doctrines of their druids. It is indeed no hard matter to imagine, how the religion and precepts of *Noah* (and theſe were free enough from all idolatry, and the ſuperſtitious traſh, which crept in afterwards among his deſcendants) ſhould be preſerved for a conſiderable

[e] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 3. [f] Plin. l. xxviii c. 3. [g] See vol. vi. p 501, & ſeq.

time

time in the family of *Japheth*, upon which that patriarch had pronounced and intailed a peculiar bleſſing [h]; but we cannot be ſo ſanguine in favour of thoſe druids, as to believe with that author, that they preſerved them ſo pure among themſelves, during ſuch a ſeries of ages, as he ſeems to ſuppoſe. If they did, they were guilty of a very ſhameful remiſſneſs, and condeſcenſion to the laity, in ſuffering them to run themſelves into ſuch vile idolatries, horrid ſuperſtition, deteſtable rites, and corruption of principles and morals, as they muſt be owned to have done, in ſpite of all falſe gloſſes that have been uſed to palliate their degeneracy, or the ſuppoſition of their having been too much miſrepreſented by *Greek* and *Latin* authors. We have, on the contrary, ſhewn in a former volume [i], that the antient *Celtes*, even in the times of their primitive ſimplicity of life, and when they were as yet moſt free from luxury and other corruptions, had yet adopted many inhuman ceremonies into their worſhip, auguries, &c. Even the *Scythians*, a younger branch of *Japheth*'s family, who lived ſtill in a much greater ſimplicity, and were more unmixed, and had leſs intercourſe, with other nations, did yet even exceed the *Celtes* in the barbarity of their religion and cuſtoms [k]; and it will evidently appear from what follows, that the *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other northern people, did not only copy after, but even outdo them in it; ſo that tho' they muſt be allowed, for reaſons hinted more than once, to have been little known to, and, in great meaſure, deſignedly miſrepreſented by, thoſe authors who have written of them, yet they cannot, without manifeſt partiality, be diſculpated from the charge of having had many bloody and inhuman rites, many abſurd and unſocial principles, as well as corruption of morals, in common with other nations, tho' not in the ſame degree with them. Let therefore the private doctrines of their druids have been what they would, and they be ſuppoſed ever ſo averſe and oppoſite to the general practice of the people, nothing can be ſaid for their countenancing, if not encouraging, thoſe abominable ceremonies, ſuch as their offering up of human victims to their gods by way of expiation, their auguries from the reeking blood and entrails of their captives, and others of the ſame nature, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

WE think ourſelves obliged to be the more particular in our inquiry into the religion of the *Gauls*, as it is the ſource and foundation, not only of that of the antient *Germans* and other

The Gauliſh religion the mother of all the northern nations.

[h] Geneſ. ix. 27. See Moni antiqua, p. 43, & ſeq. p. 98, & ſeq. p. 105, & ſeq. [i] Vol. v. p. 248, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. p. 227, & ſeq. p. 287, & ſeq.

more

more northern nations, but likewiſe of that of the antient *Britons*, who, as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter, were deſcended from, and had received their religion, laws, cuſtoms, &c. originally from, them; ſo that what is ſaid on that ſubject in this chapter, will ſerve as a clue to that of thoſe other nations we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the following ones; by which means we ſhall avoid many needleſs repetitions, and be able to confine our account of them chiefly to thoſe points, in which they either differed from this their common mother, or, in ſuch caſes, where there appears a neceſſity to ſhew the affinity they bear to each other. As for thoſe of the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. who became intermingled with the *Gauls*, the reader will find the former already done in a former volume [1], and the reſt will come in their turn in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters. And here we ſhall, for order-ſake, begin with an account of the different deities worſhipped by the antient *Gauls*, and the particular ceremonies and ſacrifices uſed to each of them, not as they were tranſmitted to them from their *Celtic* anceſtors, concerning which we refer our readers to what has been ſaid in their hiſtory, but as they were found in the times of the *Romans* invading of, and becoming firſt acquainted with, them.

Eſus the ſupreme Deity.

We have already hinted, that they antiently worſhipped the ſupreme Deity, under the names of *Eſus* or *Heſus* (E), and the

[1] Vol. xi. p. 131, & ſeq. 138, & ſeq.

(E) There have been various conjectures concerning the etymon of this word, beſides that which we offered a little higher, and which to us ſeems the moſt natural, becauſe the *Celtic Dh* being pronounced with a kind of preceding aſpiration, and not unlike our ſofter *th* in ſuch pronouns as *thee*, *thou*, &c. foreigners who are unuſed to it, could not well expreſs the ſound of the word *Dhew*, but by the letters *Eſu*. As for the final *s*, it might be ſuperadded by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, according to their way of terminating the maſculine gender in *us* and *os*, as they did likewiſe in the plural *Eſi*, *Αἰσοι*, as they may be ſeen in *Heſychius*.

The antient *Etruſcans*, according to *Suetonius* (8), called the Deity *Æſar*; for he obſerves there, that among the other prodigies which preceded *Auguſtus*'s death, a flaſh of lightning having eraſed the *C* from the word *Cæſar*, as it ſtood engraved on a pedeſtal that ſupported his ſtatue, the diviners told him, that the *C* being a numerical letter, ſignifying an hundred, the omen portended, that he had but ſo many days to live, after which he would be deified, becauſe *Æſar*, or the remainder of the word *Cæſar*,

(8) *In vit. Auguſt.*

ſignified

the ſymbol of the oak; and it will not be thought ſtrange, that this notion of a ſupreme Being ſhould have been preſerved

ſignified God in the *Etruſcan* language. If we might therefore be allowed a far-off conjecture concerning theſe two names, *Eſus* among the *Gauls*, and *Æſar* among the *Etruſcans*, it would be, that they might be both of *Hebrew* extract; and we have elſewhere ſhewn, that the old *Celtic*, with which the *Etruſcan* has a vaſt affinity, appears viſibly to have been a dialect of the *Hebrew* (9). The word עזוז *bezus* ſignifies *ſtrong* and *mighty*, and is given to God in many places, particularly by the Pſalmiſt (10); and עזר *ezer* ſignifies *help* or *helper* (11), and is likewiſe given to Him, as he is emphatically ſo, when all other helps fail. The patriarch *Abraham*, and his deſcendants, knew him by the name of אל שדי *el-ſadai*, *the mighty*, or *ſelf-ſufficient God*, till he made his peculiar name *Jehovah* known unto them (12); and it is remarkable, that the *Thracians*, a branch of the *Celtes*, did, according to *Macrobius*, call the god, to whom they had erected a temple on mount *Zilmiſſus*, *Sabazius*, which is a plain corruption of the *Hebrew* word *Tzabaoth*, eſpecially conſidering, that, in their religious rites to *Bacchus*, they were wont to cry out, *Evohe Sabbai*, which is the *Elohe*, or, if you pleaſe, the *Jehovah*, *Tzabaoth* of the *Hebrews*, as God is emphatically called by the pſalmiſt in the pſalm above-quoted, and ſignifies *Lord of hoſts*, a title that well ſuited the martial *Thracians*. As theſe therefore were rather attributes, than the names, of the Godhead, each nation may be ſuppoſed to have choſen that which ſuited their genius beſt; and the *Gauls* that of *Heſus*, as ſuiting moſt with their warlike ſpirit.

That not only the names of the Deity, but this way of worſhiping Him under oaks, and in oaky groves, was common to all the deſcendants of *Noah*, we have undoubted proof out of the old teſtament, as we ſhall preſently ſhew; and we only mention it here to confute the notion of thoſe, who ſuppoſe the *Eſus* of the *Gauls* to have been the god *Mars*; for neither he, nor any other inferior deities, were worſhipped under theſe oaks, or with the ſame rites with *Eſus*; and therefore *Pliny*, in his deſcription of the ceremony which they uſed in gathering the miſſeto of thoſe ſacred oaks, has theſe words, which plainly ſhew, that theſe trees were dedicated to the Deity itſelf: "The druids, ſays he, (13) believe, that the miſſeto "is a ſign, that God hath choſen that tree to himſelf;" and a little lower, after having particularly deſcribed their manner of gathering it, he adds, "That they offered up victims and prayers to "God, that he would bleſs and proſper his own gift to them that "receive it." It is plain from it, that he neither ſpeaks here of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, or any other of their gods, but of the Deity itſelf.

(9) *Vol.* v. *p.* 253, (B). (10) *Vide int. al. Pſal.* xxiv. 8. (11) *Gen.* ii. 18. (12) *Conf. Gen.* xvii. 1. & *Exod.* vi. 3. (13) *Hiſt. nat. l.* xvi. *c.* 44.

among

among the deſcendants of *Japheth*, when we find ſuch lively traces of it even among the idolatrous *Syrians*, *Midianites*, and even the *Canaanites*, as in the family of *Laban* [m], of *Jethro* [n], and of the two *Abimelechs*, kings of *Gerar* in the times of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* [o], and ſome others we could name, particularly the *Gibeonites* in *Joſhua*'s time [p], *Adonibezek* in the time of the judges [q], and *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, in the reigns of *David* and *Solomon* [r]; who all not only retained the notion of the deity, notwithſtanding their idolatry, but had likewiſe a peculiar name for it, diſtinct from thoſe of their other gods. To this let us add, with reſpect to the *Gauls* we are now ſpeaking of, that the natural fondneſs, which they had for the religion and cuſtoms of their foreſathers, the contempt they entertained of other nations, the recluſe and ſolitary life of their druids, who were the keepers and teachers of their theology, and their ſtrict and conſtant practice, founded upon it, of ſacrificing, and performing their other religious rites, under the oak only, as conſecrated to that ſupreme Being, were moſt effectual means to preſerve that fundamental notion ſtill uppermoſt amongſt them, whatever other ſuperſtitions might be, in proceſs of time, introduced amongſt them; for we muſt here obſerve, that they kept conſtant to this cuſtom, or rather, as ſeems, law, of performing their religious worſhip under that tree, or, more properly, in groves of it, even after they had adopted that long regiment of deities, of which we are about to give an account. To this we muſt add, that, in the midſt of thoſe heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, which crept by degrees into their religion, they never erected any either temples or idols unto this *Eſus* or ſupreme Deity; ſo that he ſeems to have been acknowledged by them much in the ſame manner, that the *Athenians* did the unknown God mentioned by St. *Paul* [s]; which notion was far enough from being peculiar to them: others had their unknown God as well as they, and owned themſelves his offspring, though their notion and worſhip of him were very imperfect, and, in many caſes, too unworthy of him, as even the *Gauls* did, when they came to intermingle the *Roman* theology with their own. However, antiently they ſeem to have entertained ſome ſublime notions of him, to confirm which we need but add what *Tacitus* ſays of the *Senones*, who were a branch of the *Celtes*, and had the ſame religion; they, ſays that author [t], have no other temples but a wood or grove, where they perform all their religious rites. None is admitted to enter it, unleſs he carries a chain, in

[m] Geneſ. xxxi. 48, & ſeq. [n] Compare Exod. ii. 21, & ſeq. [o] Geneſ. xx. 3. & ſeq. xxvi. 8, & ſeq. [p] Josh. ix. 9, & ſeq. [q] Judg. i 7. [r] 1 Kings v. 7. & ſeq. [s] Acts xvii. 23. [t] De mor. German.

token

token of his dependence on, and owning the ſupreme dominion which God has over him; and, if he chance to fall down, none muſt dare to help him up; but he muſt either roll himſelf, or crawl upon his belly, out of the place. He adds, that their whole religion conſiſts in an acknowledgment, that the deity, which makes its abode there, governs all things; that all things depend on him, and ought to obey him. *Strabo* ſays much the ſame of the *Celtiberians*, another branch of the *Celtes*; and adds, that they worſhipped the God without name, and danced every full moon, before their houſes, all the night, in honour of him [u]. And might it not be upon this account, as an ingenious author obſerves [w], that *Lucan* rallies the *Maſſilian* druids, when he tells them [x], that they were the only ones of all men, to whom it was given to know, or not to know, the gods they adored? And then, ſpeaking of their groves, ſays, that their ignorance of the deities they worſhipped under them, was the cauſe of that veneration they paid to thoſe ſturdy and ſhapeleſs trees. He ſpeaks there indeed of deities in the plural, *Roman* and poet like; but that he did not intend thereby, that any more than one was worſhipped in thoſe groves, is plain from what he ſays at the end of his deſcription of the *Maſſilian* grove (F); *viz.* that the prieſt or druid, who officiated there, was afraid of meeting *dominum luci*, by which he could mean nothing elſe but the deity worſhipped there, a notion probably common to them and the *Jews*, as we have ſhewn in the laſt note.

ANOTHER

[u] Geogr. l. iii. [w] Relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 2. [x] Luc. Pharſal. l. iii.

(F) This deſcription, though diſfigured with ſatire and ridicule, being curious and pertinent to our preſent ſubject, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of it to our *Engliſh* readers. It is as follows: There is without the walls of *Marſeilles* a ſacred grove or wood, which had never been touched by ax from the creation. The trees of it grew ſo thick and interwoven, that they ſuffered not the rays of the ſun to come through their branches, but a perfect damp and darkneſs reigned through the place. Neither nymphs nor ſylvan gods could make their abode in it, it being deſtined for the moſt inhuman myſteries. There was nothing to be ſeen there but a multitude of altars, upon which they ſacrificed human victims, whoſe blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimſon colour. If antient tradition may be credited, no bird ever perched upon their branches, no beaſt ever walked under them, no wind ever blew through them, nor thunder-bolt did ever touch them. Theſe ſtately oaks, as well as the black water that winds about through the place in different chanels, fill one with horror and dread. The figures of the god of

Their veneration for the oak.

Another remarkable thing in their religion was their great veneration for the oak. This seems likewise to have been common to them and the old patriarchs and *Jews*, among whom that tree was in high esteem, though not in the same superstitious degree. *Abraham* is recorded to have pitched his tents under some famous oaks, such as those of *Mamre*, of *Moreh*[y]; which, though our version, and some others, have transformed into plants, yet, in the original, do plainly signify an oak, or oaky grove, as we have observed in a former volume[z]. He is said moreover to have planted groves of them; and where-ever he pitched his tent, he is recorded to have built an altar unto the Lord, and to have given some significant name to the place, such as that of *Beersheba*, *Bethel*, and the like[a] (G). The *Gauls*

[y] Genes. xii. 6. xiii. ult & alib. pass. [z] Vol. ii. p. 361, (G).
[a] Vide int. al. Gen. xxi. 33.

the grove are a kind of standing, rude, and shapeless, trunks, covered over with a dismal yellow moss. It is the genius of the *Gauls* (continues he) to feel no veneration for the gods, unless they be thus represented, in a manner quite opposite to the taste of other nations; for which reason their fear and regard for them increases, in proportion to their ignorance of those gods which they worship. There is a report, that this grove is often shaken, and strangely moved, and that dreadful sounds are heard from its caverns; that the yews, if thrown or cut down, grow up again of themselves; that the grove is sometimes in a blaze, without being consumed; and that the oaks are twined about with monstrous dragons. The *Gauls* dare not live in it, out of respect to the deity that inhabits it, and to which they intirely abandon it. Only at noon and midnight a priest goes trembling into it, to celebrate its dreadful mysteries; and is in continual fear, lest the deity, to which it is consecrated, should appear unto him. Thus far our poet.

We have already observed, that though he expresses himself in the plural in speaking of the *Gaulish* gods, rather as a poet and a *Roman*, yet his last words plainly shew, that he intended to speak of one deity here. All that we would further observe of the priest's dread of seeing that deity, seems plainly a relic of that notion, which even the patriarchs and antient *Jews* had, that no man could see God and live (14). As for the dreadful description of the grove, and its horrid apparatus, if it is not, in a great measure, the fiction of the poet, to ridicule the *Gaulish* worship, might it not be that of the druids themselves, to prevent their laity, as well as strangers, from entering, and prying too curiously into it?

(G) It must be observed, that the original word *alon* signifies both an *oak*, and a *grove* or *thicket of oaks*. These were, at first,

(14) Vide int. al. Gen. xxviii. 16, & seq. Judic. vi. 22. xiii. 22. & seq.

chosen

Gauls in particular ſeem to have improved upon this patriarchal cuſtom, the origin of which ſeems rather owing to what we hinted in the laſt note, than to any ſanctity, or extraordinary virtue, which either *Abraham*, or any of his anceſtors or ſucceſſors, could imagine to be in thoſe trees; whereas, among both *Celtes* and *Gauls*, the oak was looked upon and reverenced as an emblem, or as the peculiar reſidence, of the Deity. The fruit of it, eſpecially the miſſoldine, was thought to have a kind of divine virtue, was uſed as a kind of panacea for man and beaſt, and applied to both, as well inwardly as outwardly, in wounds, contuſions, and cuticular ailments, as well as for inward diſeaſes, or even barrenneſs and abortion in men, women, and cattle (H). The leaves, or ſome ſmall boughs

And miſ-tletoe.

choſen in thoſe hot countries for the ſake of coolneſs and ſhade; and where the plains were well watered, and fit for paſture, but wanted ſuch woods or groves, they planted them, as *Abraham* is recorded to have done at *Beerſheba*. Theſe, in time, came to be in great eſteem by his deſcendants, not only on account of their extreme uſefulneſs and long duration, but out of regard to thoſe patriarchs, who had dwelt and ſacrificed under them. *Jacob*, we read, buried his beloved *Rachael*'s nurſe under an oak, which he called *The oak of mourning*. He buried all the idolatrous traſh, which he found in his houſhold, under another (15). This laſt became famous among the *Shechemites* (16), probably becauſe *Joſhua* reared a ſtone or pillar under it, in memory of the covenant which he renewed juſt before his death between God and the *Iſraelites* (17).

This regard, by degrees, dwindled into downright ſuperſtition, not only among the *Jews*, but even among chriſtians, *Mahammedans*, and other nations. As to the former, they became infamous for their ſacrificing and burning incenſe in their high places and groves, and at length, as they are juſtly upbraided by the prophets, under every oak and green tree (18), notwithſtanding God's prohibitions, and ſevere threatnings. As for the latter, we have ſhewn in a former volume, in ſpeaking of the oaks under which *Abraham* dwelt, that they were ſtill ſhewn in *Conſtantine*'s time, and reſorted to with great devotion by chriſtians, *Turks*, and even heathens (19).

(H) *Pliny*, who has given us this account more accurately than any other author, tells us (20), that they called the miſſeto, as well as the particular day or feſtival on which they gathered it, by a name which ſignified *cures all*. We ſhall quote the whole paſſage, as it is both ſuccinct and curious:

(15) *Gen.* xxxv. 4, 8. (16) *Judic.* ix. 6. (17) *Joſh.* xxiv. 26. (18) *See 2 Kings* xvi. 4. *Iſai.* lvi. 5, *& ſeq. Jerem* ii. 20. *Hoſea* iv. 13 *Judith* iii. 8. (19) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 361. *(C), & alib* (20) *Nat. hiſt. l.* xvi. *c.* 44.

boughs of it, were worn by the druids and laity in all their religious ceremonies, which were constantly performed, as we hinted above, under those trees, or in oaky groves. These, if we may guess from the few fragments we have left of them in history, and from some carneads or heaps of stones still standing in some of our isles, especially that of *Anglesey* [b], and which may be supposed to have been cinctures or fences round the grove, to prevent their entrance between the trees, except where it was left open to the comers, and, not unlikely, guarded by some inferior druids, to stop all strangers from intruding into their mysteries: we say, if we may guess at them by those few antient helps, these groves were of different forms, some quite circular, some oblong, and more or less capacious, according to the number of votaries, or the largeness of the district

Their groves for worship.

[b] See Mona antiqua, p. 91, & seq. KEYZLER. antiq. septentrion. p 77. & in addend.

" The druids, says he, who are among the *Gauls* what the magi
" are elsewhere, hold nothing so sacred as the missoldine, and the
" tree that bears it. This is constantly the oak, for which they
" have such a high esteem, that they do not perform the least reli-
" gious ceremony without being adorned with garlands of its leaves.
" It is, in all likelihood, from the *Greek* name of the oak, that the
" *Gallish* priests are called druids. These philosophers believe,
" that every thing that grows upon that tree doth come from hea-
" ven; and that it is an evident proof, that God hath chosen it
" above all others.

" The missoldine of the oak being scarce, and rarely found,
" when any of it has been discovered, they go with great ceremony
" and respect to gather it. This is always done on the sixth day of
" the moon, a day so esteemed among them, that they have made
" their months and years, and even ages, which consist but of thirty
" years, to take their beginning from it. The reason of their
" chusing that day is, because the moon is, by that time, grown
" strong enough, though not come to the half of its fulness; and
" this day they call by a name, which, in their tongue, signifies
" *curer of all ills*.

" When the druids have got ready under the oak all the appa-
" ratus for the sacrifice, and the banquet which they usually make,
" they tie for the first time, two white bulls to it by the horns.
" Then one of the priests, clothed in white, gets up the tree, and
" with a gold scythe, cuts off the missoldine, which is received in a
" white *sagum*; which done, they begin to offer their sacrifices,
" and pray to god to give a blessing to his own gift unto them that
" are honoured with it. He adds, that the water of the missoldine
" gives fertility to man and beast, is a specific against all kind of
" poison; an eminent instance, says he, that human religion has
" often no other object than frivolous things."

or canton, to which they belonged. The area, which was in the centre of the grove, was open at the top, and encompaſſed with ſeveral rows of theſe oaks, ſet very thick and cloſe. Within the large circle were ſeveral ſmaller ones, ſurrounded, as is ſuppoſed, with large ſtones, which ſerved for the ſacrifices, and other moſt ſolemn parts of their worſhip. In the centre, or near it, of theſe ſmall circles, were placed ſolid ſtones of a large ſize and convenient height, on which the victims were killed, diſſected, and offered up. Each of theſe being, as we imagine, a kind of altar, was ſurrounded with another row of ſtones, the uſe of which cannot be eaſily gueſſed at, unleſs it was to keep the people at a due diſtance from the prieſts that officiated. Some of theſe interior circles are likewiſe thought to have ſerved, one or more for their courts of judicature, another for their grand council or aſſembly, or for ſuch other purpoſes as can only be gueſſed at [c]; though we very much doubt, conſidering the vaſt reverence that was paid to thoſe groves, as they were conſecrated to religious rites, whether their druids would ſuffer any ſecular matters to be tranſacted in them. We are rather inclined to think, that theſe cinctures might all ſerve for the ſame religious ends, one for human victims, another for thoſe of beaſts, a third for auguries and ſuch-like; not but they may be reaſonably enough ſuppoſed to have had other groves, deſigned for ſuch ſecular purpoſes, as we juſt now mentioned; and theſe might probably enough be of oaks, as the others were, that the ſacredneſs of thoſe trees might ſtrike theſe courts and councils with due awe, and prevent ſuch quarrels and indecencies as might otherwiſe happen. And this conjecture (and the contrary one is no more than gueſs-work) ſeems more agreeable to what we have lately quoted of their worſhip out of *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Lucan*.

How the *Eſus*, or ſupreme deity of the *Gauls*, came afterwards to be transformed into, or give place to, *Jupiter*, which, if we may believe *Lactantius*, did not happen till about the fourth century at ſooneſt, we ſhall endeavour to account in the ſequel. But, by what we have ſaid of him and his worſhip, and of the oaks and groves conſecrated to him, *&c.* the reader cannot but have obſerved a great deal of conformity between the *Gauliſh* and the patriarchal and *Jewiſh* religion, though, if this had been all, we ſhould hardly have inſerted this remark; neither could *Celſus* have had ſo much reaſon to oppoſe the antiquity and wiſdom of the druidiſh religion, and its conformity to that of the antient *Jews*, againſt the novelty of the goſpel [d]. We ſhall therefore beg leave, in ſpeaking of the other branches of

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Vide ORIGEN. cont. Celſum.

the

the *Gaulish* religion and ceremonies, to observe to him the same conformity running through very many other particulars, as they have been collected in one view by a very diligent author often quoted under this head[e]; and from which we may be able to satisfy ourselves, that they could never be owing to mere chance, but that both plainly appear to have flowed from the same source.

Affinity between the Celtic religion and that of the patriarchs and Jews.

1. The *Gauls* had a sovereign pontiff or head of the druidish order, to whom both these and the whole nation paid the highest regard. The same we find among the *Jews*, to say nothing of *Melchisedech*, to whom *Abraham* paid tythes of the spoil he had lately gained. 2. The druids, under this their head, had such an uncontroulable power and sway, that whoever refused to submit to their decisions, not only in religious, but civil, matters (even to the putting an immediate stop to an engagement, when both armies were ready for the onset, if the druids did not like the prognostics), was interdicted from assisting at their solemnities, which was looked upon by the *Gauls* as the most grievous punishment[f]. The *Jewish* high-priest, at the head of the sanhedrin, was looked upon as the dernier appeal in all causes; and excommunication, the greatest punishment among the *Jews*, was to be the lot of those, who refused to abide by their decision[g]. 3. The druids were obliged to assemble themselves in the territories of *Chartrain* once a year. The *Jews* had their three grand festivals, on which their males were obliged to repair to *Jerusalem*. 4. The druids wore white garments. The same did the *Jewish* priests. 5. The druids lived in woods and groves. The same did generally the patriarchs, the sons of the prophets, and the *Essenians*, a kind of monks among the *Jews*. The *Gauls* had their female druids, prophetesses, and aruspices. The *Jews* had *Miriam Aaron*'s sister, *Deborah*, *Huldah*, and other prophetesses, to say nothing of other women, who kept familiar spirits. Some of those females were in high repute among the *Gauls*, and bore a great sway in the government. And *Deborah* was a famed judge in *Israel*. 6. The *Gauls* vowed to *Mars* some parts of the spoil they took in war, and it was death for any one to infringe upon it. The same was among the *Israelites* with respect to those cities and kingdoms, which were subject to anathema, as in the case of *Jericho*. The rest they divided among themselves, according to certain laws and customs settled amongst them. *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *David*, made also laws on the same head, what portion should be offered to God, what

[e] Relig. des Gaul. l. i. p 73, & seq. [f] Diod. Sic. l. v. Cæs. comment l. vi. [g] See vol. iii. p 232.

given

given to the prieſts, and how the reſt ſhould be divided between the combatants and thoſe who guarded the camp and baggage. 7. The *Gauls* worſhipped a brazen bull. And the *Iſraelites* golden calves. 8. In public calamities they offered a human victim, on whom they threw all the curſes that threatened them. The *Jews* did the ſame by their ſcape-goat [h]. 9. The *Gauls* had power of life and death over their ſervants. The ſame had the patriarchs and *Jews*, and the former even over their families, as one may conclude from the inſtance of *Judah* and his daughter-in-law *Tamar* [i]. They began their days from the evening, as the patriarchs and *Jews*, and, like them, diſtinguiſhed the year only into three ſeaſons, *viz.* ſpring, ſummer or harveſt, and winter. The autumn was ſo unknown to both, that they had no name for it. The ſame is affirmed likewiſe of the *Egyptians* by *Diodorus Siculus*. 10. They gave ſignificant names to their children, to places, *&c.* as theſe did. 11. The *Gauls* believed the immortality of the ſoul; ſo that no people under heaven could ſhew a greater contempt of death. The patriarchs and *Jews*, if we except the upſtart ſect of the *Sadducees*, were famed for looking on this life only as a mere paſſage into a better. 12. When their life or liberty was in danger, they endeavoured to redeem it by one or more of their own ſervants [k]. We have an inſtance of this in *Jephthah*, one of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges, and his raſh vow [l], though it was more common among the *Phœnicians*, and other antient nations. 13. The *Jews* had the waters of jealouſy to aſſure them of the fidelity or infidelity of their wives. The *Gauls* had ſome kinds of ordeals or trials to the ſame ſenſe; and *Julian* the emperor tells us, that the waters of the *Rhine* had ſome ſecret virtue to puniſh thoſe wives, who had gone aſtray (I).

[h] Ibid. p. 205, (V). & Cæs. comment. l. vi. [i] Geneſ. xxxviii. 24.
[k] Comment. ubi ſupra. [l] Judg. xi. 30, & ſeq.

(I) This is not a proper place to ſpeak of thoſe ordeals and other trials, as paſſed, in all probability, from *Gaul* into *Great Britain*, and which might, in all likelihood, have their riſe from the *Jewiſh* waters of jealouſy. But that, which the apoſtate *Julian* mentions concerning the *Rhine*, can ſcarcely be owing to any thing elſe.

He tells us (21), that, when a *Gaul* ſuſpected his wife of infidelity, he obliged her to throw, with her own hands, the children that were born of her body into that rapid river. If they ſunk, the woman was deemed guilty, and put to death. If they ſwam, and moved towards the place where ſhe ſtood trembling at a convenient diſtance, and ready to receive them, ſhe was cleared, and reſtored to her huſband's favour.

(21) *Orat.* xvi.

The

The druids made it a conſtant maxim not to commit any thing of their laws, philoſophy, or hiſtory, to writing, but to couch them in ſet poems and canticles, to be learned by heart, and ſung at proper places and ſeaſons. Theſe ſongs were, it ſeems, ſo multiplied in *Cæſar*'s time, that it took up ſome druids (for they were all obliged to it) near twenty years in learning them [m]. We do not find but that this was the antient cuſtom of the patriarchs and other nations in *Canaan* before *Moſes*, who quotes ſome of thoſe canticles, and compoſed ſome of them himſelf, as did other prophets after him, in memory of ſome ſignal victories, deliverances, and the like. Some *Gauliſh* nations carried their gods along with them to the war, as did the *Iſraelites* their ark, and their apoſtates the tabernacles of *Moloch*, *Chium*, and *Remphan*. The *Gauls* did perſonify and deify their rivers, lakes, woods, *&c.* and might not this be a corruption of that laudable elegance of the ſacred poets, who call upon thoſe and all other creatures to praiſe God? as, in all probability, their offering human victims, common likewiſe to other nations, and even to the apoſtate *Iſraelites*, in imitation of them, ſeem to have had its riſe from the example of *Abraham*'s readineſs to ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*, concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to what we have ſaid in a former volume [n]. We ſhall now give our readers a ſhort account of this inhuman rite, as it was practiſed among the *Gauls*, and leave our readers the pleaſure of diſcovering, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, many more inſtances of that conformity we have been ſpeaking of, which we are forced to omit, to avoid being tedious.

Human victims how offered.

As to this bloody cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims, which began ſo early with the *Gauls*, and which, if we may believe *Procopius* [o], did not end till ſome centuries after their embracing chriſtianity, we can only ſpeak of it as it was tranſacted out of their groves or places of worſhip; for, as to what was done within them, no ſtranger being made acquainted with, much leſs admitted to ſee, it, we muſt be wholly in the dark about it, as their druids committed nothing of it to writing. Concerning thoſe unhappy ones, that were offered abroad, *Cæſar* and *Plutarch* give us the following account [p]: When a man's life is in danger, either through ſickneſs or other accident, they immediately ſacrifice, or at leaſt make a vow ſo to do, ſome human victims; for, beſides that they think them the moſt perfect and pleaſing to the gods, they believe, that one man's

[m] Comment ubi ſup. [n] See vol. ii. p. 375, paſſ [o] See vol. ii. p. 402, d, e. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. [p] Comment. l. vi. Plut. de ſuperſtit.

life

life cannot be redeemed but by that of another, without which no ſatisfaction could be made to them for their goodneſs to men. And theſe are the ceremonies eſtabliſhed amongſt them upon all ſuch occaſions: They erect a huge, hollow pile of oſier, which they fill with theſe unhappy wretches, who are quickly ſuffocated by the ſmoak, and reduced to aſhes ſoon after. They imagine, however, that criminals of any kind are much more acceptable victims; but, where they are not to be had, the innocent muſt go in their ſtead. In their funerals, which are very magnificent, they throw into the burning pile every thing that the deceaſed delighted in, even to living creatures; and it is not long ſince they threw likewiſe into it all his favourite ſervants and ſlaves. Some of his near relations, continues *Cæſar*, did likewiſe fling themſelves into the flames, in hopes of living happy with him in the next world. This cuſtom was exactly like that of burying the *Jewiſh* kings, except the burning of living and human creatures, as the reader may ſee in a former volume, where we have given an account of that ceremony [q]. *At funerals.*

We lately hinted at their imitating, in ſome meaſure, the *Jewiſh* ſcape-goat, by devoting ſome vicarious victims to death, and praying, that all the curſes due to them might fall upon it. The *Maſſilians*, among the reſt, are reported to have, in times of peſtilence, made choice of ſome indigent perſon, that offered himſelf voluntarily, whom they took care to fatten with the daintieſt fare during a whole year; after which they dreſſed him with garlands and other rich ornaments, and led him thro' the ſtreets, loaded with the bittereſt imprecations, to his death [r]. We have formerly had occaſion to account for this cuſtom, which was likewiſe common to other nations, as well as the *Gauls*, and had its riſe from the ſame ſource [s]. However, if the *Gauls*, in ſuch calamitous times, could procure any of the handſomer and nobler ſort to offer themſelves to ſuch a voluntary death, they not only preferred them, but encouraged them by large rewards and encomiums. Theſe were led, like the poorer ſort, out of the city, and ſtoned, and the former thrown down from ſome high precipice. The common notion among them was, that ſuch a ſpontaneous death for the good of the commonwealth intitled them to a rank among the gods. In other caſes they either tied or nailed them to ſome tree or poſt, and ſhot them to death with arrows. Others they burnt, with a number of beaſts, on a pile of hay [t]. It was alſo cuſtomary among them to reſerve their criminals to the fifth year, and to burn them in *In their auguries and other ſuperſtitions.*

[q] Vol. iii. p 360, & ſeq & not. [r] PETRON. ſatir. ad. fin. Vide & SERV. comm in Æn. iii. ver. 58. [s] See the note (V). in vol. iii. p. 205. [t] STRAB. l. iv.

sacrifice with the first-fruits of their ground [u]. The same author adds, that they threw into the fire an incredible quantity of gold and other rich things, which it was death for any one to meddle with afterwards [w]. As for their brute victims, they were left, in some measure, to the choice of the offerer, or perhaps rather of the druids, who were the butchers of them, and always officiated in white garments (K), both in this and all other parts of their worship. Only the horses which they took in battle, or at least part of them, they burnt with the bodies of the slain [x]. All these sacrifices were occasional and unlimited, except those which *Lucan* calls national, and which were constantly performed at noon and at midnight, as we have hinted above. As the *Gauls* were addicted to all kind of superstition (L), they used to be exceeding

[u] Diodor. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. [w] Ibid. l. v. [x] Tacit. German.

(K) Some add that they were striped with purple, which dwindled, either at one or both ends, into a point like a spindle, to distinguish them from the laity. But there seems to be no need of supposing such a distinction, seeing the white robe was peculiar to the druids, and no one dared to wear it but they and the druidesses, of whom we shall speak in due time (22).

(L) According to the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, the *Gauls* exceeded all other nations in cruelty and superstition; and yet, if we compare them together, even according to their own writings, we shall scarce perceive any difference between them, but what is on the opposite side. It must be owned, however, that some of the *Gallic* nations were very famed for their superstition, since *Alexander Severus* is upbraided with having even outdone some of them, *viz.* the *Vascones* or *Gascons*, in it (23).

Our design is not to extenuate those inhuman and abominable practices of the *Gauls*, but to observe how little reason other authors, especially the *Romans*, had to blacken them above all other nations, when they themselves outdid almost all that ever went before or since. We have given a sufficient number of instances of it in their history under several of their emperors, especially *Severus* above-mentioned, *Nero*, and *Julian*; and we shall close this note with another, which happened just upon the breaking out of the war between the *Gauls* under *Viridomarus* and them, when, as *Plutarch* tells us (24), they found themselves obliged to obey certain oracles, which they found in the *Sibylline* books, and to bury alive in the beef-market two *Gauls*, and two *Greeks*, a man and a woman of each nation, to whom, says he, they still offer some private sa-

(22) *Comment. ubi supra. Vide Keyzler. antiq. septent. p.* 305, 450. *Pelloutier. hist. des Celt. Relig. des Gaul. & al.* (23) *Lamprid. in Alex. Sever.* (24) *In vit. Marcel.*

crifices

ing watchful of the singing and flight of birds, and other such kind of ominous trash. They never undertook any thing of consequence, without the advice of their aruspices, who were, for that reason, in high request among them. These carefully examined the entrails, blood, &c. of their victims; and when they offered any human one, as they did constantly before they held a council, whether of the nation or district, they stabbed him behind with a cutlass, a little above the *diaphragma*, watched the manner of his falling, whether on his right or left side, or on his face, how the blood flowed at the wound, and from thence gave their judgment, which was exactly followed, let the case be what it would, or the appearances be ever so much against it: insomuch, that they have come to the head of an army, and stopped the fight, which was just going to begin, their kings and generals not daring to contravene them upon any account [y].

Their altars.

WE have already hinted, that their religious groves had some large stones, which were supposed to be the altars on which they offered up their victims. Some of them are still extant in several parts of *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and the isle of *Anglesey*, and are of such a monstrous size, that the bringing and rearing of them was thought, by the superstitious inhabitants, to have been the work of those demons, that were supposed to attend on that kind of worship, especially considering that, as it is pretended, there were no quarries of such stones within any reasonable distance from the place where these altars stood. Of these one, that is to be seen in the confines of *Alsace*, measures about thirty-six foot in circumference, twelve foot and an half in breadth, and four foot and a quarter in thickness. It is reared on a parcel of other stones about three foot and an half from the ground [z]. Some of these altar-stones were round, others oval, some square, others oblong, and some triangular. Some appear to have been adorned with a kind of ornament either of bas-relief or inscriptions, others to have been quite plain; but whether originally so, or by time and weather, is not certain. Others there were, which had a kind of hollow

[y] STRAB. l. iv. JUST. l. xxiv. c. 4. DIOD. SIC. l. vi. c. 9. Comment. l. vi. [z] KEYZLER. ubi sup. p. 41. & seq.

crifices in the month of *November*, which the people are not allowed to be present at; which very sacrifices, we are told by two of their own authors (25), were since repeated at the same place on several occasions, especially at the first opening of the *Punic* war, which immediately succeeded that of the *Gauls* above mentioned.

(25) *Tit. Liv. l.* xvii. *c.* 57. *Plin. l.* xxviii. *c.* 2.

or baſon on the ſurface, ſuppoſed to have been deſigned to receive the blood or entrails of the victims [a]. One of theſe is recorded to have had a hollow kind of naſty paſſage under it, through which they made thoſe ſtrangers, whom they deſigned for ſacrifice, to paſs, pelting them all the way with filth and dung; from which that paſſage is, it ſeems, called to this day *cunnus dæmonis*, *duvels-ſkut*, or *devil's hole* [b]. The antiquaries of each nation have been very curious and diligent in their accounts of theſe altars, and other piles of huge ſtones, which are to be met with in almoſt every kingdom and province of *Europe*, together with ſuch other monuments as deſcribe thoſe ſacrifices that were offered upon them, and the apparatus and inſtruments that were uſed in them; but they generally deal ſo much in conjectures, and agree ſo little with each other, that it is no wonder that kind of learning has been ſo diſreliſhed by the far greater part of the learned; ſo that it would be loſt time for us to enter farther on this ſubject, and all that we think worth adding to it is, that the *Gauls* are affirmed by the generality of authors to have conſtantly aſſiſted at theſe ſacrifices armed cap-à-pé, and to have carried ſome ſmall thing belonging to the victim away with them in their mouths or hands [c], after it had been offered up or had been led to the altar.

They had no temples till long after Cæſar.

Temples, we have already hinted, they had not before the coming in of the *Romans*, nor, in all likelihood, for a long time after *Cæſar*'s conqueſt of them. An author, who lived long after him, tells us expreſly, that they had not any other ſtatue of *Jupiter* but a tall oak [d], which could hardly be ſuppoſed to be growing in a temple, any more than thoſe coloſſian piles of hay and other combuſtibles, in which, we are told by other authors [e], they uſed to burn their numerous human victims, can be imagined to have been reared in any ſuch cloſe places, much leſs ſtill the trees on which they faſtened thoſe whom they pierced with arrows. Their groves, ſuch as we have deſcribed them, were much fitter for thoſe ceremonies; and this appears to have been one main difference between the *Gauls* and the *Greeks* and *Romans* [f]. When *Mars* came to be adopted among their inferior deities, they only worſhipped him under the figure of a naked ſword, that was repoſited upon an altar in one of thoſe groves; but as they had then a cuſtom to vow to him what ſpoil they took from their enemies, *Cæſar* tells us they generally depoſited them in any place where they

[a] Cæs. comm ubi ſup. [b] Schoen. de ſedib. Franc. apud Matth. Analect. & Keyzler. ubi ſup. [c] Cæs. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. Mel. l. iii. & al. [d] Maxim. Tyr. ſerm. xxxviii. [e] Cæs. comm. Diod. Strab. ubi ſup. [f] See Voss. in Maimon Aboda Zara, c. 1. n. 2. Reines. apud relig. des Gaul p. 119, & ſeq.

chanced

chanced to be. There they ſacrificed all the cattle they found, and laid up the reſt of the plunder in vaſt heaps in the open country, which were nevertheleſs held ſo ſacred by the people, that none dared to touch any part of it, though there were amongſt them great quantities of gold and ſilver and other rich ſtuff; for he tells us, that thoſe conſecrated heaps were to be found in moſt cities in *Gaul* [g]. This ſeems likewiſe another material point, in which they differed from other nations, who choſe to ſhut up thoſe treaſures in their temples, as in places of greateſt ſafety; whereas the *Gauls* left them expoſed under the canopy of heaven, and in the open fields, or, at moſt, in ſome lakes and groves, which were on that very account eſteemed ſacred (M). The *Germans*

[g] CÆS. comm. ubi ſup. DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 2.

(M) It muſt be owned, however, that ſome of theſe authors give to theſe places the name of temples or oratories, and *Cæſar* is affirmed to have rifled them to ſupport his army (25); but then they ſpoke like *Greeks* and *Romans*, among whom it was cuſtomary to record ſuch ſacred treaſures in their moſt famous temples, and even to call ſuch conſecrated places by the names of ἱερὸν and *templum*. Thus *Tacitus*, though he affirms, that the *Germans* had no temples, tells us, that their goddeſs *Hertza* uſed ſometimes to come out of her grove or *Caſtum nemus*, to air herſelf, and, when ſhe was weary of rambling, was carried back, and placed in her own temple, which, the ſame author tells afterwards, was no more than a lake within the wood where that goddeſs reſided (26).

The ſame may be ſaid of that famed one of *Thouloufe*, upon whoſe account the *aurum Tholoſanum* became famous, even to a proverb, or account of the vaſt quantity that was repoſited in it. This place *Strabo*, ſpeaking of it, calls a temple: There was, ſays he, a very famous temple at *Thouloufe*, the veneration and credit of which made it grow immenſely rich, becauſe none dared to touch any part of what was conſecrated in it (27); and yet the ſame author, when he accounts for the vaſt quantities of gold that were found there, from ſome rich mines which he ſuppoſes to have been in the neighbourhood, and which, joined to the plain frugal way in which the inhabitants lived, made it increaſe upon them to ſuch a ſtupendous height, adds, that they had other treaſures in many ſuch-like places, which, ſays he, were depoſited and conſecrated, in whole ingots, in lakes, as in ſo many ſacred *aſyla*. So that this *Thouloufan* temple, and thoſe other lakes he ſpeaks of, where in all probability the ſame thing, or meant, at moſt, but ſome more ſacred and private part of the lake, to which he gives the name of temple, only on account of the deity to whom that metal was conſecrated.

(25) *Suetcn. in Cæſar.* (26) *D. morib. Germun.* (27) *See before vol* xii. *p.* 360.

What

Germans appear to have been ſtill more averſe to the introduction of temples amongſt them, as we learn from *Tacitus* and other authors, and ſhall ſee in the next chapter; and even the *Britons*, who certainly muſt have had them, if any other *Gauls* had, becauſe they were the ſtandard of the *Gauliſh* religion, from whom all the others received it; for we are told [h], that theſe uſed to croſs over in great numbers into *Britain*, or, as ſome think, into the iſle of *Angleſey* [i], and to ſpend there ſome years in the ſtudy of their religion and myſteries, as it was indeed the ſeat and nurſery of it, and the reſidence of the grand druid, or chief pontiff, and conſequently of all the learned doctors of the *Gauliſh* religion; and yet, when *Tacitus* ſpeaks of the deſcent of the *Romans* into this iſland [k], he tells us, that their firſt care was to deſtroy thoſe groves and woods, which the druids had polluted with the blood of ſo many human victims; and would they not, upon the ſame account, have done ſo by their temples, if any ſuch had been in this country? And ſince all the other *Gauls* appear to have regulated their whole religion, and its rites, from theſe, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they could, at leaſt in *Tacitus*'s time, have had any temples any-where elſe, whatever they did afterwards more by force than out of choice, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by. Some ſtatues they might have, and in all probability had, before *Cæſar*'s time; but it would be difficult to prove, that they bore any reſemblance with thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, either as to their figure or deſign, or that they were ſet up by the prieſts, and not rather by the people, who are often hurried away by imitation, though contrary to the conſent of their guides, who appear to have been moſt

[h] Comment. ubi ſup. p. 53, & ſeq. 78, & ſeq.

[i] See Mona antiqua, ſect. viii. & ſ eq.

[k] Annal. lib. xiv. c. 3.

What confirms it ſtill more is, that *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the ſacrilege committed by *Cepio* (28), mentions only the lake out of which this famous *Thouloufan* gold was taken; and *Juſtin*, ſpeaking of the *Tectoſagi*, whom he ſuppoſes to have brought it from the temple of *Delphos*, ſays, that, being returned to *Thouloufe*, and afflicted with a grievous plague, they were ordered by their augurs to fling their ill-gotten pelf into that lake (29). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of this *Thouloufan* treaſure, and its being expoſed to ſale, in the ſequel; and we only mention it here to ſhew upon what account *Strabo* called it a temple, though it was more than a ſacred lake, with a σηκὸς or niche, with ſome emblem of a deity in the richeſt, and, conſequently, moſt ſacred part of it.

(28) *Vide Relig. des Celt. lib.* i. *cap.* 1;.

(29) *Geogr. l* iv.

that

ſtrict obſervers of the old patriarchal way of worſhipping the Deity; for as, on the one hand, they ſeem to have kept all along ſome kind of tradition from their progenitor, who was but a third in deſcent from *Noah*, not to ſay any thing of thoſe before the flood, of which they could not ſo ſoon loſe all memory, and whoſe cuſtom it was to worſhip God without temples or images; ſo, on the other, their great veneration and tenaciouſneſs for their antient rites and cuſtoms, joined to the contempt they had for thoſe of other nations, muſt have proved an effectual and long-winded preſervative againſt their introducing them. At leaſt it is very probable, that theſe ſtatues or images we are ſpeaking of, if there were really any ſuch among them, might be no other than monuments of ſome eminent perſons and tranſactions, ſuch as that which *Laban* and *Jacob* reared in memory of their mutual reconciliation, or that which the latter ſet up in the place where he buried his favourite *Rachel*[1]; or perhaps to point out thoſe ſacred treaſures, which were conſecrated in the manner and places already mentioned, and to deter people from profaning or ſeizing upon them; all which might be eaſily miſtaken for ſtatues and idols, by thoſe *Greek* and *Roman* authors, who beheld or heard of them.

BEFORE we diſmiſs this point, it will not be thought unſeaſonable to make ſome further inquiry into thoſe vaſt piles of ſtones which remain to this day both in *England* and in other parts of *Europe*; concerning which ſo many different conjectures have been offered by learned antiquaries and others, whilſt ſome have maintained them to have been erected by the *Romans*, others by the antient *Gauls* and *Britons*; one ſort taking them for monuments erected in memory of ſome famous battle or victory, others for burying-places, and a third ſort, though with leſs reaſon, as we think, for temples or places of worſhip. We ſhall, however, willingly ſave ourſelves the trouble of entering into a detail of them, conſidering how difficult it is to deſcribe ſuch kind of antiques, ſo as to give our readers any tolerable idea of them, without having conſtant recourſe to ſome iconography of them, which are not in many caſes eaſy to be had, and in moſt not without greater expence than they would perhaps think they deſerve. But ſince that famous one of *Stonehenge*, which has been ſeen by all the curious, and of which we have ſo many deſcriptions in many of our *Engliſh* authors, may be juſtly affirmed to exceed all the reſt, as well in the largeneſs of the ſtones as the perfection of its figure, we ſhall, notwithſtanding it's more properly belonging to a ſubſequent chapter, venture to ſpeak of it here, and give the beſt

[1] See Geneſ. xxxi. 45, & ſeq. xxxv. 19, 20.

light

An account of Stonehenge *on* Saliſbury *plain.*

light we can concerning that truly curious piece of antiquity; eſpecially as we propoſed, at the beginning of this chapter, to treat of every thing that related to the *Gauls*, and thoſe other nations that are deſcended from them, in ſo full a manner, as might ſave us the trouble of needleſs repetitions in thoſe that follow. But what more effectually calls upon us to treat of it here is, that a reverend and learned author lately, in that curious and elaborate account he has given of that ſtately edifice [m], *hath endeavoured to prove it an antient druidiſh temple,* which, if it had been ſuch, would overthrow all that we have hitherto ſaid, on the teſtimony of ſo many antient authors as we have produced, in favour of the oppoſite opinion. Had that learned author contented himſelf with calling it a druidiſh edifice of any kind but that of a temple, we ſhould have readily agreed to it; becauſe we think he has given us full proofs of its being not only much antienter than the *Romans*, and, conſequently, much more ſo than the *Saxons*, but has further demonſtrated, as far as the ſubject is capable of demonſtration, that it could never be a fabric of the former; ſo that upon the whole it muſt be owned to have been a *Britiſh* or druidiſh work: and thus far we readily agree with him, though we ſhall take the liberty, as we think we ought, to differ from him in his origin of the druids, as well as in this of their having erected temples in imitation of the patriarchs, who are no-where recorded to have reared any thing but bare altars of unhewn ſtones, or, at moſt, ſome groves over them, rather for ſhade and coolneſs, than out of any ſuperſtitious regard for either the oaks, or any other trees. And as our author offers nothing but far-off conjectures on a ſubject of ſuch remote and dark antiquity, there ſeems to be one inſuperable obſtacle againſt his hypotheſis of their coming from *Phœnice*; namely, that if theſe druids had [n] been of ſo different a nation from the *Celtes* the anceſtors of the *Gauls*, let them have come into *Britain* when they would, either before or after the *Celtes*, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe, much leſs all their *Gauliſh* deſcendants, who were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly tenacious of their antient rites, laws, and cuſtoms, could have ever paid ſuch a blind and univerſal ſubjection to them, not only in religious, but in all civil and military, concerns, as we have ſeen from the univerſal conſent of *Greek* and *Roman* authors they actually did; and if thoſe druids had had ſuch ſublime notions of the Deity, and been ſuch ſtrict followers of the patriarchal religion and rites, it is ſcarcely to be imagined they could have fallen into ſuch horrid exceſſes, ſuper-

Alioqui a druidiſh fabric.

[m] S: Ukeley's Stonehenge, p. 1, 17, 60, & ſeq. [n] Idem, p. 31, & ſeq. 50, & ſeq. 61, & ſeq.

ſtitions,

ſtitions, and cruelties, as we have ſhewn they did, even from the earlieſt times.

WE come now to ſpeak of this famous fabric of *Stonehenge*, and to give our readers ſuch an account of it, as may afford them an idea of the excellent taſte of thoſe druids, who were the projectors and conductors of it; and may ſerve to ſhew the nature and deſign of all other works of this kind, that are extant in any parts of *Europe* (N), where they bore any ſway; and herein we ſhall make no difficulty to follow our learned author's deſcription of it in every caſe but that we have excepted above, it being, in all other reſpects, the moſt exact and accurate we have; though we ſhall refer thoſe, who deſire a fuller account of it, to his late elaborate deſcription here referred to.

THE name of *Stonehenge* being of *Saxon* extract, and ſignifying barely a heap of hanging or gallows ſtones, is ſo contemptible a one for ſo noble a work, that it plainly ſhews it to have been reared long before their coming into *England*. Had they been the builders of it, or capable of judging of the magnificence of that work, or had there, in their time, remained any traces of its builders, and their deſign in it, they would doubtleſs have called it by a much more honourable name. The antient *Britons*, in the time of the *Romans* invading them, ſpeak of it only by long and immemorial tradition, and as of a work far above

And not built by either Saxons *or* Danes.

(N) Though there are many of theſe to be found in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, &c. yet they are no-where ſo frequent as in theſe *Britiſh* iſles, even, as our author obſerves, from the very *Land's-end* in *Cornwall* to the utmoſt promontory in *Scotland*, where the *Roman* power never reached. They are to be ſeen in all the iſlands between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the *Iſle of Man*, in all the *Orkneys*, and numerous in *Ireland*; and all pretty near after the ſame deſign, being generally arches of rude ſtones of different diameters, upon elevated ground, open heaths and downs, and chiefly made of ſtones taken from the ſurface of the earth, tho' ſome of them appear to be of different forms, and ſo decayed and diſfigured by time, that it is hardly poſſible to gueſs at their original uſe or intention, but from ſome analogy which they ſeem to bear with thoſe that are more perfect, as this we are upon (30).

Thoſe on the continent have ſuffered ſtill more, not only from the *Romans*, who took ſingular pride in deſtroying them, and introducing ſome of their own in their ſtead, and bringing the *Gauls* over to their religion and cuſtoms; but likewiſe from the blind zeal of weak chriſtians, who looked upon it as a piece of merit to deſtroy or deface them, as monuments of idolatry and ſuperſtitious cruelties. The reader may conſult concerning them the authors quoted in the margin (31).

(30) *See before vol* xii. *p.* 250. (31) *Vid. reliq. de Gaul. lib* i. *cap.* 13. *Keysler antiq. ſeptent.* &c.

human power; and called it, in their language, *Choir Ghaur*, which ſome interpret the *choir* or *dance of giants*, on account of a general notion that ran through all thoſe countries, where ſuch heaps of vaſt ſtones were ſet up, that it was done by giants, though others, more abſurdly, by the aſſiſtance of dæmons, probably from the reputation which the druids were in for their ſkill in magic, and by the help of which they were ſuppoſed to have reared thoſe ſtupendous piles in the form they ſtood; though our author very judiciouſly obſerves, that *Choir Ghaur* might be more properly rendered the grand choir, as it exceeded all other works of this kind in bigneſs, and, not unlikely, in dignity, on account of the arch-druid, or of his holding his grand aſſembly of all the inferior ones in this place. This etymon is altogether ſuitable to the grandeur of the fabric, and to the deſign of it, whether we ſuppoſe it, with our author, to have been a temple, or, as ſeems more probable to us, for ſome other public uſe, in either of which it appears equally grand and noble. And this will go a great way to convince us, that it never was reared by the *Romans*; for the antient *Britons* would hardly have given ſuch a grand name to a fabric of theirs, in their own language: but our author has taken a much more effectual way to convince us, that it could be none of their work, much leſs ſuch a one as our famed architect *Inigo Jones* (if he really was the author of that plan and performance which Mr. *Webb* publiſhed under his name, and has been ſo amply confuted by Dr. *Charlton* [o] and *Keyzler*) has endeavoured to prove it, and in which he aſſerts it to be a round *Roman* temple, like the *Pantheon* (O).

The notion of its being a Roman *temple confuted.*

Dr. *Charlton*, though he fully exploded that notion, yet failed in proving his own, which attributed it to the *Danes*;

[o] Chorea gigant.

(O) That great architect, or, as is commonly thought, his publiſher, to make the dimenſions anſwer to his ſcheme, has been forced to alter and miſrepreſent them, to diſplace ſome of thoſe huge ſtones, and remove them at ſuch a diſtance as beſt anſwered to his imaginary plan. All which was afterwards diſcovered by a new ſurvey of it before perſons of taſte and judgment. *Jones* not publiſhing his account, though he lived thirty years after he had taken a view of it, makes one conclude, that he never deſigned it; and that, upon a ſerious examination of it, he found it impracticable. But upon his death, Mr. *Webb* his ſon-in law, it is thought, found an expedient of ſurmounting that difficulty, by the alterations we have mentioned, and by way of ſalvo tells the world, that if his father in law had lived to finiſh it, it would have appeared in a much better guiſe.

upon

upon which he was ſoon after confuted by *Olaus Vormius*[p], there being really no ſuch monuments to be found among the *Gothic* nations. Beſides, this of *Stonehenge* is mentioned in ſome manuſcripts of *Ninnius*, who wrote two hundred years before they ſet foot in *Britain*; all which is a ſufficient confutation of its being a *Daniſh* work. *Keyzler*, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with our *Britiſh* antiquities, after having confuted the notion of *Inigo Jones*, of its being a *Roman* temple, or having any relation to the public worſhip, and the vulgar error of its being built by giants, or by magic art, or of its being ſome old broken remains of the flood (P), endeavours to prove it a ſepulchral monument erected by the *Anglo-Saxons* [q]. We hope we have already ſaid enough to prove, that, if it was ſuch a ſepulchral fabric, it is of too old a date to have been reared by that nation, or indeed by any but the antient *Britons*; though he is pleaſed, in order to prove them every way unqualified for ſuch a work, to repreſent them as ſuch ignorant ſavages, and ſo like the wild *Americans* [r], that he thinks it argument ſufficient, and indeed it is the only one he gives, againſt any one believing them to have been the contrivers of it. But how truly ſoever this character may ſuit to his antient *Germans*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter, we hope to ſhew in the ſequel of this, beſides what has been occaſionally ſaid of the *Britons* and their druids, that they were the very reverſe of what he has painted them: he has ſucceeded much better in his proofs, that it was a monumental work, from many more of the like nature and form, which are known and allowed to be ſuch. Our very author himſelf tells us of one in *Ireland*, which, by his deſcription, is *Stonehenge* in miniature, and which he owns to

[p] Faſt. & Monument. Danic. [q] Antiquit. Septent. p. 50, & ſeq. 97, & ſeq. 109, & ſeq. 230, & ſeq. [r] Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 13, & ſeq.

(P) There are two other vulgar errors more worthy of confuting than any of theſe, becauſe they have proved exceeding detrimental to theſe antient monuments. The one is, the notion of the ſtones being factitious, or caſt by art, which hath and doth ſtill induce ſtupid pretenders to antiquity to come and diſfigure thoſe curious ſtones with chizels and hammers, to find out whether they are really ſo or not. The other is, their digging near and round about them, in hopes of finding out ſome hidden treaſures, or other curious antiquities; by which means many of them are fallen down, and others ſo very near doing ſo, that, if this humour continues much longer, thoſe noble fabrics will be reduced, in time, into a heap of ruinous fragments, and no traces be left either of their ſtructure, deſign, or magnificence, but what we find in ſuch deſcriptions as thoſe given by this and other author

have been the monument of a famous druideſs [5]; though he inſinuates it to be her temple likewiſe. What he mentions in order to prove the great pile being rather a temple than a ſepulchral monument, *viz.* the horns, bones, charcoal, and other things that were dug up from under it, is quite inſufficient, it being common, at the funerals of antient *Britons* and *Gauls*, not only to offer hecatombs of victims, which alone would anſwer for theſe horns, bones, &c. but likewiſe to bury their favourite horſes and ſlaves, as we ſhall ſee in its due place: and if the reader will be pleaſed to look back at what we have ſaid of the funerals of their brethren the *Scythians*, eſpecially of thoſe of the higheſt rank [t], and compare it with the form and diſpoſition of the ſtones in this place, he will be apt to think it a more decent refinement upon that antient and inhuman *Scythian* cuſtom; and only rearing a number of huge ſtones in this form, inſtead of the ſkins of men and horſes, which they uſed to ſtuff, and ſet up round their monuments; for as it ſavoured leſs of barbarity, ſo it was of a much more laſting nature. But this we offer only as our own conjecture, and conjecture is all that can be offered in favour of any other hypotheſis about it at this vaſt diſtance of time, and with thoſe little helps we have left. For this reaſon we ſhall omit mentioning ſome other notions which people have entertained; ſuch as, that it was the place where the grand council of *Britain* met, a *Roman* trophy, the monument of the famous queen *Boadicea*, of king *Vortigern*, and ſuch-like, all which, carrying ſtill leſs probability than any of the preceding ones, are not worth dwelling longer upon.

We ſhall now give a ſhort deſcription of the fabric itſelf, out of the accurate ſurvey which the reverend author laſt quoted made of it. It is ſituate on a pleaſant part of *Saliſbury* plain, about two miles from *Amberſbury*, and ſix from *Saliſbury*, and is ſituate not upon the ſummit of a hill, but very near it; and, for more than three quarters of the circuit, you have a gentle aſcent to it from the lower ground; at half a mile diſtance the appearance of it is quite ſtately, awful, and auguſt, eſpecially on the north eaſt ſide, which is the moſt perfect. According to his plan or iconography of it, the circumference of it exceeds that of the outſide of St. *Paul's* cupola. The height of the outward cornice is eighteen foot complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for theſe, for reaſons to be mentioned hereafter, are not all of equal height. Thus the height of the inner circle, or rather elliplis, as our author has proved it, bears a juſt proportion to the curve of the circumfe-

[5] Stonehenge reſtored, p. 3. & 4. [t] See before vol. v. p. 280.

rence,

rence, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at present some of these stones either stooping, or by long time being sunk lower, come somewhat short of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleness likewise of their lights and shades, as well as the variety arising from their circular form, adds to the elegance of the prospect; so that it is not without reason, that our great *Jones* blamed Mr. *Camden* for calling it so senslessly as he doth in his *Britannia*, *insana substructio*, *a huge*, or, as he englishes it, *a wild kind of structure*; whereas it plainly appears to have been the very reverse. But it is manifest, that he never saw it, or took but a slight view of it; and his description is so faulty and incorrect, that he seems not to have thought it worth a more exact survey, though he had seen those of Mr. *Aubrey* and *Inigo Jones*; but these likewise he seems to have had but little opinion of, and rather mentions their account of it to confute them, than to rectify his own by them; and we own, that he has very judiciously exploded both their notions, as well as all those other vulgar ones, which ascribe the rearing of this odd edifice, as he thinks it, to any but to the antient *Britons*. But to return to the fabric itself: the whole is inclosed within a circular ditch, which being crossed, one ascends thirty-five yards before he comes to the work, so that the area, as it is inclosed by the ditch, is three times the diameter of the building; and therefore the distance from the ditch withinside, quite round, to the fabric, is equal to the diameter of the fabric. When you enter the building, whether on foot or horseback, you are struck with astonishment at the sight of the vast stones, whether you view those that are still standing in their antient site, or those which lean forward, and are ready to fall, or those which lie down, and, by their immense weight, have crushed a number of others under them, especially that which our author supposes to have been the altar-stone (Q), and is broken into three large pieces by the fall of one of the large architraves. What in-

(Q) And so it may really have been, let the fabric be supposed a temple, a sepulchral monument, a grand court or council, or any thing of the like nature, seeing that, as we have observed before, sacrifices were used in great numbers in all those solemnities, and an altar cannot but be supposed to have been fixed in some convenient part of the building; but why so close to one part of the cell or nich as Mr. *Jones* has made it, and not in the centre, where *Kysler* would rather have it, this reason may be well enough assigned, that it is most likely to have stood where we find the huge fragments still lying, and crushed by one of the large imposts falling upon it; for, had it stood in the centre, it would have been out of the reach of it, and have remained whole to this time.

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creaſes the wonder, eſpecially to a man verſed in theſe antique works, is, that, among thoſe dreadful dilapidations, in which every ſtone lieth, like the carcaſe of a giant, with a number of horrid ruins under it, there remains ſtill as much of it undemoliſhed, as enables one to recover an idea of what it was when in its perfect ſtate, and enough of every part to give one a notion of the whole. To all this we may add the beautiful contraſt which the view of the inſide gives you, when joined to the vaſt and beautiful proſpect of the country about it. The one, if you look up to thoſe huge ſtones, and the vaſt ponderous impoſts over them, the chaſm of ſky between the jams of the cell or inner circuit, you imagine you ſee whole quarries mounted in the air; and if upon the rude havock below, it looks like the bowels of a mountain turned inſide out. The other gives you a moſt ſpacious and variegated proſpect of the country round about, bounded only by the horizon. One of them is what they call *Veſpaſian*'s camp; a beautiful proſpect it is; another the antient hippodrome, or place for horſe and chariot-races; a third the grand avenue to the fabric, which, as our author ſuppoſes, begins ſome miles from it. The plain is here-and-there interſperſed with a vaſt number of mounts, or, as they are called, barrows, ſome larger than others. The largeſt of them is incloſed about with a ditch an hundred cubits in diameter. Theſe are ſet thicker and cloſer in one place, and thinner at another; and, upon digging ſome of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, and ſome kinds of beads, and other pieces of glaſs, cryſtal, jet, amber, and ſuch-like female trinkets, of different colours and metals; as alſo ſome ſwords, hatchets, and other weapons [k], have been dug out of them; which plainly ſhew them to have been burying-places; but whether of the antient *Britons*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, is not eaſy to determine, though the firſt ſeems moſt probable upon one account, which the reader will find in the margin (R). Theſe

Proſpects from Stonehenge.

The barrows are burying-places.

[k] Stonehenge reſtored, p. 10, 43, & ſeq.

(R) The author obſerves, that the *via Iceniа* or *Ikening-ſtreet*, a road made by the *Romans*, which reached from *Norfolk* into *Dorſetſhire*, infringes upon one of thoſe barrows, and croſſes ſome part of it; from which it is reaſonabie to conclude, that theſe barrows were older than that road (20).

In theſe barrows, beſides thoſe human and other bones and materials, which have been digged out of them, there was a broad ſword taken out of one, and ſent to *Oxford*; in another was found a wea

(20) *Stukeley's Stonehenge*, p. 3. & ſeq. *Mona antiq. reſt.* ix. p. 85. & ſeq.

Theſe barrows, however, are ſo thick about the neighbourhood of *Stonehenge*, that, from ſome heights, one may tell one hundred and twenty-eight in ſight [l]. Among them one may obſerve, in ſome places, two or more, ſometimes to the number of ſix or ſeven, incloſed in the ſame circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the reſt, and ſeems to be the tomb of ſome head of a family, and the reſt that of the family itſelf. The moſt remarkable of all the reſt are, that which is called the tomb of king *Carviſius*, who was the famed king of the *Iceni*, who fought againſt *Julius Cæſar*. It ſtands on the other ſide of *Wilton*, antiently *Carvitium*, ſo named, as is ſuppoſed, from, if not built by, him. It is ſituate on an eminence, and of a handſome height, and has four tall ſtately trees planted on the top. From this mount you have the proſpect of *Old* and *New Sarum*, of *Wilton* houſe and park, the *Ikening* road, and ſome diſtant hills. The other, called *Buſh-barrow*, is beautifully planted by the ſhepherds, and commands the proſpect of *Stonehenge*, of the *Curſus* or antient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, beſides a moſt elegant and ſpacious landſchape [m]. Thus much may ſerve to give an idea of the grand proſpect, which this noble ſtructure affords you from without.

BUT, before we come to ſpeak of its ſymmetry and the form and bigneſs of its ſtones, it may not be amiſs to obviate a diffi-

[l] Ibid. p. 45, & plate xxxi. [m] See p. 46. & plate xxxiii. & ſeq.

pon of the ſame metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds, and given to colonel *Wyndham*; out of a third was dug a braſs inſtrument, called celt, and is ſuppoſed to have belonged to ſome druid, and to have been uſed for cutting the miſſeto off the oaks. We have taken notice above, that the *Gaulish* druids uſed one made of gold for that purpoſe. In one of the female barrows was found, beſides ſome other ornaments and trinkets, the head of a javelin of braſs, at the ſocket of which were two holes for the pins that faſtened it to the ſtaff, and a ſharp bodkin, round at one end and ſquare at the other, where it went into a handle. Some of the trinkets ſeem to have been originally covered with metal; and one of them had ſtill a thin film of gold: all which ſufficiently ſhew this barrow to have been the ſepulchre of ſome heroine.

All that is further worth obſerving on this head is, that thoſe materials, as well as the bones, appear to have ſuffered the fire in ſome, though not in others. In ſome likewiſe the aſhes were depoſited in a ſmall urn of reddiſh earth unburnt; and, in others, the bodies were buried at full length, generally north and ſouth. From all which it is concluded, that the cuſtom of burning dead bodies was in uſe among the *Britons*, as well as that of burying without it, before the times of the coming in of the *Romans*.

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Stonehenge *probably a sepulchral monument.*

culty, which will, in all probability, occur to our readers, from what he have juſt now ſaid of thoſe barrows; for ſince they evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itſelf, which is, as it were, the centre and kebleh of them, will not this deſtroy our ſuppoſition of the latter being likewiſe a ſepulchral monument? Will it not appear abſurd to ſuppoſe ſuch a noble fabric tohave been ſubſervient to the ſame ends with thoſe hillocks, which are ſeen around it? And will it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it, with our author, to have been a temple, than a monument? To which we beg leave to anſwer, that we ſhould have made no difficulty of admitting it ſuch a temple, had we not ſo many convincing arguments, that neither *Celtes*, nor *Gauls* and *Britons*, had any ſuch buildings till long after the coming of the *Romans*. We have already given our reaſons, and hope they will appear as ſatisfactory to them, as they do to us, when duly weighed. However, to ſhew that our conjecture is not ſo inconſiſtent at the bottom, as it may appear at the firſt ſight, we ſhall obſerve, firſt, that there is a manifeſt difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is deſigned only to incloſe the remains, and the other to preſerve the memory, of the deceaſed. Theſe might be appropriated for the ſepulture of the great ones and their family, and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards depoſited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place. Again, the ſtone fabric might be the ſepulchre of kings, and conſequently deſerve greater magnificence; or it might be that of the druids, then in very high eſteem; or more particularly of the head of that order, or grand druid, and require not only to make a more ſtately appearance, but likewiſe to bear ſome kind of affinity, as, in fact, it ſeems to do, in its ſtructure, to thoſe ſacred groves, in which they performed their religious ceremonies. But laſtly, and to name no more, that which appears to us the moſt probable conjecture, from the relation which thoſe barrows bear to the building, is, that this laſt was, as it were, the centre or kebleh, that is, in other words, the point of view, or rather of diſtance, to all the reſt, and might be erected at the charge of the whole nation, and be deſigned, not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majeſtic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more eſpecially to thoſe of a ſuperior rank and merit, but likewiſe to aſcertain the property of each barrow to its reſpective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they ſtood eaſt or weſt, &c. from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compaſs and of geometry, is evident from the very planting, ſtructure, ſituation, and ſymmetry, of the

the fabric, as has been demonſtrated by our author himſelf, as well as by ſome others, who have written before him of it.

THIS conjecture being allowed, as indeed every thing about this noble pile ſeems to confirm it (*viz.* the long and ſpacious avenue to and from it, its dividing itſelf at a convenient diſtance, the one road towards the *curſus*, and the other to *Radſin* and the adjacent plains, the ſituation and ſtructure of the edifice, its proſpect and command over all the country, eſpecially the barrows and *curſus* above-mentioned), we may carry it on a little farther, and ſuppoſe the corps of the deceaſed, eſpecially if a prince, a grand druid, a celebrated warrior or heroine, to have proceeded with a ſuitable funeral pomp, ſuch as we have formerly ſhewn was obſerved by the *Scythians* to their monarchs[n], from the place of his reſidence to this ſepulchral monument. Here the druids and bards received it, and performed the funeral ceremonies over it, which conſiſted chiefly, at leaſt as far as related to their office, in offering ſacrifices, rehearſing the genealogy and heroic exploits of the dead, ſinging their encomia on him and his anceſtors, and if the body was to be burnt, in aſſiſting to, if not performing, that ceremony, committing the aſhes to the funeral urn, and conveying it, with all its apparatus of ornaments, weapons, &c. to the proper place of its interment. The area on the outſide might ſerve for exhibiting ſuch games, ſhows, and fights, as were uſual on ſuch occaſions, to the numerous ſpectators round about, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in due place. After which the company might proceed to the *curſus*, and there cloſe the ceremony with races, and other ſuch-like exerciſes. Every one of theſe places ſeems indeed ſo excellently ſituate, as if they had been deſigned for this grand ceremony. They all ſtand at a convenient diſtance from one another, and each commands the proſpect of the others, and may be viewed at a great diſtance by the largeſt number of ſpectators which we can ſuppoſe to have aſſiſted at it. We ſhall only add, that this notion, which we have been offering here, doth include all the various conjectures, which our beſt antiquaries have been able to make of it, either from the various antient traditions of it, or from their own diſcoveries. It anſwers to that of a temple, by reaſon of its ſacredneſs, its reſemblance to the antient religious groves, and the ſacrifices and other rites performed there. It anſwers to that of a ſepulchral monument, on account of its being appropriated to the grandeſt funeral ceremonies, and its being the centre or kebleh to all the adjacent mountains round about: to that of an amphitheatre, on account of the funeral games and ſhows exhibited

[n] See vol v. p. 289.

at it; and may alſo have ſerved for a convening place of the national council for the election and proclamation of a new king, general, or grand druid, whilſt they aſſiſted at the obſequies of a deceaſed one. Laſtly, it appears not to have been reared by either *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, becauſe it is evidently prior to them all, for the reaſons we have alledged a little higher, to which we ſhall ſubjoin one more, as we are come now to ſpeak of the huge ſtones, that compoſe this ſtupendous fabric.

The ſtones whence and how brought hither.

We have already hinted, that their monſtrous largeneſs, joined to their apparent great diſtance from any quarry, and the many ups and downs through which they muſt have been conveyed hither, led the unthinking vulgar into the notion, that they were brought hither bg magic, of the help of demons, according to ſome, and by giants, according to others, either of which were readily enough ſuppoſed able to bring them upon their backs from *Africa* (S); whilſt the wiſer ſort rather imagined them to be factitious, and caſt from ſome ſuch compoſitions as ſand and mortar, and the like, and hardened by the weather. This notion, as we hinted in a late note, has been ſufficiently, and, we may ſay, experimentally, diſproved, though to the great detriment and diſfiguring of the ſtones themſelves, and the endangering of the ſtructure. Theſe ſtones, rough and battered as they have been by theſe pretended curioſoes, as well as by a long ſeries of ages, appear to have been originally ſmoothed by the chizel, at leaſt as far as they ſtand above ground; for, as to that part which lies buried in the earth, it ſhews itſelf upon digging round it, to be in its primitive roughneſs, and as it was digged up out of the quarry, or, as our author rather ſuppoſes, and with greater ſeeming probability, as they were found lying on the ſurface of the ground in great numbers and various dimenſions, perhaps ever ſince the creation of the world (T), and as they are to be ſeen ſtill in vaſt quantities upon

(S) From a notion, which our author has likewiſe adopted, which ſuppoſes *Afer* to have been the ſame with *Hepher*, one of the ſons of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, to have come hither from *Africa* with *Hercules*, and to have brought with him the druids, who erected the fabric we are now ſpeaking of.

(T) This is at leaſt our author's conjecture (30), which we muſt be content to ſubmit to our readers, till a more probable one be found out. We never had an opportunity of viewing thoſe *Grey Wethers* but at a diſtance, whence they appeared as huge ſtones dug

(30) *B. Montfaucon. ſuplem de l'antiquit. Mabudel. Relig. des Gaul. Keyzler. Chorier. Hiſtor. Delphinal. La Faille annal. Toloſan. & al.*

I ſtom

upon *Marlborough* downs near *Abury*, at a place called from thence the *Grey Wethers*, and are of the ſame kind, *viz.* a baſtard white marble. Hence another argument is drawn of its being of antienter date than the coming of the *Romans*; for, by this time, the *Belgæ*, a colony of the *Gauls*, had ſeized upon, and ſeated themſelves in, that part of the country; ſo that the *Britons* muſt have fetched theſe ſtones from, and drawn them ſome miles through, an enemy's country, unleſs we could ſuppoſe, that thoſe *Belgæ* were the builders of *Stonehenge*; which is leſs probable than that the *Britons* did, becauſe theſe have left ſuch kinds of monumental piles where-ever they can be traced, as we hinted a little higher. The difficulty is, to conceive how ſtones of that immenſe weight, one of which, tho' neither the largeſt nor heavieſt, has been computed, by proper judges, to weigh between thirty and forty tons, and conſequently would have required about an hundred and fifty oxen to have drawn it, could be conveyed from their original ſeat to *Stonehenge*, which is ſixteen computed miles, and along ſuch uneven ground, and in ſuch quantities as compoſe the fabric. Sure it is, that no carriage can be conceived, which would not have been ſunk into the ground by ſuch a monſtrous weight, unleſs it be that of rollers; but even this muſt appear a more than *Herculean* labour; the arduouſneſs of which cannot be extenuated, but by the ſuppoſition, that the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part, of the nation contributed their help towards it in their turns.

Their bulk and weight.

from ſome neighbouring quarry, which, though not now to be found, might have been exhauſted or covered up; in which caſe, theſe might have been deſigned by our antient *Britiſh* druids for ſome other edifices of the ſame nature, which they were obliged to ſet aſide, upon their being forced from this iſle into thoſe of *Ireland*, &c. and of which we ſhall ſpeak in due place; but doubtleſs our author, who has been a curious examiner into all theſe particulars, had his reaſons, though he doth not mention them, for not thinking them to have been dug out of any quarry, but to have lain there ſcattered from the beginning.

One thing is remarkable, that all theſe *Britiſh* ſtructures in *Wiltſhire*, and no others, are built of the ſame kind of ſtone as that of the *Welſh* hills; whereas the cathedral of *Saliſbury*, all their great churches, and other large edifices, are of quite another kind, and were hewn out of the quarry called *Chilmark*, in the ſame county and neighbourhood.

(30) *B. Montfaucon. Suplem. de l'antiquit. Mahudel. Relig. des Gaul. Keyſler. Cluver. Hiſtor. Delphinal. La Faille annal. Tolos. &c al.*

Difficulties and form.

The rearing of them afterwards in such form and situation was a work of no less difficulty; for though we may reasonably suppose, that they were all pecked and chizelled, had their mortises and tenons wrought, and every thing done, that could lighten and fit them for the design, at the place where they were brought from, yet every man will easily perceive what an immense labour it must be to rear stones of that vast bulk and weight, to place them in their proper places, and at such due distances, that the architraves or imposts, that locked them to each other at the top, should fall so exactly every mortise upon its own tenon, as we find they actually do to this day; for it is plain to every eye that views them carefully, that each of these tenons is so exactly fitted to its mortise, that if either of the standing stones had been set ever so little out of its place, and perpendicular, they could never have locked one in the other, till they were reduced to their due distance and position; especially considering that there were at least fifteen in number of this large sort, set up two and two, the whole in a beautiful oval, nearest to a circle, and exactly locked each to the other by architraves of proportionable bigness. Each tenon is a druidish cubit, somewhat above twenty inches in diameter (V) on the broadest side; for they are of an oval figure, and the mortises exactly answerable to it. By this contrivance the imposts or architraves lie firm locked upon the uprights, and these are kept firm to each other. Where the imposts are heaviest, the tenons are shortest; and where those are lightest, and consequently more in danger to be shaken, as in those of the outward circle, these are made longest, and the mortises deeper accordingly. If the bottom face of the impost be divided into three squares, the two mortises will be found in the middle of the two outward ones: draw diagonal lines from corner to corner, and where they intersect is the centre of the mortise; which central distance from one to the other is seven druidish cubits, or about eight of ours. We might mention several other curious particulars, which make the whole appear to have been done geometrically, and from such plain and simple principles, as would best answer every purpose of the grand design; but

(V) Dr. *Stukeley* hath clearly demonstrated, that this fabric was never built according to the *Roman* measure, from the great number of fractions and uncouth numbers, that occur in the measuring of each part, but according to the antient cubit, &c. which was common to the *Hebrews*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, &c. as well as, as it appears here, to the druids and antient *Celts*. His proofs the reader will see in the work itself (31); for it is not for us to dwell on it.

(31) *Pl.* 6, & *seq.* *Chap.* vi.

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for these we must, in a work of this nature, refer our readers to the author's account [o], to avoid prolixity. But from what has been said, the reader may frame an idea of the curiousness, as well as arduousness, of the work, which, considering its regular complexity and symmetry, must be owned to outvie all that we read of single obelisks, pillars, and statues, how gigantic soever, if we except the pyramids of *Egypt* and the *Rhodian* colossus, of which we have given an account in former volumes [p].

The fabric described.

THE whole fabric consisted of four circles, or rather ovals, of stones, the most considerable of which had ten uprights and five architraves or imposts, making up five trilithons, each trilithon consisting of two uprights and one impost, which locked them together at the top by the tenons and mortises above-mentioned. These trilithons were not all of the same height, as our author observed, and is indeed the only one we know, that has taken notice of this elegancy; but each of them raised its head or impost somewhat higher, as it drew nearest to that before which the altar is judged to have stood, and which appears to have been not only the highest, but finest, both for the smoothness and beauty of the stones. The height of these trilithons, with their architraves or cornice, is computed, in a medium, to be about twenty-four feet; for there is no coming at an exact dimension in a work so decayed by time and weather; the uprights being between twenty and twenty-one feet high, and lessening a little upwards to the top, and the cornice computed about three feet and a half, making up the complement of twenty-four feet. These imposts, on the outward face, bore the same sweep with the oval, which they composed; but, on the inside, went in a strait line. They seem likewise to have been somewhat broader on the top than at the bottom; so that their sides bear a little slant downwards, whether to preserve them the better from the weather, or to make up the shortning, which is caused by their elevation from the sight. The gradual ascent of these three orders, as they may be termed, of trilithons, is, according to our author [q], thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen, druidish cubits. The breadth of each trilithon is computed, in a medium, about ten cubits of the same measure, and is consequently the length at least of the impost. Each upright is about three feet nine inches thick, and twice that, *i. e.* seven feet and a half in breadth, or four cubits and a half druidish. Each trilithon, which composes this oval cell, stands at such convenient distance from the other, as to yield a beautiful prospect into it, which is not a little heightened by the space which

[o] Ubi sup. p. 26, & seq. p. 310, & seq.

[p] See vol. i. p. 402, & seq. vol. vii.

[q] P. 20.

stands

ſtands between the two uprights, and which widens upwards, as theſe leſſen in their breadth, and form an oval from its two centres, whoſe longeſt radius is fifteen, and ſhorteſt twelve, druidiſh cubits; ſo that the ellipſis is formed by a line of ſixty cubits; which, being joined at the two ends, and turned round the two centres, give a diameter of thirty cubits at the longeſt, and twenty-five at the ſhorteſt, five cubits being the ſuppoſed diſtance between the two centres (W).

This was the figure and greatneſs of that which Mr. *Jones* called the cell, and our author the adytum or the concha, of, what they ſuppoſed the fabric to be, the temple, and which we have taken the more pains in deſcribing, as it is indeed the grandeſt part of the whole. As for the remainder of the ſtructure, though it bears an exact and beautiful proportion with it, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt remarkable parts of each, without entering into a detail of all the particulars. Within this grand oval, is another of much leſſer, tho' harder and finer, ſtones. This circle, together with the long ſtone now broken, which is ſuppoſed to have been the altar, and is of a darkiſh-blue marble, ſuch as is often ſet upon common alter tombs, and about ſixteen feet in length, conſiſts of twenty ſtones, the greateſt part of which are ſadly broken and mangled; but not ſo much as to hinder a curious obſerver from recovering the form and order in which they ſtood, tho' their uſe and deſign is hard to be gueſſed at. Another circle or oval of forty ſtones ſurrounded the cell or adytum at a proper diſtance. Theſe were likewiſe of a much leſſer ſize; after which one comes out to the greateſt or outer circle, compoſed of thirty ſtones, likewiſe harder, and ſomewhat of a pyramidal form. It ſeems as if the founders had wiſely provided, that their leſſer bulk ſhould be compenſated by their ſolidity. The difference between this outward circle, and that of the cell or adytum, conſiſted in this, that the architraves of the trilithons of the latter did not touch one another, but preſerved the ſame

(W) Hence, among ſeveral other arguments, one may infer, that this nich or cell could not be originally ſuch an hexagon, as Mr. *Jones* ſuppoſeth it; much leſs could it be formed, as he pretended, at the ſix points of three equilateral triangles; for, if this had been the caſe, there muſt have been ſix inſtead of five trilithons. But there is not the leaſt footſtep of a ſixth, no ſtump or fragment of it, nor cavity in the earth, where it may be ſuppoſed to have ſtood; ſo that three ſtones of that immenſe weight and magnitude, as we have deſcribed them, muſt be imagined to have been ſpirited away by the ſame magic art, by which the vulgar ſuppoſed the whole to have been reared, before we can think, that it ever had this trigonometrical figure.

diſtance

distance with the two uprights, on which they were locked; whereas, in the former or outward circle, the ſtandards were joined by a continued cornice. Each ſtandard or upright here had two tenons, at equal diſtances on the top, by which the two impoſts were locked by their mortiſes, and ſo continued quite round, in the form of a crown or cornice. The whole was ſurrounded by a vallum or deep ditch at a proportionate diſtance, as we have hinted above; and this, with the grand avenue, and the gradual aſcent up to the fabric, afforded a noble proſpect, both as you advanced towards it, and much more when you viewed from it all the champain country round about it. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for us to ſay on this ſtupendous *Britiſh* fabric, which has aſtoniſhed and puzzled all the architects, antiquaries, and curioſoes, that have either ſeen or read of it. We hope we have made a ſufficient apology for our anticipating this ſhort account of it here, which might otherwiſe have more properly belonged to the *Britiſh* hiſtory; and that the accurate author, from whom we have taken the moſt conſiderable and curious part of it, will not take it amiſs, that we have not followed his hypotheſis of its having been a druidiſh temple, when he conſiders the reaſons we have given for our aſſerting, that neither *Gauls*, *Germans*, nor antient *Britons*, had ever any ſuch buildings, till long after their being conquered by the *Romans*, and being forced to introduce a foreign religion amongſt them, that is, the worſhip of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, and a great number of other inferior deities. How and when this was moſt probably brought about, we ſhall endeavour to account for in the next ſection.

SECT. III.

How, and when, the antient Gauls *introduced the worſhip of inferior deities among them.*

IT is plain, by what we have quoted out of *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and others, that though the *Romans* had had a conſiderable footing in *Gaul* before the coming of that conqueror, yet they had not been able to perſuade them to imitate them in their rearing of temples to any deity. If they had, *Cæſar* would not have failed hinting ſomething of it, it being one of the chief maxims of this republic, to ſpread their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, where-ever they came; ſo that, if the *Gauls* had ever been forced, or prevailed upon, to build any ſuch temples in their country, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he would have omitted mentioning it; he who took ſuch pleaſure to tell us how many petty kingdoms and commonwealths he had brought over

to

When temples, altars, and statues, began to be reared in Gaul.

to the *Roman* intereſt, and to a fondneſs for ſome of their cuſtoms. Since then there is not the leaſt hint of it either in that or any other author, but the contrary plainly appears to have been the practcie of this nation, we may ſafely conclude they had not begun, even in his days, and under his government, to introduce this foreign cuſtom, tho' could it be made appear, that any ſuch ſtructures had been reared then, yet would it not from thence follow, that it was done by the *Gauls*, but would appear more probably to have been done by the *Romans*, who, as we obſerved at the beginning of the laſt ſection, made it a part of their religion to adopt the gods, to vow temples and ſtatues, and afterwards to rear them in every country they conquered; whereas the *Gauls* made it a conſtant maxim of theirs to wage open war againſt, to plunder and demoliſh, all ſuch ſtructures, from a principle bred amongſt them, in common with the *Perſees*, that it was offering an indignity to the Supreme Being to confine him within any place; which made *Cicero*, who was not deeply verſed in the *Gauliſh* religion, ſay, that it chiefly conſiſted in a hoſtile contrariety to all others (A).

(A) Whether it was his ignorance or contempt of their principles, or done out of a deſign to make his client's cauſe appear more juſtifiable (1), he expreſſes himſelf in theſe virulent terms againſt the *Gauls*, that they profeſſed no other religion than that of waging war againſt thoſe of all other nations, and againſt the very gods themſelves. He accuſes them of having left their native ſoil, and croſſed immenſe tracts of land, merely to go and attack the *Delphic Apollo*, and plunder the oracle of the whole world. This, continues he, is that holy nation, which had the boldneſs to beſiege our capitol, and even the great *Jupiter* himſelf in it.

We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, to explode the greateſt part of this charge, for which that orator ſo foully inveighs againſt them. All that we ſhall obſerve here is, that they had, at that time, neither regard for the pretended gods of other nations, nor for the pretended ſanctity of their temples, but rather a ſingular contempt for the one, and abhorrence of the other; and this ſhews, that they had not as yet adopted any of the *Greek* or *Roman* rites into their religion, whatever they did afterwards.

One thing may be obſerved, that the general character, which the authors of both theſe nations give of the *Gauls*, is a continued contradiction, one while repreſenting them as a people of no religion or principles, and at other times as the moſt addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition of any nation under heaven: all which can be only reconciled by allowing, that they actually had a religion of their own, of which they were ſo tenacious, that they deſpited all others for the ſake of it.

(1) *Orat. pro M. Fontejo.*

We

WE cannot affirm with the ſame certainty, that they did not imitate the *Romans* in another part of their religion, the worſhip of a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, before their conqueſt. We are told, that they worſhipped *Mars* under the emblem of a naked ſword, and that *Mercury* was in the higheſt veneration among them all over *Gaul* [a], doubtleſs on account of the vaſt benefits and improvements, which their trade, commerce, arts, and ſciences had received from him, and of which we have ſpoken in a former volume [b]. *Here is* indeed no mention of temples, altars, but only of ſtatues reared to them; and probably that worſhip might, at firſt, be no more than a civil one, though it grew up, in time, into downright idolatry and polytheiſm. Theſe two deities, as well as *Uranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. being all of *Celtic* extraction, as has been formerly ſhewn, it was much more natural for the *Gauls* to deify them, as having formerly reigned over their nation, than for the *Romans* and *Greeks* to adopt or challenge them from others as their own, and, in proceſs of time, to ſtrive to outvie them in thoſe divine honours, which the reſt of the world paid to them. This will, in ſome meaſure, lead us to the motives of that great change, which they ſuffered to be made in their antient religion, for thoſe temples which they erected, and for thoſe ſacrifices which they offered, to all thoſe deified monarchs, till at length they ſunk down into the ſame abſurd notions concerning them with the reſt of the idolatrous world; and the notion of *Eſus*, or ſupreme Deity, was ſwallowed up into that of a *Jupiter*, as it had been everywhere elſe; and this might reach no farther neither than the vulgar, whilſt the druids and wiſe men among the *Gauls*, as well as the philoſophers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſtill preſerved the notion of one Supreme Being, and either pitied, or perhaps laughed and winked at, the reſt of the pretended deities, heathen theology, and fooliſh ſuperſtition.

The druids forced to it.

BUT neither is this account altogether ſatisfactory, conſidering the averſion and contempt which the *Gauls* had of all other religions; and this extraordinary change will perhaps be better accounted for, if we can ſhew, with any probability, that they were rather forced to it by thoſe, under whoſe tyranny they came afterwards to groan, than out of any vain imitation of their neighbours, or affectation of reſpect for their deceaſed princes and heroes. It is not to be doubted, but to ſuch a brave and warlike nation as the *Gauls*, among whom one conſtant maxim was univerſally followed, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, to prefer

[a] Comment. ubi ſup. l. vi. p. 274, & ſeq.

[b] See vol. v. p. 255, (D).

the worſt of deaths to the loſs of liberty, the *Roman* yoke muſt appear intolerable; and that they could not be expected to ſubmit to it longer than they were forced to it by the ſuperior power of their tyrants; and as theſe made it their conſtant practice to introduce, either by fair or foul means, their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, where-ever they conquered, the druids, tenacious as they were of their own, could not but be extremely averſe to all ſuch changes, and uſe all their power and authority, which was ſtill very great, and almoſt uncontroulable (B), either to oppoſe them, or to prevail on the people to ſhake off the yoke. This their hiſtory will ſhew they did upon all favourable opportunities that offered; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity for the *Romans* to find out ſome plauſible pretence to ſtrip them of their great ſway, and force them to a blind and thorough ſubmiſſion. Accordingly we find, that ſeveral emperors took an effectual method to ſuppreſs the druidiſh

(B) It plainly appears, that this high power of theirs, except what related to religion, was not of very antient date; and that they raiſed themſelves to it in proceſs of time, by the help of the people's ſuperſtition. Antiently the women ſeem to have had a greater ſway in all civil matters, and even about making peace and war. This privilege they had even before their firſt expedition into *Italy*; and it appears that they held it ſtill, when *Hannibal* paſſed through *Gaul* to croſs the *Alps*; for, in the treaty they made with him, it was agreed, that, if a *Gaul* offered any injury to a *Carthaginian*, he ſhould be tried before the court of the *Gauliſh* women (2). The reaſon of this great ſway is variouſly accounted for: ſome think, that they were looked upon as inſpired; others think, it was owing to their having ſhewn a ſuperior degree of wiſdom in quenching a civil war, which the men had kindled among themſelves. The *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (3), allowed them the very ſame privileges, and we find ſomething like this practiſed by the *Eleans*, who, having in vain ſued for ſatisfaction from *Demarchoon* tyrant of *Piſa*, agreed with the *Piſans*, after his death, to ſubmit their difference to a court of ſixteen women, to be choſen out of ſixteen cities of the *Eleans*. Our author adds (4), that their deciſion ſo pleaſed both parties, that they appointed a perpetual college of ſixteen matrons to preſide over the *Junonian* games, and to aſſign the prize to whom they thought worthieſt of it.

However, with reſpect to the *Gauliſh* women, though we cannot aſcertain the time when they loſt this their authority, yet it is plain, by what *Cæſar* ſays of that extenſive one (5), which the druids had in his time, that they had found means to ſtrip thoſe female heroines of theirs.

(2) *Plut. de mulier. Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* vii. (3) *Hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 61.
(4) *Pauſan. Eliac.* (5) *Comm. l.* vi.

power

power (C), by issuing out some severe edicts against their bloody custom of offering human sacrifices. *Augustus* was the first who issued out a decree against them, and at the same time introduced a census among the *Gauls*; upon which the whole nation was just ready for a revolt. But by the address and authority of *Drusus* who was left there by him, they were not only prevented from rising, but prevailed upon to assist at the dedication of *Julius Cæsar*'s temple, and to build an altar to *Augustus* [c]. However, it is plain, that the edict of the latter was not executed there, and the druids, by this time in less authority with the people, might buy it off, by rearing the above-mentioned altar to him; and this is the reason why *Claudius* renewed it against them. But, whatever the pretence of those edicts might be, it is scarce credible, that religion had any hand in them; and they might as well have fallen foul upon all other nations under their empire, nay, and upon their own, since none was exempt from this barbarous custom, much less the *Romans*, as the reader may infer from what we have said in their history, and elsewhere [d]. However that be, it doth not appear, that even these took any more effect against them than that of *Augustus*, since we find them still not only in high vogue some

[c] See vol. xiii. p. 326. [d] See vol. xiv. p. 510, 551, & vol. xv. p. 51, 99, & vol. xvi. p. 458, 488, & seq.

(C) We are told by three *Roman* authors, that *Claudius* did quite abolish this sect, and their inhuman superstition (6). The last quoted calls him indeed *Tiberius*, from which some have ascribed this edict to the emperor of that name, though wrongfully; for he only calls *Claudius* by his prenomen, *Claudius* being called *Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus*; and it doth not appear, that the other *Tiberius* made any such edict against that custom, but only against astrologers, whom he banished from *Rome* (7). And here we beg leave to rectify a mistake, which inadvertently slided into our *Carthaginian* history (8), where we said, that the emperor *Tiberius* punished the *African* priests for their practise of these human sacrifices; whereas it should have been said, *Tiberius* the proconsul of *Afric* under the emperor *Adrian*; for it appears by *Tertullian*'s account of it, that his own father was a centurion under him (9); which can by no means agree with the rank, nor with the times of the emperor of that name. We hope our readers will be candid enough to overlook such oversights in a work of this extensive nature, especially when they find how ready we are to acknowledge and rectify them, as soon as we have discovered them.

(6) *Suet. in vit. Claud. Senec in luctu de morte Claud. Plin. hist. nat. l.* xxx *c.* 1. (7) *Vide Xiphil. ex. Dion* lxii. (8) *Vol.* xvi. *p.* 488. (9) *Vide apolog. c.* 9.

centurio

centuries after, but even authorized by the emperors *Severus*, *Aurelian*, and *Dioclesian*. They ſubſiſted ſtill, even down to the times of *Solinus*, *Polyhiſtor*, and of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* [e], and much longer ſtill in their chief abode in the province of *Chartrain*, where whole towns continued in their antient paganiſm, even down to the fifth century [f]. Neither did thoſe edicts ſuppreſs the practice of human victims amongſt the *Romans* themſelves, among whom they continued to the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, and even down to that of *Gratian*, who gave the finiſhing blow to it [g].

How and when introduced.

From all this it appears very probable, that theſe edicts againſt the druids, and their bloody rites, were not ſo much iſſued out to aboliſh their ſect, and religion, as to intimidate them, and ſuppreſs their exorbitant power, which, ſomewhat before this time, was grown to ſuch a height, that they over-ruled in all courts and councils, raiſed whom they liked to the higheſt dignities, and even to the crown, and often aſpired at, and obtained it for ſome of their own order. They directed in the making of peace and war, and, even after they were conquered by the *Romans*, could ſtir up the people to a general revolt; and ſo jealous were they grown of their uſurped authority, that they puniſhed, as we have hinted a little higher, all that diſobeyed or diſputed their commands with excommunication, and even with death. Nothing could therefore be more ſuitable to the *Roman* policy, than to uſe all poſſible means to ſuppreſs and cruſh ſo dangerous a ſet of men; and ſince religion was the common pretext to all their exorbitant ſway, ſo that there was no poſſibility of pulling down the one, without aboliſhing the other, it was natural for their conquerors to uſe all their power and addreſs to bring about ſuch a thorough change, and introduce their religion amongſt them; and there might not perhaps be a more favourable opportunity than that which this period afforded them, when the *Gauliſh* nation, groaning under a double, and, we may add, a divided, tyranny, that of their conquerors and that of their druids, would, in all likelihood, think it no ſmall eaſe to be rid at leaſt of one of their yokes, and that perhaps which, at that time, ſeemed the moſt intolerable of the two; for it muſt be remembered, that the *Romans* ſeldom made uſe of force, when they could gain their ends by cajoling and flattery, by fair promiſes, or even bribes and rewards; whereas the druids, if we may believe the *Roman* authors, bore all down with an arbitrary and uncontrouled ſway, till being overpowered by their enemies, and forſaken by their

[e] Polyhist. c. 21 Præp. evang l. iv c. 17. [f] Vide relig. des Gaul. i. c. 32. [g] See vol. xiv. 551.

own

own people, they were at length forced to submit to, and exchange their religion and rites for, those of their conquerors.

THIS at least appears, by several concurring circumstances, Gaul, *at* to have happened about the time of these edicts; for, in *Cæ-* *length,* *sar's* time, who left the *Gauls* to the free enjoyment of their *over-run* rites, and even of many of their laws and customs, there was *with them.* not as yet any temple built, or any place of worship, but their oaks and groves. In the very next reign, we find the *Lugdunenses* building a stately temple to that conqueror, and an altar to *Augustus*, then on the throne, and a professed enemy to the druids and their religion. Under his successor *Tiberius*, their chief deity *Esus* is transformed into *Jupiter*, the god of heaven and earth, or rather, as it should seem, divides his worship with him for a while (*D*). Both are worshipped at first in groves, and under oaks; and at length the former is quite swallowed up in the latter, and temples, altars, and statues, are erected to him after the *Roman* manner over all the conquered parts of *Gaul*. After a few reigns more, during which they were still greatly oppressed, and made several vain attempts to regain their liberty, especially under *Caligula* and *Claudius* [h], who succeeded *Tiberius*, the whole country is filled with *Roman* temples, all their deities adopted and worshipped, and scarce any

[h] See vol. xiv. p. 48, & seq.

(*D*) This is inferred from ancient bas-reliefs found in the great church of *Paris*, in which both these deities are carved one close to the other, the inscription of which is indeed to *Jupiter*; but the ceremony of the oaky mistleto, with the words *Senani veilo*, shews that *Esus* was looked upon still as the chief godhead there represented.

We would not rely too much upon these dark and enigmatic monuments, which every antiquary wrests according to his own favourite hypothesis. Sure it is, that, in the name of *Maximus Tyriensis*, who lived about an hundred years after *Tiberius*, *Esus* was already transformed into *Jupiter*, and worshipped under the type of a large oak (9). The author of the life of St. *Boniface*, bishop of *Mentz*, tells us, that that prelate found no better expedient to bring his people from their old superstition to christianity, than by cutting down an oak of a very large size, called the oak of *Jove*, and strength of *Jove* (10). The same is said to have been done, with like success, by still later preachers (11). So long did this veneration for those trees continue, as one may say, in the heart of christianity. We may add, that the name of *Jupiter* doth not appear to have been adopted by the *Gauls*, but only that of *Jove*, which we have already shewn is of *Celtic* original (12).

(9) *Max. Tyr. serm* xxxviii. (10) *Hensch. apud relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 5. (11) *Bzovii. annal sub. ann* 1233, *ap. eund.* (12) *See before vol.* v. *p.* 248, *& seq.*

traces

traces left of their antient religion, but their bloody rites of offering human victims to these new deities, and perhaps also in their auguries; which occasioned the above-mentioned decrees against them. To these we may add the great veneration which they still retained for their oaks, notwithstanding their multiplicity of temples, and which continued, according to some authors, till the twelfth and thirteenth century. One of these was dedicated to an hundred deities, as appears by an inscription engraven on a neighbouring column, which the reader will find in the margin (E). However, the sluice thus broken, an inundation of superstition and idolatry ensued, which nothing could resist; and the *Gauls*, having once shaken off the yoke of their druids, became so enamoured with the pageantry of polytheism, that they deified at length lakes, rivers, marshes, and even fountains, to all which they ascribed some peculiar deity, and extraordinary virtues; upon which account it was looked upon as the highest sacrilege to fish in them, to draw or drain them, and especially to lay hands on any treasures that were committed to their care and protection (F). To all these changes

Run into all kinds of superstition.

(E) This oak being afterwards cut down by St. *Severus*, the inscription engraven was to preserve the memory of it; ARBOREM DIVUS SEVERUS EVERTIT CENTUM DEORUM. Our author adds, that, in rooting it up, they found a head full of gold and silver, which was laid out by that saint in the building of a church since dedicated to him, as appears by the epitaph upon his tomb (13).

(F) Of these lakes, fountains, &c. some were dedicated to one deity, some to another. *Tacitus* pretends to give us the reason why the *Gauls* deified them, because, says he, they were nearer heaven, and consequently nearer the ear of those deities, to whom they pray from thence (14). This is a very foolish one; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that they fancied those deities, to be more immediately present there. However, such regard they had for them, that the same author tells us, that the *Hermunduri* and *Catti* waged a bloody war against each other for the property of one of these fountains, which was a salt one; and that the former at length gained their point against the latter, by a vow which they made to sacrifice their enemies, and all their spoil, to *Mars* and *Mercury*; which was accordingly done: the *Catti* were all massacred without mercy, together with their horses, cattle, and all their spoil, and flung into the lake (15).

However, unless it be upon such bloody devowments, we do not find, that they offered any victims to them; but abundance

(13) *Jo. de Bosc. antiq. Vien. p.* 4 *Tableau des prov. Franc. tom.* ii. *p.* 107 *apud. eund.* (14) *Annal. l.* xv. (15) *Ibid. sub fin.*

of

changes the druids found themſelves obliged to ſubmit, to avoid the penalties of thoſe edicts; and ſo compliable did they ſhew themſelves, that, from that time, whether to ſhew their complaiſance to the *Romans*, or to take off the odium which their name laid them under, they exchanged it for that of *Senani*, which, in their language, ſignified the ſame as *elder* or *venerable* with us. From hence we may date their downfal, though not their total abolition, till ſome ages after; for, being once reduced to ſuch a low ebb of authority, or rather being once ſtripped of it, and become ſuch ſervile creatures to their new and potent maſters, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe would ever ſuffer them to recover it again; but, if they ſtill permitted them to make a gain of religion, it ſhould be only in the worſhip and rites of thoſe new deities, which they had now adopted. This was an effectual means to induce them to give into all kinds of *Roman* and *Greek* ſuperſtitions, and even to outdo them in it, ſince it would open a new door to their intereſt, inſtead of the old one that had been ſtopped up. We have taken notice, in the laſt note, of the immenſe treaſures, which were flung into their conſecrated lakes, rivers, and afterwards into their temples; and who can imagine thoſe druids and prieſts to have been as ſcrupulous as the ſtupid laity, of converting any part of it to their own uſes? But this we muſt ſubmit to our readers, who will be better able to judge of it, if we ſubjoin here ſome few more inſtances of this kind of ſuperſtition; for it were endleſs to mention them all, they were grown to ſuch number and variety.

ONE lake they had in ſome part of *Gaul* neareſt the ocean, which received its name from two white ravens, with whitiſh wings, which conſtantly kept about it. Incredible wonders were told of it [i]. Amongſt others, it was much reſorted to in matters of controverſy between parties. Each of the contenders brought a kind of cake, and laid it at the end of the ſame

[i] STRAB. l. iv. ad fin.

of gold, ſilver, rich cloaths, and other coſtly things, they flung into them, which it was ſacrilege to touch. We have ſpoken of the famous lake of *Tholouſe* dedicated to *Apollo*, whoſe treaſures, eſpecially in gold and ſilver ingots and maſſy utenſils, amounted to immenſe ſums, and was continually increaſed by freſh offerings (16). In time, theſe places became ſo liable to be plundered by foreign nations, as well as perhaps by their neighbours, that they began to repoſit thoſe ſacred treaſures in their temples, of which they had ſoon after a vaſt number, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

(16) *Oroſ. l.* v. *c.* 1. 15. *Cic. de nat. deorl. l.* iii. *Aul. Gell. l.* iii. *c.* 9.

plank,

plank, which was ſet afloat on the lake, to be expoſed to thoſe ravens, whoſe cuſtom, it ſeems, was to devour one of the cakes, and to crumble and ſcatter the other; and this laſt gave the cauſe to its owner. Another we read of at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood of *Savoy*, dedicated to the moon, under the name of *Helanus*, which ſignifies *ſplendor*. It was reſorted to by all the neighbouring people once a year, who threw into it ſome cloaths, linen, fleeces of wool; others bread, cheeſe, wax, and the like, according as they could afford it. Here they kept a ſumptuous feaſt, which laſted three whole days, a ſufficient quantity of proviſions being brought in waggons to the place. On the fourth day, we are told [k], when they were ready to return home, there conſtantly aroſe ſuch ſtorms of wind, thunder, rain, and hail, as made them afraid for their lives. We have taken notice how they uſed the waters of the *Rhine* to diſcover the fidelity of their wives, and the legitimacy of their iſſue. They ſeem to have had a much greater veneration for this river, than for any other. The offerings and ſacrifices offered to it were of a peculiar kind: whole armies called upon it for help and victory, and the ſight of it, or of any of its waters, inſpired the ſoldiers with courage and bravery [l]. Each river, fountain, lake, or pool, was looked upon as inhabited by ſome deity, and had ſome peculiar and extraordinary virtues aſcribed to it, for the ſake of which the credulous people reſorted to them in ſhoals, and with proper offerings, every one according to their ability. Some others of their ſuperſtitions we ſhall have occaſion to hint in the ſequel; and theſe ſhall ſuffice to ſhew into what lengths they ran in their imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and what profit their druids, bards, *&c.* are like to have made of them (G).

This multiplicity of deities, or rather of lakes, marſhes, *&c.* conſecrated to them, did not hinder them from building temples, altars, and ſtatues, to them after the *Roman* manner, and not only in great number, but ſome of them very ſtately, and in

[k] Gregor. Tur. glor. conf. 2. [l] Tacit. hiſt. l. v. c. 18.

(G) It may not be amiſs to obſerve here to our readers, that this deifying of lakes, rivers, and ſprings, might probably be owing to ſome extraordinary qualities and virtues they obſerved in their waters, eſpecially ſuch as were of a hot and medicinal nature. Even lakes and rivers, though leſs extraordinary on any ſuch account, might yet riſe to this height of veneration, on that of their perpetual flowing, and diſcharging ſuch conſtant ſtreams of water, without being exhauſted; of all which the druids, though well enough acquainted with the natural reaſon (for they were great philoſophers, might yet make a myſtery with the vulgar, for their own politic ends.

the

the grand taſte, as one may infer from ſome remains of them, and other monuments of that nation; but yet in theſe they commonly ſacrificed to the gods only brute victims, and offered their vows and rich donatives in them; but, as to human ſacrifices, they ſtill offered them, it ſeems [m], under their oaks and in their groves; but whether they did it for privacy, or for fear of the *Romans*, and to avoid the penalty of their edicts, or ſtill retained their antient notion of that Supreme Being, to whom they thought them more peculiarly to belong, is not eaſy to determine (H). To give our readers a ſpecimen of theſe new buildings, we are told, that the ſtatues of theſe gods, ſuch as *Pennin*, *Mercury*, *Diana*, &c. of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, were placed ſometimes on a pedeſtal, which ſerved likewiſe for an altar, ſometimes on a column of a prodigious height [n]. In ſome they were expoſed to the open air, and in others ſheltered by an edifice of poliſhed ſtones in form of a cupola or cone. Their temples were no leſs rich and magnificent, witneſs that famed one called *Vaſſo* at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, the walls of which are affirmed to have been thirty feet thick, covered, on the outſide, with carved ſtones, and on the inſide with ſmall ones nicely wrought and poliſhed, and on the top incruſtated with marble, and compartments of *Moſaic* work. The pavement was likewiſe of marble, and the top covered with lead [o]. A learned *French* antiquary mentions eight of theſe ſtately fabrics of an octagonal form, and whoſe eight faces were adorned with a number of *Gauliſh* deities, generally eight in number in thoſe which he himſelf obſerved; which made him ſuſpect, that this combination of numbers contained ſome druidiſh myſteries, which are now quite out of our reach [p] (I). *Their temples deſcribed*

We

[m] See relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 15. [n] GREG. TUR l. viii. c. 15. SULP. SEVER. dial. l. iii. c. 9, & ſeq. GUICH. hiſt. des ſcavant ap relig. des Gaul. ubi ſup. [o] Iidem ibid. [p] Supplement de l'antiq. tom. ii. See alſo relig. des Gaul. ubi ſup. c. 16, & ſeq.

(H) The former ſeems the moſt probable, becauſe they did likewiſe chuſe to offer theſe victims in caves, rocks, precipices, and other deſert and unfrequented places, which they choſe ſometimes by mere chance, and as they fell in their way; at other times by their auguries and lots: all which ſeems to intimate, that they avoided being ſeen at theſe bloody ceremonies by any other people (17), eſpecially the *Romans*, who had ſo ſtrictly forbid them.

(I) The author of the religion of the *Gauls* has, however, diſproved the conjecture of that learned antiquary, by ſhewing (18),

(17) *Vide Burchard. decret. l.* x. *c.* 10. *Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. apud relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 15. *ad fin.* (18) *Ibid. c.* 16.

We ſhall refer our readers to the two authors laſt quoted for a further account of thoſe famous edifices, that we may not draw this ſection into an exceſſive length, and content ourſelves with giving them a ſhort deſcription of one of the moſt curious of them in the next note (K), and figure, by which they may frame

that this octagonal form was common among the *Romans* as well as the *Gauls*; and that the latter had temples of different forms, ſome round, ſome oblong, ſome decagonal, without any apparent myſtical deſign. The thing is not worth diſputing at this diſtance; and it doth not appear, that the *Gauls* had any ſuch regard for the number eight. They had indeed a greater one, if we may believe *Pliny* (19), for the number ſix, which was held ſo ſacred amongſt them, that they overturned the order of months, years, &c. in honour of it; but on what account they did ſo, doth not appear.

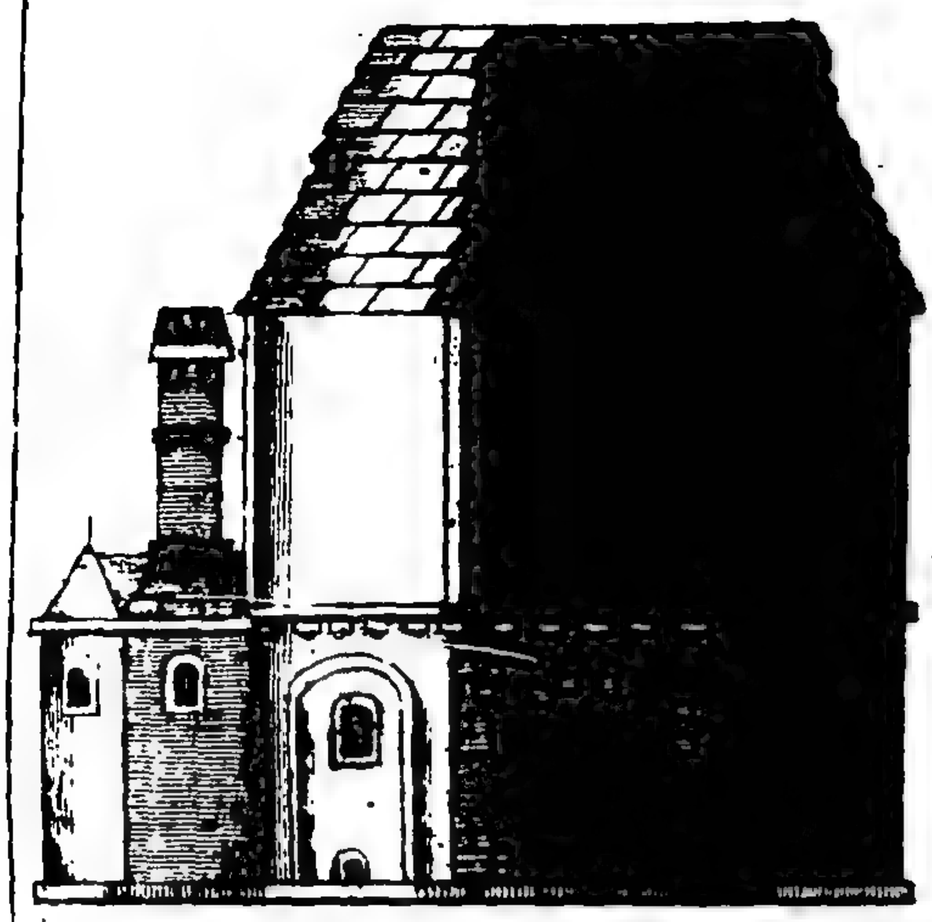
(K) This octagonal ſtructure ſtands at *Montmorillon*, in the province of *Poitou*, and conſiſts of two temples, one above ground, and the other under it, ſomewhat like our St. *Faith* and St. *Paul*, the loweſt of which is much narrower than the upper, and its wall as thick again. The upper received its light from eight windows, in form of portals, under the arch of each of the eight faces; but now walled up, except that over the gate or entrance into the fabric; and another which leads to a kind of wing or portico, which projects from the fabric, on the oppoſite ſide. The great overture in the centre of the roof, which reſembles that in the *Rotonda* of *Rome*, gives likewiſe ſome light to the building, though not much, becauſe it deſcends through a hole in the roof, like a cylinder, of twenty-four feet in length, and about ten in breadth. The rain, that falls through it, gathers itſelf to the centre of the pavement, which is made with a proper declenſion, and empties itſelf through another, and much leſſer, hole, into the lower temple, and is ſucked up by the earth, this laſt having neither ſink nor pavement.

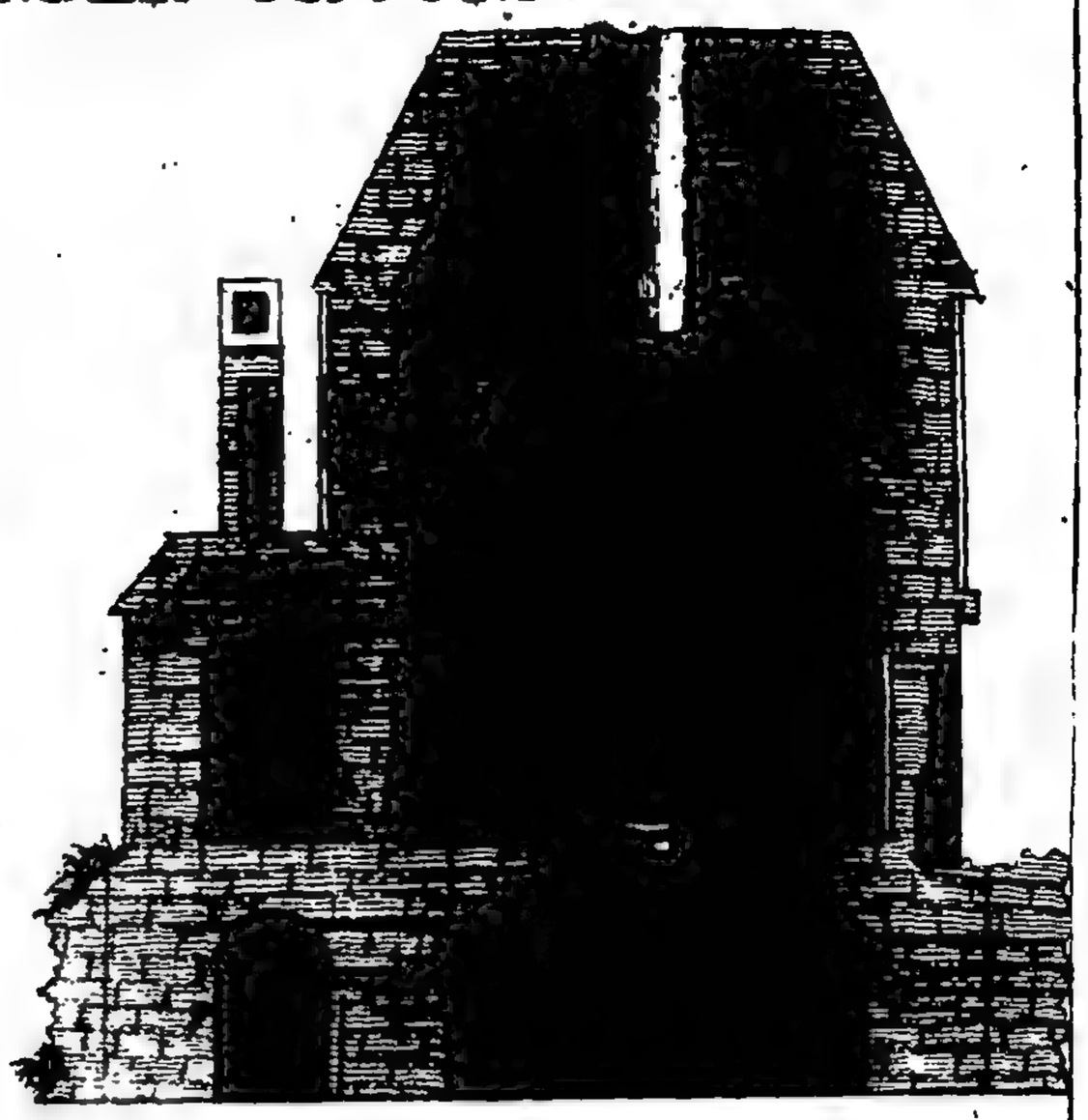
The wing, at one of the ſides of the octagon, is equal to it, that is, eighteen feet in breadth without and within. That, which leads into the lower, is much narrower than that which leads into the upper building; and at the end of the former is a ſtair-caſe, that leads up to the latter. This place appears to be of the ſame age and ſtructure as the octagon, and has, on the top, a kind of ſquare tower of about the ſame height with the roof of the inner temple; but whether it had a bell in it, as ſome think, who imagine it to have been ſince turned into a church, is not eaſy to determine. This advanced building ſeems to have ſerved for a kind of veſtry to the prieſts and druids. Juſt over-againſt this, acroſs the temple, is the gate that leads into it; and on the one ſide of it, in the ſubterranean temple, begins a covert-way above ſix feet broad, and about ſix hundred in length, which leads to the neighbouring river, to which, it is ſuppoſed, the druids went to waſh themſelves and their victims, whenever they performed the prieſtly function.

(19) *Idem, l* xvi. *c.* 44.

Over

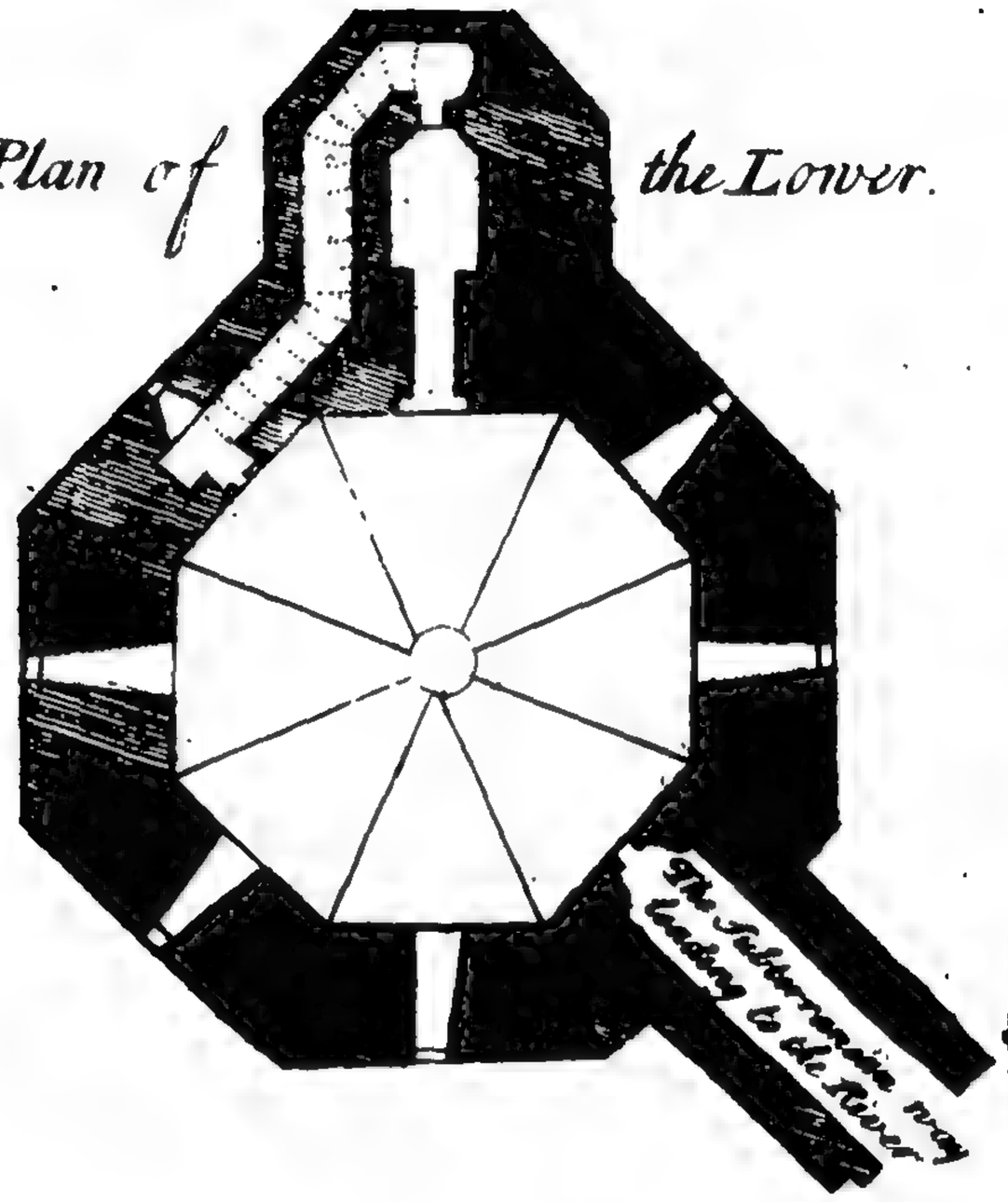
PLAN OF Ye FAMED TEMPLE OF MONTMORILLON BOTH ABOVE AND UNDER GROUND.





Plan of the Upper.

Plan of the Lower.



The side on w.ch the eight figures stand over the Temple gate.

The Eight Figures over the Gate of the Temple



Pomarede Sculp.

frame an idea of the *Gauliſh* taſte in architecture. All that we ſhall add here is, that, by the multitude of niches that appear in

Over the gate of the temple were eight human figures coarſly carved, ſuppoſed to have been ſo many *Gauliſh* deities. Of theſe ſix are of the male kind, three in a group or nich, and the two others, one at each end, are females. The former are differently dreſſed. Thoſe that face you, and ſtand fartheſt out, have a kind of antique mantle; the others have on a kind of tunic. One has a long gown quite down to his feet, and open from top to bottom, and all of them are girdled up. In one group, the figure that faces you is ſhod, and the other two on each ſide are bareſooted. In the other group, that which faces you is unſhod, and the other two ſhod. In the one they appear old men, with long beards; in the other, all young and beardleſs; ſo that in the firſt there are two old men unſhod, and one ſhod; and in the other two young men ſhod, and one unſhod. This odd contraſt was not, doubtleſs, without ſome myſterious meaning.

Of the two women, which ſtand one at each end, the one had a long head of hair plaited hanging on each ſide before her, and is dreſſed ſomewhat in the modern form, that is, in a kind of ſtiff-bodied gown. She holds her hands on her ſides, and hath a kind of mittins which cover about one-half-way her arms. That, which ſtands on the oppoſite ſide, is quite naked, and hath two ſerpents twiſted one round each leg, and both twining between her thighs, rear their heads up to her breaſts, as if they were ſucking at them, whilſt ſhe holds them by her hands, as it were, cloſe to the ſides of her belly. From this combination of eight figures over the gate of an octagonal temple, our learned author infers, that that number was looked upon by the *Gauls* as ſacred to the gods, as we hinted a little higher.

The intablature over it was not without its ornaments, which chiefly conſiſted of a great variety of heads oddly variegated, the meaning of which, if it was done with any, is not eaſy to gueſs. As to the figures themſelves, this is the conjecture of our author, for the proofs of which we ſhall refer our readers to the place quoted in the margin (20): The naked woman, with two ſerpents, he ſuppoſes to have repreſented the moon, to whom therefore he concludes the temple to have been dedicated. The three old men he takes to have been three druids, and the three young men to have been their diſciples, and the number ſix to have been deſigned to ſignify the ſacredneſs in which it was held by the *Gauls*, it being on the ſixth day of the moon that they performed their grand ceremony of gathering the miſleto, as we have already hinted. The ſerpents, ſucking at her breaſts, may ſignify properly enough the virtue, which that planet imparted, not only to that plant, but to all other vegetables, as the ſnakes are ſaid to renew their age with their ſkins.

(20) *Idem*, *l.* i. *c.* 31.

in ſome of them, they ſeem to have had a vaſt number of ſtatues in them, which are ſince moſtly demoliſhed, upon their converſion to chriſtianity; and ſome of them, ſince dug up out of their ruins, are ſo ſadly broken and mangled, that it is hard to gueſs, whether they were *Gauliſh* deities, or ſtatues of any other kind. Our two authors differ in their judgment about them; but, ſince the *Gauls* were grown ſo fond of multiplying their deities, as to dedicate one oak to an hundred of them, as we lately hinted, why may we not believe with *Montfaucon*, that they might ſhew the ſame fondneſs for multiplying their idols in thoſe temples, in imitation of the *Romans*? A great many of theſe edifices have been preſerved here, as they were in other countries, upon the planting of chriſtianity, by being converted into churches, though a much greater number were then demoliſhed, of which there are ſtill ſome fragments remaining, and may be ſeen more particularly deſcribed in the authors above quoted.

The gods worſhipped by the Gauls.

We are now come to ſpeak of the gods that were afterwards adopted and worſhipped by the *Gauls*. We have already ſeen how their ancient *Eſus* came to be changed into *Jupiter*, at firſt indeed under the ſymbol of an oak, and even of a ſhapeleſs ſtump of a tree. But at length, as they gave wholly into the *Roman* ſuperſtition, they came to erect altars and ſtatues to him, and to repreſent him after the *Roman* manner: thus in ſome ancient ſtatues and bas-reliefs he is carved with a lance in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other, and with his arms and boſom bare; his head is ſometimes ſurrounded with a radial crown;

Jupiter.

his name of *Jupiter* is never met in any of his inſcriptions, but only that of *Jou*, or *Jovis*, which, being of *Celtic* extract, was deſignedly retained by them, inſtead of the *Roman*. He is likewiſe ſurnamed *Taran*, which, in the ſame tongue, ſignifies *thunderer*: we would not, however, pretend to affirm,

As for the other woman, he ſuppoſes her to have been deſigned for *Venus*, becauſe ſuch a kind of figure had been dug up at *Chalons*, with her treſſes plaited ſomewhat like this. If ſo, we would rather ſuppoſe the three young men, which ſtand next to her, to have been deſigned for her prieſts. But if the naked one, ſuckling two ſerpents, ſignifies the new moon, why may not the other, which is dreſſed in a cloſe-bodied gown reaching up to her neck, have been deſigned to expreſs the old one, and to ſignify, that, after ſhe is paſt the full, ſhe ceaſes to communicate her influence? for the druids, being well verſed, for thoſe times, in aſtronomy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and much addicted to aſtrology, it was natural for them to think, that as the increaſe of that planet did daily approximate her virtue to the earth, ſo her decreaſe did divert and elongate it from it. But whither are we running with our conjectures?

that

that this laſt name is the *Taramis*, or *Taranis*, of *Lucan*, or that the *Gauls* did not give it to any other god but the great *Jupiter*: but we may be well aſſured, that that of *Jovis* was peculiar to him, and has been preſerved not only by the antient *Gauls* and *Welſh*, but is ſtill retained by the *French* in many of their compound words (L). In that part of *Gaul* nearer the *Alps* he was called *Peninus*, and thoſe high mountains *Peninæ*, from the old *Celtic* word *Pen*, which ſignifies a *head*, a *height*, a *ſummit* (M). He was repreſented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on the top of mount *St. Bernard the Leſs*, by *L. Lucilius*, and is ſtyled *Optimus Maximus*; whence it is concluded, that he was the ſame with the *Gauliſh Jovis*. What ſeems to confirm this beyond all queſtion is, that the column on which it ſtands is indifferently called the column of *Jove* and of *Peninus*, and the carbuncle that was placed on it, the eye of *Jove*, and the eye of *Peninus*[l]; but ſince by the eye of *Jupiter* was meant the ſun from all antiquity [m], and the carbuncle was a very proper emblem of this laſt deity, why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to it rather than to *Jupiter*? However, that be, as this laſt ſucceeded their great *Eſus*, they paid much the ſame worſhip to him, and, in particular, offered human victims to him, as the *Romans* did to their *Jupiter Latialis*;

[l] GUICHENON. hiſt Savoy, tom. i. l. i. c. 4. Vide relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 29. [m] Vide MACROB. Saturn. l. i. c. 21.

(L) Particularly in thoſe that follow *Joudy* or *Jeudy*, *Thurſday*, or day of *Jove*; *Joumont*, *Joubarb*, the mount of *Jove*, a mountain ſo called by the *Romans*, and the beard of *Jove*, an herb ſo called, from its reſemblance to it; and many more of the like nature. As for that of *Taran*, which is ſtill kept in many words which expreſs any loud and fearful noiſe, and from which we take the *Greek* ταραχὴ and ταράττω to be derived, it is not unlikely, that it may have been alſo given to *Mars*, on account of the thundering noiſe which the *Gauls* made upon their ſhields, when they invoked him, either before an onſet, or after a victory.

(M) This deity is called *Apenina* by *Cato* the elder, who derives it from *Apis*, the firſt king of *Italy*, with whom, according to him, ended the golden age (20). *Servius* (21) calls her *Penina*. But the figure and inſcription which *Guichenon* has given us of it ſhew it to have been erected to a male deity. The inſcription is, LVCIVS LVCILIVS DEO PENINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT. The column was of marble, and about fourteen feet high.

(20) *Apud. Macrob. Saturn. l.* i. *c.* 21. (21) *Comment. in Æneid.* x.

ſome

ſome inſtances of which we have given in the laſt ſection of this chapter, and in a former volume [m].

Mars. THEIR next deity was *Mars*, whom they eſteemed as the chief protector of the *Gauliſh* nation. Their invincible warlike temper inſpired them with ſuch a veneration for, and confidence in, him (N), that whenever they went to war, they made him heir of all their poſſeſſions, and about the time of the onſet they vowed to him all the plunder [n]. If they came off with victory, they frequently ſacrificed their priſoners, as well as their cattle, to him, and hung the heads of their ſlain enemies about the necks of their horſes, in token of their valour. They even incloſed ſome of the moſt conſiderable ones in frames of cedar, and, upon proper occaſions, ſhewed them to ſtrangers, and at no time could be prevailed upon to part with them [o]. Another barbarous cuſtom they are juſtly branded with, of poiſoning their arrows with a juice, which they extracted from a tree not unlike our fig-tree, but of a quite deadly quality [p]. In times of ſickneſs, or imminent danger, they immediately ſacrificed ſome human victims to *Mars*, or vowed to do it, as ſoon as they had it in their power; and performed it accordingly. It was even common with them, in preſſing dangers, to vow all their enemies to that deity, and to maſſacre them, as we have formerly hinted, without mercy or diſtinction. We have already taken notice, that he was formerly worſhipped under the emblem of a naked ſword, and under the name of *Mars*, or *Mavors*, or *Mawr-ruiſc*, which ſignifies *warlike* or *powerful*. Since then, we find him repreſented in the habit of a *Roman* warrior, with a ſpear in one hand, and a ſhield in the other, and with the ſur-

Their cruel vows to him.

[m] P. 45, & ſeq. (D), and vol. xiv. p. 510, & alib. [n] Ulp, fragm. tit. 21. Comment. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. vi. c. 9 Athen. l. iv. [o] Strab. l. iv. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [p] Rhodig. l. xxiii. c. 12.

(N) *Julian* the apoſtate, among his many other chimerical notions, attributed all the bravery and ſucceſs of the *Gauls* to the influence which the providence of the Creator of all things had endued that deity with, when he put them under his protection (22). But it is far more reaſonable to think, that their natural bravery, joined to their hatred of the all-conquering and enſlaving *Romans*, directed them to the choice of that deity for their protector, and which they antiently worſhipped, not as a god, but as one of the attributes of the Supreme Deity, which ſquared moſt with their warlike temper, as we have had occaſion to hint in a former note (23).

(22) *Vide Cyril. Alexand. l.* iv. *cont. Jul.* (23) *Before*, p. 6. not. (E).

name

name of *Camulus* (O). We are told, that the *Accitani* of *Spain*, or the inhabitants of *Cadiz*, a *Gauliſh* colony, repreſented him ſurrounded with rays of light, becauſe, ſays our author [q], the boiling of the blood, and flow of animal ſpirits, which are the cauſe of a martial temper, were produced by the heat of the ſun. The variety of inſcriptions, that have been dug up by the curious, ſhews him to have been in the higheſt eſteem.

[q] MACROB. Saturn. l. i. c. 19.

(O) This appears from two inſcriptions which *Gruter* has given us, the one on a bas-relief, with figures of five gods, *viz. Arduinne*, *Camulus*, *Jove*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*; all which have their names engraven over their heads. The inſcription underneath ſhews it to have been dedicated to them by one *Quartinus*, who is there ſtyled *Civis Sabinus Remus*; from which that great critic, not obſerving, that the laſt word ſhews him to have been a citizen of *Rheims*, miſtook thoſe deities to be of *Sabinian* extract, and *Camulus* to be the ſame as *Camillus* (24), one of the names which the *Sabines* gave to *Mercury*.

But there is another inſcription, of older date by an hundred years, which ſhews, that the *Rhemenſes* in *Gaul* worſhipped *Mars* under that title. It runs thus: MARTI CAMULO OB SALVTEM TIBERI CLAVDI CÆS. CIVES. REMI TEMPLVM CONSTITVERVNT (25). Hence it is plain, that if *Camulus* was known in that part of *Italy*, it was by the means of this *Quartinus*, a *Rhemiſh* citizen, who dedicated this inſcription there to him, under the reign of *Antoninus*; whereas that city appears, by the ſecond inſcription, to have dedicated their temple in that of *Claudius*: ſo that, upon the whole, all theſe five deities here appear to have been *Gauliſh*, not only by their names, which are of *Celtic* extract, but from the reſemblance of their dreſs, attitudes, *&c.* with thoſe that have been found among the antient monuments of *Gaul*, eſpecially in the great cathedral of *Paris* (26).

As for the etymon of *Camulus*, it is not eaſily decyphered It may be derived from the *Celtic camp*, a *field of battle*; from *campa*, *to fight*, and *ulvu*, a *fire*, *blaze*; whence perhaps the *Greek cammonia*, by which they called the victory gained in ſingle combat. It may perhaps alſo come from the *cam* or *chant*, or *ſongs*, which the *Gauls* uſed when they went to fight. But we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve throughout this work, that there is nothing more uncertain, and apt to miſlead men, than ſtrained etymologies. Beſides, the *Gauls* having received, as we have ſeen, their polytheiſm from the *Romans*, it were unreaſonable to expect, that names and ſurnames of thoſe deities ſhould all be of *Gauliſh* extract. As for *Arduina*, her dreſs, as well as name, ſhews her to have been *Diana*, who was worſhipped in *Gaul*, as well as in *Greece* and *Rome*.

(24) P. 40. *num* 9. (25) *Idem*, p. 56. *n.* 11. (26) *Vide relig. des Gaul. l* ii. *c.* 36.

We

We took notice formerly, that all the treaſures and plunder, that were vowed to him, were laid up in heaps in the next convenient place in the open fields, and were looked upon as ſo ſacred, that no *Gaul* dared to meddle with them. Some ſtones have been found, with eight or nine human heads buried under them, which, by the inſcription, appear to have been dedicated to him, and theſe heads to have belonged to thoſe human victims, which they were accuſtomed to vow to him in times of peril and ſickneſs. In ſome of theſe inſcriptions he is called plainly *Mars*; in others he has the title of *Segomen*; in others *Vincius* or *Britovius*, the meaning of which names is not very clear. The reader may ſee the moſt probable conjectures about them in the next note (P).

Apollo. *Apollo* was another of their deities, and in as great veneration, on account of his being the god of phyſic, as *Mars* was for being the god of war. The druids, who were as famed quacks as prieſts, failed not to celebrate him as the implanter of all the virtues that they attributed to their *materia medica*, which chiefly conſiſted in vegetables, accompanied with a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh, which they uſed in the gathering, preparing, and adminiſtring (Q). The *Aquileians* and *Tectoſagi* choſe

(P) That of *Segomen* appears to be *Celtic*, and ſignifies rich, or making rich. Hence the *Segones*, who inhabited the moſt fruitful part of *Gaul*, and were reckoned the moſt opulent, are thought to have had their name. That of *Vincius* ſeems to have been given him on account of his ſtately temple at *Vincia*, now *Vences*, in *Provence*; and, in all likelihood, that of *Britovius* from ſome other city, where he was more particularly worſhipped; perhaps that of *Britonium* in *Galicia*, which was a colony of the *Gauls*, and became afterwards an epiſcopal ſee, but is now deſtroyed (26).

(Q) We have already given ſome hints of this, in ſpeaking of their miſleto, and their time and method of gathering it. It were needleſs, as well as tedious, to follow them through all their other ſuperſtitious quackeries; but one inſtance we cannot omit; becauſe it ſhews not only the ſtupidity of them, but likewiſe their fondneſs for them; ſince this laſt continued in vogue, it ſeems, till the eleventh century.

They had an herb dedicated to *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, which they called, from him, *Belinuncia*, and the *Romans Apollinaris*; and is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of henbane. The *Spaniards* and *Hungarians* retain ſtill the former of theſe names, the one calling it *Veleno*, and the others *Belend*. With the juice of this herb they poiſoned their darts, when they went a ſtag-hunting; and could poiſon the creature with a ſlight wound, and eſteemed the fleſh the

(26) *Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat.*

more

choſe him for their patron and protector. The latter, who occupied a vaſt territory about *Tholoſa*, had a very rich and magnificent temple dedicated to him in that city, which was their metropolis. This is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that is mentioned by an antient author [r], on account of *Conſtantine*'s repairing thither, to give thanks for his late ſucceſs (R), and the extraordinary preſents he made to it; upon which occaſion that author ſtyles it the fineſt temple of *Apollo* that was then in the world. The building was a decagon, in which there was a vaſt number of niches and ſtatues, and, among the reſt, that of *Apollo*, repreſented as a lively youth; upon which account, the panegyriſt compliments that monarch with joining to the youthfulneſs of the god, the grandeur of an emperor. Some words he adds, which ſeem to imply, as if the oracle of the god had juſtly promiſed him the empire of the world; from which one

[r] EUMENIUS panegyr. Conſtant. ſub fin.

more tender and luſcious for it. Amongſt other ridiculous uſes they made of this plant, the following is remarkable, as well for its oddity, as long continuance.

Whenever the country laboured under a great drought, the women aſſembled themſelves, and choſe from amongſt them a young virgin, to be the leader of the dance She ſtripped herſelf naked, and went at the head of the reſt, in ſearch of this herb, which they then called *Bæliſa*. When ſhe had found it, ſhe plucked it up by the roots, with the little finger of the right hand, and tied it to a ſtring, the other end of which was faſtened to the little toe of her right foot. Her company did then cut off each ſome boughs, and carried them in their hands after her, whilſt ſhe dragged the plant after her, towards the next river, where ſhe plunged it in the water: the reſt dipped, likewiſe, their boughs, and ſprinkled her with it. When this ceremony was over, they all returned to the place whence they ſet out, but took care to make the young virgin walk backwards all the way (27).

(R) *Conſtantine* had, it ſeems, juſt taken the city of *Marſeilles*, and in it *Herculus*, his father in-law, who had ſworn his ruin; ſo that he was now enabled to reſume the purple which he had been forced to quit. And this being before his converſion, he went to pay his acknowledgment to *Apollo*, at this ſtately temple, which, upon many accounts, is ſuppoſed to have been that of *Thoulouſe*.

The ſame panegyriſt tells us, that there was another temple of that god at *Autun*, where there was likewiſe a ſpring of hot waters, which were uſed for the puniſhment of perjury, and which, though they ſent up a continual ſmoke, had neither ill taſte or ſmell, but were both pleaſant and wholſome.

(27) *Idem ibid. Burchar. decret. l.* xix. *c.* 5.

might be induced to believe, that there had been likewise an oracle of that god there, in imitation of that of *Delphos*; and that *Constantine* had been consulting it. But we would not lay too great stress on the swoln expressions of a panegyrist. However that be, as *Apollo* was the same deity with the sun, the *Gauls* worshipped him under several names and different forms. He is sometimes called *Apollo*, *Belenus*, and *Abellion*, which signify *fair*; sometimes by the *Persic* name of *Mithras*; sometimes that of *Pennius*, of which we have spoken under that of *Jupiter*; and at other times *Dolichenus*. We shall not trouble ourselves with diving for fresh etymons of all those names, which may, perhaps, have risen from the places where he was more particularly worshipped, or from other circumstances not now to be come at. He was generally represented youthful, naked, with a radiant crown, or golden tresses *. In some antient bustoes found of him, as well as in some ancient coins, he is represented with a pole or ring (S), and a link of a chain fastened to his scull, by which he was, it is supposed, suspended to the roof, in imitation of the sun, whom they fancied to be suspended by a golden chain †. But, after all, might not such hanging figures of that deity have been the effects of some vows which the *Gauls* and others used to make to that deity in time of sickness; and who, upon their recovery, hung up the promised figures in his temple, without any regard to the ridiculous notion above-mentioned? One head of his was dug up at the castle of *Polignac*, which place is supposed to have been so called from *Apollo*, and is still there to be seen against the wall that surrounds it. It is but ill carved, on a bluish stone, butween four and five feet in height and breadth, and is

* Vide Euripid Phœniss. Ælian. varior. l. i. c. 20. † Idem ibid. Vide & Anaxag. & al.

(S) To understand what the antients meant by these kinds of poles, we must have recourse to *Diodorus Siculus*, who is the only one that has given us any light into it, and who, speaking of *Alexander*'s funeral procession from *Babylon* to *Alexandria*, tells us, that in the canopy which was over the car or herse, there was a pole so nicely wrought, that neither the roughness of the roads nor the jolting of the wheels could move it (28). Hence his interpreters have concluded this pole to have been a kind of hinge or ring, to which a certain number of springs were fastened, which kept the whole machine tight and immoveable (29). And hence it is supposed to have been called a pole, from the number of chains and springs which centered in it, to keep the hanging statue steady. But whether they have hit the point, we will not affirm.

(28) *Histor. lib.* xviii. (29) *Antiquit. expliq. tom.* v.

ſurrounded, all over, with rays, which, when the ſun ſhines upon it, caſt a kind of golden or fiery luſtre, and ſhew that thoſe rays had been formerly gilt. What is remarkable in this antique is, that he is carved with his mouth wide open; from which it is concluded, to be here repreſented as delivering his anſwer [u]. And, truly, the druids were, by this time, become ſuch zealous mimics of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that we need not doubt, but they had ſome one or more of theſe oracles among them, though we could not find any other footſteps of it. There is an inſcription in this temple of *Polignac*, out of which the head above-mentioned had been taken, which the antiquary above quoted judges to have been put up by the emperor *Claudius*, who has of *Lyons*, and conſequently had lived in the neighbourhood of this caſtle, and had been there, perhaps, either to conſult the oracle, or, more probably, to pray to that god for the recovery of his health, as he was a very ſickly prince, when he cauſed his name and titles to be ſet up there. For *Cæſar* tells us, that even in his time the *Gauls* looked upon *Apollo* as the god of phyſic [w]; and another author adds [x], that the ſick perſons, that addreſſed themſelves to him for health, uſed to ſend thither that part of their body where the ailment was, carved out in wood, or caſt in braſs. At *Marſeilles* was found a ſtatue like that of a *Roman* warrior, armed cap-à-pé, about eleven or twelve feet high, and ſtanding on the crupper of a bull, between the belly of which, and the pedeſtal on which it ſtands, is carved an eagle, as it were, ſitting ſquat; and on the pedeſtal an inſcription, importing, that *Octavius Paternus* had dedicated it to the god *Dolichenius*. The bull and the eagle have made ſome antiquaries ſuppoſe that deity to have been *Jupiter*; but another author, often quoted in this ſection, has given ſome convincing proofs that it was *Apollo*: we ſhall refer the curious, for thoſe proofs, to the book itſelf [y], to prevent running into too great a length. All that needs to be added, with reſpect to this antique, is, that the name, which is a *Greek* one, and ſignifies, according to ſome, a hippodrome, according to others, the poſts that directed the races, ſeems to intimate, that *Apollo* was looked upon by the *Gauls* to preſide over thoſe exerciſes.

BUT the deity in greateſt veneration among the *Gauls* was *Mercury*. We have already given ſome reaſons for it in the *Celtic* hiſtory [z], Other deities had particular cities and pro- **Mercury.**

[u] SIMONI LIMAG. d'Auvergne, p. 123, & ſeq. CORNEIL. diction. hiſtor. relig. des Gaul. l. xi. c. 27. [w] Com. ubi ſupra. [x] GREG. Turon. vit. patr. c 6. [y] Relig. des Gaules, ubi ſupra. [z] Vol. v. p. 255, (D). 274, & (Y) (Z).

vinces where they were more particularly worshipped; but this, after he was adopted as the god not only of trade and commerce, of which he was antiently esteemed the author and chief promoter, in *Gaul*, but likewise of arts and sciences, of the highways and travellers, of pregnant women, and even of thieves and robbers, statues, altars, and temples, were erected to him every-where throughout this country. He is called, by several antient authors, *Theutat*, and *Theutates* [a], the signification of which name we have given, as well as that of *Mercury*, in the volume above quoted; and we need not doubt but they both meant the same deity, or that he was worshipped under both by the *Gauls*, since both are of *Celtic* extract, and expressive of the excellent notion they had of him upon both accounts (T). That

[a] Lucan. Pharsal. l. i. Liv. decad. iii. l. vi. c. 44. Lactant. & al.

(T) To these two names, and those we mentioned in a former volume, we must add that of *Ogmius*; mentioned by *Lucan*, and which, tho' that author gives it to *Hercules*, by mistake, yet, in all appearance, belonged to *Mercury*. The description he gives of him, as he saw it in *Gaul*, being somewhat curious, tho' the humour of it be somewhat exaggerated, we shall give our *English* readers the substance of it.

" The *Gauls*, says he, call *Hercules Ogmius*, and represent him " as a decrepit old man, bald, and wrinkled, and weather-beaten, " like some old sailor. One would sooner take him for old *Cha-* " *ron*, or any one else, than for *Hercules* But if one considers " him with his lion's skin, the bow and quiver in his left, and the " club in his right, hand, he looks quite like a *Hercules*. What is " most curious is, that the good old man holds a multitude of peo- " ple tied to him by the ear; the chains are of gold and amber, " and, though very fine and slight, not one of them seems to strive " to break them, or even unwilling to follow him. On the con- " trary, they seem so pleased, and the chains so loose, that there " appears a visible eagerness in them to keep close to him. His " hands being both full, the painter has represented those chains as " fastened to a hole through *Ogmius*'s tongue, whilst he looks back " smiling on his followers."

Lucan, having expressed his surprise at the oddness of the picture, introduces a *Gaul* accounting to him for it, in words to this effect: " You will cease to be surprised at it, when I tell you, that we " *Gauls* make *Hercules* the god of eloquence, contrary to the " *Greeks*, who give that honour to *Mercury*, who is so far inferior " to him in strength. We represent him as an old man, because " eloquence never shews itself so lively and strong as in the mouth " of old people. The relation which the ear hath to the tongue, " justifies the picture of the old man, who holds so many people fast

" by

That of *Theutat* signifying the father of his people, they acknowledged him under that name, at first, as their founder; and afterwards boasted themselves to be sprung from him (V), in

" by his tongue; neither do we think it any affront to *Hercules*, to " paint him with his tongue bored; since, to tell you all in one " word, it was that which made him succeed in every thing; and " that it was by his wisdom that he subdued all hearts unto him." Thus far *Lucan*: and it is not easy to guess whether he was imposed upon by his *Gaul*, or whether he himself introduces this story as a burlesque upon the *Gaulish* nation, who depended so far on their strength and bravery, whilst they as much valued themselves upon their eloquence, as if they had excelled the world in it; and so expose themselves for their veneration for *Hercules* rather than *Mercury*. It is plain, however, that these slight and brittle chains, which held so many pleased captives fast by the ear to the tongue of the god, could not belong to *Hercules* in any case, but to *Mercury*, the god of eloquence; and, accordingly, attributed to him by the generality of antient mythologists. On the other hand, the club, the quiver, *&c.* were indifferently given to *Mercury*, to whom, we are told, *Hercules* consecrated them, after some successful fight against the giants (30). Accordingly, we read, that the emperor *Commodus*, who affected to appear at public shows in the habit of *Mercury*, used to wear the caduceus in his hand, whilst his officers carried the club, lion's skin, *&c.* before him. And, in giving these to that god, the meaning was plainly this, that where ever wisdom and eloquence were, there could be neither strength nor courage wanting; because the former was ever able either to procure, or, at the worst, to supply the want of, the latter.

Many other reasons might be assigned to prove, that this picture of *Ogmius* represented a *Mercury*, and not an *Hercules*; however *Lucan* came to give it to the latter (31), wherein he has been followed by the multitude of antiquaries. As for us, we think it unnecessary to dwell longer upon it, in a work of this nature; and those who rather chuse to follow that author, have a *Hercules* here as worshipped by the *Gauls*, under the name of *Ogmius*, or, rather, as joined into one with *Mercury* by them, as he was antiently by the *Egyptians* and other nations. But it is plain, *Lucan* had no mind to admit the latter amongst the *Gaulish* gods, when he makes him tell *Jupiter*, that he doth not know which way to summon these to the assembly; because, as he was a stranger to their language, he could neither understand them, nor be understood by them (32)

(V) We are told, that the famed *Pythagoras*, having passed over into *Gaul*, to learn the mysteries of the druids, was so taken with this notion of theirs, that he boasted the same descent, and that god

(30) *Vide Pausan. Corinthiac. Lil. Gyrald. hist. deor. syntagm.* ix.
(31) *Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dion. in Commod.* (32) *Vide antiq. explic. tom.* i. *relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 11, *& seq.*

had

in imitation of the *Thracian* kings, who were another branch of the antient *Celtes*. *Mercury* was with them the god of riches[c]; no man could attain to them without his help; and hence he came to be confounded with *Pluto*, and to share in his honours and attributes; or, if we may be allowed to guess nearer to the truth, *Mercury*, being dead, became *Pluto*, the god of riches and of the lower regions; and hence both *Gauls* and *Thracians* claimed their descent from these two deities, after they had, by length of time, split them into two, in imitation of their neighbours. Some inscriptions shew, that not only *Mercury*, but even *Venus* and *Mars*, were reckoned among the infernal gods (W). As he was worshipped as their progenitor, he is often joined, in those statues and inscriptions erected to him, with the goddess *Postverta*, to assist women in labour. This goddess has much puzzled all mythologists, and may be only an epithet of *Proserpine*, whom, *Strabo* says, they worshipped as their mother[d] (X); or, perhaps of *Diana*, who had the same office. According to all these distinctions, one may reckon three *Gaulish Mercuries*, or rather the same god worshipped under three different titles, and represented in three different forms.

[c] Cæsar, com. l. vi. [d] L. iv.

had promised to grant him whatever favour he should ask, except that of being made immortal (33).

(W) Diis infernis Veneri, Marti, & Mercurio *sacrum* (34). With relation to his being the god of riches, we find an antient witty inscription at *Lyons*, in *Latin*, to this effect: "*Mercury* pro-" mises you gain here, *Apollo* health, and *Septumanus* a lodging; " but he that brings his dinner with him, will fare the better. Af-" ter this, stranger, you must look out where to lodge (35)." As this city was one of the most trading ones in *Europe*, the scarcity of inns in it, at that time, might make the opulent and generous *Septumanus* give strangers this odd invitation.

(X) As she was supposed to assist women in labour, the names of *Postverta*, and *Anteverta*, might be given her on account of her turning the child to the right position for the birth. Those who make two goddesses of them think, that the one had power to remedy what was past, and the other to prevent what was to come. In one of those inscriptions, under a double busto, one of *Mercury*, and the other of that goddess, she is called *Rosmerte*; in some others it is *Mercury*, and *Fort. Verte*, or *Fortuna Verte*, or happy return; as he is often styled in others, *Mercurio Negotiatori Nundinatori*, &c. (36).

(33) *Dial. Jupit. tragœd.* (34) *Clem. Alex. strom. l.* i. *Diog. Laert. l.* viii. (35) *Hist. de l'academ. des inscriptions, tom.* iii. (36) *Menet. prép. à l'histoire de Lyon*, 56.

As

As the god of eloquence, he was represented in the manner we have described him from *Lucan*, in a late note, as an old man, with his bow, quiver, club, and lion's skin, holding a willing multitude chained to his tongue by their ears. As the god of merchants and travellers, he was represented naked, and without sex and beard, and with his winged cap, his caduceus, &c. He is under this head, likewise represented with a purse in one hand, and sometimes with a cornucopia in the other, and with wings on his heels, as the messenger of the gods. In some statues he has a crescent, over the wings of his cap, and was often joined with the moon in the *Gallish* worship; and that, probably, upon these two accounts: First, as the one was the dispenser of wealth, and the other the giver of fertility to the earth; and, secondly, as both presided over the highways, upon which account the latter was called *Trivia*; and both protected the roads, the travellers, thieves, shepherds, and shepherdesses [e], as he is affirmed to have followed their life; upon which account, these likewise offered sacrifices to him [f]. As an infernal deity, we conjecture him to have been represented with a beard; his winged cap rather resembled a disk, and instead of a caduceus, he held in one hand an odd kind of sceptre, and in the other a purse. His body was surrounded with a kind of imperial mantle, or *Paludamentum*, tyed, or fastened, by some ornament, on one of his shoulders. This we infer from an ancient monument, an account of which may be seen in the margin (Y), in the inscription of which he is styled *Augustus*. There have been many other conjectures offered, both concerning this ancient monument, and the title there given him, as well

Three Mercuries among the Gauls.

[e] PORPH. de abst. l. ii. MACROB. somn. Scip. l. i. Auct. hymn. in Merc vers. 15. 290. [f] EUSTAT. Odyss. ξ. Iliad. ξ.

(Y) This appears, from a large bas-relievo, between five and six feet long, and about three in breadth, and near two in thickness, dug up out of a gentleman's vineyard, near one of the gates of the city of *Beauvais*. The inscription is, *Sacrum Mercurio Augusto C. Julius Healissus* V S L M. It is plain, from some other inscriptions in *Gruter*, that a bearded *Mercury* was common in *Gaul*, tho' not among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and the title *Augustus*, which we find in several antient medals given to other gods and goddesses, or rather to emperors and empresses deified under their names, inclines us to think, that this monument was dedicated to *Mercury*, after he had been deified by the *Gauls*, and reckoned among the infernal deities. Some distinction, doubtless, there must have been of his dress, &c. under this last denomination, and this seems the most likely to have been it; but it is here offered only as a probable conjecture.

as ſome others, which are met with in thoſe old inſcriptions [g]; ſuch as that of *Artaius*, *Ciſſonius*, *Arvernus*, and ſome others, which we ſhall not tire our readers with: we ſhall likewiſe paſs by ſome other dreſſes and attitudes with which the luxuriant fancies of the *Gauls* have repreſented him, and only add, that from what we have obſerved of thoſe mounds in which the *Gauls* and *Britons* buried their dead, ſuch as thoſe we deſcribed on *Saliſbury* plain, and what *Livy* ſays of ſuch a kind of *tumulus*, or ſepulchral mount, which *Scipio* takes notice of in the neighbourhood of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and which the natives called *Mercury Tutat* [h], one may draw a probable conjecture, that he was buried there. We have formerly ſhewn, that he reigned in *Gaul* [i], which comprehended then the greateſt part of *Europe*, and particularly *Spain*; and may be reaſonably therefore ſuppoſed to have been there interred, after the *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* manner. Other heaps or mounds there were, which likewiſe bore his name: but thoſe were of a different nature, as the reader may ſee in the next note (Z). How he was worſhipped

His tomb.

[g] See relig. des Gaul. l. ii. c. 17, & ſeq. [h] Decad iii. l. vi. c. 44. [i] See vol. v. p. 273, & ſeq. & chronic. Alex. Suid. Pezron. relig. des Gaul. Pelloutier. & al.

(Z) Theſe laſt are known to have been heaps of ſtones, and other obſtacles, of which the highways were either cleared by his command; or in honour of him, as he was thought the god that preſided over them. Whenever, therefore, any traveller met with any ſuch, he took them up, and carried them till he found one of theſe heaps, which were in great numbers, and flung it in among the reſt; by which means they grew larger, and higher, and were called by his name (37)

The author of the vulgate verſion has alluded to this cuſtom, where he makes *Solomon* ſay (38) that "He who doth honour to "a fooliſh man, is like him that throws a ſtone in one of *Mercury*'s "heaps." But the text in the original has no ſuch alluſion, but only compares the latter to one that binds a ſtone in a ſling. Theſe heaps were generaliy gathered up at ſome croſs ways, and placed where roads divided, and where there generally ſtood a *terminus*, or figure at half body; at the foot of which they threw thoſe ſtones (39).

Theſe ſerved, likewiſe, to remind people of the heavy curſes which this deity was thought to inflict on thoſe who abuſed travellers, or refuſed to put them in the right way (40). Their repre-

(37) *Vide Gruter. ubi ſupra. & relig. des Gaul. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (38) *Proverb.* xxvi. 8. (39) *Nicander.* Ἑρμῆς λιθοβολίαι ὁδῶι. ii. *Anſt. in epigram.* (40) *Vide Theocrit. idyl.* xxv. *v.* 5.

ſenting

ſhipped by the *Gauls* under any one of theſe three denominations, is hard to gueſs; only as he was, in imitation of the *Romans*, deified as the god of traffick and riches, we may ſuppoſe they borrowed ſome of their rites from the worſhip which the *Roman* merchants paid to him there, and which is beautifully deſcribed by the poet [k], who cloſes his account of it with this reflection, that *Mercury* could not but be inclined to forgive all the cheats and perjuries of theſe his votaries, when he remembered how himſelf had been guilty of the like [l]. The chief victim, with which they concluded his feaſt, was a ſow with pig.

THESE were the chief male deities which we find worſhipped by the *Gauls*; ſome others they had likewiſe adopted, ſuch as *Mithras*, from the *Perſians* (A), *Neptune*, *Erebus* and *Orcus*, ſuppoſed both to be the ſame with *Pluto*; *Bacchus*, and ſome others, whom they adopted from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, concerning which we know very little, either of their worſhip, or of the notion which the *Gauls* had of them. As to their goddeſſes, the chief of them were, *Diana* or *Luna*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Proſerpine*, *Arduina*, whom we take to be *Goddeſſes.*

[k] Faſt l. v. ver. 663, & ſeq. [l] See hymn. in Merc. LACTANT. l. vi. SUID. in voc. EUSTAT. Iliad. ξ.

ſenting him of no ſex, as he was the god of commerce and riches, was, in all likelihood, to intimate, that neither of them were confined to either ſex, but that both had an equal title to his protection and bleſſing; and we may add, that it might be likewiſe done in a modeſt oppoſition to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who repreſented him as ambiſex, and with a ſpear in one hand, and a diſtaff in the other (41).

(A) It appears from ſeveral antient monuments and inſcriptions, that *Mithras*, the Sun, and *Mercury*, were worſhipped, among the *Gauls*, as one and the ſame deity; at leaſt, *Mithras* being the ſun, among the *Perſians*, is often repreſented as conjoined with him, that is, with a ſun over his head, and ſometimes on his breaſt, and with this inſcription, *Mercurio ſoli ſacrum*. Hence the author of the *Gauliſh* religion has been at the pains to collect a number of other arguments to prove that thoſe two deities were looked upon here as one and the ſame, or, at moſt, as aſſociated both in their virtues, and in their worſhip. And might not this be on account of the great and conſtant nearneſs the two planets, which bear theſe names, have to each other (42)?

(41) *Albric. de deor. imag. Huet. demonſt. evang.* & *al.* (42) L. ii. c. 36, & *ſeq.*

the moon, as we hinted a little higher, and *Cybele*, a ſtatue of which was dug up at *Paris* with a head crowned with a kind of hexagonal temple, and was particularly in great veneration in the city of *Autun*, and whoſe prieſts were, it ſeems, all caſtrated in honour of her (B), and from thence called *Galli* (C). Before

Galli, *vbo.*

(B) This appears, from what we read in the acts of *Syphorianus*, a zealous chriſtian ſince ſainted, who, being brought before the governor of that city, for refuſing to worſhip her idol, on a day in which her ſtatue was carried about in proceſſion, alledged, among other reaſons for his refuſal, that he could not acknowledge a deity, whoſe myſteries and worſhip conſiſted in a ſhameful and unnatural caſtration. But whether theſe *Galli*, or prieſts, were *Gauls*, or ſent for from *Phrygia*, or elſewhere; or whether the *Gauls*, who appear to have had an abhorrence for all kinds of mutilations allowed of theſe *Galli*; or whether they did not rather belong only to the *Romans*, as ſome authors believe (43), we ſhall examine in the next note.

(C) That *Cybele*, or the mother of the gods, as ſhe is called, was a deity of *Syrian*, and not of *Gallic*, extract, is univerſally acknowledged. So that if her worſhip was introduced into *Gaul*, it was either by force, or in imitation of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. If we conſider their abhorrence to all mutilations, we ſhall hardly think that they could willingly give into ſuch a kind of worſhip as this, which required every prieſt, and encouraged every votary of the goddeſs to become an eunuch, as *Heliogabalus* is ſaid to have done, in one of his mad fits (44). We are, moreover, told, that thoſe *Galli* were had in ſuch abhorrence, that no other people would converſe with them; and that they were put upon the level with ſorcerers, gladiators, and hangmen (45); ſo that they had no other way of living, but by carrying their goddeſs about, and begging charity for her ſake; all which was moſt oppoſite to the genius of the *Gallic* nation.

Accordingly, St. *Jerom* has a paſſage which plainly intimates, that the *Romans* forced this emaſculated prieſthood upon the *Gauls*, and called thoſe eunuchs *Galli*, in order to fix a perpetual ignominy upon that nation, for having taken their metropolis, and beſieged their capitol (46). And we are told, by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, that no *Roman* took that office upon him, but that they had a *Phrygian* male and female to perform it. This might be true, in part; and if what is reported of *Heliogabalus*, who became one of them, be to be credited, it will only ſhew, that he minded the laws and cuſtoms of *Rome* no more in this caſe, than he did in all others (47).

(43) *Idem ibid. l.* i. *c.* 33. *ad fin. Pelloutier. Keyzler. & al.* (44) *Lamprid in Heliogab. Victor. epitom.* (45) *Tertul de reſurrect. c.* 10 (46) *Comment. in Hoſ. c.* 4. (47) *See his horrid actions, vol.* xv. *p.* 96, *& ſeq.*

However

Before we close this section, it will be necessary to give our readers some account of the *Gaulish* druids, bards, *&c.* and of such of their doctrines and tenets as have not been yet touched upon, at least as far as we can gather them from ancient authors; for it cannot be expected, that we should know much concerning that set of men, considering that they made a mystery of their religion and philosophy, and a constant rule never to commit any thing relating to either to writing [m].

Their druids.

WE have already observed, that the order of the druids had the sole care of all religious matters which they so artfully and dextrously introduced into every other concern, both public and private, that nothing could be done without their appro-

[m] Vide CÆS. com. l. vi. & alib. pass.

However, St. *Jerom* seems to have been mistaken in his derivation of the word *gallus* and *galli*; which, if we may believe *Pliny* and other *Roman* authors, were so called from a river of that name in *Phrygia* (48); and, in particular, *Ovid*, who, probably, to expose the unnatural castration of these priests, tells us, that the waters of that river had such a dangerous quality, that whosoever drank of them did run stark mad (49). But be that as it will, the contemptible name of *Gallus* may well enough have been given to the *Gauls* by way of pun upon their national one, let those priests have been called so on any other account. So that, upon the whole, if any *Gauls* were ever seen in that office, they must needs be supposed to have been forced into it by their imperious conquerors: but, after all, this worship of *Cybele*, though established in *Gaul*, as well as in *Rome*, may yet, for aught appears, have been countenanced by the latter, and disaproved by the former.

Before we close this note, it will not be amiss to mention a noble testimony which a *Roman* writer gives of this aversion of the *Gauls* to mutiliation (50); where, having amply expatiated on their known valour and bravery, their contempt of difficulties and dangers, and even of death, he adds, "We never find any of them do, as some "of us do in *Italy*, cut off their thumbs, for fear of going to the "wars, and upon which account they call us in derision, *Murci*."

To understand the sting of this saying, it must be observed, that *Murcia* was reckoned, amongst the *Romans*, the goddess of cowards and idle fellows; whence her infamous votaries were called *Murci* (51). And from this shameful custom of cutting off their thumbs, to disqualify themselves for service, came the old *Gallic* word *poltron*, from *pollex* and *trunco*, which is still retained to this day, by many other nations besides the *French*.

(48) *Plin. nat. hist. l.* v. *Lucr. de dea Syr.* (49) *Fast. l.* iv. v. 310. *&seq.* (50) *Amm. Marcell. in fin. l.* xv. (51) *Vid. Valer. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 3. *Sueton. in vit. August. Arnob. l.* i. *c.* 4 *Aug. de civ. l.* iv.

bation [n]; and that this abſolute ſway of theirs laſted till at leaſt ſome time after their conqueſt by the *Romans*. They were called by ſeveral names (D), beſides that of druid, of which we have given the etymon in a former volume [o]. Their antiquity is looked upon of the ſame date with the brachmans of *India*, *Perſia*, the *Chaldees* of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, and, in a word, with the oldeſt ſects of philoſophers [p]. And, indeed conſidering their vaſt diſtance from each other, and the conformity of their doctrine, we can ſuppoſe no other but that they all received it from the ſame hand, *viz.* from *Noah* and his immediate deſcendants, and carried it each to the different places of their diſ-

[n] See before p. 42, b. (B). [o] Vol. v. p. 249, & ſeq ſub not. [p] Vide int. al. LAERT. in proœm. ORIG. cont. Celſ. l. v. CL. ALEX. ſtrom. l. iii. POLYHIST. ap. eund. l. i. CELS. ap. Orig. ubi ſupra.

(D) One of them was that of *Semnothei* (52), given to them, doubtleſs, on account of their greater veneration for, and knowledge of, the godhead. *Diodorus Siculus* gives them that of *Saronides*, on account of their great regard to ſuch old oaks as were decayed, and ſtripped of their bark; for that is the meaning of that word, according to *Heſychius*.

A *Gauliſh* antiquary, not content to derive that of druid from the *Celtic dreow*, an oak, compounds it with that and *hud*, inchantment; whence he infers the *Greeks dryades* to have come (53): but though they are charged, and that perhaps juſtly, to have uſed many ſuch practices, and in a moſt inhuman manner; yet it is not reaſonable to think, that they would add ſo odious a ſyllable to their name: neither can the *Greeks* or *Romans* be ſuppoſed to have done it, becauſe the monoſyllable, being *Celtic*, was unknown to them. *Dryades* was, therefore, no more than a *Greek* termination of the word druid.

The laſt name we ſhall take notice of was, that of *Senani*, which we hinted above was, probably, taken up by them as more pleaſing to the *Romans*, it properly ſignifying a wiſe or venerable man; as their druideſſes were called *ſenoe*, and *ſenes* (54). This was probably done in imitation of the ſect of gymnoſophiſts, who agreed with them in many things, particularly in having their ſocieties compoſed of males and females, like the *Gauliſh* druids, in ſtudying philoſophy, aſtrology, prying into futurity, living in celibacy, and the like (55). Theſe were by the *Greeks* called *Semnones*; the *Gauls*, among whom the *mn* was, and is ſtill, in many provinces, pronounced like *nn*, called them *Sennones*, and, in the *Latin* termination, *Sennoni* and *Sennani*.

(52) *Diog. Laert. in proœm. Suid. in voc.* (53) *Orig. de la nat. Celt.* (54) *Mela, l.* iii. (55) *Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra. Clem. Alexand. ſtromat. l.* iii. *Relig. des Gaul. l* i. *c.* 21.

perſion;

perſion; for they can never be imagined to have communicated it to each other, as there could be no communication or commerce between them in thoſe early times; at leaſt the druids of *Britain*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter, and from whom the *Gauls* received all their religion and philoſophy, cannot be ſuppoſed to have had it from any of theſe foreign ſects, to whom they were utterly unknown. The *Gauls*, tenacious as they were till their conqueſt, of their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, never belyed their origin, but owned themſelves to have received all from the *Britiſh* druids: thither they ſent their own to be inſtructed. Here was the grand ſeminary where they received their inſtruction, and here was the ſeat of the arch-druid, or head, and high-prieſt of their religion; to whom they appealed, as to their dernier reſort, in all doubtful and controverted caſes [q]. It were, therefore, abſurd to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, either that theſe travelled into ſuch vaſt remote parts to learn their doctrines from the *ſemnes* of *India*, or any other ſects; or much leſs, as others too eagerly contend, that theſe travelled into *Gaul* and *Britain* to learn theirs from them. And it is much more reaſonable to derive that great reſemblance which is obſerved between them all, from thoſe antient times, when they were, in ſome meaſure, but one people, or great family; and that each carried, and carefully preſerved them in thoſe parts of the world where they ſettled themſelves (E).

AMONG other inſtances of the exceſſive power of the druidiſh tribe, *Cæſar* mentions one [r], by which we may gueſs at *Their exceſſive power.*

[q] CÆS. comment. l. iv. [r] Ibid. l. vii. DIO. CHRYSOST. orat. xlix.

(E) Some antient *Roman* authors, ſuch as *Cæſar*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Am. Marcellinus*, &c. have indeed affirmed, that the druids learned their doctrines from *Pythagoras*; and the ſame ſome have affirmed of *Numa* (56), though he was of ſo much older date. But we have formerly obſerved, that *Pythagoras* had made a voyage into *Gaul*, and had learned a great deal of his from them, as he did alſo from the brachmans (57). The truth is, *Pythagoras* was in ſuch high eſteem, that no man was hardly eſteemed wiſe or learned that was not his diſciple (58). And the *Gauliſh* druids, being found to have many doctrines in common with him, were of courſe ſuppoſed to have received them from him. Though that of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which was likewiſe attributed to them, doth not appear to have been at all held by them, and it is likely that philoſopher brought them from thoſe of *India*.

(56) *See Cicer. quæſt. Tuſcul* l. i *n* 38 (57) *Clem. Alex. ubi ſupra*, l i. *Diog. Laert. l.* viii. (58) *Cicero, ibid.*

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the reſt, *viz.* that they choſe the annual magiſtrates of every city, who had that year the ſupreme authority, and ſometimes the title of king. And yet theſe could do nothing without their approbation and advice, not ſo much as call a council; ſo that, notwithſtanding their great pomp and ſtate, ſays another author, they were but the creatures and ſlaves of the druids [s]. They uſed the ſame arbitrary power in their courts of judicature, and all other caſes, and were every-where eſteemed as the chiefs of every *Gauliſh* commonwealth, and had the ſole management and inſtruction of youth in every thing but the training up in the art of war. For in this laſt reſpect, the druids, and their diſciples, were not only exempt from going to war unleſs they pleaſed, but from all kind of tribute likewiſe [t]; and this did not a little increaſe their credit with the people, as well as the number of their diſciples. For their order was not fixed to any particular families or nation of *Gaul*, but every man had power to ſtand candidate for it, and, if approved by the ſociety, was admitted into it. As for their grand druid, he was choſen from amongſt them by the plurality of votes; and, when any diſpute aroſe, it was often terminated here, as in other caſes, by the ſword, as we ſhall have occaſion to hint in the ſequel. We have already obſerved, that they made it a part of their religion not to commit any thing to writing, but to couch all their myſteries and learning in verſe; and theſe, it ſeems, were multiplied in time to ſuch a number, that it took ſome of them twenty whole years to learn them all by heart. And *Cæſar* aſſigns theſe two reaſons for this cuſtom, *viz.* that their doctrines might appear more myſterious, by being unknown to all but themſelves; and, ſecondly, that having no books to recur to, they might be the more careful to preſerve them in their memory [u]. And what contributed much to this laſt was, their living in ſeparate ſocieties, chiefly in woods, and obſerving a conſtant celibacy.

Their principles.

The three grand fundamentals of their religion conſiſted 1. In their worſhip of the gods; 2. In abſtaining from all evil; and, 3. In behaving with intrepidity upon all occaſions [x]. In order to enforce this laſt, on which they valued themſelves moſt, they taught the immortality of the ſoul, and a life after this, of bliſs or miſery, according as they had lived. And this inſpired them with incredible courage, and contempt of death, of which we ſhall give ſome pregnant inſtances in its due place. This notion of a future life was ſo firmly believed by the people, that

[s] Cæsar. l. vi. A. Marcel. l xv. D. Sic. l. vi c 9. Lucan. l. i. & al. [t] Lucan. ubi ſupra. [u] Comment ubi ſupra. [x] Diog. Laert. l. i.

we are told, they uſed to fling the account-books of the deceaſed into his grave, or, if he was burnt, into the fire, that he might make ſuch uſe of them in the next world, as would make his life more eaſy and comfortable there [y]. Several other ridiculous cuſtoms are recorded of them, with reſpect to this notion of a future life, which can hardly be credited, and which, for that reaſon, we ſhall juſt mention in the margin (F). They alſo pretended to great ſkill in ſome branches of geography and aſtronomy, ſuch as the knowledge of the bigneſs and form of the earth, the motions of the planets, their influence, and that of the ſtars; from which they aſſumed a knowledge of the divine will, to pry into futurity [z], and to foretel ſtrange events. And if that paſſage which *Diodorus Siculus* has preſerved to us out of *Hecateus* [a], and which the reader may find in the margin (G), be to be depended upon, and that the druids of *Britain*,

[y] CÆS. ubi. ſupra. [z] P. MELA, l. iii. c. 1. [a] L. iii. c. 11.

(F) They are ſaid to have lent and borrowed money, *&c.* in order to repay it in the next world; to have ſent letters to the deceaſed perſon, by flinging them into the fire, or into his grave (59). There have been found in thoſe antient ſepulchres, on *Saliſbury* plain, ſpoken of before, ſome ſmall plates of ſilver, and other metals, ingraved with a kind of old writing, which are ſuppoſed to have been ſent from the living to the dead by this conveyance. But theſe, and ſuch like ridiculous cuſtoms, ſeem rather invented by thoſe authors in diſparagement of the *Gauliſh* nation, and are juſtly laughed at (60).

(G) This paſſage is to the following purport: That there is, according to that author, a northern iſland of conſiderable bigneſs, little leſs than *Sicily*, ſituate over againſt the *Celtæ*, and inhabited by thoſe whom the *Greeks* call *Hyperboreans*. It is fruitful, pleaſant, and dedicated to *Apollo*; that god, for the ſpace of nineteen years, uſed to come and converſe with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could (as if they had the uſe of teleſcopes) ſhew the moon very near them, and diſcover therein mountains, *&c.* He concludes, that over their ſacred grove and temple there preſided a ſet of men called (by the then *Greeks*, it is ſuppoſed) *Boreadæ*, who were their prieſts and rulers.

From the author's deſcription and ſituation of this iſland, every body will eaſily perceive that it could be no other but either *Great Britain* or *Ireland*; for the *Mona*, or *Angleſey* of *Rouland* (61), is vaſtly too ſmall and inconſiderable to have been meant here. It is mentioned as known to the *Greeks*, as well it might, by means of the

(59) *Valer. Max. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *Diod. Sic. l.* vi. *c.* 9. *Cæſ. ubi ſupra.*
(60) *See Keyzler ant. ſeptentr. p.* 132, *&* *ſeq.* 175. *Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. relig. des Gaul. & al.* (61) *Mona antiq. ſect.* 8. *ad fin.*

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tain, for that ſeems to be the iſland meant by that author, could, as with teleſcopes, ſhew the moon nearer, and diſcover therein mountains, rocks, &c. it cannot but be ſuppoſed that they had made greater progreſs in theſe arts and ſciences, than is generally imagined. The nineteen years converſe of *Apollo*, which is the cycle of the moon, and the notion of the moon's opacity, of its mountains, rocks, &c. argue them to have been no bad aſtronomers; and if they had really any inſtruments to draw the moon nearer, and make ſuch diſcoveries upon its ſurface, we may conclude them to have been pretty good artiſts for thoſe early times. *Pliny* adds, that they ſtudied natural philoſophy, and practiſed phyſic [b]. This laſt conſiſted chiefly in the knowledge and uſe of ſimples, but they ſoon found out a way to render it more intricate and myſterious, by intermingling aſtrology, and other ſuperſtitious traſh, amongſt it. The configuration of the planets muſt be conſulted, the herb muſt be gathered with one hand, and not with the other; the hand muſt be covered with the oppoſite lappet of the man's robe; he muſt be dreſſed in white, his feet waſhed and unſhod, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe; but all which rather betrays that author's fondneſs of expoſing the *Gauls*, than to inform mankind. To give one inſtance for all, the reader needs but hear what he ſays of their ſerpents egg, which, as it is related by him, would ſcarcely, upon any other account, be worth inſerting in this hiſtory, but that, whilſt we give him the ſubſtance of it in the margin (H), we ſhall endeavour to ſtrike out a more probable and advantageous meaning of this pretended piece of ſuperſtition, than that author could, or was, perhaps, willing to do.

Practiſe phyſic.

[b] Vide nat. hiſt. l. xxiv. & ſeq.

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tin which the *Phœnicians* fetched from it, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time. The author adds, that one *Abaris*, who became afterwards a diſciple of *Pythagoras* (62), went from hence into *Greece*, and contracted an intimacy with the *Delians*. And might he not be ſuppoſed to have followed that philoſopher from *Gaul* thither? But we ſubmit that to the reader.

(H) According to his fabulous account, this egg, which was unknown to the reſt of the world, was formed by the ſcum of a vaſt multitude of ſerpents twiſted and conjured up together. As ſoon as they began to hiſs, it was raiſed up into the air, and muſt be caught before it touched the ground; and he that caught it muſt immediately get on a fleet horſe, and ride for his life, from the fury of the ſerpents, which purſued him till a river ſtopped them ſhort.

(62) *See biſhop of Worceſter's letter to Dr. Bentley, ap. eund. ibid.*

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WE muſt firſt take notice of an antient *Gauliſh* monument in the great cathedral of *Paris*, on which this ceremony of catching the egg is repreſented pretty near in the ſame manner as *Pliny* has given it. Another has been found in *Italy* [c], on which are carved two ſerpents, the one holding the egg in his mouth, and the other ſhaping and poliſhing it with its ſpittle. If the reader remembers what has been ſaid in the coſmogony of the world, at the entrance of this work [d], of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* looking upon the egg to be the principle of all things; that it was repreſented as coming forth out of the mouth of a ſerpent, the emblem of the Godhead, or perhaps rather of wiſdom; and if we add what *Plutarch* obſerves, that the theology of the antients did aſcribe to the egg the priority of time, and the ſeed of all things; he will eaſily decypher a much ſublimer meaning in the mythology of this egg, than that *Roman* author could, or was perhaps willing to, ſee in it, either from thoſe emblematic monuments, or fabulous reports, from which he took his ridiculous account. For it muſt be further obſerved, that the druids were very fond of wrapping up all their learning, and

[c] Antiquité expliq. Relig. des Gaules, l. i. c. 26. iii. c. ult.
[d] Vol. i. p. 27, 34, 37.

The egg was then to be flung into the water, with a golden ring, which they faſtened about it, and muſt ſwim on the ſurface with it. Its virtues were then almoſt as numberleſs as thoſe of *Fortunatus*'s cap, a great many of which our author mentions, as well as its colour and ſhape; and concludes with telling us, that the emperor *Claudius* cauſed a *Gauliſh* nobleman to be put to death merely for having been found with one of theſe eggs in his boſom, and which, it ſeems, he wore there with a view of gaining a law-ſuit in which he was engaged (63).

What increaſes our wonder of this ridiculous credulity is, that a modern author (64) has endeavoured to confirm, in a great meaſure, what *Pliny* has related, by aſſuring us, that in ſeveral parts of *Dauphiné*, eſpecially one place he names near the confines of *Savoy*, there is ſuch a prodigious concourſe of all kinds of ſerpents from the 5th of *June* to the 15th of *Auguſt*, that there is not one to be ſeen for the ſpace of ten miles round the place. He adds, that the ground where they aſſemble is left covered with a kind of ſcum, which fills one with horror. But he ſays, that no care had been taken to inquire after the ſtory of the egg, whether it was fact, or only an impoſture of the druids. If any thing could perſuade us that the antient *Gauls* could give into ſuch ridiculous ſuperſtitions, it would be the ſeeing of them ſo eaſily ſwallowed by the modern ones.

(63) *Plin. l.* xxix *c.* 3. (64) *Chorier hiſt. du Dauphiné.*

even moral precepts, in ſuch kinds of myſterious and enigmatic figures. However, we would not deny, but after their power came to dwindle, as it began to do from the coming in of the *Romans*, they might ſlacken apace from their antient purity, and make a trade of ſuch ſuperſtitious fooleries as they would have deſpiſed whilſt in the height of their wealth and ſway, when nothing could well tempt them to it. It is, doubtleſs, to theſe later times, that we muſt ſuppoſe the antient comedy, called *Querulus*, or *Aulularia*, which expoſes the druidiſh knavery with ſo much wit and ſharpneſs, to have referred to; and perhaps, alſo, that which another author ſays of them [e], that in their lectures of morality they gave this for a maxim, that the fertility of their fields depended upon their riches and the largeneſs of their revenues. One doctrine, he tells us, they taught, that fire and water would at length abſorb all things.

Their druideſſes, or female druids.

BEFORE we leave this ſubject, we muſt not omit ſaying ſomething of their famed druideſſes, and the great eſteem they were in among the *Gauls*, as well as among the *Germans* [f]. We have already ſhewed, that antiently the *Gauliſh* women bore a great ſway in this country, of which the druids, in time, ſtripped them; but it is likely, that the druideſſes held ſtill great part of their own credit, eſpecially on account of their being thought endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; for we cannot find, that they were famed for any thing elſe; and ſome of them, we find, were among the loweſt rank of people. Witneſs *Dioclefian*'s hoſteſs, who, when he was but a private man in the *Roman* army, then in *Gaul*, foretold him, that he ſhould become emperor after he had killed a boar, or, rather, *Aper*, as the iſſue ſhewed it [g], a little time after. We have ſeen likewiſe, in the *Roman* hiſtory, that their emperors were not above conſulting, and being adviſed by, them; particularly *Severus* [h] and *Aurelian*, the latter of whom aſking ſome of them how long the empire would laſt in his family, they made no difficulty to tell him boldly, that that of *Claudius* would one day become the moſt illuſtrious [i]. We ſhall not take upon us to inquire how they came by this extraordinary gift, or whether it was real, or a mere cheat and pretence; only we would obſerve, that the latter cannot be ſuppoſed, without allowing at the ſame time, that the druids themſelves were likewiſe impoſed upon by them; elſe it is not likely they would have allowed them to reign ſo long, and bear ſuch ſway in all religious and civil matters, contrary to the practice of the *Indian* brachmans,

[e] STRABO, l. iv. [f] TACIT. l. iv. c. 54, & ſeq. de mor. German. DIO. in fragm. xlix. PLIN. & al. [g] See vol. xv. p. 234.
[h] Idem, p. 115. [i] VOPISCUS in AUREL. ſub fin.

and other ſects of antient philoſophers, who never admitted their women into any of their myſteries [k]. There were three claſſes of druideſſes in *Gaul*, the chiefeſt of which was of thoſe who kept a perpetual virginity; for theſe were thought to have the ſpirit of prophecy. The next was that of thoſe, who, tho' married, were yet obliged to abſtain from the matrimonial intercourſe, except one ſingle time in the whole year, in which they were allowed to go and have children by them; after which, they returned to their office, which was, to aſſiſt the druids at their religious functions. The laſt were a kind of attendants, or ſervants, on the others; and this we learn rather from ſome antient monuments and inſcriptions [l], than from antient authors, who have ſaid little more of them than that they were propheteſſes. Both druids and druideſſes pretended to a great knowledge in aſtrology, calculated peoples nativities, erected figures, and foretold ſtrange things, both by that, and, much more, by their inhuman auguries: of which bloody cuſtom, we ſhall give a ſpecimen in the margin (I): but thoſe which were ſtyled propheteſſes, were thought to have a gift ſuperior to the reſt, and which was looked upon as ſupernatural; theſe were called by ſome ſuperior title, ſuch as that of dame

Three orders of them.

[k] Vide PLIN. ubi ſupr. TACIT. l. iv. STRAB. l. xv. [l] GRUTER. p. 62. Relig. des Gaul. l. i. c. 27.

(I) It appears, by comparing what antiquaries have been able to collect from ſome antient *Gauliſh* monuments concerning this bloody ceremony, with what *Strabo* ſays of it (65), as it was practiſed among the *Cimbri*, who were a branch of the old *Celtes*, that there was no material difference between them in this reſpect. We ſhall, therefore, give the purport of what that antient author has left us of it, which is as follows:

The druideſſes were, on theſe occaſions, like the druids, cloathed in white tunics, faſtened with hooks, and girt with a braſs girdle, and without ſhoes. As ſoon as the *Cymbrians* had taken any captives, theſe women flew upon them with drawn ſwords in their hands, and threw them down; thence they dragged them to a large capacious *labrum*, or ciſtern, by the ſide of which was a kind of foot-ſtool, on which the druideſs then officiating ſtood, who plunged a long knife into the breaſt of each of theſe unfortunate wretches, one after another, as faſt as they were brought; and from the flowing of their blood ſhe formed her predictions. The other druideſſes, who aſſiſted, took up the breathleſs bodies, opened and examined their entrails, and from thence likewiſe foretold ſome new things, which were immediately communicated to the whole army or council, and as readily believed.

(65) *Lib.* vii.

was heretofore among us; and were in the higheſt requeſt, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among foreign nations. As for the others, they were much leſs regarded, and their night-aſſemblies about ponds and marſhes, to worſhip and conſult the moon, and ſome other ſorceries they pretended to uſe, made them be looked upon as downright witches, canibals, *lamiæ*, *pythoniſſæ*, *ſtriæ*, and every thing that is black and horrid, by chriſtian authors, from the ſixth century downwards [m].

The bards, their office.

The next order amongſt them, in great eſteem, was that of the bards. Some authors have, indeed, confounded them with the druids, and looked upon the former to be only a more modern name given to them. But there is a paſſage in *Strabo* which quite explodes that notion, where he ſays [n], that the druids were in the higheſt power, and gave laws to the *vates*, *eubates*, and bards, who were every-where to give them place, when they pleaſed to challenge it, and were not allowed to do any thing without their conſent and approbation. Beſides, we are told by that, and a number of other authors, that theſe bards were ſo called from their office, which was to ſing the praiſes of their heroes [o], and to accompany their ſongs with muſical inſtruments. And we are told, that their compoſitions were held in the higheſt eſteem, as the moſt effectual means of eternizing the memory of thoſe who had the merit or good fortune to be celebrated in them. One of the authors laſt quoted adds, that they could at any time put a ſtop to a whole army's engaging, by their interpoſition: ſo great a power had wiſdom and the muſes over thoſe barbarians [p]. It was their buſineſs to accompany the *Gauliſh* armies with their ſongs, which were generally calculated to inſpire them with valour and intrepidity, with the love of liberty, and contempt of death [q]. During the onſet, they uſed likewiſe to give ſome loud ſhouts, ſometimes as of victory, other times to intimate their danger, in caſe they did not fight valiantly, or were ready to give way. So that, though they did not really fight themſelves, they were ſo intermingled with the army, that they ran, in ſome meaſure, the ſame riſque with thoſe that did (K). By this means they were

[m] Idem ibid. & auct. ab eo citat. [n] L. iv. [o] Diod. Sic. l. vi. c. 9. Lucan. l. i. verſ. 447. Ammian. Marcel. l. xv. [p] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [q] Pausan. in Phoc.

(K) This may be inferred from what we read of one of them, named *Pomponius*, a man in great eſteem, both as a bard, and a poet; who finding himſelf in great danger from the enemy, made a vow to *Mars*, their great protector, to ſacrifice to him a boar, if he eſcaped

were eye-witneſſes of the behaviour of the combatants, and either celebrated their praiſes in their ſongs, or cenſured thoſe that had not done their duty. And as theſe might in time degenerate, and be often bribed to extol thoſe who had been faulty, or in praiſing either too much or too little, for favour or intereſt, it is thought they acquired the name of paraſites[r]. But this ſeems very inconſiſtent with what we read of the great eſteem they were in, unleſs we allow that epithet to have antiently carried a more favourable meaning than it doth now (L). To theſe two orders we may add thoſe of the *vates* and *euvates*, or *eubates*, which ſeem to have been ſtill inferior to that of the bards; but whether they were ſo to each other, or the ſame under two names, is not eaſy to gueſs, with that little light we have from antient authors. All that can be conjectured upon the whole is, that the druids preſided over all religious matters, and bore a great ſway in thoſe of a civil nature. The bards were the recorders of all tranſactions, and treaſured up in their poetic compoſitions the knowledge of things and perſons, and communicated as much of it to the laity, by their ſongs, as the druids thought proper. The *vates* and *euvates* might be ſingers of theſe bardiſh compoſitions, and be further retained in the families of the great, to celebrate their praiſes and heroic acts; but as the druids were more known to ſtrangers than the reſt, their name was given to all indifferently, by antient hiſtorians.

Vates *and* euvates.

Diodorus and *Cicero* ſeem to mention a fifth ſort, *viz.* the *ſaronides*; but we have ſhewn, a little higher, that it was but another name for that of the druids, as the learned *Bochart* has

[r] POSIDON. ap Athenæ, l. vi.

eſcaped ſafe (66). It was likewiſe, as we formerly hinted, cuſtomary among their generals, upon all ſuch occaſions, to vow to that god all the plunder, and even the priſoners of war, if they came off victorious.

(L) This epithet, though by length of time become a term of reproach, might not carry ſo harſh a meaning in our author; if it had, it is hardly credible thoſe bards could have kept up their credit ſo long, and in ſo brave and warlike a nation. But, in our opinion, that name was given only to an inferior ſet of bards, who are judged to have been a kind of clients, or *ſoldurii*, who entered themſelves into the ſervice of ſome noblemen or generals, and bound themſelves to live and die with them, and whoſe buſineſs it was to ſing the praiſes of their patrons, in poems compoſed by the bards, before numerous crouds of people, who never failed to ſurround and liſten to them (67).

(66) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* vi. *c.* 9. *Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. l.* xvi. *c.* 6. (67) *Cæſar. de Bell. l.* vi.

fully

fully proved [a]. As for the *flamens*, or *flamines*, though they have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to the druidiſh order, yet biſhop *Stillingfleet* has frequently diſproved them to have been of *Celtic* or *Gauliſh* extract. They were of the *Roman* kind, and of much later date than either druids or bards. We have ſpoken of them in a former volume, and to that, and the learned prelate above quoted, we ſhall refer our readers, and cloſe this ſection of the *Gauliſh* religion with obſerving, that, in ſpite of all the ſevere edicts of the *Roman* and *Chriſtian* monarchs, there were ſtill very viſible traces of it, and of the very worſt part of the druidiſh rites practiſed, not only long after the ſettling of chriſtianity in *Gaul*, but even to the middle of the ſixth century, as appears by a notable inſtance of it, which we ſhall give in the margin (M).

The end of druidiſh ſuperſtition.

[a] Vide & PELLOUTIER. hiſt. des Celt. l. ii. c. 9.

(M) This fact is taken from *Procopius*, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of it, and is as follows: *Theodebert* I. having penetrated into *Italy* at the head of a conſiderable army, and taken poſſeſſion of the bridge of *Pavia*, his men offered in ſacrifice the wives and children of the *Goths*, whom they had ſurpriſed, and caſt their bodies into the river, as the firſt-fruits of that war. "For, ſays he, the *Franks*, "though chriſtians, do ſtill obſerve a great many of their antient "ſuperſtitions. They offer up human victims, and uſe many exe-"crable rites in their auguries." And another author, who lived till the latter end of the ſeventh century, has a long catalogue of ſuch ſuperſtitions, againſt which, as he was a biſhop, and ſince ſainted for his piety, he forewarns his chriſtian flock. The reader may ſee the paſſage at length in the authors quoted below (68).

(68) *Vide father Coint. tom.* i. & iii. *Fleury's eccleſ. hiſtor. tom.* viii. *Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 7.

SECT. IV.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, learning, arts, ſciences, commerce, and cuſtoms, of the antient Gauls.

WE have already ſpoken at large of the origin and antiquity of the *Gauls*, in the hiſtory of the *Celtes*, their anceſtors [a]; of their migrations and ſettlement in *Europe*, and of their antient monarchical government there [b]. How and when it came afterwards to dwindle, and ſplit itſelf into that variety of

Their government.

[a] Vol. v. p. 227, & ſeq. 245, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 246, & ſeq.

forms

forms in which the *Romans* found them afterwards, were in vain to inquire after, considering their inbred contempt of learning, and that they kept neither history nor records, but what was couched in the songs or ballads of their bards and druids, who kept them, as much as possible, from public knowledge, and only sung or repeated them on certain times, or upon particular occasions, rather to stimulate the people to an imitation of their heroes, than to preserve any regular series of their transactions. All that can be offered concerning this great change, would be only such conjectures as are obvious to every reader, which may, therefore, be easily spared here, since all our intelligence, concerning this their new government, must be fetched from hints and scraps of such foreign authors who have written of them, since they became more known to their neighbours, and of which this is the best account that can be given.

THE *Gauls* were by this time (though still under the same name, using the same language and customs, and governed by the same general laws) under different governments, some of which were monarchical, others aristocratical, others partly so, and partly democratical, and these were, by way of distinction, called free [c]. *Tacitus* reckons no less than sixty-four of these cities, or, as *Cæsar* better explains it [d], regions or districts, who were under this kind of government. These little commonwealths were chiefly governed by the advice of the nobles, but antiently every year they chose a magistrate for civil, and a general for military, affairs [e]; yet these, as well as those that were under a kingly government, observed one constant law, to call every year, at a certain time, a general council of the whole nation; in which, whatever related to the common interest of the whole nation, was debated and settled. And, indeed, these warlike people were in no small need of such a general council, since they made war one of their chief employments, and were no sooner free from a foreign one, but they immediately fell a quarrelling among themselves: so that, to prevent these intestine broils, the chief business of that grand assembly was, to find out some plausible pretence for carrying it against some of their neighbours, either to pull down those that were over-grown, and raised their jealousy, or to protect the oppressed, or furnish some allies with a number of auxiliaries, and such-like [f]. The free commonwealths had, moreover, a law common to them all, that whoever heard any report, or common rumour, among their borderers, which concerned the

Grand council of the nation.

[c] CÆSAR. comment. l. i. c. 1. l vi. c. 4. TACIT. ann. l. iii.
[d] Idem ibid. [e] STRAB. l. iv. [f] Comment. l. vi. c. 6. STRABO, l iv. MELA, l. iii. c. 3. CÆSAR, ibid. l. vi. c. 4.

common

common interest, they were obliged to acquaint their magistrates with it, and to conceal it from the people. The magistrates were to conceal what they thought proper, and acquaint the people with the rest; for it was not lawful for any person to talk of matters that related to the whole community, but in the council [g]. All that can be gathered, relating to this grand assembly, out of the same historian, the reader may see in the subsequent note (A). Upon the whole, then, this grand council was the dernier resort of the *Gauls*, wherein every thing relating not only to peace and war, but to property, boundaries, territories, distribution of plunder, and such-like, between district and district, was finally determined. For if, for instance, after some successful victory, or excursion, any debate happened about the plunder, as it seldom failed to be followed with a great deal of bloodshed, if not timely prevented, and, if *Polybius* may be credited, such bloody frays did often happen for such trifles as the plunder of a good store of victuals, and especially of wine [h]; the dispute was referred to the assembly of the district, or commonwealth. But whenever it happened, as it often did, between district and district, the grand council must either determine between them, or else they were sure

Common-wealths.

[g] Comment. l. vi. c. 4. [h] L. ii.

(A) The *Gauls*, says that conqueror (1), demanded that a general council of their whole nation should be summoned, and that it might be done by his consent. A council was, accordingly, assembled at *Bibracte*, where was a vast concourse from all parts of the nation (2). And elsewhere he tells us, that he summoned that *Gallish* council to meet in the spring; and the *Treviri*, *Senones*, and *Carnuti*, not coming with the rest, he adjourned it to meet at *Paris* (3).

Among them who opposed his measures were *Dumnorix*, one of the chiefs of the *Æduan* commonwealth, against whom he had sent an order to have him slain, who, thereupon, applied himself to the council, alledging, that he was a member of a free commonwealth, and begged to be protected by them (4). Another was *Vercingetorix*, who, *Cæsar* says, flattered himself that he should be able to unite such commonwealths to him, as dissented from the rest of the *Gallish* cities, and to form such a general council of all *Gaul*, as the whole would should not be able to withstand (5).

This is all that we can meet with concerning those grand councils; but as to other particulars relating either to the extent of their power, the time, manner, and place, of their being summoned and held, and the like, history leaves us wholly in the dark

(1) L. i. c. 12. (2) L. i. c. 12. (3) L. vi. c. 1.
(4) L. [illegible]. (5) L. vii. c. 6

to

to butcher one another, till one ſide was forced to give over. So that *Tacitus* had great reaſon to ſay of them, as he did of their neighbours the *Germans*; "If they will "not be in friendſhip with us, let them at leaſt fall out "among themſelves: fortune can do no greater ſervice, than "to ſet them at variance among themſelves [i]." All that needs be further added, with relation to theſe ſmall commonwealths, is, that they ſeem to have had ſuch an averſion to kingly government, that one of them, that of the *Ædui* (B), ordered the great *Certillus*, the father of *Vercingetorix*, mentioned a little higher, a man in great power and credit, and eſteemed the firſt man in *Gaul*, to be put to death, for having aſpired to the kingdom [k]. At the ſame time, they were ſo extremely jealous of each other's power, that they were obliged to enter into combinations againſt each other, and the little ones to put themſelves under the protection of the great ones; an inſtance of which we gave in the laſt note. *Cæſar* doth ſometimes call the former tributary and ſubject to the latter, but moſt commonly confederate with them. Upon his firſt entrance into *Gaul* he found it divided into two factions: the *Ædui* were at the head of one, and the *Arverni* at the head of the other; and both, he tells us, had for many years contended for the ſuperiority [l]. What increaſed the diſſenſion ſtill more, was, that the *Bituriges*, a people in the province of *Berri*, and neighbours of the *Arverni*, were ſtill in ſubjection to the *Ædui*; and the *Sequani*, who

[i] German. c. 33. [k] Vide & comment. l. vi. c. 11. [l] Idem, l. i. c. 12. vi. c. 4.

(B) The *Ædui* were one of the three chief commonwealths in *Gaul* (6), and ſituate near *Autun*; the country is now called *Lower Burgundy*.

The other two were the *Arverni* and the *Rhemi*. The former of theſe were ſited on the river *Loire*; their capital was called *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Guienne*; and they became, in time, ſo powerful, that, according to *Strabo*, they made war againſt *Cæſar* with 400000 men (7), and, a little before the arrival of their conqueror, had quite weakened their rivals the *Ædui*, by withdrawing moſt of their clients and dependents (8): and it was, probably, upon this juncture, that they condemned that great commander of theirs to loſe his head, and choſe his ſon in his ſtead.

The *Rhemi* were the antient inhabitants of the country of *Rheims*, whoſe antient and famous metropolis ſtill bears the ſame name, and is one of the greateſt, and moſt populous, cities of *France*.

(6) *Tacit. l.* iii. *Cæſar. com. l.* v. (7) *Strab. l.* iv. (8) *Comment. l.* vi. *c.* 4. vii. *c.* 10.

lived in *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Compté*, and neighbours to the *Ædui*, were under the protection of the *Arverni*.

Kings. Such were the unhappy divisions between the *Gaulish* commonwealths (C), which gave so great an advantage to the *Romans* against them, and which they failed not to improve, according to their wonted policy, as we shall see in the sequel. *Cæsar*, finding the *Arverni* too strong for, and averse to, him, entered into an alliance with the *Ædui*, who were by this time become vastly inferior to them, complimenting them with the title of friends and brothers to the *Roman* people. Their example was soon followed by others, so that partly by cajoling some, and sowing jealousies and discords among others, he facilitated the conquest of that noble and warlike nation, which, had it been more united in interest and form of its government, must, in all appearance, have proved too hard for him.

But, notwithstanding this great multitude and variety of commonwealths, it is plain, that both *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, still swarmed with petty kingdoms, that is, with districts governed by kings, whom the *Romans* styled *reguli*, or petty kings, but the *Gauls* styled kings (D), though their dominions

(C) Accordingly, we find the *Senones*, or rather the *Semnones*, who inhabited some part of the *Lyonois*, joining in league with that of the *Parisians*, and both soon after putting themselves under the protection of the *Ædui*. The *Bellovaci*, a very populous commonwealth, and in great repute and authority among the *Belgæ* (9), were likewise allied with them. Their capital, then a very considerable city, was called *Bellovacum*, and *Cæsaromagus*; their country still retains the name of *Beauvois*.

Cæsar reckons, moreover, five different people under the dominion of the *Nervii* (10), another antient, fierce, and warlike, people of *Belgia*, supposed to have dwelt in the now diocese of *Cambray*; these were the *Centrones*, or inhabitants of *Courtray*. *Grudii*, supposed to have dwelt about *Bruges*; the *Lævaci*, about *Louvain*; the *Pleumosii*, or *Pleumasii*, whose situation is uncertain; and the *Gorduni*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Ghent*. The *Eburones* and *Condrusi*, who lived in the territories of *Liege* and *Namur*, were clients to the *Treviri*, or inhabitants of the country of *Triers*, the then principal nation in *Belgia prima*. The *Veneti*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Armorica*, or *Britany*, composed so powerful a commonwealth, that our author (11) tells us, their dominion was one of the most extensive.

(D) The word *rex* seems plainly enough to be of *Celtic* extract, viz. from *rhey*, prince, or lord: hence we have shewed in a former volume (12), *Rhea*, *Jove*'s mother, to have had that name given

(9) *Idem*, *l.* ii. *c.* 4. vii. *c.* 7. (10) *L.* v. *c.* 11. (11) *L.* iv. *c.* 2. (12) *See vol.* v. *p.* 266, (K).

her,

minions were ever ſo ſmall. Theſe differed from the magiſtrates of commonwealths, in that they enjoyed their dignity during life; and from common monarchs, in that it was not hereditary (E), but ſometimes conferred by the people upon ſuch as were her, as implying a lady, or princeſs, as ſhe really was. The name of *Rhey* might therefore be given to thoſe antient monarchs, till their vaſt kingdom came to ſplit itſelf, as we have ſeen above, into ſo many petty principalities and commonwealths; at which time, it is probable, thoſe petty kings came to be called *Tyrannes*, or, according to the old *Celtic*, *Tyr-rhamwir*, from their being the perſons who divided the people into ſuch diſtricts, or communities, and ſettled the boundaries of each, as well as the portions of land which every family under them was to be intitled to. Hence the *tyrannoi* of the *Greeks*, and the word tyrant, might at firſt carry a much better meaning, till their degeneracy made it to become ſo odious, that they changed it for thoſe of princes, dukes, earls, &c. (13).

The author of the *Mona antiqua*, above quoted, thinks the name and office of theſe *tyrans* to be of much older date; and that, in all probability, ſome ſuch power or dignity is tacitly implied in one of the *ſtatutes of the ſons of* Noah, called *de judiciis* (14). We have formerly given our ſentiment concerning that rabbinic book (15), ſo much diſcredited by ſome, and ſo ſtrongly defended by our learned *Selden*. But, without having recourſe to ſuch queſtioned authorities, reaſon plainly tells us, that from the firſt diſperſion there muſt have been ſome ſuch *Tyr-rhamwirs*, or land-aſſigners, as the word implies, to prevent the continual quarrels that muſt inevitably happen for want of them. And theſe were moſt likely the heads of families, whoſe paternal authority carried a kind of divine right. For if mankind ſprung from one man, then the original of government muſt be ſuppoſed, of courſe, to have been not only monarchical, but ſuch by divine appointment, and veſted in the heads of families.

Moſes further obſerves (16), that the three families of *Noah*'s ſons were, after the flood, divided after their tongues and families, *begojchem*, in their nations, that is, into ſeparate communities, over whom the chief, or head, preſided, and was the *rhey*, or lord, and *tyr rhamwir*, or aſſigner of their proper lands in each ſettlement. But however that be, in ſuch a change of government as here happened among the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, nothing can be more evident, than the neceſſity of ſuch a kind of deſpotic diſtributers and aſſigners of lands in each new kingdom or commonwealth; and who could be fitter for ſuch an office, than thoſe who bore the greateſt authority?

(E) At leaſt *J. Cæſar* mentions ſeveral eminent private men, whoſe anceſtors had been formerly inveſted with the regal dignity, and, among theſe, *Caſticus*, whoſe father had been many years

(13) *See Rowland's Mona Antiqua*, p. 41, & *ſeq.* (14) *Hottoman. Franco-Gal.* c. 1. (15) *Vol.* i. p. 252, & *ſeq.* (16) *Geneſ.* x.

How chosen.

were in the greatest esteem for justice, wisdom, and bravery. Sometimes they were forced by one nation upon another, as the *Bituriges* did one over the *Celtæ*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus* [m]; sometimes a brave and powerful man forced himself upon the throne: and even those who seem to have come to the crown by succession, were far from being arbitrary, or having an unlimited power, but were as much accountable to the people as those that were chosen by them. This is, at least, what *Ambiorix*, king of the *Eburones*, owns, with relation to himself. "The constitution of our government, says "he, is such, that the people have no less power and authority "over me, than I have over them [n]." This form has been, indeed, much admired by *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, *Cicero*, and especially by *Plato*, as by far the safest and most excellent; because, as the last of these rightly observes, should kingly government be left without a bridle, when it hath attained the supreme power, as it stands upon such slippery ground, it easily falls into tyranny. "For this reason, says he, it ought to be "restrained, as with a curb, by the authority of the nobles, "and of such chosen men as the people have impowered for "that end and purpose [o].

Their power limited.

It is not easy to guess from *Cesar*'s commentaries, from which we have the greatest part of this intelligence, either how many of these kingdoms there were in *Gaul*, or what nations were governed by them, and which by a commonwealth; but both were equally courted by the *Romans*, and for the same reason, *viz.* to withdraw from, and weaken the force of, those that opposed their conquests. These petty kings, especially, were often corrupted by dint of gifts, promises, or some fine titles, such as that of *friends and confederates of* Rome, to embroil the *Gallish* affairs, and foment dissensions among their little kingdoms and republics: even the poorest and most inconsiderable amongst them were thought worth their while to bring over to them; and if they found them busy and active in their interest, they failed not to reward them in such a manner as

Caressed and corrupted by the Ro-

[m] Livy, l. v. [n] Comment. l. v. c. 8. [o] Vide Hottoman. Franco-Gall. in fin. c. 1.

king of the *Sequani* (17); *Piso*, whose grandfather had reigned in *Aquitania* (18); and *Tasgetius*, whose ancestors had been kings of the *Carnutes* (19), and whose territories retain still the name of *Chartrain*. So that they seem rather to have been magistrates for life, than real kings, especially as their power is affirmed to have been limited by the people.

(17) *L.* i. *c.* 2. (18) *L.* iv. *c.* 3. (19) *L.* v. *c.* 8.

was

was moſt likely to draw others into the ſame treacherous practices. Among thoſe, whom *Cæſar* mentions among the friends and allies of *Rome* was *Catamantales* king of the *Sequani* [p], the grandfather of *Piſo*, mentioned a little higher, who reigned in *Aquitain*, and [q] whoſe name the conqueror has not thought fit to record; and *Olevico*, king of the *Nitiobriges*, or people of *Agenois*, who had that title beſtowed upon him by the *Roman* ſenate [r]. Among thoſe who made the nobleſt reſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, was *Divitiacus*, king of the *Sueſſones*, a brave people of *Gallia Belgica*, who was one of the moſt potent princes of all *Gallia*. His territories were large and fruitful: he had twelve conſiderable cities, one of which, *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*, *Cæſar* afterwards reduced, and with it that whole nation, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [s], notwithſtanding they had brought 500000 fighting men againſt him. This prince's dominions is ſaid to have extended even to *Little Britany*. He was ſucceeded by *Galba*, at the time when *Cæſar* invaded them [t]. Thus much for the *Gauliſh* government, which we ſhall cloſe with a ſevere reflection which that conqueror makes upon it, and which will ſhew how much their inteſtine feuds contributed to his conqueſt of them. "Among the *Gauls*, ſays he [u], not "only all their cities, cantons, and diſtricts, but even almoſt "all families, are divided and torn by factions. Theſe are "generally cauſed and fomented by their princes and demagogues, who exerciſe a kind of arbitrary power and authority "over their inferiors and dependents, and manage all public "matters with an uncontroulable ſway." *Tacitus* obſerves much the ſame thing [w] of it; ſo that, in ſpite of all their bravery, their ruin ſeems no leſs than inevitable, when ſo torn and diſmembered from within, and invaded by ſuch powerful and politic enemies from without.

WHETHER theſe diſaſters were occaſioned through the want of a good body of laws, or through the neglect and violation of them, is not eaſy to determine. We have, indeed, obſerved, in a former volume, that *Mercury* is ſaid to have civilized the *Celtic* nation, in many reſpects, and, amongſt other things that he gave them a ſet of laws [x]. Another author gives the credit of this to one *Samothes*, a man of profound learning and wiſdom among them, and ſaid to have been the founder of the *Celtic* monarchy [y]. But what thoſe laws were, if any ſuch were, indeed, compiled for them, we are wholly in the dark. The *Their laws.*

[p] Comment l. i. c. 2. [q] L. iv. c. 3. [r] L. vii. c. 6. [s] See before, vol. xii. p. 538. [t] L. ii. c. 1, & ſeq. [u] L. vi. c. 11. [w] Annal. l. i. c. 11. [x] See vol. v. p. 275. b. [y] See LEWIS. hiſt. Brit. and the authors quoted by him, book i. ch. 2.

druids

druids and bards, who had the keeping and interpreting of them, were too cautious to divulge them to ſtrangers, or even to any of their own nation, except to thoſe of their own order; ſince they obſerved the ſame ſhyneſs with relation to all other branches of learning, which they carefully concealed from the people. But whatever that ſyſtem of laws may have been, it muſt have ſuffered a total change, upon the abolition of the monarchy, and the diſmembering of the whole into ſo many petty kingdoms and commonwealths. And, indeed, by all we can gather from *Cæſar*, or any other antient author, they ſeem ſo far from having been tyed by any common body of laws, that, except that of holding a general aſſembly every year, and another of permitting all private quarrels and conteſts to be decided by ſingle combat [z], which every community was obliged to permit, they rather appear to have been wholly governed by the deciſions of the council, whether of each diſtrict, or of the whole nation, unleſs where kings did bear an abſolute ſway, if any ſuch there were; for, as far as we can find, moſt of this ſort were as much ſubject to the people, as they to them. If we may, however, gueſs from ſome inſtances of their hiſtory, they ſeem to have held one general maxim, *viz.* that the longeſt ſword had the beſt title, and that it was the deſign of the ſupreme being that the ſtrongeſt ſhould ſtrip the weakeſt; and that he who had not power enough to defend his right, ought to yield it to him that was capable of taking it from him. The following inſtance, out of *Livy* †, is a pregnant oneth at this was an eſtabliſhed principle amongſt them.

They founded their right on their ſwords.

The *Senones*, of whom we have ſpoken a little higher; finding themſelves too much ſtraightened in their territories, fell foul upon the city of *Cluſium*, whoſe territories happened to lie very convenient for them; upon which, the beſieged applied to the *Roman* ſenate for help, who being, at that juncture, unwilling to enter into a war with the aggreſſors, contented themſelves with ſending them three young patricians of the *Fabian* family, in a friendly embaſſy to them. Theſe opened their commiſſion before the general aſſembly of the *Gauls*, which was, in ſubſtance to require the *Senones* to ceaſe all further hoſtilities againſt the *Cluſians*, otherwiſe the ſenate would be obliged, againſt their will, to ſupport the oppreſſed, againſt whom they could alledge no cauſe of complaint. To this the *Gauls* anſwered, with their uſual politeneſs, to the following effect; *viz.* that though they were not acquainted with the *Romans*, they

[z] Concerning the origin of this cuſtom, ſee hereafter. † Livy, l. v. c. 35, & Plutarch. in Camil.

could

could not but have a great notion of their bravery, ſeeing the *Cluſians* had implored their aſſiſtance under their preſent unhappy ſituation. "Your principals, continued they, having "choſen to ſend an embaſſy to us, rather than their forces to "ſupport their allies, we do not refuſe the peace which you "offer to us provided the *Cluſians*, who hold more lands than "they can cultivate, agree to yield ſome of them to us, who "are in want of them. This is the only condition upon which "we can make peace with you, and we deſire a poſitive anſwer "before your departure. If the *Cluſians* will not agree to it, "we are ready to give them battle, even now, before you, "that you may be able to inform your countrymen, how much "the *Gauls* are ſuperior to other nations, in point of bravery."

Their ſharp anſwer to the Roman *embaſſadors.*

To this the embaſſadors replied, without ſeeming to underſtand the force of the laſt words, that they could not but look upon it as a piece of great injuſtice, to inſiſt upon a people's yielding the territories they were lawfully poſſeſſed of, and to wage war againſt them becauſe they refuſed to do ſo. Whereupon *Brennus* the *Gauliſh* leader, without farther ceremony, anſwered, that the *Gauls* carried the right at the point of their ſword; and that the brave had the beſt title to all things. "You yourſelves, ſaid he, have made no ſcruple to ſtrip the "*Albans*, *Fidenates*, *Volſci*, &c. of the greateſt part of their "territories; and yet you did nothing, in all this, that we pre"tend to cenſure, as either ſtrange, or unjuſt: for you did only "follow the prime and moſt antient of all laws, which ob"liges the weak to give way to the ſtrong. This law ſeems "to be derived from the deity itſelf, and extends down to the "very brutes, amongſt which, the ſtrongeſt naturally ſeek to "ſubdue the weakeſt. Ceaſe, then, to take the part of the "beſieged *Cluſians*, leſt the *Gauls* ſhould one day think them"ſelves obliged, in their turn, to ſhew the ſame compaſſion "towards thoſe whom you have oppreſſed." This was, indeed, an argument *ad hominem*, and ſuch as the *Romans* could never anſwer, but tacitly approved and followed, though they had not the ingenuity to own it, as the *Gauls* did, upon all ſuch occaſions (F). What the ſucceſs of this embaſſy was, is foreign to our preſent ſubject: we have given a full account of it

(F) A remarkable inſtance of this, we have in the ſame *Gauliſh* general, who having promiſed the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege of the capitol, and to retire from them, upon condition they paid him a thouſand pounds weight of gold, when the money was brought to be weighed to him, ordered falſe weights to be made uſe of; and being aſked by the *Roman* tribune what he meant by them, proudly anſwered

it in a former volume [a], and only repeat it here to shew, by what laws this nation was chiefly governed, *viz.* that of the strongest arm; and that if ever they had any other laws, they suffered them to be superseded by this, which they falsly called the law of nature.

Neither was this maxim of theirs confined to foreign conquests, but extended itself to the decision of private right among themselves; for when any debates arose amongst them, about their possessions, about any injury or affront, given or received, especially among those of the better sort, in case the council or public magistrate did not give sentence to the satisfaction of both parties, they generally decided the point by single combat. Neither could their magistrates deny them that liberty, when once insisted upon by either party; nor could the opposite decline the challenge, without giving up the point, and being branded with ignominy. Antiently, indeed, that is, whilst the whole *Gallish* nation were under a monarchical government, the druids and bards, who, as we have formerly hinted, were the keepers and interpreters of their laws, and presided in all their courts and councils with such an uncontrouled sway, that it was the most dangerous thing to contravene their decisions, such disputes may have been, and, it is most likely, were actually decided by these courts and councils; but after they came to be separated into so many different governments, they began to look upon such subjection as a kind of outrage to their freedom and honour, and to substitute this way of single combat to it, not only as the shortest, but as the more honourable, and more

Decided their law-suits, &c. *by single combat.*

[a] See vol. xi. p. 421, & seq.

answered him, "What should it mean, *but woe to the conquered* (19)?"

In like manner, a little before the battle which *Marius* gained over the *Cimbri*, another tribe of the *Gauls*, we find one of these sending a challenge to fight the stoutest of the *Romans* in single combat, and overcome by the brave *L. Opimius* (20). Soon after this, *Bojorix*, one of their kings, came in person to *Marius*'s camp, and challenged him to appoint a day and place for a battle, there to decide their right to the territories they were then disputing about, pursuant to their general and received maxim, that providence was always on the side of the strongest and bravest (21). The same notion was common among the *Germans*, and was alledged by their king *Ariovistus*, who, having conquered the *Sequani*, told *Julius Cæsar*, that the right of conquest intitled the conqueror to use the conquered as he pleased (22).

(19) *L.* v. *c.* 8. (20) *Livy, l.* v. *c.* 48. *Plutarch. in Camil.* (21) *See before, vol.* xii. *p.* 379, *b.* (22 *Livy & Plutarch. ubi supra.*

and

agreeable to that received maxim of theirs, that providence was engaged to ſide with the right party; and that ſucceſs was a ſure token that the conqueror had the beſt title to the thing in diſpute. And as the party who thought himſelf injured had a right to appeal to this way of duel, to juſtify his diſſatisfaction, even though the king himſelf had given ſentence againſt him, and his opponent was obliged to ſubmit to it; ſo if the caſe of the two contenders was ſo intricate, that the judges could not readily determine it, they uſed to adjudge them to *this method* of ending the conteſt. Even the very witneſſes, if their depoſitions chanced to contradict each other, were obliged to clear themſelves by fighting. In a word, whatever was decided by ſingle combat, was looked upon as of greater weight and authority than any ſentence, that was paſſed either by king, or court of judicature. Accordingly, we read of two contending brothers in *Spain*, between whom *Scipio* would fain have compromiſed their diſpute about the ſucceſſion, who told him, with one accord, that they would ſubmit to no judgment, either of God or man, but to that of *Mars* [b]. *Herodotus*, who often confounds the *Scythians* with the *Celtes*, tells us, that they were wont to keep, and ſhew to the ſtrangers, that travelled through their countries, the heads of thoſe whom they had thus overcome in ſingle combat, in quarrels about property, honour, and ſuch-like [c]. The ſame cuſtom was alſo practiſed among the *Germans*, who are reported to have lulled *Varro* aſleep, by complimenting him with having found out means to end quarrels and diſputes by the way of juſtice, which they were wont to decide by the ſword [d].

To ſuch a degree of fondneſs for theſe ſingle combats were *Strange* they grown, that the very candidates for places of honour and *fontineſs* truſt, when their pretenſions or merit were eſteemed nearly *for duels.* equal, had recourſe to it; and even among the druids themſelves, the choice of a chief, when the old one died, was often decided by it, whenever any diſpute aroſe about the number or validity of the votes of thoſe who had the chuſing of him [e]. And, what was ſtill more prodigious, theſe challenges were often ſent for mere punctilios and trifling piques, eſpecially at their feaſts and drunken revels, and many times but of mere oſtentation, and to make parade of their ſtrength and bravery; of which, the two following are pregnant inſtances, and plainly ſhew how tenacious they were of this general law of deciding all controverſies by the ſword. *Livy*, ſpeaking of the funeral obſequies

[b] LIVY, l. xxvii. c. 21. [c] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 65. [d] VELLEI. PATERC. l. i. c. 118. [e] Comment. l. vi c. 13. TACIT. ann. l. xiii. c. 57. N. DAMASCEN. VEGET. de re milit. & al.

which *Scipio Africanus* performed to the memory of his father and uncle, who both died in the *Spaniſh* wars, tells us, that there came vaſt crouds of perſons of diſtinction to *Carthagena*, a city in *Spain*, ſaid to have been built by *Aſdrubal*, to honour that ceremony by ſingle combats. "These, ſays he, did not "fight like the common gladiators, either by force, or for mo-"ney, but of their own accord, and free-will." Some were ſent thither by their princes, to diſplay their bravery, for the credit of their nation; others declared they came to do honour to their general. Some came to fight there out of oſtentation; and others becauſe they could not refuſe the challenge that was ſent to them. Amongſt them there were ſome, who having law-ſuits, or ſome controverſies with others, agreed among themſelves to put off the deciſion of them to this time and place, and with this condition, that the eſtate or thing in diſpute ſhould fall to the conqueror [f]. The other inſtance, which we have out of the ſame author [g], is of ſome *Gauliſh* mountaineers, who were generally looked upon as ſome of the rudeſt and fierceſt of that nation, whom *Hannibal* had taken priſoners; theſe the *Carthaginian* general ordered to be brought at the head of his army, and, having provided them with a ſufficient number of *Gallic* arms, offered them their liberty, upon condition that they ſhould engage in ſingle combat, and vanquiſh every man his antagoniſt; promiſing, moreover, that every victor ſhould be preſented with a horſe and a ſet of warlike accoutrements. This they readily accepted, and, in ſight of the whole army, fought with ſuch intrepid bravery, that the ſpectators knew not which to admire moſt, the victor, or the vanquiſhed (G).

How

[f] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 21. [g] L. xxi. c. 42.

(G) The *Romans* ſeem to have preſerved ſome ſuch barbarous cuſtom, at an antient temple of *Diana*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the high-prieſt was to be a fugitive ſlave, and could keep his dignity no longer, than he had the good luck to kill ſuch other fugitive ſlaves as came to diſpute it with him. Whoever killed him, was immediately declared his ſucceſſor, and continued in that office till another took it from him in the ſame way (23). But whether this cuſtom was introduced in imitation, or, rather, as ſeems moſt likely, in contempt, of the *Gauliſh* and *Celtic* duelling, we leave to our readers.

Some think, however, that when the *Romans* exchanged the old *Italic* religion for that of the *Greeks*, they thought fit to turn over that pontifical dignity to their ſlaves, which expoſed the owner of it to

(23) *Vide comment. l.* i. *c.* 36.

ſuch

How long this duelling humour has been preſerved among ſome of our neighbours, and how little to their credit, in ſpite of their ſpecious pretence of honour, we need not here obſerve; their anceſtors, it is plain from their hiſtory, made war their chiefeſt trade and higheſt glory; and if they carried that favourite paſſion to exceſs, this may be ſaid, in extenuation of it, not only that the ſame warlike phrenſy reigned all over *Europe*, and far beyond, but, likewiſe, they were under a kind of neceſſity of indulging it to the utmoſt, in order to put a ſtop to the encroachments of a neighbouring nation, who aimed at no leſs than the enſlaving of all the world (H). No wonder, then, if in ſuch a caſe they uſed all poſſible means to inure themſelves to martial deeds, to inſpire their youth with a contempt of death, and thirſt after glory and liberty, and to prefer an honourable death to an ignominious ſlavery. This became, accordingly, ſuch a ſettled maxim among them, that they ſeemed to have no other concern in this world, than either to preſerve their liberty, or to avoid ſlavery by a noble death [h]. Whenever, therefore, we ſhall ſee their deſcendants encourage theſe kinds

[h] TACIT. ann. l. ii. c. 15.

ſuch continual and dangerous inconveniencies (24). *Caligula* is reported to have put an end to it, by ſending an expert gladiator, who deprived him at once of his dignity and life (25).

(H) The *Gauls*, as well as *Germans*, *Spaniards*, &c. had the more reaſon to oppoſe the *Romans*, with all their might, becauſe they knew, by the experience of other nations, that where-ever theſe new conquerors got the better, they overturned their fundamental laws, put an end to all their public councils, gave them new governors and magiſtrates, diſarmed the people, loaded them with ſuch heavy taxes, and ſubjected them to ſuch a new form of government, as appeared to them intolerable.

To all theſe we may add a much greater inſtance of the *Roman* tyranny, which was, that when any of theſe brave nations, that had been unfortunately brought under their heavy yoke, did make any attempt, as it was natural and laudable in them to do, or were even but ſuſpected by their deſpotic maſters to have a deſign, to regain their liberty, they were ſure to be made ſuch dreadful examples to the reſt, as can hardly be mentioned without horror: we ſhall refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory, for numberleſs inſtances of their cruelty to thoſe brave nations, and only obſerve here, that nothing could more effectually inſpire ſuch a brave warlike one, as this of the *Gauls*, with a ſpirit of liberty, and deteſtation of the *Roman* tyranny, than thoſe diſmal cataſtrophies of their unfortunate neighbours, which they had before their eyes.

(24) *Strabo*, l. v. *Gell. aut. amand.* (25) *Serv. in Æneid.* vi. *verſ.* 136. *Vide Pallatier. Hiſt. C. P.* l. ii. c. 11.

of ſingle combats from the ſame laudable motives, we ſhall readily own them to follow in the ſteps of their warlike anceſtors. But if their views rather tend to rob other nations of their liberty, than to preſerve their own, they will be juſtly chargeable with having improved the *Gallic* ferocity, by the ſupperaddition of the *Roman* ambition and tyranny. But to return to the antient *Gauls*: They had ſuch a ſingular contempt of life, when not accompanied with liberty and martial deeds, that either upon the appearance of ſervitude, or incapacity of action thro' old age, wounds, or any chronic diſeaſes, they either put an end to their days, or elſe prevailed upon their friends to do it, eſteeming this laſt ſtate as much a kind of ſlavery, as falling into the hands of their enemies. In cities, when once they found themſelves ſo ſtraightly beſieged by their enemies, that they could hold out no longer, inſtead of thinking how to make the moſt honourable terms of capitulation, their chief care, many times, was, to put their wives and children to death, and then to kill one another, to avoid being led into ſlavery. In the field, when they were forced to make ſuch a haſty retreat, that they could not readily procure carriages for thoſe who were not able to follow them on foot, as the ſick, wounded, and the like; they made no ſcruple to diſpatch them out of hand. And this was ſo far from being reckoned a hardſhip on them, that it was what they begged, with the greateſt vehemence and earneſtneſs; of all which we have ſeen very many inſtances thro' the courſe of this work, and ſhall beg leave to add two more, very remarkable in their kind.

Excessive love of liberty.

Signal inſtances of it.

THE firſt is of their famous, and, till then, ſucceſsful general, *Brennus*, who being dangerouſly wounded, in that unfortunate expedition which he undertook againſt *Greece*, and ſeeing his army deſtroyed, partly by the enemy, and partly by hunger, cold, and other accidents, called together the broken remnant of his troops, and adviſed them to chuſe *Cichorius* for their leader, who ſhould firſt diſpatch them, and all the ſick and wounded, and afterwards head them back into their own country. The thing was accordingly executed by him, and 20000 of thoſe unhappy wretches were put to death. *Brennus*, only, choſe to die by his own hands, as the moſt glorious death of the two, in his opinion [i]. The other is of thoſe *Gauls*, who, being on the eve of giving battle to *Antigonus*, and being threatened by their aruſpices with a total overthrow, went firſt and killed their wives and children, and then reſolutely marched to

[i] Excerpt. ex. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxii. ap. legal. HOESCHEL. p. 158. Vide PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 14. JUSTIN. ex. Trog. l. xxiv. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 23.

meet

meet that glorious death, which their ſoothſayers had foretold to them [k]. With the ſame ſpirit of liberty did thoſe act, who were unfortunately taken priſoners by their enemies, before they had time to diſpatch themſelves: for if once the conqueror began to treat them as ſlaves, to load them with chains, or condemn them to hard labour, they ſeldom failed taking the firſt opportunity of putting an end to their ſlavery by a voluntary death; even the very loading them with chains, as was commonly uſed by all nations, has raiſed this ſpirit in them to ſuch a height, that they have ruſhed upon, and butchered, one another, by mutual conſent [l]. Neither was this love of liberty confined to the men, their women are no leſs famous for it in hiſtory; nor did they come ſhort of the *Spartan*, and other female heroines, but rather excelled them, in this deſperate kind of fury; inſomuch that, when they have perceived their men to give ground, they have ſallied out, armed with axes, and ſuch other weapons as came firſt to hand, and, with moſt hideous outcries, fallen foul both on the fugitives, and on their enemies; on the firſt, as betrayers of their country; and on the others, as invaders of their liberties. We ſhall give ſome remarkable inſtances of this female valour under the next head.

IN the mean time, it will not be improper to take notice of a judicious reflection which *Strabo* makes upon this exceſſive love of liberty, and contempt of death, which reigned among the *Gauls*, *viz.* that it did very much facilitate the conqueſt of that nation; becauſe their pouring thus furiouſly their numerous troops upon ſuch an experienced enemy as the *Romans* were, under *Cæſar*, their want of conduct and circumſpection, made them rather increaſe the number of the vanquiſhed, than ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror; whereas thoſe in *Spain*, by dividing their forces, and a prudent choice of the moſt advantageous grounds, and ſtrongeſt paſſes, and diſputing with them every ſuch place, inch by inch, made their conqueſt more difficult, and longer in completing [m]. This remark is certainly very juſt, and the *Spaniards*, by joining policy to their valour, did put off their ſlavery ſome few years longer; whereas the *Gauls*, truſting too much to their number and bravery, were more ſpeedily reduced: yet were the former wanting in a main point of politics, and as they were, like the *Gauls*, divided into ſo many petty ſtates, had they, like them, joined their forces againſt the common enemy, they might, in all likelihood, have baffled all the *Roman* valour and policy. For, as the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, in another place [n], it was by this way of con-

[k] JUSTIN. l xxvi. c. 2. [l] Idem ibid. Vide & FLORUM. l ii. c. 11. iv. 12. [m] STRAB. l. iv. [n] L. iii.

quering

quering one little ſtate after another, that both *Carthaginians*, and, after them, the *Romans*, made themſelves maſters of that country.

This is not a proper place to inquire into the cauſes that occaſioned the loſs of liberty to the *Gauliſh* nation: it will more properly be done, when we have brought their hiſtory down to that ſad cataſtrophe. The point we are upon is, their valour, and love of their country, laws, and liberty, in which noble virtues no nation ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than this, or was more dreaded by the *Romans* for them. Witneſs that law which the latter made, and is recorded by ſeveral of their own writers [o], whereby all diſpenſations formerly granted to prieſts, old men, and invalids, were to be made void, in caſe they were threatened with any tumult or danger from the *Gauls*; which law is, moreover, taken notice of by *Cicero* [p], and by *Cæſar* himſelf [q]; ſo that there was a time when they were more afraid of the *Gauliſh* valour, than of any other nation, or even their neighbours the *Germans*, whoſe ſuperiors they proved themſelves ſo far in this point, that they forced their own colonies upon them beyond the *Rhine*, whenever their vaſt increaſe made their own territories too ſtraight for them. *Tacitus* doth, indeed, tell us, in his life of *Agricola*, that they were by that time very much degenerated from their antient valour; which is neither improbable, nor a great wonder, conſidering how many of their petty kings, and little ſtates, had been corrupted, partly by *Roman* gold, partly by pompous titles, and high promiſes, which introduced amongſt them luxury and indolence, haſtened on the loſs of their virtue and liberty, and turned them into traitors againſt the reſt of their countrymen. We ſhall beg leave, in juſtice to them, to conclude this article with a remarkable paſſage or two out of *Juſtin*, which are as follow [r]:

"The *Gauls*, finding their multitudes to increaſe ſo faſt, "that their lands could not afford them ſufficient ſuſtenance, "ſent out three hundred thouſand ſouls to ſeek for new habi- "tations: part of theſe ſettled in *Italy*, and theſe both took and "burnt the city of *Rome*; another part penetrated as far as the "ſhores of *Dalmatia*, and, having deſtroyed there an infinite "number of barbarians, ſettled themſelves at laſt in *Pannonia*. "A bold, hardy, and martial nation this, who ventured (next "after *Hercules*, who, by the like attempt, raiſed himſelf to "the higheſt pitch of reputation, and title to immortality) to

[o] Liv. l. viii. Appian. l. ii. Vide & Plutarch in vit. Marcel. & Camil. & Tacit. de morib. German [p] Philippic. ii. [q] Comment l. vi. [r] Hiſt l. xxiv.

"croſs

" croſs the almoſt inacceſſible rocks of the *Alps*, and places " ſcarcely paſſable through their exceſſive coldneſs; where, " having totally ſubdued the *Pannonians*, they waged war with " the neighbouring provinces for many years."-----And a little after,----" Being encouraged by their ſucceſs, others ſubdivided " their parties; ſome took their way to *Græcia*, ſome to *Ma-* " *cedonia*, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. " and ſo great a terror did the name of *Gauls* ſpread round " about them, that ſeveral kings, not in the leaſt threatened by " them, came of their own accord, and purchaſed their peace " with large ſums of money."---And in the very next book he adds, that, " So great was the fruitfulneſs of the *Gauls* at that " time, that they filled all *Aſia* with their ſwarms; inſomuch " that none of the eaſtern monarchs either ventured to make " war without a mercenary army of them, or, if driven " out of their kingdom, fled to any other but to them, for " refuge."

WE ſhall have the leſs room either to doubt of, or to wonder at, what we read in antient authors concerning the ſingular valour, and love of liberty, of the *Gauliſh* nation, if we conſider, that it was as remarkable in their women as in their men; ſo that both ſexes had it, in ſome meaſure, transfuſed in their blood; they ſucked it at the breaſt, and learned the firſt rudiments of it in the very nurſery. We have hinted a little higher, what pains theſe viragoes took to keep up their men from giving ground to the enemy, and with what intrepid fury they fell, indifferently, upon thoſe who turned their backs upon them, and upon thoſe who purſued them; we ſhall now, according to our promiſe, add ſome few inſtances more of this female bravery, from undoubted authority.

THE *Ambrones*, ſays *Plutarch* [s], a *Gauliſh* people, who *Italy* lived near the foot of the *Alps*, between *Switzerland* and *Provence*, having been defeated by *Marius* near *Aix* in *Provence*, were purſued by the *Romans* quite to their carriages: there they found the women armed with ſwords and hatchets, who, mingling themſelves with victors and vanquiſhed, did, with one hand, ſtrive to wrench their bucklers from them, and, with the other, to diſpatch them, and never let go their hold but with their lives. This might be imputed to their fury and deſpair; but when they found themſelves loſt beyond recovery, they ſent to demand of the conqueror three things (I); viz. firſt,

[s] In vita Marii. Vide & OROS. l. vi. c. 16. FLOR. l. iii. c. 3. VALER. MAX. l. vi. c. 1. ad fin. HIERON. epiſt. ad Geront.

(I) *Florus*, in the place above quoted, attributes this cruelty to the *Cimbrian* women: theſe were another branch of the *Gauliſh* nation,

firſt, Their liberty, that is, that they might not be condemned to ſlavery: ſecondly, That their chaſtity might be preſerved inviolate: and, thirdly, That they might be employed in the ſervice of the veſtals. Theſe conditions having been rejected by *Marius*, they were all found, on the next day, either hanging on trees, or wallowing in their own blood, with their children butchered by them, and by their own hands. We have given, in a former volume [t], another, and even more dreadful, inſtance of this female love of liberty in the *Cimbrian* women; the circumſtances of which are ſo ſhocking, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of repeating them here. The ſame deſperate reſiſtance *Julius Cæſar* is reported to have met with from the *Helvetian* women, when, having defeated their huſbands, he came to take poſſeſſion of their camp and their baggage: for both the women, and their young ſons, defended themſelves to the laſt, chuſing rather to be cut in pieces, than to be carried into ſlavery [u]. The *Dalmatian* women are likewiſe reported to have ſet fire to their baggage, and to have thrown themſelves, and their children, into it; whilſt others hurried themſelves, and them, into the next river [w]. The ſame we read of thoſe of *Iſtria*, *Illyrium*, *Spain*, and other *Gauliſh* nations [x], as well as of thoſe of *Germany*, who retained more of the old *Celtic* ferocity than any of the reſt: of theſe laſt we ſhall give a remarkable inſtance, as they ſhewed this love of liberty, not in the heat of deſpair, but in cool blood; for a number of theſe being taken priſoners by the *Romans*, and ſcorning to be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, having it offered to their choice, whether they would be publicly ſold, or be maſſacred; did, unanimouſly, prefer the latter. The emperor, however, not taking them at their word, cauſed them to be expoſed to ſale; upon which they all ruſhed into a voluntary death; many of them having firſt ſent their children before, in the ſame way [y]. The ſame ſpirit may be ſaid to have run through all the deſcendants of the antient *Celtes* [z], and extended

And children.

[t] Vol xii. p 380. Vide & auct. ſup. citat. [u] Plutarch. in vit. Caſar. [w] Dio. Cass. in excerpt. Valeſ. l. lvi. & lxxvii. [x] Appian. Illyr. Oros. &c. [y] Dio. ubi ſupra. [z] Strabo, l iii.

tion, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume (26), and whoſe women were no leſs brave and warlike, as will appear, by their deſperate defence, and cataſtrophe, of which we are going to ſpeak. But he is, moſt likely, miſtaken here, as he is in many other inſtances: the other authors give the glory of it to the *Cimbrian* females.

(26) *Vol.* xii. *p.* 316.

even

even to their children. The author last quoted mentions a ſtripling in *Spain*, who, ſeeing his whole family taken priſoners, and having, by chance, ſtumbled upon a ſword, fulfilled the orders which his father had given him, to free them from their miſery, and put them all to death with it. He mentions, likewiſe, a woman, who ventured to free a number of other priſoners in the ſame way: ſo that we may conclude this article with what *Oroſius* ſays of the *Gauliſh* nation, when, ſpeaking of thoſe *Iſtrian Gauls* who choſe to burn themſelves, rather than capitulate with the beſiegers, he adds, that there was neither man, woman, nor child, that did not prefer death to ſlavery [a].

Their martial diſcipline.

WHAT their military diſcipline was, is hard to gueſs: by what we have hitherto ſeen, it ſeems to have been very imperfect; and their falling, in ſuch vaſt multitudes upon the enemy, with more fury than diſcretion, without either taking the advantage of the ground, or dividing their numerous hoſts as occaſion required, but truſting altogether on their numbers, and reinleſs bravery, ſufficiently ſhews them to have been greatly wanting in this reſpect: and this ſeems the true reaſon why they had ſuch ill ſucceſs, whenever they engaged with other nations, eſpecially the *Romans*. One might, at leaſt, have expected that thoſe continual wars which they waged with theſe laſt, and their being ſo conſtantly hired as auxiliaries, ſometimes by them, and oftener by other warlike people, would have, in time, rendered them the moſt expert nation in the art of war, conſidering their hereditary fierceneſs, intrepid valour, contempt of death, thirſt for glory and conqueſt, and their invincible dread of ſlavery; all which were ſo ſtrongly rooted in them by education (K), and continual exerciſe in martial deeds, as we have ſeen

[a] L. v. c. 14.

(K) Beſides what we have lately ſaid of their excellent way of training up, and inuring their youth to the military trade, we muſt remind our readers of an excellent method they learned of their anceſtors the *Celtes*, which was, to have their martial laws couched in ſome kind of verſes, or ſongs, ſet to proper tunes, and adorned with all the embelliſhments of rhetoric and poetry. Theſe the youth were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions; ſo that they had learned all the rudiments of military diſcipline long before they were able to bear arms (27); and it is not unlikely that they likewiſe initiated them in the practice before that time.

In theſe ſongs, or poems, were, moreover, recorded, the actions of the great and brave, the victories which they gained over their enemies, the names of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in them, and

(27) *See before, vol.* v. *p.* 25[illegible].

ſeen under the laſt article. But whether it were owing to their too tenacious fondneſs for their antient cuſtoms, or to a contempt of thoſe of other nations, their hiſtory plainly ſhews, that they never ſtrove to excel in foreign martial diſcipline. Their chief talent ſeems to have conſiſted, principally, in invading, rather than defending, in pouring in their numberleſs troops with incredible fury and ſpeed, and ſpreading terror where-ever they came; in ſurmounting all the difficulties, and enduring all the hardſhips that fell in their way, and falling upon their enemies with dreadful ſhouts, and deſperate eagerneſs, maintaining the combat with an intrepidity almoſt peculiar to them; and, when all theſe failed, as it often did, whenever they were engaged with troops that were better diſciplined, and trained up in all the politic arts, and ſtratagems of war; their laſt reſource was, to ſignalize their valour and love of liberty, by ſuch deſperate exits as thoſe we have lately hinted. Much of their ſucceſs was owing to their horſe and armed chariots, in both which reſpects they diſplayed ſuch a wonderful dexterity, as, joined to their bravery, ſeldom failed of doing conſiderable execution. When they came to be divided into ſmall kingdoms, and commonwealths, their method was, to divide their armies, in time of action, in the ſame manner, that the merit and proweſs, as well as the faults and miſbehaviour, of every nation and tribe, might be better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. But this, though excellently well deſigned at firſt, was attended with great inconveniencies, and often threw things into confuſion, either for want of a general diſcipline, or through the the jealouſy and miſunderſtanding between their commanders, and eſpecially from the time the *Romans* undertook the conqueſt of *Gaul*, through the treachery of thoſe who had been corrupted by them.

the monuments which were erected in memory of them. For as theſe bards and ſongſters never committed any thing to writing, or (if they did, for their own ſakes, and the better remembering the vaſt number of ſuch pieces, which time, and their continual wars, muſt of courſe occaſion), yet they never let them go out of their keeping, they were wont to rear up monuments, which were nothing but rude heaps of huge ſtones, artfully, and by main ſtrength, laid one over another, without any inſcription: ſo that the people were obliged to have recourſe to thoſe poems for the meaning of theſe monumental heaps, of which the reader will find many inſtances in the authors quoted in the margin (28).

(28) *Rowland Mona antiqua. Stukeley's Stonehenge. Keyſler. antiq. Septentr. Bard. antiq. Gallic. Cluver. Ital. & German. antiq. paſſ.*

ONE thing more we muſt not omit, concerning their military diſcipline, which is, their extreme ſuperſtition, in which they ſeemed to outdo all other nations: they were very careful in obſerving the moon, in particular; and avoided, as much as poſſible, engaging the enemy before it was paſt the full. An eclipſe of it was looked upon as ſuch a bad omen, that no appearing advantage, how great ſoever, or, indeed, any thing but abſolute neceſſity, that is, nothing but their being attacked, and forced either to defend themſelves, or die, could induce them to fight; and then they did engage more like deſperadoes, than regular troops. They gave, moreover, particular heed to their druids and aruſpices, who, in their auguries, are branded with uſing ſome very inhuman ceremonies, of which we have given ſome hints in ſpeaking of their religion. If the augury promiſed them ſucceſs, thoſe diviners uſed to march before them with ſongs, and dances, and muſical inſtruments, until the onſet began; but if it proved otherwiſe, they forbore fighting, if poſſible, till they met with a more favourable one: and ſuch a ſway had this order of men amongſt them, that they have protracted, or even hindered, the fight, even at the very inſtant they were going to engage. But dreadful was their caſe, whenever they were forced to engage after a ſiniſter omen, or threatening augury; for then ſuch panic horror and deſpair reigned through their hoſts, that they rather ſtrove to avoid ſlavery by a ſpeedy death, than by a brave defence to annoy the enemy, and give the lye to their knaviſh aruſpices, and their conjuring tricks.

THEIR weapons and armour, as they were antiently in uſe among the *Celtes*, we have elſewhere given an account of [b]; but whether thro' a ſhow of bravery, or a contempt of thoſe which were more peculiar to other nations, we do not find they had any others in their wars with the *Romans*, but their bows and arrows, the ſword and lance, which laſt was either longer or ſhorter, according to their fancy, and the ſhield; and yet it was with theſe weapons that they performed ſuch aſtoniſhing feats, as made them, a long time, a terror to their enemies. They deſpiſed the helmet, cuiraſs, and other ſuch defenſive armour, and rather choſe to fight half, and ſome quite, naked. They were utter ſtrangers to thoſe machines which other nations uſed in ſieges; they had, indeed, learned the method of undermining, but they rather laid their chief ſtreſs on a briſk and fierce attack, which they began with throwing clouds of ſtones into the place, to clear the walls of their defendants; after which they ſcaled them, with the utmoſt fierceneſs and rapidity. This fierceneſs did often prove fatal to them, eſpecially when they

[b] Vol. v. p. 251 xi. p. 419, & ſeq.

have chanced to meet with a ſtout repulſe, as they frequently did, from the *Romans*; for, in all ſuch caſes, they loſt all their courage, and preſence of mind, and ſuffered themſelves to be butchered, without offering to make any defence. Thoſe who choſe rather to ſurrender, did lay down their arms, and preſented their left ſhoulder bare to the enemy, and the women their naked boſoms, in token of ſubmiſſion; after which, they ſcattered ſome of their money, plate, and fine cloaths, amongſt them, to bribe their conquerors. Theſe inſtances, however, of ſubmiſſion were but ſcarce and rare amongſt them, in compariſon of thoſe in which they preferred death to ſlavery. But we have, by this time, followed them long enough in that bloody tract; let us now take a view of them in their pacific excellencies, in their arts and ſciences, trade and navigation, &c.

Their language.

We begin with their language, which being univerſally allowed to have been the old *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, of which we have given a full account in a former volume [c], we ſhall have the leſs to ſay of it here, except it be as far as relates to the changes it underwent, after it divided itſelf into as many dialects as the whole nation was into little eſtates. There is ſcarcely any doubt but this old *Celtic* was the common language ſpoken all over *Europe*. A modern author has not only given undeniable proofs of it, which, barely to abſtract, would carry us too far, and be thought perhaps, too dry a ſubject for the greateſt part of our readers; but he has further confirmed what we had formerly advanced as a probable conjecture, that the *German* language was originally a dialect of the old *Celtic* [d]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of his proofs, in the hiſtory of the antient *Germans* immediately following: in the mean time, ſo far as relates to the *Gauls* we are now treating of, it is manifeſt, that they all uſed this language, and that it was that ſame which is ſtill preſerved in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Biſcay*, *Britany*, *Cornwal*, and *Wales*, but no-where more purely than in *North Wales*.

What occaſioned this to be called in queſtion, by ſeveral learned men, was, that *Julius Cæſar* [e], in his diviſion of the *Gauls* into the *Belgæ*, *Aquitani*, and *Celtæ*, affirms, that they differed not only in their cuſtoms, but language. To which we may add what *Strabo* [f] and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [g] ſay of them, that they were not of one language, but differed a little from one another; or, as we take their meaning to be, uſed different dialects of the ſame language: for ſo it will appear

[c] Vol. v. p. 252. & ſeq. [d] Pelloutier. hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15. See alſo before, vol. v. p. 253. (C). [e] Comment. l. i. c. 1. [f] L. iv. [g] L. xv.

plainly,

plainly, to thoſe who ſhall take the pains to trace thoſe antient dialects to their true origin, as it was brought from the *Gauls* into our iſle, and is ſtill retained in its priſtine purity, in that part of it called *North Wales*, and compare it with thoſe alterations which it did, in time, undergo, in thoſe other parts of *Europe* where it is ſtill preſerved, though nothing ſo pure and unmixed, ſuch as are *South Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Ireland*, the iſles of *Man* and *Angleſey*, and ſome parts of the highlands of *Scotland* amongſt us, and in *Britany*, *Biſcay*, and ſome other parts of the continent: ſuch a ſcrutiny will eaſily diſcover, not only the true original mother from her ſpurious offspring, but the different chanels by which this odd and corrupt mixture conveyed itſelf into the latter. We formerly obſerved, that not only moſt of the modern *European* languages were manifeſtly dialects, more or leſs diſtant, of this old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, but that even the *Greek* and *Latin*, and other antient ones, had ſuch a ſurpriſing affinity with it, as if they had ſplit themſelves from the ſame block, and that very many of them plainly appeared to be of *Celtic* extract (L). We may add what *Quintilian* obſerves of the

(L) Of this we have interſperſed ſome inſtances, in a former volume (29); but ſhall, for the ſatisfaction of our *Engliſh* readers, add a few more, and place them ſo, that they may have ſo much of them at one view, as will clearly make out what we have ſaid; and refer them, for a more copious number, to the authors quoted in the margin (30).

Tir terra	*Mur murus*	*Calav calamus*
Mor mare	*Marw mori*	*Arva arma*
Engil ignis	*Trev tribus*	*Gayau hyems*
Awyr aer	*Offrail offertorium*	*Llyvr liber*
Aur aurum	*Anival animal*	*Nyver numerus*
Avon amnis	*Tirva turma*	*Geveil gemelli*
Ghwydr. vitrum	*Terwin terminus*	*Priv primus*
Ffynnon fons		

The ſame may be ſaid, alſo, of the heathen gods, whom we have ſhewed, under a former article, to have been of *Celtic* extract, as well as their names, which are thus etymologized:

Jupiter, Jovis,	*Jeuanc, Juvenis princeps*, the youngeſt of *Saturn*'s ſons (31).
Tonans,	*Taran*, thunderer

(29) *Vol.* v. *p.* 271. (S). (30) *Pezron. antiq. nat. Celt. ad fin. Mona antiq paſſ. præſert. p.* 43, & *ſeq* 252, 308, 315, & *ſeq. Hicks's theſ. ling. ſeptentr. Lluyd's lexic. Keyſler. antiq. ſeptentr. in addend. Edwards's ſpecim. ling. Celtic. & Hebr.* (31) *Vol.* v. *p.* 255, (D). 273, & *ſeq.*

Mars,

antient *Latin*, that till about the middle of the conſular government it was very barbarous and rude in its expreſſions, having in it a multitude of words and idioms of other languages, moſt of them *Gauliſh* [h]; ſo that if thoſe which have been ſince loſt, or changed, were to be added to thoſe which ſtill remain, the conformity would appear ſtill greater. And if thoſe *Gauls*, which were afterwards conquered by the *Romans*, had not, partly out of neceſſity (M), partly out of mere complaiſance, adopted a great

[h] L. i. c. 5.

Mars, Mavors,	*Maur ruysk*, warlike, powerful; whence, probably, *Maurice*
Neptune,	*Nofddyfn*, ſwimming on the waves
Mercury,	*Merk wr*, a merchant; or *March wr*, a ſwift runner, or meſſenger
Talamon, al. Atlas,	*Telmon*, a tall man, ſuch as he is feigned to have been
Hermes,	*Armes*, diviner; in which art he is ſaid to have excelled all the reſt
Teutat,	*Duw Taith*, the traveller's god; or from *teu tat*, the father of the people
Hercules,	*Erchyl*, horrid, dreadful, whether on account of his deeds, or that attitude in which he was repreſented
Vulcan,	*Wael gin*, or *ginta*, the inventor of ſteel, or ſteel armour
Apollo,	*Ap haul*, *ap heulin*, the ſon of the ſun
Titan,	*Ti taan*, the houſe of fire
Triton,	*Trwydan*, a wanderer on the waters
Rhea, Jove's mother,	*Rheys*, a princeſs, or lady
Juno,	*Jevanc*, a young princeſs; or from *Ghuin*, fair
Venus,	*Ghuin*, white, fair
Diana,	*Di anaf*, ſpotleſs, chaſte, untouched
Minerva,	*Min arfau*, the temperer of ſharp tools and weapons.

(M) There is another proof of the antientneſs of this old *Gomerian*, or *Celtic*, *viz.* its ſimplicity, and near reſemblance to the *Hebrew*, and other primitive tongues, of which we have formerly ſpoken (32), and to which we ſhall only add an inſtance, to ſhew by what ſteps they came to adopt words of other languages to ſupply the poverty of theirs.

The antient *Celtes*, as well as their deſcendants the *Gauls*, were, as we have had frequent occaſion to ſhew (33), excellent horſemen

(32) *See before, vol.* v. *p.* 253, (*B*). (33) *Ibid. p.* 251.

and

great number of words and idioms from their conquerors, we might ſtill behold a much greater nearneſs between the *Low Briton*, *Biſcayaneer*, *Iriſh*, &c. and the pure *North Welſh*. So that the only reaſon why theſe laſt have retained it in ſuch purity, muſt be attributed to their never having been conquered, and thereby keeping themſelves from intermixture with other nations. Thus we find the *Iſraelites*, during their long abode in *Egypt*, preſerving their original *Hebrew*, which they ſuffered to be greatly corrupted, and, amongſt a great part of them, almoſt loſt in a ſeventy years captivity. Now, as it is univerſally allowed, that moſt of the *Aſiatic* tongues, ſuch as the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, &c. borrowed moſt of their radical or primitive words from the *Hebrew*, ſo this old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, which was the language of *Gomer* and his deſcendants, who firſt inhabited *Europe*, was the mother of moſt of the *European* languages, at leaſt as far as *Scythia* and *Sarmatia*, which were peopled by *Gog* and *Magog*, two other branches of *Japhet*'s offspring: and as there is ſuch a vaſt affinity between thoſe two mother-tongues, we mean the *Hebrew* and *Gomerian* [i], or antient *Celtic*, it is not to be wondered, if we find the ſame reſemblance diffuſing itſelf through all their derivatives; ſuch as the *High* and *Low Dutch*, the *Latin* and *Greek*, the *Arabic*, *Perſian*, &c. and, particularly, between the *Greek*, *Roman*, and old *Celtic*, as the authors laſt quoted have ſufficiently ſhewed, as well as accounted for.

The notion of their ſpeaking Greek, explod.d.

WE have been the more particular on this ſubject, becauſe ſeveral learned men have maintained, that the *Gauls* commonly uſed the *Greek* tongue [k]. Nothing can be more wild, or more contrary to all that we meet with in antient authors concerning

[i] Vide EDWARD's ſpecimen. LLUYDS grammar. PEZRON. antiq. nat. Celt. HICKES's theſaur. Mona antiqua, p. 278, & ſeq. [k] Vide HOTTOMAN. Franco-gallia, cap. ii.

and charioteers; and yet the *North Welſh*, among whom the language is preſerved in its antient purity, had not, neither have they to this day, proper names for a bridle, ſaddle, ſtirrup, or ſpur, becauſe they antiently deſpiſed the uſe of them; but are forced to expreſs them by circumlocution; as a leading and a covering leather, for a bridle and ſaddle; a mounting and pricking iron, for a ſtirrup and ſpur. Theſe, and many more ſuch deficiencies there are in that language, which their neighbours the *South Welſh*, as well as the *Britons*, &c have ſupplied by *Greek* or *Latin* words: ſuch as that of *ffrwn*, *frænum*, for a bridle, &c. which the others would never adopt; though, in other points, they are now grown very remiſs in preſerving that antient tongue; and, if they go on, in the ſame neglect much longer, it is much to be feared, will ſuffer it to be intirely loſt.

the

the *Gauliſh* language, than ſuch an aſſumption, which may be eaſily overthrown, by one or two expreſs paſſages we meet with in *Julius Cæſar*. The one is, that in a conference which he had with *Divitiacus*, an *Æduan* or *Gauliſh* lord, he was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter; and yet *Cæſar* was a perfect maſter of the *Greek* [l]. The other, which is ſtill more expreſs, is, that when that conqueror found himſelf under a neceſſity to write to *Quintus Cicero*, who was then beſieged in his camp, he made uſe of the *Greek* tongue, leſt his letter ſhould fall into the hands of ſome of the *Gauls*, and diſcover his deſigns to them [m]; a precaution which would have been quite ridiculous, if that had been the common language of that nation. *Strabo* doth indeed tell us, that the *Maſſilians* cultivated all ſorts of polite literature, and, particularly, that of the *Greek*, to ſuch a degree, that the reſt of the *Gauls* were, by their example, become great admirers of that tongue, inſomuch, that they began to write their contracts and bargains in it [n]. But then it is plain, firſt, That he only ſpeaks of thoſe *Gauls* who were neighbours to *Marſeilles*, many of whom, not only private men, but whole cities, invited ſeveral learned men out of that famed city to inſtruct their youth, or ſent their children to be educated there: ſecondly, If the reſt of the *Gauls* did afterwards follow their example, it is plain they had originally another language of their own: and, thirdly, That this faſhion of learning and uſing the *Greek* tongue did not begin till *Strabo*'s time. Accordingly, St. *Jerom* tells us, upon the authority of a paſſage which he has preſerved out of *Varro*, that the *Maſſilians* ſpoke three ſorts of languages, the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gauliſh* [o]. Hence we may conclude, that the *Greek* tongue was only introduced among the learned, but was not the original language of the *Gauls*. We might further confirm this from a number of antient monuments, and eſpecially from the antient names of provinces, cantons, rivers, cities, mountains, &c. but we think the caſe ſufficiently plain, without any ſuch further proofs. The *Greek* characters, indeed, were in uſe among them in *Cæſar*'s time, as we ſhall hint under the next head; but as for their tongue, it plainly appears to have been brought into uſe much later ſtill, and that only among the learned and polite (N). As to the preſent language of that country, thoſe who

[l] Comment l. i. c. 19. [m] L. v. c. 12. [n] L. iv. [o] Hieron. opera, tom. ix. p. 135. Vide Hottoman. ubi ſupra. & Pellou-tier. ii. c. 10.

(N) There is, indeed, one paſſage in *Cæſar*'s commentaries, from which ſome authors pretend to prove the contrary. It is that where

who are ever ſo little ſkilled in antient ones, may eaſily perceive it to be a medley of other tongues, the greater half of which is taken from the *Latin*, as the *Romans* were very induſtrious to propagate it, and cultivate it, in all their conquered dominions (O). The reſt is plainly a mixture of the old *Celtic*, of the *Frank* or *German*, as this did afterwards greatly deviate from its original; and the reſt ſeems to be of *Greek* extraction. For it has been obſerved, by judicious men of that nation, that many *Greek* words have been adopted by them into common uſe, which were not borrowed from the academies of the druids, who, for aught that apppears, knew little of it, but from the ſchools of the *Maſſilians* we have lately ſpoken of.

The genius of their ſtyle, and language.

BEFORE we diſmiſs this article of the *Gauliſh* language, it will not be amiſs to make a ſhort remark on its pretended rudeneſs and harſhneſs, againſt which both *Greek* and *Roman* authors have raiſed ſuch an unanimous outcry. According to them, it was enough to hear a *Celte* or *Gaul* ſpeak, to make one judge of their natural ferocity; and the greateſt part of their words, where he affirms, that in all other public and private concerns, *Græcis utuntur literis* (34); which, compared with the explication which *Strabo*, who wrote after him, gives of it (35), ſeems to imply, that they made uſe not of their characters, but of their language. But to this it is anſwered, by two learned critics (36), that the word *Græcis* has been foiſted into *Cæſar*'s text. And, indeed, it plainly appears, that *Cæſar* meant no more in this place, than that the druids did not ſuffer any of their doctrines or principles to be committed to writing, though, in other matters, they allowed them to write letters, accounts, and the like, which they did accordingly, in the *Greek* character, as we ſhall prove by and-by.

But whether the phraſe, *uti literis*, properly ſignifies to uſe the letters, or character, as it often doth among *Latin* authors; or, as others would have it, to uſe the language, as it may ſometimes do, though in a kind of figurative ſenſe; yet, in this place, if the word *Græcis* be really part of the text, it can only be meant of the character; elſe it would be abſurd in our hiſtorian, after he had ſaid a little higher, that the *Gauls* were unſkilled in the *Greek*, to ſay, that all their public and private accounts, tranſactions, &c. were written in that tongue.

(O) This plainly appears from what *Valerius Maximus*, *Tacitus*, and *Auſonius*, tell us, of their ſetting up ſchools at *Autun*, *Lyons*, *Bizançon*, and other places of that kingdom, as ſoon as they conquered them. And we need not doubt, but, according to their wonted lordlineſs over all their vaſſals, they uſed all proper means to encourage and oblige them to learn it

(34) *L.* vi. *c.* 14. (35) *L.* iv. (36) *Joſ. Scalig. apud. l.* i. *epiſt.* 15. *Hotoman. Franco-gall. c.* 2.

especially of their proper names of men, women, towns, rivers, &c. were so very harsh, that they could not be pronounced by strangers, or written in other languages, without great difficulty; neither could they be inserted in a poem, without murdering the verse [p]. A foreigner could hardly hear them spoke without having his ears grated, or almost flayed with it [q]. The emperor *Julian* says, that it resembled the croaking of a raven, or the growling of some wild beast [r]. There must needs be allowed to be some exaggeration in these expressions, considering how uncouth and barbarous any language appears to those who are unaccustomed to, or ignorant of, it. It is not to be questioned, but even the *French* and *Italian*, emasculated as they have been of late, do appear so at first hearing: it must, however, be confessed, that, with respect to the *German*, there is less of the hyperbole; and perhaps the antient *Gaulish* might originally have a great deal of that kind of harshness, which guttural and some other hard consonants, as well as too great a colluvies of them, will naturally cause, unless softened by the interposition of vowels. We do not, therefore, pretend wholly to disculpate the latter, but would only observe, that there is a vast difference between those two languages in this respect; and that the true *Celtic*, or *North Welsh*, though seemingly crouded with a number of consonants, has yet a peculiar sweetness, and is much more adapted for music and poetry, than we are apt generally to imagine: and, for proof of this, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume [s]. And here it will not be amiss to remind them, that their custom of couching and preserving all their laws, records, history, &c. in verse, inured them to a style more swollen, figurative, and emphatic, than that of other nations (P); on the other hand, their fierce and warlike disposition might, in all probability, make them fonder both of that, and of their sonorous and masculine language, than of the smoother *Greek* and *Roman* prose. To which we may add, that their natural aversion for the *Roman* nation might not a little contribute to this opposition, especially as they had reason to consider all their sweetness of language, style, and behaviour, as so many snares to entrap people

[p] Plin. jun. l. viii epist. 4. [q] Diod. Sicul. l. v. Ovid. de tristib. eleg xii. ver. 55. [r] Misopog. [s] Vol. v. p. 253. & seq. (B).

(P) Hence the *German* poetry, which preserves still its antient roughness, is judiciously enough compared to those cataracts of the *Nile*, whose sounding falls are rather apt to inspire one with dread, than to afford pleasure to the hearers; and their swollen style to that of men that are ever mounted upon stilts.

out of their liberty. If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* [t], their ſtyle was not only ſwollen, conciſe, and Laconic, but intricate and obſcure, full of ſynecdoches and hyperboles; which the reader will find, perhaps, better accounted for by what we ſhall ſay, in the ſequel, concerning their manners and cuſtoms; in which, as well as their loftineſs and pompouſneſs of ſtyle and language, they ſeem to have been more cloſely imitated by the *Spaniards*, than by any other *European* nation.

Their writing and characters.

THE *Gauls* had originally no characters of their own, but adopted, in proceſs of time, the *Greek* ones; yet, as we have already hinted, they did not do it till very late, and till their commerce with other nations obliged them to it; their contempt of foreign learning was a great obſtacle to it, and their druids or bards, whoſe intereſt it was to keep their own from the people, did all they could to improve this their prejudice againſt committing any thing of moment to writing, under pretence that it rather tended to deſtroy, than preſerve, the memory of them, as it was likely to be a kind of diſcouragement to them to learn them by heart out of their poetical compoſitions; whereas this laſt, they pretended, was the moſt effectual means of preſerving them, both from oblivion, and from falling into the hands of ſtrangers [u]; ſo that it was looked upon as a diſhonour for any of them to learn to read or write (Q). And even after they began to introduce the uſe of letters, in their contracts, bargains, and the like civil concerns, the druids never ſuffered them to commit any thing relating to their hiſtory, laws, and much leſs of their religion, to writing [w]. Hence *Origen* might well tell his antagoniſt [x], that he never heard of

[t] L. v. [u] Comment. l. vi. c. 14. [w] Idem ibid. STRAB. l. iv. [x] Con. Celſ. l. i.

(Q) *Ælian* has preſerved us a paſſage out of *Andretion*, to this purpoſe (37), that the antient *Thracians*, and, in general, all the barbarian nations, ſettled in *Europe*, were not only quite ignorant of letters, but had a ſingular contempt for them, though they were commonly uſed by thoſe that ſettled themſelves in *Aſia*. The ſame is affirmed of the *Huns* by *Procopius* (38); and this humour ſeems to have been ſo deeply rooted among them, that even *Theoderic*, king of *Italy*, could never be prevailed on to learn to write his own name, tho' he had ſpent a conſiderable part of his younger days among the *Romans*; but is reported, whenever he was obliged to ſign an edict, to have only made uſe of a golden plate, that had the four initial letters of it, *Teod*, engraven upon it, and which he traced with his pen (39).

(37) *Var. hiſt. l.* viii. *c.* 6. (38 *Goth. l* iv. *c.* 18. (39) *Excerpt. auct. incog. ap. Valeſium, ad calc. Ammian. Marcel.*

any of their writings; and hence that ſcarcity of materials we meet with, with relation to their hiſtory, ſince they committed all their learning, laws, religion, and tranſactions, to thoſe ſongs and verſes which they carefully kept from ſtrangers; and periſhed, in all likelihood, with their liberty, or, at leaſt, with their old heatheniſh religion, upon their embracing chriſtianity (R). It were to be wiſhed, that the chriſtian prieſts and monks had not imitated, ſo cloſely, this druidiſh policy, of confining all learning to their own order and monaſteries; eſpecially in *Gaul* and *Germany*: for they ſeem to have ſo well cultivated this prejudice againſt it, among the laity, that they were forced to have recourſe to them whenever any will, grant, or public act, was to be made; and then both the perſons concerned in it and the witneſſes ſet their own marks, and the ſcrivener their names to it. But, with reſpect to the mercantile part, among whom there was a kind of abſolute neceſſity to make uſe of writing, the *Greek* character ſeems to have been that which was in uſe amongſt them, according to *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others, above quoted (S); and was brought amongſt them from *Marſeilles*,

(R) It is probable, indeed, that upon their converſion to the goſpel, they might, by degrees, be ſo far ſhamed out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for concealing their laws, hiſtory, &c. that they might ſuffer them to be committed to writing from thenceforward: but as for thoſe hymns and poetic compoſitions, of which we are ſpeaking, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they were ever preſerved, ſeeing both parties, that is, both the new converts, and thoſe who remained in their antient idolatry, were equally concerned to ſuppreſs them: the latter out of their natural zeal to conceal them, and the former on account of thoſe praiſes that were ſung in them to their falſe deities, heroes, &c. and of thoſe abominable and inhuman rites that were performed in the worſhip of them. *Jornandes* tells us, indeed, that thoſe, which were in uſe among the *Gaths*, were ſtill extant in his time. If they were, it is plain they have ſince periſhed, and, moſt probably, for the very reaſon juſt now aſſigned.

(S) We have obſerved, a little higher, that this paſſage is controverted by ſome learned men (*q*), who think that the word *Græcis* is interpolated in the place there quoted: however, as they do not ſubſtitute any other character to it, and ſome other paſſages ſeem expreſs, ſuch as the muſter-rolls, and ſome other public writings which were found amongſt them; we make no doubt, but the *Greek* were the firſt and chief letters in uſe amongſt them.

This carries ſuch an evidence with it, that the author of the religion of the *Gauls*, who makes theſe to have come originally out of

(q) *Sup. not* (N).

Phœnice,

Marſeilles, which was a colony of the *Greeks*, or *Gallogreeks*. How their conqueſt, and intercourſe among the *Romans*, did afterwards introduce their character amongſt them, is obvious to every one, and we need not dwell any longer upon it.

The probable origin of their poetry.

As to their poetry, as it is altogether loſt, we can ſay little of it; yet it will not be amiſs to mention an ingenious conjecture of a modern hiſtorian [y], who thinks that the want of learning and characters, or, as he expreſſes it, the reigning ignorance and contempt of letters, gave birth to thoſe poetical compoſitions, at leaſt in *Europe*. This was, indeed, the moſt effectual method to preſerve the memory of ſuch momentous truths and facts, as they either could not, or cared not to, commit to writing, and which, by this means, were not only eaſily learned, and remembered, but, likewiſe, concealed from other nations (T). And ſuch fondneſs did both *Gauls* and *Germans* conceive for theſe kinds of performances, eſpecially as they were ſet to

[y] PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.

Phœnice, and to have brought their own character from *Aſia* into *Europe*; doth yet allow it undeniable, that they likewiſe uſed the *Greek* amongſt them: and to the authorities above quoted adds ſome others, taken from antient medals, and, particularly, an antique inſcription, whoſe legends are in the *Gauliſh* tongue, and *Greek* characters (41). So that if theſe be really as old, and as authentic, as he, and the authors from whom he has taken them, do ſuppoſe (42), there is not the leaſt room to doubt of thoſe letters having been in common uſe among the *Gauls*.

(T) This remark, however, is far from being deſigned to derogate from that purer and nobler origin, which pious chriſtians have given to this excellent art, *viz.* the love of the Supreme Being, and the contemplation of his attributes and works. But however true this laſt may be, with relation to the people of God, who ſo early, and ſo much, excelled all other nations in it, as we have fully ſhewn in a former volume (43), it can never be imagined to have been the caſe of the fierce *Gauls* and *Germans*, whoſe religion and genius was quite oppoſite to ſuch a ſuppoſition. As for thoſe who make *Bacchus* and *Venus* the parents of poetry, if they will but add *Mars* to it, they may be well enough allowed to have gueſſed righter, with reſpect to the nations we are here ſpeaking of; and though their compoſitions have not reached our times, we find reaſon enough to gueſs, from their tempers and diſpoſitions, their banquets and drunken revels, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place, that great part of thoſe ſongs and poetic compoſitions owed their riſe to them.

(41) *Recherches des Gaul.* l. i. c. 4. p. 30. & ſeq. (42) *Bouteroue.* p. 43. & ſeq. 101. *Roma ſubterran.* *Mabillon. ep. cand ibid.* (43) *Vide ſup. vol.* iii. p. 385. & ſeq.

proper

proper tunes, that they ſeemed to reliſh nothing elſe, and ſhewed a natural contempt for thoſe of the profaic ſort. And this humour did ſtill prevail ſo ſtrongly, even ſo low as the ninth century, that when *Lewis the Debonnaire* undertook to have the *Saxons* inſtructed in the holy ſcriptures, he was obliged to employ one of their poets to put them into *Saxon* verſe [z]. The ſame was done by *Ottofridus*, with reſpect to the four goſpels, which he cauſed to be tranſlated into *German*, and put into verſe: for, as they could neither read, nor cared to learn, they conſented to learn them by heart, provided they were put into verſe, and ſet to muſic for them, and they permitted to ſing them on proper occaſions. Some ſuch compoſitions *Charles the Great* is ſaid to have found amongſt them, which were very antient and rude, and contained the wars and exploits of their antient kings, and which he cauſed, likewiſe, to be tranſcribed, for the ſame end [a]. We have already hinted, more than once, what were the chief ſubjects of thoſe antient poetic compoſitions: as to their metre, and other particulars relating to them, we are wholly in the dark, unleſs we gueſs at them by ſome of a more modern date; ſuch as thoſe which the author of *Mona Antiqua* has given us [b] out of *Talieſin*, who was poet laureat to *Maelgwyn*, about the time of *Auſtin* the monk's coming into *England*. But neither from theſe, nor from the character which antient authors have given us of the old *Gauliſh* language, can we conclude them to have been either ſmooth or elegant, except with reſpect to the loftineſs of their expreſſions and figures: yet would it not be fair to conclude, that they were all of the ſame kind; and we ſhould have framed but a very wrong idea of the *Greek* poetry, if we had had no other poems to judge by than thoſe of a *Pindar*, *Lycophron*, and ſome others of their bards.

Arts and ſciences. We need not here repeat what we obſerved, in the laſt ſection, concerning their ſkill in aſtronomy and geometry, from which we may juſtly infer, that if they were maſters of thoſe two ſciences, they muſt, of courſe, have cultivated many others, eſpecially ſuch as are depending on, or leading to, them; but to what a number, or degree, cannot be eaſily determined, any more than what new ones thoſe were which they afterwards learned from the *Maſſilian* ſages. As for arts, next to the military, which, though their great favourite, was but indifferently cultivated among them, as we have ſhewed above, eloquence was that wherein they prided themſelves moſt, and which, indeed, was moſt natural to them. They received, from their

[z] Vide Du Chene rer. Francar. tom. ii. ap. Pelloutier ubi ſupra.
[a] Eginhard in vit. Carol. magn. c. 29. [b] P. 150.

infancy,

infancy, moſt of their inſtructions from thoſe poems which were compoſed by the bards and druids; they heard them, upon all public occaſions, either read, or ſung; and as the greateſt part of them were of the heroic kind, ſo it inured them to a pompous and high-flown ſtyle. We have ſeen that they repreſented *Mercury*, the god of eloquence, with the ſymbols of *Hercules*, to ſhew what vaſt power that art had over them, above all others. Theſe emblems they ſeem to have taken from the *Romans* (V); and though they were ſo far from imitating them in their long-winded periods, flow and pompoſity of words and figures, but affected, in the main, a conciſe and nervous ſtyle, yet they could not forbear being taken with ſuch artful declamations and pieces of oratory. This is, at leaſt, what *Cerealis*, a *Roman* general, upbraided them with in *Veſpaſian*'s time[c]; and *Cato* the cenſor tells us, that the *Gauls* made this eloquence, and exerciſe of arms, their chief ſtudy. And, indeed, nothing could be more natural, or neceſſary, in ſuch a country as this, where every little kingdom and commonwealth had its particular council, before which all matters relating to peace and war, and every matter, both public and private, was debated by the parties concerned, beſides the grand council of the whole nation, where the rights, privileges, pretenſions, and other concerns, of every private ſtate, were to be debated, and finally determined, as we have ſeen above. But, after all, we would not venture to affirm, that this art was equally cultivated all over *Gaul*; it is more likely, that theſe countries, which remained ſtill unconquered by the *Romans*, retained ſtill ſomething of their natural ferocity, and contempt for ſuch arts and ſciences as were moſt admired among foreign nations: and we may very well ſuppoſe, that the druids, where-ever they ſtill bore any ſway, did all they could to cheriſh this antipathy. And it is, perhaps, in order to leſſen this averſion, as well as to inſpire thoſe that were ſubdued, with a greater love of this art, that ſeveral emperors thought fit to found academies in ſeveral parts

[c] TACIT. hiſt l. iv. c 73.

(V) It is known, that the *Romans*, in all places of their public exerciſes, placed *Mercury* and *Hercules* in full view. The *Greeks* uſually ſet a *Cupid* between them, to ſhew, that love hath its origin from the other two, *i. e.* from ſtrength and eloquence (44); and we read, that the *Megalopolitans* had but one temple for thoſe two deities (45), or even repreſented them under one and the ſame emblem (46).

(44) *Euſtat. in Odyſſ.* θ. (45) *Pauſan in Arcad.* (46) *Ariſtid. orat. in Hercul.*

of

of *Gaul*, with conſiderable rewards and honours to thoſe who gained the prize of it. We are told, that that of *Autun* had, in *Tiberius*'s time, 40000 ſtudents [d]: we read, beſides, that other public ſchools were erected at *Lyons*, *Bourdeaux*, *Thouloufe*, *Narbonne*, and other places, beſides that ſo famed one of *Marſeilles*, of which we have already ſpoken [e]. Hence we need not wonder, that this country has been ſince ſo celebrated for the great number of its rhetoricians and orators [f]; and if it has not been equally famous for their excellency in this kind, as for the number of them, it is becauſe it has happened here, as it doth every-where, and in moſt other ſtudies, many labour hard at them, but few are qualified for them [g].

Commerce. We have already taken notice, from the great regard they paid to the god *Mercury*, as he was the god of traffic, that they drove as great a commerce as any other nation. This is, moreover, proved, from a great number of antient inſcriptions, and, particularly, a famous one ſet up by the *Paris* merchants, and dedicated to *Jupiter the good*. The reader will ſee it in the margin (W), together with a hint or two of ſome curious conjectures,

[d] Idem, ann. l. iii. c. 43. [e] Sueton. in Calig. c 20. Juven. ſatir. l. i. c. 6. & Auson. profeſſor. [f] Hieron. adv. Vigilant. & epiſt. ad Ruſtic. Juvenal. ſat. xv. ver. 3. [g] Pelloutier. hiſt. des Celt. l. ii. c. 10. ad fin.

(W) The inſcription runs thus: Tib. Caesare Avg. Jovi optvm. maxvm. m. navtae Parisiaci posvervnt. From the diſpoſition of ſome of the letters, which, for want of room at the end of the line, are put juſt under it, inſtead of beginning the next, our author ſuppoſes the *Gauls* to have had the antient way, which is aſcribed alſo to the *Greeks*, of writing βουστροφηδὸν, that is, as the oxen ploughed, backwards and forwards (47). He endeavours to confirm his notion by ſome antient coins, whoſe legend runs, in ſome, from the right to the left; and, in others, from the left to the right: we do not, however, mention it here, as if we were ſatisfied, that he has fully proved it from either, but only to excite our curious antiquaries to a fuller inquiry into it, from ſuch old coins and monuments as may fall into their way

Our author further pretends, that the *Celtes*, or antient *Gauls*, brought the *Greek* letters with them from *Phœnice* (48), contrary to the general conſent of antient authors, who affirm, that they borrowed them from the *Greeks*. As his arguments for it ſeem very far from concluſive to us, we have followed the current opinion, until ſomething more evident ſtrikes out from thoſe hints he has

(47) *Pezron.* l v. *Vide Pelloutier, des Gaul.* l. iii. c. 14. (48) *Ibid.* l. i. c. 3.

given

jectures, which a modern author has drawn from it, which would be too long for us to dwell upon. The whole country ſeems to have been divided into three eſtates, *viz.* the druids, with their underlings, the bards, *&c.* the nobles, and the mercantile part, which was, by far, the greateſt. The two former had their revenue partly from the latter, and partly from their own lands, and the ſpoils of war; and were ſo opulent, that riches ſeemed to flow upon them on all ſides, ſo that their chief buſineſs, eſpecially in time of peace, was to encourage arts and ſciences, as the beſt means to preſerve, if not to increaſe, their opulence. What ſeems moſt ſurpriſing, if what an antient author tells us may be depended upon, is, that ſome of the *Gauliſh* nations interdicted the uſe of gold and ſilver, which was to be all dedicated to *Mars*, and ſo become ſacred and inviolable; and allowed of no coin, but that which was made of copper and braſs [h]. The paſſage is too curious to be wholly omitted, eſpecially as it will convince the reader, that the war, which the *Gauls* waged againſt the temples of other nations, was not owing to their greedineſs after thoſe treaſures that were ſtored up in them, but from the averſion they had, in common with the *Perſes*, ſpoken of in a former volume, againſt all ſuch buildings, they being looked upon by both as derogatory to the Supreme Being, which cannot be confined within walls, but fills, with his preſence, both heaven and earth. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of this paſſage in the next note (X). But it is too likely,

[h] ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c 5.

given us; which is far from being impoſſible, conſidering the difficulty there is to imagine how it was poſſible for the druids to retain in their heads ſuch a vaſt variety of the moſt copious and important ſubjects, by dint of memory, and without having ſome kind of books, or writings, to refreſh it, or to have recourſe to, when that failed; and how eaſily might they conceal ſuch a help, if any ſuch they had, as they did ſo many other things, from the reſt of the world?

(X) "Among the *Gauls*," ſays that author (49), "the *Cordiſti*" (he means the *Scordiſci*, of whom we have ſpoken in a former volume (50), as is plain by the ſequel) "do not ſuffer, to this day, "any gold to be brought into their country, tho' they make no "ſcruple to ravage other nations. They are a remnant of thoſe "who went to beſiege the temple of *Delphos*, under the conduct of "*Brennus*. *Bathanatius* cauſed them to be ſtopped on the banks "of the *Danube*, and forced them to ſettle in that neighbourhood; "and, from his name, they have called that voyage *Bathanatia*,

(49) *Athen. l.* vi *c.* 5. (50) *See vol* xii. *p.* 315, *& ſeq.*

likely, that this contempt of these two superior metals did vanish away, upon their becoming more acquainted with other nations, especially upon their becoming subject to the *Romans*; who, as we observed before, made no scruple to rifle those treasures [i], which, before that time, lay exposed to the wide world untouched, and, perhaps, to corrupt them into slavery with it, as *Herodian* reports them, and especially *Severus*, to have done by the *German* nation.

Hunting, and other exercises.

The *Gauls*, as well as all the other northern people, made hunting a considerable diversion; and, indeed, considering the vast forests which the country abounded with, and which bred vast multitudes of wild beasts, such as bears, wolves, wild boars, foxes, &c. (Y), if they had not made it their business to hunt and

[i] Sueton. in Cæsar.

"and his descendants *Bathanates*. The *Scordisci* consecrate all "their gold, and suffer none to use it in their country: but they "would do much better to proscribe their sacrileges, instead of "that metal; for it can be no credit to forbid the use of it, whilst "they commit so many unjust robberies to procure iron and copper; "for if they chance to be in want of these, they take up arms, and "lay them not down till they have got a sufficient supply."

Thus far *Athenæus*. And though he only mentions one nation of the *Gauls*, yet, if we remember what hath been said of their leaving their treasures of gold and silver, and consecrated to *Mars*, exposed in the open fields, especially those vast ones which were thrown into the lake of *Thoulouse*, and which consisted in ingots, and rich utensils of those metals; and that, according to *Posidonius* and *Strabo*, those treasures remained sacred and untouched; and if we add, to all this, what another author says, that the *Gauls* never shut their doors (51); we may safely conclude, that all the rest of the *Gauls* suffered no other use to be made of those metals, but to dedicate them to their deities, at least till such a time as the *Romans*, coming to plunder these *asyla*, as *Cepio* did that of *Thoulouse* (52), used those metals against them, lessened their veneration for the one, and made them set a greater value upon the other.

(Y) *Cæsar* (53), *Pliny*, and other authors (54), mention several other wild beasts which used to be hunted by the *Gauls*, of which we know nothing now but the names: and some of them, by the description there given us, seem to have been of a very strange kind, if there ever were any such in being: such are the *alces*, the *bonasus*, the wild ass, &c. The *alces*, according to *Cæsar*, had no joints in his legs, and was forced to sleep leaning against a tree.

(51) Strab. l. iv. N. Damasc. in excerpt. ex Valer. (52) See Justin. l. xxxii. c. 3. (53) Comm. l. vi. (54) N. H. l. viii. Pausan. in Boet.

The

and deſtroy them, they muſt, in time, have been over-run with them. But, beſides theſe, they hunted the elk, the deer, hare, and other harmleſs animals: they made, likewiſe, fowling a diverſion, and were, it ſeems, ſo dextrous at it, that they killed them flying, with a dart [k] thrown by hand, though they are likewiſe ſaid to have uſed the ſling, and the bow and arrow. We have, in a former ſection, taken notice of a way they had of poiſoning thoſe darts and arrows which they uſed in hunting, with the juice of a plant which they called, in their language, *lineum*, or *limeum* [l], which ſome have taken for ellebore [m], ſome the nightſhade. *Strabo* ſays, it was a kind of wild fig-tree, whoſe fruit, he had ſomewhere read, reſembled the *Corinthian* chapiter. The wound failed not, it ſeems, to kill the creature, and make its fleſh more ſweet and tender; but they took care to cut off that piece, and throw it away. The profeſſed huntſ-

[k] STRABO, l. iv. [l] AUL. GELL. noct. Att. l. xvii. c. 15. PLIN. ubi ſupra, l. xxv. c. 5. Geogr. l. iv. [m] ARRIAN. de venat.

The ſame animal is mentioned by *Pliny* and *Solinus*, without that particularity The *bonaſſus*, according to ſome authors (55), had a horſe's face, and the reſt reſembled a bull, its horns bending ſo far back, that there was no riding upon it.

Much the ſame wonders they relate of ſome of their birds, one ſort of which caſt ſuch a bright light from their feathers (56), that travellers made uſe of them to ſee their way in the darkeſt nights: but enough of theſe fictitious animals.

The real ones, not mentioned above, were, the wild bull, called *urus*, and which, *Cæſar* ſays (57), was a little leſs than the elephant, though it was not much bigger than a common bull; the elk, which was generally caught in traps, and, being tamed, could be taught to draw a chariot, or ſledge (58); the wild goat, of which there were then great quantities, and divers kinds; beſides badgers, otters, and other ſuch, not worth mentioning.

For all theſe kinds of creatures they had a breed of proper hounds, which they trained up to the ſport, and generally hunted on horſeback, unleſs it be ſome of thoſe creatures which chiefly lived among the rocks, and which they were forced to hunt on foot (59). So fond were they of their hounds, that the antient *Burgundian* laws obliged a man, publicly convicted of ſtealing one of them, to pay five ſhillings, one half to the owner, and the other to the public treaſury; and, if inſolvent, he was obliged to kiſs the dog's poſteriors (60).

(55) *Ariſtot hiſt. animal.* l. ix. c. 45. *Plin. ubi ſupra.* (56) *Solin. polyhiſt.* c. 32. *Vide & Strab.* l. iv. (57) L. vi c. 28. (58) *Martial epigr.* l. i. *Paul. Diac. in Liſt. Longobard.* (59) *Arrian. de venat. & al.* (60) *Vid Plautin. ubi ſupra*, l. ii. c. 12.

men held a feaſt every year to *Diana*, and, among other offerings, each of them preſented her with a purſe, in which was a certain ſum for every beaſt they had taken during that year; ſuch as a farthing for every hare, a drachm for every fox, and ſo proportionally for the reſt. Their devotions being ended, they adjourned to a ſumptuous entertainment, and concluded the day with it [n]. Other exerciſes, of the manly kind, they were, likewiſe, very fond of. We have often obſerved, what excellent horſemen and charioteers they are ſaid to have been, above all other nations in *Europe*, which ſkill could not be attained but by dint of practice. Accordingly, we find, they had their hippodromes, horſe and chariot races, tilts and tournaments; at all which the bards aſſiſted, and, with their poems, ſongs, and muſical inſtruments, in which they celebrated the praiſes of thoſe who had formerly won the prize, inſpired the new candidates with a noble ardour to ſignalize themſelves upon all ſuch occaſions. And happy were they looked upon, who could obtain a place in thoſe records of fame. All their exerciſes in general tended to render them lighter, ſtronger, hardier, and long-winded; and we are told, that the youth were obliged to keep their belly within the compaſs of a girdle of a certain ſize, either by faſting, running, riding, ſwimming, or any other laborious diverſion: for if they grew fat enough to exceed the bounds of it, it was not only a diſgrace to them, but they were, likewiſe, fined for it [o]. Swimming was alſo an excellent expedient, not only to harden their bodies, but to fit them for paſſing the wideſt and rapideſt rivers; in which they were ſo very expert and famed, that they could croſs the *Rhine*, *Danube*, and *Rhoſne*, without breaking their ranks [p].

Feaſtings. THESE may be looked upon as ſome of their laudable and beneficial diverſions; but they had a moſt predominant one, which can ſcarcely be ranked in that claſs, and yet ſeemed generally to accompany all the other public ones, or, rather, the others ſerved only to introduce this; we mean their feaſtings, in which they were generally very profuſe, though very negligent in the order and decorum of them [q]. All their public aſſemblies and exerciſes, all their feaſts, birth-days, weddings, burials, and anniverſaries of them, were always accompanied with ſuch ſumptuous banquets, in which they intermixed with their good chear both vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The no-

[n] EPHOR. ap. Strab. l. iv. DAMASCEN. ap. Stob. ſerm. xxxvii. [o] CÆSAR, ubi ſupra. MELA de ſit. orb. l. iii AMM. MARCEL. l. xxv. & al. [p] TACIT. Germ. c. 14, & ſeq. [q] Vide XENOPH. exped. Cyr l. vii. ATHEN. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ſympoſ. vii. c. 9. VARRO, & al.

bles,

bles, eſpecially, were moſt fond of them, becauſe their greatneſs and intereſt conſiſting chiefly in the number of their clients, vaſſals, and *ſoldurii*, there was not a more effectual way, either to ſecure the old, or procure new ones, but ſuch kinds of entertainments: for the *Gauls*, as well as the *Germans* and other northern nations, were ſuch exceſſive lovers of good eating and drinking, that nothing won their hearts more than theſe kinds of feaſts: and to what height theſe were carried, may be ſeen by ſome few inſtances we ſhall give in the margin (Z). To theſe feaſts, thoſe who were moſt famed for valour and wiſdom were always reckoned the chieſeſt gueſts, becauſe their example did bear the greateſt ſway in all ſuch elections. The reader may not be diſpleaſed, perhaps, to ſee a ſhort deſcription of theſe feaſts of the antient *Gauls* out of *Poſidonius*, who had himſelf been in that country: we ſhall give it in the margin (A).

It

(Z) We read of the famed *Luernius*, king of the *Auvernians*, and father of *Bituitus*, who was afterwards defeated by *Fabius Maximus*, that he made an incloſure of twelve furlongs ſquare, in which he entertained all comers, during ſeveral days, with all manner of exquiſite meats and liquors (61); and of one *Ariamnes*, who cauſed lodges to be erected upon the high roads, each of which could entertain four hundred perſons, and treated them in the ſame ſumptuous manner a whole year (62). Neither ſuffered they any ſtrangers, who happened to be at the place at the times of theſe feaſts, or were travelling that way, to paſs by without being invited, or even compelled to come, and take ſhare of them; and, if their time could not permit them to ſtay, they obliged them to drink a glaſs or two (63).

The following is a remarkable inſtance of their fondneſs for theſe entertainments: The ſame *Luernius* having given another ſuch feaſt, and invited a famed bard to come and ſing his praiſes, as it was uſual for them to do; the bard coming juſt at the latter end of it, was ſo deeply affected at the diſappointment, that he tried, in vain, to ſing out his deſigned panegyric: he was, at length, conſtrained to change it into deep lamentations, for being forced to take up with the reliques of ſo ſumptuous a banquet (64).

(A) According to him, their tables were very low; they eat but little bread, which was baked flat and hard, and eaſy to break into pieces; but devoured a great deal of fleſh, boiled, roaſted, and broiled, which they did in a very ſlovenly manner, holding the piece in their hands, and tearing it with their teeth. What they could not part by this way, they cut off with a little knife, which they carried in their girdle. When the company was numerous, the coryphee, or chief of the feaſt, who was either one of the richeſt,

(61) *Tacit. ubi ſupra*, c. 21. (62) *Poſidon. ap. Athen. l.* iv c. 12. (63) *Idem ibid.* (64) *Idem ibid. Appian in Celt.*

or

It was likewiſe cuſtomary, to drink hard at theſe kinds of feaſts; yet it ſeems, according to the ſame author, that the coryphee, or head-gueſt, always began firſt, and put the cup, or rather pitcher, about to his next neighbour, till it had gone round: for, it ſeems, they all drank out of the ſame veſſel, and no man could drink till it came to his turn, nor refuſe when it did. And hence, in all probability, the cuſtom of drinking to one another, which was, it ſeems, common to the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* [r], as well as to the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, and northern people. The misfortune was, that at theſe feaſts they uſed to begin to talk of affairs as ſoon as the cups went round, and as they generally ſat at them till the next morning, they ſo heated themſelves with liquor, and wrangling, that they ſeldom ended without duels, the *Gauls*, ſays our author, ſetting ſo little value upon their lives. If the feaſt proved a peaceable one, it was generally accompanied not only with muſic and ſongs, as we obſerved above, but with dances, likewiſe, in which the dancers were armed cap-à-pé, and beat the meaſure, with their ſwords upon their ſhields. On certain feſtivals, likewiſe, ſuch as that of *Mithras*, they uſed to dreſs themſelves in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as were dedicated to him, and accompany the proceſſions that were made on that day: others dreſſed themſelves in maſquerade habits, ſome of them very indecent, and played ſeveral antic and immodeſt tricks; and this cuſtom was retained ſo long among them, even ſince their converſion to chriſtianity, that ſome of their councils and biſhops not only cenſured and condemned them, but appointed faſts, and proper prayers, to be uſed on thoſe days [s], to divert them from that heatheniſh cuſtom.

[r] Diod. Sicul. l. v. Vide Polyb. l. ii. l. ii c. 34. & ſeq.

[s] Relig. des Gaul.

or nobleſt, or braveſt, ſat in the middle, with the maſter of the houſe on his ſide: the reſt took their places next, each according to their rank, having their ſervants behind them, holding their ſhields. The guards had their table over-againſt them, and after their maſters had done, the ſervants were, likewiſe, regaled. He adds, that no one was allowed to eat of a diſh, till the coryphee had taſted of it (65).

Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the *Gauls* uſed to eat ſitting upon the ground, which was covered with ſkins of wolves and dogs; and the diſhes were brought by children of the family, or by other boys and girls. He adds, that near every table there was a ſtove, or fire-place, which abounded with ſpits, pots, pans, and other ſuch kitchen-furniture (66).

(65) *Athen.* l. iv. c. 13. (66) *L.* v.

THEIR chief liquors were beer and wine, the former the moſt common of the two; for they did not begin to cultivate the latter till very late. *Strabo* obſerves, of the *Luſitanians*, that one ſuch feaſt, as thoſe we have ſpoken of, uſed to exhauſt all the vintage of that year [t]; but, by degrees, they came to like it better, and left the beer to the *Germans* and northern nations, and made wine their chief liquor. Their martial temper inſpired them originally with ſuch contempt for agriculture, that they committed the care of it, at firſt, to their wives, old men, and ſlaves. The *Germans* and they are juſtly blamed for it by the *Romans*, and a great piece of pride and folly it was in them, to chuſe to purchaſe the conveniencies of life at the expence of blood and wounds, rather than by the ſweat of their brow [u]. But the ſame may be ſaid of all handicraft trades, which they looked upon as vaſtly below the care of a warlike nation; but one may ſay, in general, that when the *Romans* came to pour their conquering armies upon them, they forced them, by degrees, to procure thoſe things by their labour, which they were formerly wont to get, either by the ſword, or by commerce: neceſſity ſoon made them feel the ſweet of encouraging agriculture, and all other kinds of trades; and, by degrees, likewiſe of the liberal arts and ſciences; in both which branches they became, in time, as expert and famed as any other nation. So that one may ſafely look upon their conqueſt by the *Romans* to have been the mother of all theſe. *Contempt of agriculture, &c.*

WE ſhall conclude this ſection with a ſhort review of the other vices and virtues which are recorded as being peculiar to the antient *Gauls*. As for their vices, they are reducible to theſe three, which are attributed to them by the generality of antient writers, *viz.* drunkenneſs, lazineſs, and fierceneſs; all which we ſhall have the leſs occaſion to dwell upon, becauſe we have occaſionally given ſo many pregnant inſtances, in the courſe of their hiſtory. As for their drunkenneſs, we have given ſome inſtances of it in ſpeaking of their feaſtings; but we cannot ſee why that vice ſhould be reckoned more peculiar to them, than to their neighbours the *Germans*, who vaſtly exceeded them in it. Beſides theſe, *Plato* has given us a liſt of other people who were equally guilty of it, *viz.* the *Lydians*, *Perſians*, *Carthaginians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, and *Spaniards* [x]; and we need not direct our readers where to look for ſome others, who may juſtly come under the ſame cenſure. But the *Gauls* were more envied for their bravery, both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, and were, therefore, made oftener the ſub- *Their vices.* *Drunkenneſs.*

[t] L. iii. [u] German. c. 14, & 23. [x] De leg. l. i. Vide & ATHEN. l. x. CLEM. ALEX. pæd. l. ii.

jects

ject of their reflections. Accordingly *Livy* and *Plutarch*[y] pretend to have it from antient authors, that thoſe *Gauls* who lived near the *Alps*, having once taſted the *Italian* wine, became ſo enamoured with it, that they immediately reſolved to go and conquer that country. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that they were ſo fond of that liquor, that they would give a man, that is, one of their ſlaves, for a gallon of wine[z]; which made the merchants very ready to furniſh ſuch cuſtomers with that beloved commodity, both from *Greece* and *Italy*. It is likewiſe pretended, that they were more than ordinary greedy of it, on account that it made them fight more courageouſly, or rather furiouſly, and more apt to deſpiſe all manner of dangers and fatigues; and yet, in fact, nothing is plainer, than that, if thoſe authors have not exaggerated their accounts, the *Gauls* could not encounter a worſe enemy than wine proved to them, upon all occaſions, ſince, according to them, it ſeldom failed throwing whole armies of them into diſorder and confuſion; and, which was ſtill worſe, by baiting them with ſome large quantities of that liquor, it either ſo overcame them, that they fell down dead-drunk, and expoſed, as it were, naked and defenceleſs, to their enemies, by which means they have been all cut in pieces; or, as it often happened, it ſet them a fighting one againſt another, ſo that they became an eaſier prey to them[a]. One would, therefore, be apt to think, that, after they had ſo oft and ſeverely ſmarted for their greedineſs, after that deſtructive liquor, their kings and generals would have made ſome wholſome prohibitions againſt ſo dangerous a cuſtom: and what may incline us to believe they did ſo, is, that though the *Greek* and *Roman* authors charge the whole *Gauliſh* people, in the lump, with this vice, yet the inſtances they give are but few, and happened ſometimes to one nation, ſometimes to another of them (B). However, though

[y] Hiſt. l. v. PLUT. in Camil. [z] L. v. [a] Vide JUSTIN. ex. Trog. l. xxiv. c. 7, & ſeq. APPIAN. Celtica. PLUTARCH. LIVY. ubi ſupra. & al.

(B) Thus, for inſtance, we are told, that thoſe *Gauls* who took the city of *Rome*, and thoſe who ravaged *Greece*, were moſtly cut off in their drunken revels (67). The ſame fate, we are told, overtook the *Goths* in *Thrace* (68); one ſort were defeated by *Cyrus*, in the ſame manner; and another by the *Romans* (69). But theſe are hardly more than ſingle inſtances, that happened to one tribe or other of them.

(67) *Appian. Celt. Plutarch. in Camil. Juſtin. l.* xxiv. (68) *Zoſim. l.* iv. *c.* 23, *& ſeq.* (69) *Juſtin. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Liv. l.* xli. *c.* 4.

this

this abuſe has been ſomewhat exaggerated, yet we own, that there muſt have been ſome foundation for it, ſince *Charles the great* was forced to make ſome ſevere laws againſt it; one of which obliged the judges on the bench, and the pleaders to continue faſting; others, which forbad the forcing of any one to drink more than he cared for; others, which forbad the ſoldiers, whilſt in the field, to invite any man whatever to drink under pain of excommunication, and being condemned to drink water till they had been ſufficiently puniſhed for their fault [b]. This vice, it ſeems, was ſo univerſal, that even the *Myſians*, a kind of monkiſh tribe among the *Scythians*, who were obliged to abſtain from all fleſh, wine, and ſtrong liquors, had yet a way amongſt them of intoxicating themſelves by the ſmoke of ſome odoriferous weeds, ſomething, perhaps, of the nature of our tobacco, which made them exceeding chearful and merry, tho' without being attended with the ill effects which are commonly cauſed by exceſs of wine, *&c.* [c] (C).

THE lazineſs, imputed likewiſe to them, appears, by what we have ſaid a little higher, to have been rather owing to their pride, than to any diſlike they had to labour, under an honourable title: for it is plain, that in their exerciſes, as well as their wars, they accuſtomed themſelves to hardſhips and fatigues of any kind; ſo that if they neglected agriculture and handicraft trades, it was rather becauſe they looked upon them as a kind of ſlavery unbecoming their martial genius. And it was upon this account, that they ſo readily ruſhed upon any deſperate death, to avoid being taken priſoners, eſpecially by the *Romans*, who, they knew, were wont to make ſlaves of them, and condemn them to the hardeſt and meaneſt employments. And though, after their conqueſt, we have ſeen them take up with a laborious life, cultivate their lands, vineyards, and uſeful trades; yet the ſame ſpirit reigns ſtill among their gentry and nobility, both in *Gaul* and *Germany*, where they retain ſtill a *Idleneſs.*

[b] *Vide* addition. Carol. Mag. ad leg. Salic. an. 803 & PELLOUTIER. ubi ſupra, l. ii c. ult. [c] POSIDON. ap. Strab. l. vii. Vide & CASAUBON. in loc. & PELLOUTIER. ubi ſupra.

(C) The ſame, we are told, was practiſed by the *Scythians* and *Thracians*, who had no wine (70). The men and women, it ſeems, ſat round a good fire, into which they threw theſe weeds: ſome call it a grain, or ſeed (71), the ſmoke of which they ſucked up in ſuch large draughts, that, in a little time, it ſet them all a laughing, dancing, and ſinging.

(70) *Herodot. l.* i. *Mela, l.* ii. *Max. Tyr. l.* xi. *Plutarch. de ſuav.*
(71) *Solin. c.* 15. *Mela, ubi ſupra.*

contempt for all the laborious and mercantile part, and chuſe rather to live in a ſhameful ſloth, and even poverty, than ſupport themſelves and families by any other way than that of arms. They even carry this punctilio of honour ſo far, as to look upon it as diſhonourable, to the laſt degree, for a nobleman, in how low circumſtances ſoever, to marry the daughter of a mechanic, or even merchant, though her fortune was ever ſo large, and capable of enriching him and his family.

Ferocity. As to their laſt vice, *viz.* their ferocity and cruelty, there will be the leſs occaſion to wonder at it, if we conſider, that they were brought up with a peculiar contempt of death: for how can it be expected they ſhould be tender of other peoples lives, that were ſo careleſs, and even laviſh, of their own? And if ſlavery appeared ſo terrible to them, that they preferred any death to it, might they not deem it a mercy in them, to maſſacre their priſoners of war, or ſacrifice them to their gods, rather than to make ſlaves of them? But we obſerved before, that this exceſſive love of liberty had made them look long ago upon other people, eſpecially upon the *Romans*, not only with a jealous eye, but inſpired them with an invincible hatred againſt them, and all whom they obſerved, like them, diligent and ſucceſsful in enſlaving other nations. And this might add not a little to their native fierceneſs, and to that cruelty with which they thought they ought to treat ſuch open invaders of public liberty, as well as thoſe who baſely aſſiſted them in it. This will appear leſs improbable, if we come now to examine ſome of thoſe ſocial virtues for which they were famed, even by the confeſſion of their enemies, ſuch as their hoſpitality, frugality, juſtice, and fidelity.

Their virtues and hoſpitality. It will, doubtleſs, be thought ſtrange, that a nation, ſo cruel to their enemies, and ſo touchy and fierce among themſelves, as to have recourſe to ſingle combat upon every trifling affront, ſhould yet be ſo famed for their hoſpitality and humanity, not only to ſtrangers but to ſuch as refuged themſelves among them; and yet they are highly cried up for this admirable virtue, both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. It was, it ſeems, a conſtant cuſtom amongſt them, to invite their ſtrangers to all their feaſts, and, after it was over, to inquire who they were, and wherein they might be ſerved [d]. This was practiſed, according to the ſame author, by the very *Celtiberians*, who were looked upon as ſome of the cruelleſt among the *Gauls*, inſomuch, that they came in crowds to invite a traveller to their houſes; and happy was he thought whom he choſe for his hoſt: if he pitched upon one whoſe circumſtances would not permit him to

[d] Diod. Sicul. l. v.

afford him a very long entertainment, (for they generally treated them very ſumptuouſly) he always took care to turn him over to another that could do it. If any *Gaul* was convicted of having refuſed this courteſy to a ſtranger, he was not only looked upon with abhorrence by all his acquaintance, but fined by the magiſtrate: witneſs that law which was enacted among the *Burgundians*, which laid a fine of three crowns on all ſuch inhoſpitable delinquents; and one of double that ſum to any *Burgundian* that ſhould direct a ſtranger to the houſe of a *Roman*. In ſome other places they added a corporal puniſhment to the fine; and *Tacitus* doth that juſtice even to the *German* nation, as to give ſeveral inſtances of their tender regard to ſtrangers[g]: and *Cæſar* adds, that they eſteemed all ſuch perſons as ſacred and inviolable, and to whom every houſe was to be opened, and every table free [h]. They even conducted them from one territory to another, and puniſhed thoſe upon the ſpot, from whom they had received any damage, or ill treatment [i]. They even puniſhed the murder of a ſtranger more ſeverely than that of one of their own nation, *viz.* the former by death, and the latter by baniſhment. As for thoſe who took refuge amongſt the *Gauls*, and a more ſafe and ſtedfaſt ſanctuary they could not meet with in any other nation, they were ſure to be protected and maintained, according to their rank. Hence that great number of diſtreſſed kings, princes, and others, who fled thither, preferably to any other country, for refuge and defence, of which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections of this hiſtory; and with what faithfulneſs they were protected by them, may, out of many more inſtances, be inferred, from that which we ſhall give our readers in the margin (D), to avoid dwelling too long upon ſo known a ſubject.

THESE

[g] German. c. 21. [h] Comment. l. vi. [i] ARISTOT. de mir. Aud. N. DAMASC. ap. Stob. ſerm. 165.

(D) *Toriſin*, king of the *Gepidæ*, had a noble refugee at his court, named *Ildiſgus*, who had a lawful right to the crown of *Lombardy*, but had been excluded from it, after the death of king *Waccs*, by *Aduin*, who ſeized upon it. This laſt cauſed *Ildiſgus* to be demanded of the *Gepidæ*, and procured his demand to be backed by the emperor *Juſtinian*'s embaſſadors. *Toriſin*, who had juſt concluded a peace with the *Romans* and *Lombards*, called a council of all his nobles, and acquainted them with *Aduin*'s requeſt, and the danger he was in, if he refuſed. Upon this, that truly auguſt aſſembly unanimouſly agreed, that it were better that their whole nation, men, women, and children, ſhould periſh, than to give way to ſuch a ſacrilegious demand (72).

(72) *Procop. hiſt. Gothor. l.* iii. *c.* 35. *l.* iv. *c.* 27.

Fidelity and justice.

THESE instances are no less an argument of their justice and fidelity: the confidence which the emperors, princes, and commonwealths, placed in them, not only in courting their alliance and friendship, and in hiring great numbers of them as auxiliaries, but likewise in the former chusing them for their life-guards, is another proof of it. And if they could be thus faithful to even *Roman* emperors, such as *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Claudius*, and others; we need not doubt of their being so to other nations, to whose service they had not such a natural reluctance: though it must be owned, that the *Germans* gained, in time, a greater degree of confidence in those monarchs than the *Gauls* had done; and, perhaps, on this very account, that they did not shew such natural aversion to the *Roman* yoke as the *Gauls* did, who took all opportunities that offered to shake it off. But before even the time of *Augustus*, we find the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in great credit and trust with *Juba*, king of *Mauritania* [l], with *Herod*, king of *Judæa* [m], with *Cleopatra* [n], and with most princes far and near; an account of which hath been given in every proper place of this work. They have, indeed, been branded with the reverse vice, by several *Greek* and *Roman* historians [o]; and it must be owned, that they have sometimes receded from their fidelity, notwithstanding their valuing themselves so much upon it above all other nations; and we have formerly given several instances of it, though, for want of knowing what motives induced them to it, we have been obliged to condemn them for actions, which, if those authors had rightly informed us of the true springs of them, might have passed uncensured. Neither *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, nor *Romans*, were famed for their strict adherence to their treaties, any more than scrupulous about the means of obtaining them: and *Cæsar*, for instance, has laid the blame on the *Gaulish* perfidy, which *Cato* has bravely retorted upon him [p]. And who knows what provocations they may have had, whenever they have departed from their usual

[l] CÆSAR. com. l. ii. c. 40. [m] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 21. [n] Idem ibid. c. 5 [o] CÆSAR ubi supra, l. iv. c. 11. POLYB l. ii. LIV. l. l. xxv. c. 33. Vide PATERC. & al. [p] Vide SUETON in Jul. Cæs c. 24. PLUTARCH. in eund; CATO Min. DIO. CASS. & al.

Even among the ruder *Slavonians*, who lived on the other side of the *Elbe*, it was permitted to set any man's house on fire, who refused sanctuary to a stranger; and, in such cases, every one strove to punish the violation of hospitality (73).

(73) *Helmold. chron. Slavon. c.* 82. *Pelloutier. l.* ii. *c* 16

fidelity

fidelity and juſtice? But not to dwell too long upon uncertainties, we may affirm, that, in the main, they long enjoyed that noble character, however their conqueſts afterwards, and ſince them their unmeaſurable ambition, have hurried them into the quite oppoſite extreme.

Frugality.

OF their frugality we have likewiſe given ſeveral inſtances, ſuch as their contempt of gold and ſilver, of trades and manufactures, and the like; the antient plainneſs of their diet, dreſs, houſes, *&c.* Their cloathing was a kind of veſt and breeches, light and neat; they wore their hair long, and a collar about their neck, and bracelets about their wriſts, and above the elbow. Thoſe who were raiſed to dignities wore them of gold, the reſt of braſs. The druids were always cloathed in white when they officiated, and the freemen, on all public occaſions, appeared with their arms [q]. We know little of their marriages, except that they do not ſeem to have allowed polygamy, and that they had power of life and death over their wives: at leaſt this laſt plainly appears, from a paſſage of *Pomponius Mela*, who, being a *Spaniard*, muſt underſtand the *Gauliſh* laws and cuſtoms better than any *Greek* or *Roman* author that has written of them. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of it in the margin; firſt, becauſe it contains ſome curious particulars about the *Gauliſh* funerals, with which we ſhall cloſe this ſection: and, ſecondly, becauſe the author doth therein clear that nation from having entertained the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which other writers have abſurdly charged them with, and which we promiſed, in a former ſection, to diſprove (E). Their burning of the dead bodies, we have ſeen, in

[q] STRABO, l. iv. PLINI. lxvi. c 24. De diis Germ. & al.

(E) Among other tenets which the druids hold, ſays that author (74), there is one, which they endeavour to inculcate into every *Gaul*, in order to inſpire them with greater bravery; namely, that of the immortality of the ſoul and a future life. Accordingly, ſays he, when they burn the bodies of their dead, and bury their aſhes, they bury, likewiſe with them, their books of accounts, and the notes of hand of the moneys they had lent whilſt alive, that they may be of ſervice to them in the other world. Sometimes, likewiſe, their near relations and friends have flung themſelves into the funeral pile, to go and live with them there. Hath this doctrine of a future life any thing in common with the *Pythagorean* tranſmigration? Could theſe account books, receipts, and notes, be of any ſervice to ſouls which paſs into other bodies, either of men or brutes? Can

(74) *De ſit. orb. l.* iii.

thoſe

in a former ſection, by thoſe urns which contained their bones and aſhes, with ſome other trinkets which they mingled with them, of more or leſs value, according, as may be ſuppoſed, to the condition of the deceaſed; but that they likewiſe buried without burning, may be alſo gathered from thoſe intire bodies which have been found, eſpecially in the mounds of *Saliſbury* plain, of which we have given an account: for as the *Gauls* received their religious laws and cuſtoms from the *Britiſh* druids, we make no doubt they exactly agreed in them, in both countries.

thoſe, who affirm it, imagine, that ſouls, thus tranſmigrated, into whatever body it be, could be ſtill the ſame perſons whom thoſe accounts concerned? And would thoſe friends have been ſuch fools, as to chuſe to die with them, for the ſake of living with them hereafter, had they had the leaſt notion of ſuch a tranſmigration? How could they ever expect that happineſs, if they really believed that, upon their going out of this world, their ſouls were to enter into freſh bodies, of either men, women, brutes, or vegetables, the one, perhaps, in one corner of the world, and the other in another? What likelihood is there, that the *Gauls*, ſo jealous of their liberty as they were, would, by thus ruſhing into immediate death, run the riſque of paſſing into the bodies, I won't ſay of either plants or beaſts, but even into thoſe of ſlaves, or even of women, over whom they had the power of life and death?

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the antient Gauls, *from the* Roman *invaſion, and their conqueſt by* Julius Cæſar, *to the irruption of the* Franks.

WE ſhall have the leſs room to inlarge upon this ſubject, firſt, becauſe we have little or no account of this nation before they were viſited by the *Romans*, but what we have given an account of in ſome part or other of this chapter: and, ſecondly, becauſe what happened to them from that time to the irruption of the *Franks*, has been fully ſpoken of in the *Roman* hiſtory. However, that we may not leave this part too imperfect and ſhort, for the ſake of avoiding repetitions, and that we may ſave our readers the trouble of collecting the particulars of it out of our former volumes, by having recourſe to every index, we ſhall give them here a ſummary of them in one view, and in as ſuccinct a method as we can, with proper references in the margin, of the places where thoſe facts have been more fully diſcuſſed, and add to it an account of ſuch other tranſactions as have not yet, or have but ſlightly, been touched upon.

All

All which we ſhall endeavour to couch, as well as it can be done, in a chronological order, and as near as we can to its epocha, according to ſuch of our chronologers as may be beſt depended upon [r]. We ſhall only add here, that the *Gauls* being a ſtrong and hardy people, and multiplying ſofaſt, that their country could not contain them, was one conſtant cauſe of their excurſions into other countries far and near, and in ſuch vaſt multitudes, that they ſpread terror where-ever they came. It often happened, likewiſe, that theſe colonies, thus ſettled in a foreign country, were ſo moleſted by their neighbours, that, to prevent their being diſpoſſeſſed, they ſent into their native country for freſh aſſiſtance, and eaſily obtained it, the *Gauls* being always ready to pour out their numerous ſwarms, upon all ſuch occaſions, to prevent any of their old colonies being driven back unto them. Hence their vaſt multitudes, their known valour, natural fierceneſs, and cruelty to thoſe who fell into their hands, joined to an unavoidable neceſſity, upon all ſuch expeditions, either to conquer or ſtarve, added not a little to the dread of their name. We ſhall paſs by thoſe which they antiently made out of *Europe* into ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, where they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral fine countries, and under different names, and for which we ſhall refer our readers to the *Celtic* hiſtory in a former volume [a].

THEIR earlieſt and moſt conſiderable ſally, we have recorded, is that which they made into *Italy*, under their famous leader *Belloveſus* (A), who, croſſing the *Rhoſne* and the *Alps*, ſettled himſelf in that part of *Italy* called *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, then inhabited by the *Hetrurians*, about the year of *Rome* 160 [b]. *Year of the flood*, 2377. *before Chriſt*, 622.

THE *Cenomani*, who dwelt between the rivers *Seine* and *Loire*, made the ſecond grand expedition under their general *Elitonis*, and ſettled in the *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, *Mantuan*, *Carniola*, and *Venetian* [c]; the time of this and the next is uncertain.

[a] See vol. v. p. 235, & ſeq. [b] See vol. xi. p. 419. [c] Ibid.

(A) *Ambigatus*, then king of *Celtogallia*, finding his kingdom overſtocked, ſent his two nephews, *Belloveſus* and *Segoveſus*, each at the head of a numerous army, to go and ſeek ſome new ſettlements. The firſt croſſed the *Alps*, and the latter the *Rhine* and *Hercynian* foreſt, and ſettled in that part of *Germany* ſince then called *Boiemia*, and *Bohemia*, from the *Boii*, who accompanied him in that expedition (1), as ſhall be further ſhewn in the next chapter.

(1) *See before vol.* xi. *p.* 419.

THE

THE third was made by the *Læves* and *Ananes*, the former of whom ſettled in *Novara*, on one ſide of the *Po*; and the latter in *Piacentia*, on the oppoſite ſide.

IN a fourth, the *Boii* and *Lingones*, having paſſed the *Pennine Alps*, ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Ravenna* and *Bologna*.

IN the fifth, which happened about two hundred years after that of *Bellovefus*, the *Senones*, ſeated between *Paris* and *Meaux*, were invited into *Italy* by an *Hetrurian* lord, and ſettled themſelves in *Umbria*. *Brennus*, who was their king, had laid ſiege to *Cluſium*, and here it was that he gave that noble anſwer to the three *Fabii*, who were ſent from *Rome* to expoſtulate with him, of which we have had occaſion to take notice in a former ſection. We have ſeen, in the volume laſt quoted [a], that the treachery of the *Fabii*, in entering and defending that city, and of the *Romans* in countenancing, inſtead of puniſhing, it, did ſo exaſperate the *Gauliſh* general, that, raiſing the ſiege of the place, he immediately turned all his force againſt the latter, and, having defeated them, marched directly to *Rome*, whoſe inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch terror at his approach, that they abandoned it to his mercy. When *Brennus* entered the place, which appeared to him like a very deſert, he ſecured all the avenues round the capitol, and then gave up that metropolis to be plundered by his men, who preſently after reduced it to aſhes, and all its ſtately temples and palaces into an heap of rubbiſh. Finding the capitol too ſtrong for him, he turned the ſiege of it into a blockade, and marched againſt *Ardea*, where he was eaſily defeated by *Camillus*, who had been a refugee there about two years: for the *Gauls* were, by this time, ſo intoxicated with their ſucceſs at *Rome*, and with the wine of that country, that they kept neither order nor diſcipline; ſo that *Camillus*, at the head of the *Ardeates*, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. His next attempt was, to ſurpriſe the capitol, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in it, had not the noiſe of ſome geeſe awaked the brave *Manlius*, who ſounded the alarm, and gave them ſuch a fierce repulſe, that moſt of the *Gauls* flung themſelves headlong down the ſteep rock, and loſt their lives. However, the beſieged in the capitol were reduced to ſuch ſtraights on the one hand, and the *Gauls* on the other, who were themſelves beſieged in the city by *Camillus*, now choſen dictator, that the ſenate thought fit to ſend *Sulpitius*, a tribune, to treat with *Brennus*; and between theſe it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould pay him a thouſand pounds weight of gold, and he depart out of the *Roman* territo-

Brennus *enters and plunders* Rome. *Burns and deſtroys it.* *Year of the flood* 2614. *before Chriſt* 385.

[a] See vol. xi. p 421.

ries.

ries. But when the money came to be paid, and *Brennus* had brought falſe weights with him, *Camillus* ordered the gold to be carried back, and told the *Gaul*, that *Rome* ſhould be ranſomed by the ſword, and not with money. He proved as good as his word; for a dreadful conteſt enſuing upon it between the two armies, the *Gauls* were ſo diſheartened on the ſudden, that they made a running fight of it; but being purſued by the dictator, were all cut off, it ſeems, to one man, not one of them being left to carry the news into their own country [c]. *The* Gauls *all cut off.*

THE next expedition was ſtill more unfortunate; for thoſe *Gauls* who had ſettled themſelves in thoſe parts of *Italy* we have lately ſpoken of, led but an uneaſy life there, being continually harraſſed by the *Romans*; upon which, they ſent into *Gaul* for freſh reinforcements; but theſe came in ſuch vaſt numbers to their aſſiſtance, that they became more dreadful to them than the *Romans*: ſo that they made no ſcruple to turn their arms againſt them, and, having killed their two leaders, eaſily put the whole army to flight. The *Romans*, however, were in no ſmall dread of them, when they found how active they were in *Italy*, and what vaſt armies they could draw out of *Gaul*; and it was to diſſipate that fear, that they perpetrated that horrid piece of ſuperſtition at *Rome*, which we formerly mentioned, of burying a *Greek* and a *Gauliſh* man and woman alive in the ox-market. But they did not truſt to this ſo far, as not to make vaſt preparations, when they heard that the *Gæſatæ*, another brave *Gauliſh* nation, were invited, by their *Italian* countrymen, to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were of a fiercer nature than any of the reſt; they ſcorned all kind of defenſive armour as mean and cowardly, and generally choſe to fight naked. Had but their martial ſkill been as great as their courage (B), it is likely they might, at that juncture, have diſabled the

[c] Ibid. p. 429, & ſeq.

(B) We have purpoſely omitted ſeveral other defeats which they met with in ſome other expeditions, and which the reader will find in the places of the *Roman* hiſtory quoted in the margin (2); where he will find, that the *Romans* were by that time ſo well appriſed of their ſuperiority to them in this point, that they generally truſted to it, and with good ſucceſs, ſince it appears, by all theſe inſtances, that it was by that that they gave them ſuch frequent and ſurpriſing defeats.

They fought much after the ſame undiſciplined manner in ſingle combat; witneſs that gigantic *Gaul*, who, by his golden collar,

(2) *See before vol.* xi. *p* 458, 470, 480, 556.

the *Romans* from ever conquering any more nations: for their approach had ſpread ſuch a terror all over the *Roman* territories, that they raiſed one of the vaſteſt armies that had ever been known amongſt them. If we may believe *Polybius* [f], it conſiſted of no leſs than 800000 men, horſe and foot. The *Gauls*, however, nothing terrified at it, though they had but 50000 foot, and 2000 horſe, forced their way through them, and entered their territories; but being as inferior to them in military diſcipline, as they were in number, they met with a total defeat: 40000 of them were killed on the ſpot, and 10000 taken priſoners, and amongſt them *Concolitanus*, one of their kings; whilſt the other, named *Aneroeſtus*, and by far the moſt experienced warrior, only eſcaped to a neighbouring village, and there killed himſelf, as did moſt of the officers who followed him, according to the *Gauliſh* maxim, of preferring death to ſlavery.

The Gæſatæ defeated.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe ſucceſſes, the *Romans* had no ſmall reaſon to fear, that the *Gauls* would, at length, be made ſenſible, by their frequent defeats, of their own want of martial diſcipline and policy, and by their example, and that of other nations, become, in time, as expert ſoldiers as they (C); in which caſe, they could not but become a very formidable enemy to their nation, conſidering their hatred to it, their hardineſs, intrepidity, and readineſs to join every foe againſt them. The aſſiſtance they gave *Hannibal*, as he was croſſing their country, and over the *Alps*, of which we have given an account elſewhere [g]; and, after him, to *Mago* and the *Carthaginians*,

[f] L. ii. c. 22. [g] Vol. xii. p. 85, 93, & vol. xvii. p. 160, & ſeq.

ſeems to have been one of their generals, and, *Goliath* like, challenged any of the *Romans* to fight with him, and was, like him, overcome by a brave ſtripling (3). For the *Gaul*, truſting to his ſuperior ſtrength, began the fight by diſcharging a great blow on his antagoniſt, whilſt the dextrous youth, ruſhing under his ſhield, ſtabbed him to death with his ſword (4).

(C) We are told (5), that their very weapons, eſpecially their ſwords, were ſo wretchedly tempered, that, upon the very firſt onſet, in which they conſtantly charged with incredible fury, they uſed either to break, bend, or be ſo blunted, againſt the *Roman* javelins, as to become uſeleſs; ſo that before they could have time to ſharpen or ſtraiten them, the enemy preſently cloſed in upon them, and, throwing by the javelin, and ſhortening their ſwords upon them, ſtabbed them, like ſo many ſheep

(3) *Ibid. p.* 469, & *ſeq.* (4) *Liv. l.* viii. *c.* 9. (5) *Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Marcel. Oroſ.* & *al.*

thaginians, during their war [i]; their being so frequently hired as auxiliaries, by other states and kingdoms, most of them at war with *Rome*, and among which they were sure to perfect themselves more and more in the martial trade, whilst they themselves could not venture to take them into their pay without manifest danger (D); these considerations obliged them, at last, to retaliate upon them, and invade their country, upon the first favourable opportunity, and before they were become too expert in the art of war for them: but, before we come to speak of this, it will be necessary to say something of their other expeditions and exploits, in *Asia*, *Macedonia*, and other countries.

THE first of this kind was in the year after *Pyrrhus* passed into *Italy* [k], when the *Gauls*, finding themselves again overstocked at home, sent out three vast colonies to seek new habitations. *Brennus* (perhaps a descendant of him who had some two centuries before made that dreadful irruption into *Italy* we have lately mentioned) was the chief adviser of this expedition, and head of one of the *Gallish* armies; *Cerethrius* commanded the second, and marched into *Thrace*; and the third, under the command of *Belgius*, marched into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*: as for *Brennus*, he was entered into *Pannonia*, or *Hungary*, a poor country in comparison to those which *Belgius* had invaded, and wherein he had enriched himself with immense

Year of the flood 2720. *before Christ* 279.

[i] Ibid. p. 248, & seq. [k] POLYB. l. i. c. 6. Vide PAUSAN. Phoc. JUSTIN. l. xxiv. & seq.

(D) They gave a dreadful instance of it from the beginning, when *Scipio*, after the defeat which the *Carthaginians* had given him, on the banks of the *Ticinus*, retired to *Placentia*, to cure his own and his soldiers wounds: for here about 2000 foot, and 200 horse, of those *Gauls*, which the consul had in his pay, upon some discontent, rose up in the dead of the night, and, whilst the *Romans* were asleep, entered their camp, slew a great number of them, cut off their heads, and carried them to *Hannibal*, who gave them a kind reception, and invited them, with vast promises, into his service.

This treachery so disheartened the consul, that, fearing lest the rest of their countrymen, that were left in his army, should follow their example, and make the mischief still greater, he wisely chose to give them the slip, and lead his own troops to a place of more safety. The *Carthaginians*, finding the *Roman* camp cleared, plundered and set it on fire, whilst the *Gauls* flocked, in great numbers, to their general, and listed in his service (6); an action, one would think, sufficient to deter the *Romans* from ever trusting a *Gaul* again.

(6) *Polyb. l.* iii. *c.* 66, *& seq.*

plunder; so that envying his success, he resolved to join him, and share it with him. *Belgius* being soon after defeated, to such a degree that we hear no more of him or his men, he hastened thither, under pretence of revenging and assisting him; and it is not improbable, that the remainder of *Belgius*'s army listed themselves under him. The army with which he entered into those two provinces, consisted of 150000 foot, and 15000 horse; but a revolt happened in it, in which *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, the two chief leaders of it, carried off 20000 men, and marched into *Thrace*, and joining themselves to *Cerethrius*, seized on *Byzantium*, and the western coasts of the *Propontis*, and there settled, and made the adjacent parts tributary to them.

To retrieve this loss, *Brennus* sent for fresh supplies from *Gallia*, inlisted some *Illyrians*, and, with a new army of 150000 foot, and above 60000 horse, entered *Macedonia*, defeated *Sosthenes*, and ravaged the whole country. He next marched towards the straights of *Thermopylæ*, with an intent to invade *Greece*, but was stopped by the forces which were sent to defend that pass against him. This obliged him to get him some guides over those mountains, over which *Xerxes* had passed his forces before; upon which the guards retired, to avoid being surrounded by him. He then ordered *Acichorius*, the next to him in this expedition, to follow him at a distance with part of the army, and with the bulk of it marched strait towards *Delphos*, with a design, as is supposed, to plunder that rich city and temple; but met, it seems, with a terrible repulse, from a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed a great number of his men; and from a dreadful earthquake, which overwhelmed another part of his army: so that the remainder, being seized with a panic fury, fell upon, and murdered each other, all that night. The next morning they found their mistake, and near one half of their army destroyed, and the *Greek* forces pouring in upon them from all parts, and in such numbers, that though *Acichorius* joined him in the nick of time, yet were they not able to make head against the *Greeks*, but were defeated with a terrible slaughter. *Brennus* himself was desperately wounded, and so disheartened at his miscarriage, that he assembled all his chiefs, and having advised them, to slay all that were wounded and disabled, and to make as good a retreat as they could, he put an end to his life. *Acichorius*, immediately after, led the remainder of this shattered army back as well as he could; but their long marches through enemies countries, the oppositions and hardships they met with from them, and the grievous calamities which accompanied them, did, it seems, so thoroughly exhaust them, that not one of them returned

Their dreadful defeat and end.

returned from that expedition [m]: a juſt judgment, indeed, upon them, if they really went with that ſacrilegious deſign which is charged upon them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and in which we make no doubt but they have as much exaggerated their puniſhment in their above-mentioned defeat, as they have their guilt, as the reader may ſee, by what is added in the margin (E).

WHILST

[m] Iidem, ibid. Vide & MEMNON. excerpt. ap. Phot. c. 19, & ſeq. Eclog. DIOD. SICUL. l. xxii. LIV. l. xxxviii. CALLIMACH. hymn. in Delum. SUID. in voc. Galatia.

(E) We promiſed, in a former ſection, to explode the virulent charge which *Cicero* lays againſt the *Gauls* and their religion, founded chiefly on this action of their plundering the *Delphic* temple, and that of their beſieging the capitol, and, as he adds, (to aggravate it the more) the great *Jupiter* in it; from which he infers, that their religion conſiſted only in a diametrical oppoſition to all others, and in waging war againſt the gods of other nations, *&c.* and that the *Gauls* were a moſt irreligious, wicked, and dangerous people, not fit to live; and much more to that purpoſe.

Now if it be true, that the *Gauls*, before their conqueſt, did worſhip the one Supreme Being, and, like the *Perſes*, *Brachmans*, and other antient nations and philoſophers, thought it an indignity to confine him in temples, or repreſent him by idols of any kind, as we have formerly ſhewed they did, then will their deſtroying thoſe temples and idols, or even plundering them of their treaſures, if they had really done ſo by this of *Delphos*, ſtand juſtified, and rather deſerves commendation, than ſuch a black reproof. The plunder of ſuch ſuperſtitious treaſures, to men of theſe principles, and for the ſupport of a numerous army that ſtands in need of it, will be juſtly deemed applying them to a better uſe.

But it plainly appears, from the majority of thoſe authors quoted above, that they did not plunder the *Delphic* oracle, but that they were ſcared from it by a ſtorm and earthquake, which threw them into ſuch a panic, as made them be eaſily overcome by thoſe *Greek* forces, which came, with great fury, to defend their country and oracle againſt them; upon which it is ſuppoſed, that all theſe diſaſters befel them as a juſt judgment for their ſacrilegious deſign againſt that temple and treaſure: but this laſt is at beſt but a ſurmiſe, founded on a wrong, though common, notion, that ſuch diſaſters always argued ſome atrocious crimes in the ſufferers: all which is here dreſſed up, by authors who were profeſſed enemies to the *Gauliſh* nation, and have, doubtleſs, exaggerated both at their pleaſure, though without any real foundation.

Juſtin, and after him *Cicero*, indeed, accuſe them of having plundered the *Delphic* treaſure; and the laſt adds, that they carried it home too; but being grievouſly plagued for their ſacrilege, they were adviſed to throw their ill-got pelf into the lake of *Tholouſe*.

THIS,

WHILST this expedition was carrying on in *Greece*, the other colonies under *Leonorius*, parting from the others who were ſettled in the *Propontis*, marched into the *Helleſpont*, and made themſelves maſters of *Lyſimachia* and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. Here ſome great miſunderſtanding happening between thoſe two chiefs, they parted their forces; the former returned to *Byzantium*, and the latter ſtayed where he was. They did, however, rejoin their forces ſome time after, and paſſed into *Aſia*, being invited thither by *Nicomedes*, whom they aſſiſted againſt his brother, and fixed him in all his father's dominions; in acknowledgment of which, heaſſigned them that part of *Leſſer Aſia* which we deſcribed at the beginning of this chapter, and which was, from them, called *Gallogræcia*, and *Galatia*. Thither came alſo a great number of thoſe other *Gauls* who had ſettled in *Thrace*, and who were driven from thence by *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had ſeized the kingdom of *Macedon* upon the death of *Soſthenes*. A greater number of them diſperſed themſelves about in other countries, and either periſhed, or ſo intermingled themſelves, as not to be heard of any more; ſo that of this great and threatening *Gauliſh* army, none remained but thoſe who ſettled in *Galatia* [n]. Theſe likewiſe, in time, increaſing in number, and being ſtreightened in their territories, endeavoured, according to cuſtom, to inlarge them where they could, and to ſend their colonies and auxiliary armies abroad (F), which

Some ſettled in Galatia.

[n] Idem ibid.

This, though plainly oppoſite to all thoſe authors who have written of that expedition, ſeems to us only an invidious improvement on the account they have given of it, in order to bring a ſcandal on that vaſt treaſure which was conſecrated and repoſited in that lake, and which *Strabo* and *Athenæus*, on the authority of *Poſidonius*, tell us was (ſo far from being fetched from *Delphos*) dug up out of ſome rich mines in that neighbourhood, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve in the laſt ſection. If any thing, therefore, could be objected, with any ſeeming juſtice, againſt the *Gauls*, it was their ſending ſuch powerful colonies to invade other nations; but neither *Greeks* nor *Romans* could have any pretence to find fault with that which was their own practice, as well as that of all other nations.

(F) *Juſtin* tells us, that all *Aſia* ſwarmed with them, and that there was hardly an eaſtern prince at war that did not hire them as mercenaries (7). This was, in particular, the caſe of *Antiochus Hierax*, in his war againſt *Seleucus*, whom he defeated at *Ancyra* (8), by the help of the *Gauliſh* auxiliaries. But his victory had like to have coſt him dear. for theſe, having heard a rumour, that *Seleucus* had been ſlain, formed, it ſeems, a project to murder him, and

(7) *L.* xxv. *c.* 2. (8) *Idem ibid.*

ſeize

which did not a little annoy and alarm all their neighbours; but they were at length ſuppreſſed by the proconſul of *Aſia*, *Corn. Manlius Vulſo*, who gave them ſeveral defeats, and obliged them to live quietly, and keep within their old limits [o]. They are, however, affirmed by ſome authors to have been ſubdued about fifty-three years before, by *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*[p]; and if ſo, they muſt have found out ſome means of recovering their liberty, to have been ſo powerful in *Manlius*'s time, unleſs we ſuppoſe theſe authors to have confounded the *Gauls* with the *Galatians*. However that be, theſe laſt were ſtill, above 130 years after, governed by their own tetrarchs, one of whom named *Deiotarus*, was, for his ſervices done to *Pompey the great*, created king by him (G), and had the *Leſſer Armenia*, and ſome other territories, added to his own [q]. Thus much may ſuffice for the *Gauliſh* expeditions abroad. It is time now to return to thoſe at home, and to give an account of their conqueſt by the *Romans*.

Year of the flood 2811. *before Chriſt* 188.

WE hinted a little higher, that the *Romans* were grown ſo fearful of the *Gauls*, that they thought it proper, in order to humble them, to lead their armies into their country. After man attempts, not worth mentioning, the perſon that opened the moſt effectual way into *Gaul* was the great conſul *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*, to whoſe lot this province was fallen, as

Marcius *ſubdues part of* Gaul.

[o] LIV. l. xxxviii. [p] Ibid. l. xxxiii. STRABO. l. xiii. SUID. POLYÆN. &c. [q] STRABO. l. xii. EUTROP. l. vi.

ſeize upon his kingdom; ſo that he found no better way of ſaving himſelf, than by giving them all the treaſure he had (9).

The ſcene of war between the two contending brothers being at length removed to *Meſopotamia*, it is not improbable, that the battle of *Babylonia* happened between the *Babyloniſh Jews* and the *Gauls*; in which 8000 of the former defeated and killed 120000 of the latter (10); for *Babylon* was then a province of *Meſopotamia*, and *Antiochus*, then in confederacy with the *Gauls*, who were then very numerous there, and all over *Aſia*, as we mentioned out of *Juſtin*, was totally defeated by *Seleucus* (11). But whether theſe were the *Galatians* of *Aſia minor*, or troops ſent out of *Gaul*, is not eaſy to gueſs, from either *Juſtin*, or the book of *Maccabees*, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter.

(G) This is the ſame *Deiotarus* that ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed the other three tetrarchs, and ſeized upon all *Galatia*. For this he was ſummoned before *Julius Cæſar*, upon which occaſion *Cicero* made a ſpeech in his behalf, which is ſtill extant, under the name of *Oratio pro rege Deiotaro*.

(9) *Idem*, *l.* xxvii. *c.* 2. (10) 2 *Maccab.* viii. 20. (11) *Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Polyæn. l.* iv. *c.* 19.

well

well as the ſupreme power, by the death of his collegue in *Numidia*. *Marcius*, the better to carry on his deſign, opened a way between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, a work of immenſe labour, in which he was ſtoutly oppoſed by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Stœni*, who lived at the foot of the *Alps* [r], and who, finding themſelves overpowered by him, ſet fire to their houſes killed their wives and children, and threw them and themſelves into the flames. *Marcius*, having accompliſhed his work, planted a colony, for the ſecurity of it, in the country of the *Volſcæ Tectoſagi*, between the *Pyrenees* and the city of *Thouloufe*; and built a city in it, and called it *Narbo Marcius*, ſince *Narbonne*, which became the capital of that province. The reduction of ſuch a conſiderable part of *Gaul*, and the opening and ſecuring ſuch a way between the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, as it laid the foundation for the conqueſt of the whole country, was thought ſo conſiderable a ſervice to *Rome*, that the ſenate ordered him a triumph for it [s]. His ſucceſſor, *Scaurus*, not only conquered ſome other nations of the *Gauls*, as the *Gentiſci* and *Carni*, (H), but, to facilitate the ſending of troops from *Italy* thither, he made ſome excellent roads between them, which before were almoſt impaſſable [t], and was likewiſe honoured with a triumph.

The ſacred treaſure of Thouloufe *plundered.* *Year of the flood* 2898. *before Chriſt* 101.

In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, taking the alarm at theſe ſucceſſes, took up arms againſt them, and gave them ſeveral conſiderable overthrows, in one of which the *Tigurini* (I), having ſurpriſed them, made them, and their general *Popilius*, paſs under the yoke [u]. The *Cimbri*, in particular, had retaken ſomeparts of *Gaul* from the *Romans*, and, in particular, thefamed city of *Thouloufe*; upon which, *Cepio* marching his army to retake it, it opened its gates to him; notwithſtanding which, he not only gave it up to be plundered by them, but carried off all that vaſt treaſure that had been conſecrated there by the *Gauls*, and of which we have lately given an account, to the amount of 100000 pounds weight of gold, and the ſame of ſilver, even according to the moſt moderate accounts of it; and, in ſpite of his treachery, avarice, and ſacrilege, was continued proconſul of the *Narbonneſe Gaul*. This vile action ſo exaſperated the

[r] Steph. de urb. [s] Faſt. capit. Cicer. pro. Fonteio. See before, vol. xii. p. 313, 314. [t] Ibid. p. 328. [u] Ibid. p. 332, 344.

(H) Theſe inhabited part of *Noricum*, and the name of the latter is ſtill retained in the province of *Carniola*.

(I) The two former are only different names for the *Germans*, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter; as to the *Tigurini*, they inhabited that part of *Switzerland* called *Zurich*.

Gauls,

Gauls, that they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, taking the advantage of the ſquabble that was between the general and his collegue *Manlius*, they fell upon them ſo furiouſly, that they gave them ſuch an overthrow as they had ſcarcely ever met with, killed 80000 men, beſides 40000 ſervants and futlers, in one day; only ten men, of their whole army, eſcaped with the two generals, and among the former the brave *Sertorius*, who ſaved himſelf by ſwimming over the *Rhine*. The *Gauls*, who, according to cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, had devoted all the ſpoil, threw all the ſilver and gold into the *Rhoſne*, drowned all the horſes, and murdered all the priſoners they had taken. What conſternation this loſs threw the city of *Rome* into, and what puniſhment was inflicted on the ſacrilegious *Cepio*, we have elſewhere ſhewn [w]. As to the victorious allies, they held a general council, whether to march immediately into *Italy*, or reduce thoſe provinces which the *Romans* held in *Gaul*: they agreed, however, to conſult the brave *Æmilius Scaurus*, whom they had taken priſoner in a preceding action, and who, *Roman* like, ſtrove to deter them from invading the territories of that republic, but was, for his bold ſpeech, ſtabbed to death by *Boiorix*, king of the *Cimbri*.

THE *Roman* ſenate, expecting nothing leſs than a freſh irruption of the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, thought fit to recal *Marius* from his ſucceſsful expedition againſt *Jugurtha*; and, having honoured him with a triumph for it, appointed him general againſt the enemy, and *Sylla* to ſerve under him. They both ſet out accordingly, and *Sylla* gained ſeveral advantages againſt the *Tectoſagi*, and took *Copillus*, one of their kings, priſoner, whilſt *Marius* reſolved not to engage ſuch a numerous army as appeared againſt him, till he had received ſufficient reinforcements to his own. In the mean time, the *Marſi*, another people of *Germany*, had joined the *Cimbri*, with a deſign to enter *Italy* witn them, and *Sylla* was ſent to oppoſe them; but he, inſtead of engaging them, found means to gain the former over to the *Roman* intereſt. The *Cimbri*, enraged at this, ceaſed not to infeſt the *Roman* general till they forced him to remove to *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix* in *Provence*, and in his way was briſkly attacked by the brave *Ambrones*, now the canton of *Bern*, to whoſe valour had been chiefly owing the dreadful blow they gave *Cepio* and his collegue. They fought with the utmoſt fury and intrepidity, indeed, but wanted diſcipline; ſo that, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of ſuch regular troops as they engaged, ſo dreadful a ſlaughter was made of them, that the next river ran ſtained with their blood. Here the *Ambronian* women

[w] Ibid p. 359, 363, & (I).

did likewise signalize themselves, ran with their axes against the pursuing *Romans*, and made a stout opposition. But being at length overpowered, and offering to surrender upon honourable conditions, which were denied them by the enemy (K), they murdered all their children, and themselves; so that not one of them was found alive [x].

Gaulish *slaves defeated.*

After this defeat, the *Gauls* seem to have been quiet for some time, whether too much suppressed by the *Romans*, or that they left it to the *Germans* to harrass them, as they in fact did, and gave the consul much trouble, tho' to very little effect, they being constantly overcome, as often as they engaged him; but he met, soon after, with a more dreadful enemy in *Sylla*, and *Rome* was so rent, and in such consternation, on account of those two factions, as we have seen in the *Roman* history, that they rather sought the friendship of the *Gauls*, than their reduction. But *Sylla* found means, by his address, to draw them to his side [y]. Hence it is likely, that he suffered them to live in peace, during the whole time of his dictatorship; for we hear nothing relating to them during that time, nor for some space after his death, though the scene of war was by this time removed into *Spain* and *Portugal* by *Sertorius*, and where he had very great success against *Pompey*, who was sent against him [z]. This war was no sooner ended there, than a new one began in the heart of *Italy* under *Spartacus*, who was at the head of an army consisting chiefly of *Gaulish* slaves, and whom he designed, after some notable successes against the two consuls, to have led back over the *Alps* into their own country. But this they stifly refused, and were soon after totally defeated by *Crassus*, who was sent against them, and *Spartacus* himself slain, after having fought with incredible bravery, and sacrificed heaps of *Romans* round about him: 40000 of the *Gauls* were killed on the spot, the rest fled into *Lusitania*, where they

[x] Ibid. p. 375. [y] Ibid. p. 410—443. [z] Ibid. p. 471, & seq.

(K) These conditions were, as we hinted in a former section, that their honour should be preserved; that they should not be sold into slavery; and that they should be employed in the service of the vestals These conditions being denied, they would have contented themselves with the first; but that being inhumanly refused, their love of chastity, made them prefer such an honourable death, as could not but cast a more shameful brand on those who styled them barbarians, and yet used such brave matrons in so inhuman a manner (12).

(12) *Vide Plutarch. in Mario. Valer. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 1. *Frontin. Strateg. l.* iv. & v.

were ſoon after cut off by *Pompey* [a]. Whether the *Tranſalpine Gauls* had any hand in this rebellion, doth not appear. In that famed conſpiracy of *Catiline* they were indeed invited into it by ſome of his partiſans, in hopes of drawing ſome conſiderable helps from thence; but the embaſſadors of the *Allobroges* (L), then at *Rome*, who had been alſo tampered with, made ſuch a full diſcovery of the whole deſign to their protector *Q. Fab. Sanga*, and he to the conſuls, that it was happily prevented and diſconcerted [b].

FROM all this it ſeems, as if the *Gauls* had lived all this long while in quiet and good friendſhip with *Rome*, whatever feuds there might be among them in the heart of their country: the *Helvetii* were they which kindled that freſh war which brought *Cæſar* over the *Alps*, and ended in the conqueſt of that brave and warlike nation. *Orgetorix* was the firſt cauſe of it, who, whether through want of room, or a deſire to exchange his inclement country for a better, or for ſome other cauſe not mentioned by any writer, had engaged a vaſt number of his countrymen to burn their towns and villages, and to go in ſearch of new conqueſts. *Julius Cæſar*, to whoſe lot the whole country of *Gaul* was fallen, made ſuch haſte to come and ſuppreſs them, that he was got to the *Rhoſne* in eight days, broke down the bridge of *Geneva*, and, in a few days more, finiſhed the famed wall between that city and mount *Jura*, now St. *Claude*, which extended ſeventeen miles in length, was ſixteen feet high, fortified with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, and a ditch that ran the whole length of it (M). Whilſt this was doing, and the reinforcements he wanted were coming, he amuſed the *Helvetii*, who had ſent to demand a paſſage through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had got his reinforcements, and then flatly refuſed it to them; whereupon a dreadful battle enſued, in which they loſt 130,000 men, in ſpite of all their valour, beſides a number of priſoners, among whom was the wife and daughter of *Orgetorix*, the leader of this unfortunate expedition;

Cæſar's *ſwift entrance into* Gaul.

His ſucceſs.

[a] Ibid. p. 496, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 512, & ſeq.

(L) Theſe inhabited the regions at the foot of the *Alps*, known now by the names of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, and *Piedmont*.

(M) If his own account of it may be relied upon (13), he did not ſet out till the beginning of *April*, and yet this huge work was finiſhed by the ides or 13th of the ſame month: ſo that ſubtracting the eight days he was a coming, it muſt have been all done in about five days: a prodigious work! conſidering he had but one legion there, or even though the whole country had given him a helping hand.

(13) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 1, *& ſeq.*

dition; the reſt ſubmitted, and begged they might be permitted to go and ſettle among the *Ædui*, from whom they originally ſprung; and at the requeſt of theſe laſt, were permitted to go (N). This action and victory, joined to the policy and incredible diſpatch with which *Cæſar* had carried it againſt them, gained him ſuch reputation, and, at the ſame time, ſtruck the *Gauls* with ſuch a dread, that they ſtrove who ſhould pay him the firſt homage and congratulations, and procure his friendſhip. So that we may look upon it as the baſis of all his glory and conqueſts in this country.

We formerly took notice of the ſad divided ſtate he found them in at his firſt coming amongſt them, their vaſt variety of governments, their jealouſy over each other, the overgrown power of ſome, and the reduction of others into a ſtate of dependence next to ſlavery: *Cæſar*, who knew beſt how to make the moſt of theſe inteſtine broils, ſoon became the protector of the oppreſſed, a terror to the oppreſſor, and the umpire of all their contentions. Among thoſe who applied to him for help, were his allies the *Ædui*, againſt whom *Arioviſtus*, king of the *Germans*, joined with the *Arverni* (O), in their late wars, had taken the country of the *Sequani* from them, and obliged them to ſend hoſtages to him. *Cæſar* forthwith ſent to demand the reſtitution of both, and, in an interview which he ſoon after obtained of that haughty and treacherous prince, was like to

(N) The *Ædui* were ſituate between the rivers *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Saone*, and were the only allies *Cæſar* then had. Theirs being a fruitful country, they had promiſed to ſupply him with corn, but made ſo many delays, that he began to ſuſpect their fidelity, and to find himſelf in great diſtreſs for want of it. *Divitiacus*, one of the lords of it, was then in his army, with *Liſcus*, one of their magiſtrates: *Cæſar* examined them both about it ſeparately, and the latter told him, that *Dumnorix*, the younger brother of *Divitiacus*, deſigning to ſeize upon the ſupreme power, had allied with the *Helvetii*, and ſent that corn to them, which ſhould have been conveyed to him. *Divitiacus* confirmed what *Liſcus* had ſaid, but without naming his brother; and when *Cæſar* would have puniſhed him for his perfidy, generouſly interceded for him, and obtained his pardon (14).

(O) The *Arverni* were ſeated on the *Loire*, and were ſo called from their metropolis, *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of the *Guiennois*. They were once the moſt powerful people of the *Gauls*, their territories are ſaid to have reached from the ocean to the *Rhine*, on one ſide, and the *Pyrenees* on the other (15).

The *Sequani* were neighbours to the *Ædui*, and inhabited that part of *Gallia Belgica* called *Upper Burgundy*, now *Franche Comté*.

(14) *Ibid. Vide ſupra*, vol. xii. p. 533, 534. (15) *Strabo*, l. iv.

have

have fallen a ſacrifice to his perfidy; upon which, he bent his whole power againſt him, forced him, againſt his will (P), out of his ſtrong intrenchments, and gave him a total overthrow. *Arioviſtus* eſcaped, with difficulty, over the *Rhine*; but his two wives and a daughter, with a great number of *Germans* of diſtinction, fell into the conqueror's hand. *Cæſar*, after this ſignal victory, put his army into winter-quarters, whilſt he went over the *Alps* to make the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign [c]. By this time, all the *Belgæ* in general were ſo terrified at his ſucceſs, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the *Romans*, as their common enemy, of which *Labienus*, who had been left in *Gaul*, ſent him word; upon which, he immediately left *Rome*, and made ſuch diſpatch, that he arrived upon their confines in about fifteen days. Upon his arrival, the *Rhemi* ſubmitted to him, but the reſt, appointing *Galba*, king of the *Sueſſones*, general of all their forces, which amounted to 150,000 men, marched directly againſt him. *Cæſar*, who had ſeized on the bridge of the *Axona*, now *Aiſne*, led his light horſe and infantry over it, and, whilſt the others were incumbered in croſſing that river, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of them, that the river was filled with their dead, inſomuch, that their bodies ſerved for a bridge to thoſe who eſcaped. This new victory ſtruck ſuch terror into the reſt, that they diſperſed themſelves; immediately after which, the *Sueſſones*, *Bellovaci*, *Ambiones*, and ſome others, ſubmitted to him. The *Nervii*, indeed, joined with the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui* againſt him, and, having firſt ſecured their wives and children, made a ſtout reſiſtance for ſome time, but were, at length, defeated, and the greateſt part of them ſlain; the reſt, with their wives and old men, ſurrendered themſelves, and were allowed to live in their own cities and towns, as formerly. The *Aduatici* were next ſubdued, and, for their treachery to the conqueror (Q), were ſold for ſlaves, to the number of 50000.

Arioviſtus defeated.

The Belgæ *ſubdued.*

Young

[c] Comment. l i. c. 1, & ſeq. See before vol. xii. p. 536.

(P) *Cæſar*, who loſt no advantage he could get on an enemy, had intelligence that ſome *German* propheteſſes, and ſuch were in high eſteem among them, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new moon; or rather, he knew that was a ſuperſtitious notion common among them and all the *Gauls*; and this it was made him ſo eager, and *Arioviſtus* ſo averſe, to come to blows before that time.

(Q) Theſe were the remains of thoſe *Cimbri* whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*, and had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage. They made a ſham ſubmiſſion to *Cæſar*, and ſurrendered

Young *Craſſus*, the ſon of the *triumvir*, ſubdued likewiſe ſeven other nations, and took poſſeſſion of their cities; which not only completed the conqueſt of the *Belgæ*, but brought ſeveral nations from beyond the *Rhine* to ſubmit to the conqueror. The *Veneti*, or antient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Britany*, who had been likewiſe obliged to ſend hoſtages to the conqueror, were, in the mean time, making great preparations, by ſea and land, to recover their liberty. *Cæſar*, then in *Illyricum*, was forced to equip a fleet on the *Loire*, and, having given the command of it to *Brutus*, he went and defeated them by land, as *Brutus* did by ſea; and, having put their chief men to death, ſold the reſt for ſlaves. The *Unelli*, with *Veridorix*, their chief, together with the *Lexovii* and *Aulerci*, were, about the ſame time, ſubdued by *Sabinus*, and the *Aquitani* by *Craſſus*, with the loſs of 30,000 men. There remained nothing but the countries of the *Morini* and *Menapii* (R) to be conquered, of all *Gaul*. *Cæſar* marched himſelf againſt them, but found them ſo well intrenched in their inacceſſible fortreſſes, that he contented himſelf with burning and ravaging their country; and, having put his troops into winter-quarters, paſſed again over the *Alps*, to have a more watchful eye over ſome of his rivals there [d], but he was ſoon after obliged to come and defend his *Gauliſh* conqueſts againſt ſome nations of the *Germans*, who were coming to ſettle there, to the number of 400,000, and whom he totally defeated, and then reſolved to carry his conquering arms into *Germany*. As this laid the foundation for that bloody war which he afterwards carried on againſt them, it will be more properly ſeen in the ſubſequent chapters, as well as his ſeveral expeditions into this iſle in that which immediately follows, and to which we ſhall refer our readers.

Veneti *ſubdued.*

Upon his return into *Gaul*, he found it labouring under a great famine, which had cauſed a kind of univerſal revolt. *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, who were left in the country of the *Eburones*, now *Liege*, were betrayed into an ambuſh by *Ambiorix*,

[d] Ibid. p. 537, & ſeq.

ſurrendered their arms to him, but had concealed a third part of them, with which they fell foul on the *Romans* in the night: upon which, he broke down the gates of their city, put many of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves (16).

(R) Theſe are the territories, now called *Ferouennes*, *Cleves*, *Gelder*, and *Juliers*. Thoſe of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* are now the *Evreaux* and *Liſieux*. As to the *Unelli*, their abode is differently gueſſed at, but without any certainty.

(16) *Comm. l.* ii. *c.* 1, *& ſ. q.*

one

one of their chiefs, and had moſt of their men cut off. The *Aduatici* were fallen upon *Q. Cicero*, who was left there with one legion, and had reduced him to great ſtraights: at the ſame time *Labienus*, with his legion, was attacked by *Indutiomarus*, at the head of the *Rhemi* and *Senones*: but had better luck than the reſt, and, by one bold ſally upon them, put them to flight, and killed their general. *Cæſar* acquired no ſmall credit by quelling all theſe revolts, but each victory loſt the lives of ſo many of his troops, that he was forced to have recourſe to *Pompey* for a freſh ſupply, who readily granted him two of his own legions to ſecure his *Gauliſh* conqueſts [c].

Cæſar *repaſſes into* Gaul.

BUT it was not long before they, ever reſtleſs under a foreign yoke, raiſed up a new revolt, and obliged him to return thither. His fear, leſt *Pompey* ſhould gain the affections of the *Roman* people, had obliged him to ſtrip the *Gauls* of their gold and ſilver, to bribe them over to his intereſt; and this gave no ſmall handle to theſe frequent revolts which happened during his abſence. He did, however, ſoon reduce the *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii*, and *Treviri*, the laſt of which had raiſed the revolt, under the command of *Ambiorix*; but he ſoon found the flame ſpread much farther, even to the greateſt part of the *Gauls*, who had choſen the brave *Vercingetorix* their generaliſſimo. *Cæſar* was forced to leave *Inſubria*, whither he had retired to watch the motions of *Pompey*, and, in the midſt of winter and ſnow, repaſs the *Alps*, into the province of *Narbonne*, where he gathered all his ſcattered troops with all poſſible ſpeed, and, in ſpite of the hard weather, beſieged and took *Noviodunum*, now *Noyons*; and defeated *Vercingetorix*, who was come to the relief of that place. He next took the city of *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the ſtrongeſt in *Gaul*, and which had a gariſon of 40000 men, of whom he made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter, that hardly 800 eſcaped. Whilſt he was beſieging *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, he was informed that the *Nitiobriges*, or *Agenois*, were in arms, and that the *Ædui* were ſending to *Vercingetorix* 10000 men, which they were to have ſent to reinforce him. Upon this news, he left *Fabius* to carry on the ſiege, and marched againſt the *Ædui*. Theſe, upon his approach, ſubmitted, in appearance, and were pardoned; but ſoon after that the whole nation roſe up in arms, and murdered all the *Italian* troops in their capital. *Cæſar*, at this, was in great ſtraights what meaſures to take, but reſolved, at length, to raiſe the ſiege of *Gergovia*, and at once attack the enemy's camp, which he did with ſome ſucceſs; but when he thought to have gone to *Noviodunum*, or *Noyons*, where his baggage,

[c] Ibid. p. 542, 547.

military

military cheſt, &c. where left, he heard that the *Ædui* had carried it off, and burnt the place. *Labienus*, juſtly thinking that *Cæſar* would want his aſſiſtance in the condition he now was, went to join him, and in his way defeated a *Gauliſh* general, named *Camulogena*, who came to oppoſe his march; but this did not hinder the revolt from ſpreading itſelf all over *Celtic Gaul*, whither *Vircingetorix* had ſent for freſh ſupplies, and, in the mean time, attacked *Cæſar*, but was defeated, and forced to retire to *Aleſia*, a ſtrong place, now *Aliſe* in *Burgundy*, as is ſuppoſed. Hither *Cæſar* haſtened, and beſieged him, and, having drawn a double circumvallation, with a deſign to ſtarve him in it, as he was likely to have done, upon that account refuſed all offers of a ſurrender from him. At length, the long-expected reinforcement came, conſiſting of 160000 men, under four generals: theſe made ſeveral fruitleſs attacks on *Cæſar*'s trenches, but were defeated in three ſeveral battles, which, at length, obliged *Vercingetorix* to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Cæſar* uſed all his priſoners with great ſeverity, except the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, by whoſe means he hoped to gain their nations, which were the two moſt potent of *Celtic Gaul*, as he actually did; for both of them ſubmitted to him, and the former received him into their capital, where he ſpent the winter, after he had put his army into winter-quarters. This campaign, as it proved one of the hardeſt he ever had, ſo he gained more glory by it than any *Roman* general had done before [f]; yet could not all this procure him from the ſervile ſenate, now wholly dedicated to his rival, a prolongation of his proconſulſhip; upon which, he is reported to have laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, that that ſhould do it [g]. He was as good as his word, and the *Gauls*, upon their former ill ſucceſs, reſolving to have as many ſeparate armies as provinces, in order to embarraſs him the more, *Cæſar* and his generals, *Labienus* and *Fabius*, were forced to fight them one after another, which they did, however, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding the hardneſs of the ſeaſon, they ſubdued the *Bituriges*, *Carnuti*, *Rhemi*, and the *Bellovaci*, with their general *Correus*, by which he at once quieted all the *Belgic* provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. The next who followed were the *Treviri*, the *Eburones*, and the *Andes*, under their general *Dunmarus*. The laſt place which held out againſt him was *Uxellidunum*, which was defended by the two laſt acting generals of the *Gauls*, *Drapes* the *Senonian*, and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*. The place being ſtrong, and well gariſoned, *Cæſar* was obliged to march thither from the furtheſt part of *Bel-*

Suppreſſes the revolted Gauls.

[f] Ibid. p. 551, & ſeq. [g] Cicer. ad Attic. l. v. epiſt. 15, & ſeq. Vide & Plutarch. in Cicer. & Cæſar.

gic

gic Gaul, and ſoon after reduced it, for want of water. Here, again, he cauſed the right-hands of all that were fit to bear arms to be cut off, to deter the reſt from revolting afreſh. Thus was the conqueſt of *Gaul* finiſhed from the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine*, all which vaſt tract was now reduced to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. The ſum of all the provinces, cities, and priſoners, taken, if not exaggerated by that conqueror and *Plutarch*, the reader may ſee in the *Roman* hiſtory above quoted [h]. *Reduces it into a Roman province.*

THUS ended, in a great meaſure, the liberty of that once famed and warlike nation, and with it their ſingular valour, as *Tacitus* obſerves, in the life of *Agricola*. Some cities, or commonwealths, however, we are told [i], were permitted to remain free; ſuch as the *Nervii*, *Ulbaneſes*, *Sueſſones*, and *Leuci*; and others retained the title of confederates to *Rome*, viz. the *Ædui*, *Lingones*, *Rhemi*, and *Carnutes*: as to the reſt, who were reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, we may gueſs at their miſerable condition, by what *Critognatus* the *Arvernian*, as quoted by *Cæſar* [k], tells us of it. "If, ſays he, "you would know after what manner diſtant nations are uſed "by the *Romans*, you need but look at our neighbouring *Gaul*, "now reduced into a province, which having its laws and cuſ-"toms changed, and being brought under the power of the "axes, is oppreſſed with perpetual ſlavery." To underſtand rightly the difference of theſe three conditions, or, more properly, degrees of ſlavery; the firſt was, the having a number of ſoldiers quartered upon them, to keep them in awe (S); the next was, when the province was laid under tribute, in which caſe they were compelled to endure a vaſt number of tax-gatherers, which, like ſo many leaches, or harpyes, ſucked out the very vitals of the country (T). The third was, when they were deprived of the

[h] Vol. xii. p. 555, & ſeq. [i] PLIN. hiſt. l. iv. c. 11. [k] Comment. l. vii.

(S) In which caſe, if theſe provinces continued quiet and peaceable, they had, it ſeems, no great armies quartered in them, ſince *Joſephus* tells us (17), that, in *Titus*'s time, they had no more than 1200 ſoldiers in gariſon in all *Gaul*, although, adds he, they had fought for their liberty againſt the *Romans* above 800 years, and had near as many cities as theſe had then ſoldiers there.

(T) We are told, accordingly, that, after *Julius Cæſar* had finiſhed the conqueſt of *Gaul*, he laid it under a tax, or tribute of HS. *quadringenties* (18), that is, about a million of *Engliſh* crowns. How much heavier they were taxed in ſubſequent reigns, may be

(17) *Antiq. l.* ii. (18) *Eutrop. l.* vi.

the privilege of being governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, but had governors ſet over them, with full power and authority (*cum imperio & ſecuribus*) over their lives and eſtates, and ſent to them from *Rome*. It was on account of this threefold tyranny that they ſo often revolted; for, as *Tacitus* himſelf obſerves, in the reign of *Tiberius*, the continuance of thoſe taxes, the extortions of uſurers, and inſolence of the ſoldiers, were become ſo intolerable, that it drove the *Gauliſh* cities into a freſh rebellion. And *Suetonius*, in the life of *Nero*, tells us, that the world, having for near thirteen years groaned under his tyranny, did at length ſhake it off, the *Gauls* ſetting the firſt example to all the reſt.

Gallia *divided into* 16 *provinces.*

Gaul was ſoon after divided into ſixteen provinces, the names of which the reader will find in the margin (V), each of which groaned now, more or leſs, under the *Roman* tyranny, according as they were, more or leſs, favoured by the emperors, or by the prætors ſent thither to rule them. However, neither under *Cæſar*, whilſt he lived, nor even under his ſucceſſor *Auguſtus*, do we read of any conſiderable revolt; on the contrary, though the latter did, in a manner, begin his reign with making them undergo a cenſus, which is the firſt we read of made out of *Italy*, and which could not but be galling to them, they ſeem to have ſubmitted to it patiently. Some years after, indeed, when *Druſus* was ſent thither to ſtop the incurſions which the *Germans* were frequently making upon them (W), and

Year of the flood 2977, *before Chriſt* 22.

eaſily gueſſed, by their frequent revolts, and continual complaints againſt thoſe extortions and oppreſſions, ſome inſtances of which we ſhall have occaſion to mention by-and-by.

(V) *Viennenſis, Narbonenſis prima, Narbonenſis ſecunda, Aquitania prima & ſecunda, Novempopulana, Alpes maritimæ, Belgica prima & ſecunda, Germania prima & ſecunda, Lugdunenſis prima, ſecunda, & tertia, Maxima Sequanorum, & Alpes Græcæ*; all of which the reader may ſee a further account in the authors hereunder quoted (19).

This diviſion, however, was not made by *Julius Cæſar*, ſince we find it ſtill under the three diſtinctions in which he left them, when *Auguſtus* cauſed the firſt cenſus to be made in it (20); but was begun towards the latter end of this laſt's reign, and finiſhed by ſome of his ſucceſſors.

(W) It is hardly to be doubted, but the *Gauls*, who did ſo grievouſly brook the plundering and inſolences of the *Romans*, and found themſelves too weak now to make head againſt them, did, by ſome private means, either invite the *Germans* as friends, or hire

(19) *Anton. itiner. S. Ruf. Ammian. Marcel. l.* xv. (20) *See before vol.* xiii. *p.* 286.

and had there begun a ſecond, and perhaps a more ſtrict, one, taking a particular account of each perſon's eſtate, in order to tax them according to it; they then began to expreſs an univerſal diſcontent, and an inclination to take up arms, and regain their liberties. *Druſus*, however, without ſeeming to ſuſpect any thing like it of them, ſummoned all the *Gauliſh* chiefs to aſſiſt at the conſecration of the temple, which the *Lugdunenſes* had built in honour of *Julius Cæſar*, and, upon their coming, behaved with ſuch addreſs and complaiſance to them, that they not only dropped their intended revolt, but agreed to build an altar to *Auguſtus*, and to pay him divine honours, even during his life. Sixty *Gauliſh* nations, it ſeems, contributed to the rearing and adorning of this magnificent altar, which was conſecrated on the firſt of *Auguſt*, and games were, at the ſame time, inſtituted, in honour of this new kind of deity, not unlike the *Iſthmians* and *Nemeans* of *Greece* [l].

THIS fulſome flattery to that monarch, which might, probably, be owing to the preſence of *Druſus*, did not, however, divert them long from their favourite view of regaining their li-

[l] Vide STRABO, l. iv. SUETON. in Auguſt. LIV. &c. & ſupra, vol. xiii. p. 326.

them as auxiliaries to their aſſiſtance; and this ſeems to have been the firſt beginning of the colonies of the *Franks*. For thoſe *Germans*, whether defeated by the *Romans*, or, which is more likely, bought off by them, began, by little and little, to ſettle on the borders of *Gallia*. For we are told, that *Auguſtus* tranſplanted the *Suevi* and *Sicambri*, who ſubmitted to him, into *Gallia*, and aſſigned them lands along the *Rhine* (21). And of *Tiberius* we read, that he brought 40000 of thoſe that ſurrendered themſelves in the *German* war, over into *Gallia*, and ſettled them on the banks of the *Rhine* (22).

To this we may add, what another author tells us of the emperor *Probus*, in whoſe reign above ſixty cities had revolted from the *Romans*, and made a bold puſh for the recovery of their liberty. This prince, ſays he (23), marched with a vaſt army into *Gaul*, which, after *Poſthumius*'s death, was all in commotion, and, when *Aurelian* was killed, was, in a manner, poſſeſſed by the *Germans*. There he gained ſo many victories, that he recovered from the barbarians ſixty of the moſt noble cities of *Gallia*; and whereas they had overſpread all *Gaul* without controul, he ſlew near 400000 of thoſe who had ſeated themſelves within the *Roman* territories, and tranſplanted the remainder of them beyond the rivers *Neckar* and *Elb*: but of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſubſequent chapters.

(21) *Sueton. in vit. Aug.* (22) *Idem in Tiber.* (23) *Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. Mattoman. Francogal, c.* 8.

berty, whenever fortune ſhould favour them with a proper opportunity. The druids, on the contrary, ſeem, upon this occaſion, to have exerted themſelves to cheriſh that noble deſign in them, to prevent any further defection from their antient religion; and hence, moſt likely, aroſe thoſe frequent revolts, as well as threatening edicts, that came out againſt them in the ſucceeding reigns, and of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak in a former ſection: however that be, the violent extortions, and horrid butcheries, which they underwent under *Caligula* [m], were of themſelves ſufficient to have ſpirited up a leſs warlike nation; though that reign was not long enough to ripen their deſign, and under the next they either enjoyed more reſpite, or, which is as likely, were more narrowly obſerved. But in that of *Nero*, under whom they were more cruelly treated than ever, the brave and noble *Julius Vindex* (X), at that time governor of *Celtic Gaul*, declared his reſolution to free his country from ſlavery, and the empire from that bloody tyrant. As ſoon as his deſign was known, the *Gauls*, harraſſed and reduced to beggary by intolerable impoſts, flocked to him from all parts to aſſiſt him in it; ſo that, though he had no *Romans* under his command, yet he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of 100000 armed men. When *Nero* heard the news of this revolt, he appeared quite glad at it, as it would afford him occaſion for freſh extortions and cruelties. What he ſeemed moſt affected with was, that *Vindex*, in ſome of his edicts againſt him, among other contemptuous language he had given him, did call him a bungling harper; ſo that, inſtead of making proper preparations to oppoſe him, he only ſtrove to diſplay his ſkill in muſic, to wipe off the ſcandal, as he thought it, that was thrown upon him. But when meſſengers came to him thick and threefold, and acquainted him with the progreſs *Vindex* had made in *Gaul*, and with *Galba*'s revolt in *Spain*, he left *Naples*, in a fright, and repaired to *Rome*: however, a frivolous, but lucky, omen as he imagined it, having diſpelled his fears, he returned again to his muſical amuſement, without taking one ſtep to ſuppreſs

Vindex's revolt in Gaul.

[m] See vol. xiv. p. 46.

(X) He was deſcended from the antient kings of *Aquitain*, and bore a natural averſion to all tyrants. Upon his firſt reſolution of revolting, he ſent to perſuade *Galba*, then in *Spain*, to do the ſame, who neither followed his advice, nor betrayed his deſign, though ſome other governors, to whom he wrote on the ſame ſubject, ſent his letters to *Nero*: but *Galba*, upon receiving a ſecond letter from him, actually raiſed a revolt there (24).

(24) *Plutarch. in Galb. Dio. l.* lxiii. *Sueton. in Ner. Tacit. l.* i. *c.* 16.

either

either revolt. We ſhall not need repeat here the unworthy behaviour, and dreadful end, of that emperor, of which a full account has been given in a former volume [n]: all that needs be recapitulated here concerning the ill ſucceſs of our *Gauliſh* general is, that his army, having been ſurpriſed by that of *Rufus Virginius*, who was marched againſt him, whether by treachery or accident, is not agreed, the *Gauls* were defeated, with the loſs of 22000, who were killed on the ſpot; upon which, *Vindex*, in a fit of rage and deſpair, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and the reſt diſperſed themſelves for want of a leader. *Galba* had much better ſucceſs, and was ſoon after raiſed to the empire [o]; but the *Gauls* were ſo heavily oppreſſed by him, and ſo loaded with taxes, that they dared not undertake any thing againſt him. In the great ſtruggle between his two ſucceſſors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, though they heartily hated them both, yet they were forced to declare for the latter, by *Fabius Valens*, who, in his march through their territories towards *Italy*, whither he was leading a gallant army, committed the greateſt plunders and extortions. This threw the nation into ſuch a terror, that every province and city ſent their embaſſadors to meet him, and bribe him with large preſents, to prevent their towns from being either plundered or burnt (Y).

His ill ſucceſs and death.

THEY did, however, recover themſelves ſo far, notwithſtanding all theſe oppreſſions, as to make ſeveral bold puſhes for their liberty, eſpecially in the reign of *Veſpaſian*. We have given an account of it in a former volume [p], as well as of the peace that emperor thought fit to clap up with them, rather

[n] Ibid. p. 223, & ſeq. [o] Ibid. p. 229, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. p. 353, & ſeq.

(Y) Amongſt thoſe that ſuffered the effects of his fury and avarice, was the city of *Vienne*, againſt which that of *Lyons* had inſtigated him, as having aided the late noble *Vindex* in his revolt. They were therefore forced to buy their pardon from him by an immenſe ſum, beſides a donative of 300 ſeſterces, the ſurrender of all their arms, and furniſhing his army with proviſions.

As he drew nearer the *Alps*, he ordered the city of *Lucus* a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, now *Dauphiné*, to be ſet on fire, becauſe they expreſſed a backwardneſs to pay him the large ſum he had exacted from them; and thus he went on extorting all the way he paſſed, whilſt *Cæcina* did the ſame among the *Helvetii*, who, not having been appriſed of *Galba*'s death, refuſed to acknowledge *Vitellius*; but, upon their ſubmiſſion, they were at length pardoned by him (25).

(25) *Tacit. c.* 60, *& ſeq. ſee vol.* xiv. *p.* 278, *& ſeq.*

than

than to exasperate them to turn their arms against him at that juncture [q]. In *Adrian*'s time this province was visited by that emperor in his progress through the empire, and as it had been greatly oppressed and impoverished during the former reigns, he left, wherever he passed through it, some tokens of his pity and munificence to that nation, and built some stately edifices there, especially a sumptuous palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow. He forgot not at the same time, to repair all the *Roman* towns and fortresses in that country, to keep them in subjection [r], as it actually did, no considerable revolt happening during his and some of the succeeding reigns. All this while they seem to have made no inconsiderable figure, or bore a small sway, since, in that famous contest between *Severus* and his competitors, the *Gauls* having first saluted him emperor, their example was followed by almost all the provinces in *Europe*, and he was every-where acknowledged and received with the loudest acclamations [s]. He proved, however, very ungrateful to them, at least to the christians in this country, having raised a bloody persecution against them, instigated thereto by his favourite *Plautianus*, who took occasion of a soldier's refusing to wear a crown as a donative, to seize on the estates of all the christians of rank and quality, and to put a great number of them to death, and amongst them *Ireneus*, the worthy bishop of *Lyons* [t]. *Gaul* was again made the scene of war, in the famed contest between *Gallienus* and *Posthumius*, the latter of whom had delivered this province from the dominion of the *Germans*, under which it had groaned for some time, and for which he had been acknowledged emperor both there, and in *Spain* and *Britain*, of which we have already given a full account in the *Roman* history [u]. The latter having been murdered by his soldiers, for debarring them from the plundering of *Mentz* [w], *Lollianus* got himself proclaimed emperor of that part of it which borders upon the *Rhine*; whilst *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his collegue, governed over the rest. Both these being soon after murdered, as we have there related, and the son of the latter, then an infant, being named his successor, the *Gauls* murdered him likewise, and set up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, formerly an armourer, but a man of extraordinary courage and strength; but he being likewise run through by a soldier, who had been formerly his journeyman, and with a sword, as himself told him, of his own making, *P. Pivesus*, or *Pesuvius Tetricus*, a man of senatorial and consular dignity, was proclaimed in all this province,

Christians in Gaul *persecuted.*

[q] Ibid. p. 356, & seq. [r] Ibid. p. 527. [s] See vol. xv. p. 39.
[t] Ibid. p. 58. [u] Ibid. p. 175, & seq. p. 190. [w] Ibid. & seq.

vince, and soon after acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*. *Tetricus* did not long enjoy his dignity, before the constant jars and mutinies which happened in his army, as well as the approach of the emperor *Aurelian*, who had restored peace in all other parts of the empire, and was marching to reunite *Gaul* and *Britain* to it, made him wish to be fairly rid of it. There is even some reason to suspect, that he invited him into *Gaul*; and though he made a faint opposition against him at the battle of *Chalons*, yet, upon the first onset, he yielded himself to that emperor; so that the *Gallish* troops, for want of a leader, were intirely cut off, and this province again reduced to its former obedience [x]. This action quite completed the conquest of *Gaul*, and *Tetricus*, whether to cover his treachery in abandoning his troops, or because he did not make his submission soon enough, was led in triumph by that emperor; but was soon after advanced, and loaded with honours and titles by him, as we have formerly seen [y]. In *Constantine*'s time, who is supposed to have been the person who first divided the whole empire into four parts, each containing a number of provinces, or, as they were then called, dioceses, and each of these four parts put under the government of a distinct *præfectus prætorio*, which was before only under two, *Gaul* being made one of those dioceses, and had its provinces assigned to it; we have already had occasion to mention them in this chapter, and in a former volume *; and shall not repeat it here, but only add, that the *Gallic* præfect had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, under him.

We should now come to the latter part of the *Gallish* history, and give an account of the horrid ravages this country since suffered from the *Germans*, the *Hunns*, especially under *Attila*, under the *Vandals*, and especially under the *Goths*, or *Visigoths*, and *Burgundi*, who formed themselves into distinct kingdoms here, and held them, through a series of princes, till dispossessed of them by the *Franks*: but as these have already been spoken of in the course of the *Roman* history [z], and must be resumed in that of those northern invaders, in the chapters hereafter following, we shall refer our readers to them as they come in course, and proceed now to the history of the antient *Germans*.

[x] Ibid, p. 207. [y] Ibid. p. 208, & seq. * Ibid. p. 360.
[z] Ibid. p. 386, 517, 523, & vol. xvi. p. 122, 157.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The hiſtory of the antient Germans, *to their breaking into the* Roman *empire, invaſion of* Gaul, *and expulſion out of it by the* Franks.

Germans, *their origin.*

IT is univerſally acknowledged, that the farther northward we move from antient *Gaul*, the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vaſt regions beyond the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, which, we have ſeen in the laſt chapter, were, in a great meaſure, the limits between the *Gauls* and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they ſettled themſelves in: antient authors [a] commonly confound them under the names of *Celtes*, *Scythians*, and *Celtoſcythians*; and, among them, ſuch a great variety of people are comprehended, that it would be dangerous to apply that to the antient *Germans* which they write of them under thoſe other names, without ſome concurring circumſtances to confirm it. Yet we may venture to affirm, after no ſmall number of modern [b], and ſome of the antient, writers [c], that they were originally one and the ſame nation with the *Celtes* and *Gauls*, and both deſcended from the antient *Gomerians*, or deſcendants of *Gomer*, the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*. Only the *Germans* were very much intermixed with the old *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, on that ſide which joined with their territories, and particularly, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, between the two great rivers *Rhine* and *Danube* [d]: and theſe, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their cuſtoms among them, as well as intermingled ſome of their language with their own; but in all other parts of *Germany* we find ſuch an exact conformity in their religion, laws, cuſtoms, and (what may appear ſtill more ſurpriſing to the generality of readers, but has been fully proved by ſome of the modern authors laſt quoted)

[a] CÆSAR. comment. TACIT. PLIN. STRAB. JUSTIN. ex Trog. & al. See alſo vol. v. p. 227, & ſeq. [b] CLUVER. BOCHART. PICAG. PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. Relig. des Gaul. PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. CALMET. Comment. in Geneſ. & al.

[c] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. EUSTATH. ANTIOCH. in Hexamer. HIERON. tradit. Hebr. Jos. BEN. GOR. ap. Bochart. ISIDOR. ORIG. EUSEB. CÆSAR. Chronic. ZONAR. & al. [d] See ch. xi.

in

in their very language [e], as leaves ſcarce any room to doubt, but that they were deſcended from the ſame antient ſtock with the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and came, by gradual migrations, from *Aſia*, as we have already ſhewn theſe did, both in a former volume, and at the entrance of the laſt chapter [f]. The truth is, as *Pliny* rightly obſerves [g], that the *Germans* were little known to the *Romans*, or, indeed, to any but their very neighbours, till a long time after the coming of *M. Agrippa* into thoſe parts; and many things which even *Tacitus* has written of them, pretendedly from their own relation, are apparently fabulous; ſo that we muſt fetch our intelligence from another quarter, even from thoſe moderns, who have with indefatigable pains endeavoured to ſtrike light out of darkneſs; among whom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, we may add two celebrated ones, *viz. Renet* and *Maſcou*, whoſe curious diſcoveries, in many points, have added no ſmall evidence to thoſe who had written before them on this head. So that, abating the almoſt unavoidable fondneſs, with which they have all of them endeavoured to give the preference to their own nation, in point of antiquity, into the merit of which it is not our buſineſs to enter, unleſs we could do it with greater certainty than the ſubject will poſſibly admit of, we may venture to follow them as ſure guides in other reſpects. If the evidence ſeems to lean on one ſide more than the other, we ſhould conclude it to be on that of the *Gauls*, not only as their origin can be more clearly traced from the antient *Gomerians*, as we have formerly ſeen; but as they are found ſeated in the beſt and nobleſt climate of the two, whilſt the *Germans*, as a younger branch, were, perhaps, forced to ſpread themſelves towards the more northern and inclement parts of *Europe*, till length of time gave them an opportunity of croſſing the *Rhine*, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſouthern provinces, as we have ſeen they did at the cloſe of the laſt chapter, and ſhall farther ſee at the ſequel of this.

Names. How this country came to be called *Germany*, and its inhabitants *Germans*, is not eaſy to gueſs; the reader may ſee the various conjectures about its etymon in the following note (A): but

[e] PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. i. c. 15. p. 165, & ſeq. PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. KEYZLER. Antiq. Septentr. paſſ. [f] See before vol. v. p. 252. ſection 1. [g] N. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 28.

(A) It is not eaſy to determine whether this word be of *Celtic* or *Roman* extract; if the latter, it muſt have been given by the *Gauls*, either on account of their nearneſs of kindred to them, or of that frequent aſſiſtance they called upon them for, againſt the domineering *Romans*, of which we have ſpoken in the concluſion of the laſt chapter.

but it is plain, it was not their original name, but is of a more modern date, and ſeems to have had its riſe on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, when the *Condruſi*, *Eburones*, *Cæraſi*, and *Pæmani*, croſſed that river, after the example of ſome others of their countrymen, and went to ſettle in *Gaul*. Theſe, it ſeems, were the firſt to whom the name of *Germans* was given, and which therefore extended no farther than the *Rheniſh* ſhore on the *Gallic* ſide, but ſoon after paſſed over to the other, and became common to other nations of the ſame original language and cuſtoms, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country called, from them, *Germania*, or *Germany* [h]. But whether it was given to them by the *Gauls* on their coming over to their aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, or by theſe on account of the affinity of their religion and cuſtoms, or, laſtly, whether aſſumed by them on their ſettling themſelves among the *Gauls*, and claiming by it a kindred to them, we will not venture to determine. One thing is plain, that it is not of *Dutch* extract; ſo that if they really called themſelves by it, as *Tacitus* ſays they did, it is ſurpriſing it ſhould not have been rather preſerved by them, and handed to us in their own language. If we may be allowed to offer a conjecture as to their primitive and general name, both from what we have obſerved from their original deſcent from the antient *Gomerians* or *Celtes*, and from ſeveral monuments they have left in ſeveral

[h] Antiq. German. hiſt. Ant. Germ. Engl. by Lediard.

chapter. *Tacitus*, indeed, thinks they were called ſo by other nations, on account of their ſimilitude of religion, manners, &c. with the *Gauls* (1): but though this reſemblance was really true, in fact, yet the etymon itſelf ſeems too far fetched and ſtrained.

The other, which makes it of *Celtic* extract, is, indeed, much more natural, *Ger* and *man*, in that antient tongue, ſignifying a warlike or martial man, as, indeed, it is plain, that the *Germans*, as well as *Gauls*, did highly value themſelves on that account. They were likewiſe known by another name, *viz.* that of *Alemanni*, which, though ſuppoſed to have been given them by the *Gauls*, or *French*, becauſe only preſerved by them, who ſtill call them *Alemans*, and their country *Alemanie*, and *Alemagne*, and, as is pretended, on account of their intermixing, after *Marobodus*'s retreat, with ſtrolers of all nations; yet to us that name appears to be rather of *German* extract, and ſignifies nearly the ſame as *Ger-man*, that is, altogether warlike: and this name may have been carried thither either by thoſe *Germans* who went thither to aſſiſt the *Gauls* againſt the *Romans*, or by thoſe who at length conquered that country, and are better known by the name of *Franks*.

(1) *Mor. Germ. ſub init.*

parts of *Germany*, especially towards the north, such as *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and such-like; it is not improbable, that they called themselves *Cimri* or *Cymbri*, which is but a harsher pronunciation of the original *Gomerai*: for these *Cimbri* are allowed to have been an antient, if not the antientest, people of *Germany*, and inhabited a very considerable part of that country. We have already hinted, that they gave their name to the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which was a kind of peninsula extending from the mouth of the river *Elbe* into the north sea [i]: and if they really were the same, as they were antiently supposed, with the *Cimmerians* that inhabited the countries about the *Palus Mæotis*, and *Posidonius* seems to confirm it, from the great likeness of their names [k], they must have spread themselves vastly along that northern tract. We are, moreover, told, by *Strabo* and *Livy*, that the *Cimbri* alone penetrated into *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, and, about the 640th year of the *Roman* æra, defeated the consul *Papyrius Carbo* near *Noreia* [l]. Some years after, they sent an embassy to *Rome*, to desire the senate to assign them lands to inhabit in, in consideration of which they would serve them in their future wars. Their suit being denied, gave occasion to a bitter war which they waged against them, in conjunction with the *Tigurini*, of which we shall have further occasion to speak, and which is only hinted here, to shew how powerful and numerous they were by this time, and how, probably, they were some branch of the old *Gomerai*, and the antientest inhabitants of *Germany*. We shall see, in the sequel, their valour, and various fortunes, against the *Romans*, *Gauls*, and other nations. As for those who remained in their native country, or returned thither after their defeat, they, in time, joining in their excursions with the *Saxons*, who likewise inhabited some parts of the forementioned peninsula, it is supposed, that they became so blended with them, that their name was swallowed up in that of *Saxon*, so that nothing was retained of it but the denomination of *Cimbrica*, which was still given both to their country, and to the sea that surrounded it. The name of *Allemanns* and *Alemans*, still retained by the *French*, we have spoken of under the last note; that of *Teutones*, from which their present one of *Teutsch*en, or *Dutch*, is thought to be derived, is another by which they were antiently known, and is of a much older date than that of *Germans*, but the etymon of which is not easily guessed at, unless we fetch it from the *Celtic Theut*, as we shall shew further in the sequel. These, according to *Mela* [m], an-

Cimbri *probably the oldest inhabitants of* Germany.

Teutones.

[i] Cæs. Comm. l. ii. c 4. Tacit. Germ. c. 2. See Mascov. ubi supra, l. i. c. 6. [k] Vide Plutarch. in Mario. [l] Apud Strab. l. vii. [m] Liv. epit. Strabo, l. v.

tiently inhabited the neighbouring coasts and islands of the east, or *Baltic*, sea; but growing too numerous for those narrow territories, the most daring part went, with their wives and families, to seek new settlements in other countries; but when, and where, is not easy to guess (B). We shall see them, in the sequel of this history, often joined with the *Cimbri*, *Cimbranes*, and others, and making excursions into *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, till at length a number of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the *Rhine*, being greatly harrassed on all sides, fought their way quite to *Belgic Gaul*, where they settled, and became, in time, known by the name of *Atuatici* [n].

Atuatici in Belgia.

THUS much shall suffice for the most noted common names of the antient *Germans*. A vast variety of others they had, according to their particular tribes, cantons, kingdoms, and commonwealths, which being in a continual fluctuation, as they were continually either warring and jostling each other out of their habitations, or were jostled out of them by the *Gauls*, who were frequently throwing in new colonies over the *Rhine*, sometimes penetrating as far as the *Hercynian* forest, at others spreading themselves far and wide, along the sides of it, and beyond; insomuch, that, as we observed in the last chapter, there was scarcely a country from that river to the east sea, or the most northern verge, but had some of that nation either intermixed with the *Germans*, or settled in some territories between them; it were labour lost to endeavour to fix their different abodes, or even to offer any conjectures about them, or of their various governments, laws, and manner of life. They, like the *Gauls*, never committed any thing to writing concerning either that or their own history, and were still more unknown than they, both to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, even in their very names, till the times that, by intercourse with, or by their wars against, the former, they became, by degrees, more and more known unto them, and their names, countries, and history, recorded by their writers. In our settling, therefore, the confines of *Germany*,

[n] L. iii.

(B) According to one author, they joined with the *Cimbri*, and, having crossed the *Rhine*, invaded some of the *Gallish* territories (2), but we have seen, a little higher, out of *Livy* and *Strabo*, that the *Cimbri* had long enough before invaded some of those provinces, then under the *Roman* yoke, and had settled themselves in them: so that it is not easy to determine whether this *Teutonic* expedition fell upon *Gaul*, *Italy*, or any still more distant regions.

(2) *Vel. Paterc. l.* ii. *c.* 8. *Vide & Cæsar. comment. l.* ii. *c.* 19.

and

Septentrio

MARE HYPERBOREVM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

ANTIENT GERMANY

EAST BALTIC

SCANDIA alias SCANDINAVIA

Teutoni

SINUS CODANUS OR BALTIC SEA

Chilipenus Sinus

SARMATIA EUROPEA

Aestii

Sinus Venedicus

Insulæ

MARE SVEVICVM

Cimbrorum Peninsula

CHERSONESVS CIMBRICA DIMIDIA

Teutoni

Cimbri

Saxones

Anglii

Varini

Eudoses

Suardones

Lemovii & Heruli

Gothones

Rugii & Rugum

Sidini & Veritum

Burgundiones

Carini

Lugii

Logiones

Burii

Marsingi

Osi

VISTVLANI

PARTES VENEDICÆ

Venedici Montes

GERMANI TRANSVISTVLANI

Mouth of the Elbe

R. Weser

Mouth of the Ems

Frisii

Frisii majores

Chamavi

Tencteri

Bructeri

Marsi

Chauci sive Cauchi maiores

Chauci minores

Cauchi sive Chauci minores

Amisia Flu.

Ampsivarii

Flevum Castellum

Flevus Lacus

Fossa Drusiana

Vetera Flu.

Lupia Flu.

Luppia Flu.

Alisonis Flu.

Alisonis Castellum

Lupia Castellum

Aliso

Monapii

Usipii

Usipetes

Vbii

Ubiorum Colonia Agrippina

Ubiorum Oppidum

Ubiorum Flu.

Mosa Flu.

Mosæ Fons

Rhenus Flu.

Rhenus Mons

Rhenus Lacus

Rhenus Fluvius

Rhenus Fl.

Rhenus Fluvius Germaniæ

Rhenus Germaniæ

Rhenus Germaniæ Flu.

Rhenus Germaniæ Fluvius

Rhenus Germaniæ Fl.

Rhenus Germaniæ Fluvius

and of thoſe cantons and territories which each different nation of that vaſt tract of ground poſſeſſed, we ſhall go no farther back than the epocha in which they became fully known to them.

The extent and limits of Germany.

WE took notice in the preceding chapter, that the *Rhine*, according to the *Roman* authors, divided the antient *Gauls* from the *Germans* on the weſt, and the *Danube* on the ſouth; the *Hercynian* foreſt, at that time reckoned impenetrable, confined them on the north, and the *German* and northern ocean on the north-weſt, and *Scythia* and *Sarmatia* on the eaſt, where they were as much intermixed with thoſe two nations, as they were on the weſt with the *Gauls*, and where it is ſtill more difficult to fix their boundaries, by reaſon of their conſtant fluctuation, and change of abode, as they ſo frequently invaded and drove each other out of them.

OF thoſe ſeveral nations which the *Romans* reckoned of *German* extract, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay in this chapter, becauſe we have given as full an account of them as could be extracted out of thoſe antient writers in a former volume, to which we ſhall refer, as we go on, in enumerating them, that the reader may readily find all that can be known of them, and the authorities there referred to for what is ſaid of them. We have already ſpoken of the *Cimbri*, and their neighbours the *Saxons*, who inhabited the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, on the other ſide of the *Elbe*. On this ſide of that river were the *Chauci*, upper and lower, who were divided from each other by the *Viſurges*, now the *Veſer*; their country contained what is now called *Bremen* and *Lunenburgh*, *Friezland* and *Groninghen*; and the upper had the *Cheruſci*, and the lower the *Chamavi* on the ſouth-eaſt, and the *German* ocean on the north-weſt [o]. The *Friſii*, upper and lower, were divided from the lower *Chauci* by the river *Amiſia*, now *Ems*; and from each other by an arm of the *Rhine* [p]. Their country ſtill retains the name of *Friezland*, and is divided into eaſt and weſt; but the latter of the two is now diſmembered from *Germany*, and is one of the ſeven united provinces: from them were parted by the *Iſcla*, now *Iſel*, the country of the *Bructeri*, ſince called *Broekmorland*, and the *Marſi*, ſituate about the river *Luppia*, or *Luppe*, of whom we have alſo formerly given an account [q]. On the other ſide of that river were the *Uſipii*, or *Uſipetes* [r], but theſe were famed for often changing their habitation, and are therefore found in other territories; the *Tenctteri* were next to them, and next to theſe the *Jubones*, or inhabitants of *Juliers*, between

The Chauci.

The Friſii.

The Bructeri, Marſi, *and* Uſipii.

[o] CÆSAR. Comm l ii c 29. [p] See before vol. xiii. p. 326, 422, (H). [q] Ibid. p. 439, (C). [r] Ibid. p. 430., (Q).

the

the *Maeſe* and the *Rhine*: the *Catti*, another antient warlike people, who inhabited part of *Heſſe* and *Thuringia*, from the *Hartzian* mountains to the *Rhine* and *Weſer*, and of whom we have formerly ſpoken [s]; among whom were comprehended the *Mattiaci*, whoſe capital was called from them *Mattiacum*, by ſome taken to be *Marpurgh*, and by others *Baden*, on account of its hot waters [t]. Next to them were the *Seduſii*, bordering upon *Swabia*; *Nariſci*, or antient inhabitants of *Northgow*, whoſe capital is the famed city of *Nurembergh*; and the *Marcomanni*, whoſe country antiently reached from the *Rhine* to the head of the *Danube* and to the *Neckar*: here were the famed *Agri decumales*, ſo called, among other reaſons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the *Romans*. The *Marcomanni* afterwards went and ſettled in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, under their general *Maroboduus*, and ſome of them in *Gaul*, whence they drove the *Boii*, who had ſeated themſelves there [u].

On this ſide of the *Rhine*, between that river and the *Moſa*, or *Moeſe*, were the *Ubii*, who were brought over by *Agrippa*. Their metropolis was *Colonia Agrippina*, ſo called from the empreſs of that name, who founded it, and now *Cologn* [w]; and next to them the *Tungri*, which are ſuppoſed to be the ſame whom *Cæſar* calls *Eburones* and *Condruſi*, and whoſe metropolis, then called *Attuatica*, is ſince known by the name of *Tongres* [x]. Higher up from them, and on the other ſide of the *Moſel*, were the *Treviri*, whoſe capital was *Auguſta Treverorum*, now *Triers* (C); next to them were the *Tribocci*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*; the former dwelt in *Alſatia*, and their metropolis was called *Argentinæ*, and *Argentoratum*, now

[s] Vol. xii p. 542, (B). 430, (S). [t] Ibid. p 434, (T). [u] See ibid. p. 435, (W). [w] Ibid. p. 314, (E). [x] Ibid. p. 418, (D). 421, (F).

(C) *As Germany* came to be divided into *Prima* and *Secunda*, the former being that which was neareſt the *Alps*, the *Treviri* have been ſuppoſed to have belonged to it (3), as they boaſted themſelves of *German* extraction; but this is much queſtioned by others, who rather think, that they, with ſome others who obtained their liberty, and are by *Pliny* (4) called *liberæ civitates*, were excluded from that diviſion (5). The other cities mentioned by that author were thoſe of the *Nervii*, *Sueſſones*, *Sylvanectes*, and *Leuci*; thoſe on the other hand of the *Rhemi* and *Lingones* in *Gaul*, that is, of the provinces of *Rheims* and *Champagne*, he there calls *civitates fœderatæ*.

The *Treviri*, however, became in time the principal nation of *Belgica prima*.

(3) *Bucherius, Belg. Rom. l.* i. *c.* 12. (4) *Nat. Hiſt. l.* iv. (5) *Vide Maſcov. l.* iii. *c* 5.

Straſburgh.

Straſburgh. The others lived in the cities of *Worms*, *Spire*, and *Moguntia*, now *Mentz*. Thoſe three, beſides the *Treviri*, mentioned in the laſt note, made the *Germania prima*; and thoſe below them the *Germania ſecunda*, and reached as far as the *Maes* and lower *Rhine*, and was divided from *Belgia* by the *Demer* and *Scheld*, which latter has always divided the ſees of *Liege* and *Cambray*. The *Mediomatrici* were ſituate along the *Moſel*, about the city of *Metz* in *Lorrain*; above them, on the ſame river *Rhine*, were ſeated the *Raurici*, called alſo *Rauraci*, and *Rauriaci*, another antient *German* nation, who inhabited that part of *Helvetia*, or *Switzerland*, about *Baſil*: their capital was *Rauracum*, or *Auguſta Rauracorum*[y].

BETWEEN the heads of the *Rhine* and of the *Danube*, were ſeated the antient kingdoms of *Vindelicia*, whoſe capital was called *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, now *Auſburgh*[z]; and below it, along the banks of the ſame river, thoſe of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, the former of which was divided into *Noricun Ripenſe*, and *Mediterraneum*, and contained a great part of the provinces of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, and ſome others of leſs note[a]; and the latter the kingdom of *Hungary*, divided into upper and lower, and extending from *Illyricum* to the *Danube* and the mountains *Cætii*, in the neighbourhood of *Vindebona*, now *Vienna*, the metropolis of *Auſtria*[b]. On the other ſide of the *Danube*, which was more properly called *Germany*, and *Germania magna*, beſides the *Marcomanns* (D), whom we have mentioned above as more properly ſituate between the *Rhine* and it, were the *Hermunduri*, whoſe country ran northwards from it, and extended itſelf along the *Hercynian* mountains quite up to the river *Sala*. Theſe poſſeſſed, particularly, the country now called *Miſnia*, in *Upper Saxony*, though ſome make their territories to have extended much farther, and to have reached quite to, and even beyond, the kingdom of *Bohemia*. On the other ſide of thoſe mountains was the above-mentioned kingdom of *Boiohemum*, now *Bohemia*[c], once one of the ſeats of the *Boii*; and beyond Vindelici.

[y] See MASCOV. l. iii. c. 5. [z] See vol. xv. p 400. [a] Vol. xii. p. 317, (C). Vol. xiii. p. 314, (E). [b] Ibid. p. 316, ſub not. [c] Ibid. p. 323, (F).

(D) Theſe, the *Quadi*, and ſome others we ſhall have occaſion to mention, were of that tribe of antient *Germans* known by the name of *Suevi*: they antiently poſſeſſed a conſiderable part of *Germany*, that is, the greateſt part of it from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; but, in proceſs of time, ſome of them removed more northward, and ſettled along the *Danube*, whilſt another part went into *Spain*, and formed a kingdom there, as we ſhall ſhew in a ſubſequent chapter.

them,

them, north of the *Danube*, was another seat of the *Marcomanni* along the river *Albis*, now *Elbe*; from which they spread themselves into *Bohemia*, and drove the *Boii* out of it, as we hinted a little higher: we have spoken of these in a former volume, to which we refer the reader [d]. The *Quadi* were situate next to *Bohemia*: their territories extended from the *Danube* to *Moravia*, and the northern part of *Austria* [e]; these are likewise comprehended under the antient name of *Suevi*, part of whom forced their way into *Spain*, and settled a kingdom there, as hinted under the last note. The *Bastarnæ* were situate eastward of the *Quadi*, and parted from them by the *Granna*, now *Gran*, a river that falls into the *Danube*, aud by the ridge of the *Carpatian* mountains, called from them *Bastarnicæ Alpes*: their country made, indeed, part of the *European Sarmatia*, and so out of the limits of *Germania propria*; but they antiently lived on this side of the *Danube*, were concerned with the *Marcomanns*, *Quadi*, *Hermunduri*, *Suevi*, and a number of other *German* nations, in the famed war against *M. Antoninus* [f], and are accounted of *German* extract by *Pliny* [g]; and it was not till the reign of *Probus* that they were transplanted over the *Danube* thither by that emperor, to repeople those countries which were become desolate by the wars and pestilence. These soon conformed to the *Roman* laws, and became one nation with the other inhabitants of that country [h]. We have formerly taken notice of that colony of them which was settled in *Thrace* by *Probus* [i]; but where the original seat of them was before their removal, is not easy to guess; it has been, for that reason, much questioned whether they were of *German* or *Sarmatian* extract: we, however, quoted *Pliny* in favour of the former opinion, who in another place makes them one of the five principal tribes of the *German* nation [k]. We may add to his evidence that of *Strabo*, who plainly distinguishes them from the *Sarmatians*; and that of *Tacitus*, who ranks them among the former [l]. We read of their assisting *Perseus* and *Mithridates* against the *Romans* [m], but, after their conquest by the latter, we hear no more of them by that name; probably the remainder of them united with the *Goths*, and as for those who stayed in their native country, if any such there were, they were, in all likelihood, blended with those *Piecinigi*, or

Bastarnæ.

[d] Ibid. p. 315, (E). [e] Ibid. p. 482, (O). [f] Ibid. [g] Jul. Capitol. in vit. Marc. c. 22 [h] Nat. hist l. iv c. 28. [i] Vopiscus in vit Probi, c. 18. [k] Vol. xv. p. 225, 252 Nat. hist l. ii c. 4. [l] Geogr. l. iii. p. 306. Mor. Germ c. 46. [m] Vide Plutarch. in vit. Æmil. Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 365.

Patzinicæ,

Patzinicæ, which we find mentioned in the *Byzantine* and *Poliſh* hiſtory, and which *Strabo* and *Tacitus* mention in the place above quoted, with the *Baſtarnæ* and ſome other *German* tribes [o].

BETWEEN thoſe nations we have ſeen ſeated along the other ſide of the *Danube* and the *Hercynian* foreſt, were ſeveral other antient nations, of whom we know little more than their names, and about whoſe exact ſituation we are quite in the dark: ſuch as the *Martingi*, *Burii*, *Borades*, *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, and ſome others, who are placed by our geographers along the foreſt above-mentioned, between the *Danube* and the *Viſtula*. The *Burii* are reckoned the ſame with the *Borades*, and are mentioned as aſſiſtants to the *Marcomanni* in their war againſt *M. Antoninus*; and the *Lygii*, or *Logiones*, as aſſiſting *Vibillius*, king of the *Hermunduri*, againſt the haughty *Vannius*, king of the *Suevi*: and their bordering upon one another is collected from a paſſage of *Pliny* which places the latter between the *Danube* and the foreſt above-mentioned [p], but with no ſufficient exactneſs to lead us to the right ſituation of either: only the *Sileſian* hiſtorians affirm, that the *Lygii* and part of the *Quadi* remained ſtill in their own original country [q]. The laſt we ſhall mention on this ſide the *Hercynian* foreſt, were the famed *Rætii*, now *Griſons*, who were ſeated on the *Alps*: their country, which was antiently called *Weſtern Illyricum*, was divided into *Rætia prima*, or *propria*, and *ſecunda*, and was then of a much larger extent, ſpreading itſelf towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Auſtria*. This country, and that of *Noricum*, and others, became a *Roman* province, and belonged to the kingdom of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*; but upon the declenſion of it they fell under the dominion of the *Franks*, about which time the name of *Bavarians* firſt became noted in hiſtory [r].

Burii.

Rætii.

ON the other ſide of the *Hercynian* foreſt were the antient ſeats of the *Suevi*, whom we have ſhewn above to have been an old tribe of *Germans* (E), and ſpread themſelves from the *Viſtula*

Suevi.

[o] See LEDIARD, vol. ii. add. xxx. p. 389. [p] H. N. l iv. c. 25.
[q] Vide inter al. HANKIUM de major. Silefior. c. 21. MASCOV. l. xi. § 21. [r] See before, vol xiii. p 314, & ſeq. & not.

(E) At leaſt we find them ſo ſtyled by *Pliny*, and other antient authors: but we muſt here remind our reader of what has been heretofore occaſionally obſerved with reſpect to thoſe authors, that they ſo often confound the *Celtæ* and *Scythians*, that it is not eaſy to gueſs whether thoſe antient *Suevi* or *Germans*, whom they allow to be of *Celtic* extract, were really ſo, or of *Scythian* breed. But from the nearer likeneſs of manners, language, &c to the latter, one would be more apt to think they derived their original from them. However, the truth ſeems to be, that both *Celtæ* and *Scythians*

Viſtula to the *Elbe*, and beyond, though they in time did, at leaſt a great part of them, either penetrate through that foreſt, or wind themſelves about it, and came and ſettled in the more pleaſant ſouthern parts of *Europe*, ſuch as *Belgium*, *Gaul*, and even *Spain*, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel. The moſt famous of theſe were the *Longobardi*, ſo called, according to ſome, on account of their wearing long beards; but, according to others, on account of their conſiſting of two nations, *viz.* the *Bardi* and *Lingones*; theſe dwelt along the river *Elbe*, and bordered ſouthward on the *Chauci*, mentioned a little higher, and both theſe were reduced by *Tiberius*, as we have ſhewn in a former volume [s]. But the *Longobardi*, having paſſed the *Danube*, invaded and defeated the *Heruli* [t], did afterwards croſs the *Alps*, and ſettled in *Italy*, where they founded the kingdom of *Lombardy* [u], and, in proceſs of time, quite forgot their antient *German*, and adopted that of *Italy* [w]. The *Burgundi* are the next of note. *Pliny* affirms them likewiſe of *German* extract, and ranks them with the *Vindili*, *Varini*, *Carini*, *Guttones* and *Ingevones*, which laſt he makes to have been a mixed people, partly *Cimbric*, partly *Teutonic*, and partly *Chauci* [x]. It were labour loſt to inquire after their original ſeat (F), but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, inticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated firſt into *Germany*, where they aſſiſted *Valentinian* againſt the *Alemanni* [y], they afterwards croſſed the *Rhine*, and ſettled in *aul*, Gwhere they founded a kingdom in that province, which ſtill retains the name of *Burgundia*, as we ſhall ſee in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters. The *Semnones*, likewiſe, left their old habitation, and ſettled about the *Lionnois* in *Gaul*: we find them ſeated about the *Elbe*, in *Tiberius*'s time, and, in conjunction with the *Hermunduri* and other *Germans*, bravely ſtriving to obſtruct his croſſing that river [z]; but at what time they paſſed from thence into *Gaul*, is

Burgundi.

Semnones

[s] Ibid. p. 355. [t] See before, vol. xv. p. 597. [u] See vol. xvi. p. 191. [w] Vide Giannon. hiſt. Neapol. p. 294. Mascov. l. xv. c. 14. [x] Ubi ſupra, l iv c. 28. [y] Marcellin. l. xxviii c 5. [z] Vell. Paterc l. ii c. 106.

were in all theſe parts ſo intermixed and blended together, eſpecially from the *Rhine* eaſtward and northward, that all thoſe antient *Germans* bid fair to be the offspring of that mixture, rather than of either *Scythic* or *Celtic* original properly ſo called.

(F) Some have imagined the *Burgundi* and *Burgundians* to have been two different people, but without any probability, ſince they are mentioned by ſome antient authors at the ſame nation, though under thoſe two different names; and that is, *Marcellinus* calls them *Burgundi*, whom St *Jerom* and *Oroſius* call *Burgundiones*.

not eaſy to gueſs: but they fell upon one of the moſt fruitful parts of that kingdom, and there grew ſo rich and conſiderable, that they are thought to have been called *Sennones* on that very account, it being an old *Celtic* word, which ſignifies opulent and venerable (G), as we have had occaſion to ſhew in the hiſtory of the *Gauls* [z]. Theſe three were the moſt noted nations on the other ſide of the *Hercynian* foreſt, to which we ſhall only add the names of ſome others, though ſcarcely known to us by any thing elſe: ſuch are the *Aviones*, *Reudigni*, *Eudoles*, and *Swardones*, whom we find placed between the *Elbe* and the *Sucvus*, or *Viader*, on the north of the *Longobardi*; the *Rugii*, *Lemnovii*, *Heruli*, *Gothones*, or *Gothini*, the *Sidui Carini*, between the laſt mentioned river and the *Viſtula*: as for the *Angli*, *Saxi*, *Goths*, *Hunns*, &c. they will be ſpoken of in ſome of the following chapters. But before we paſs farther, we muſt not omit the country of the *Æſtii*, an antient tribe of the *Suevi*, who inhabited along the coaſts of the eaſt

[z] See before, p. 47.

(G) Some have, indeed, ſought the etymon of this name from the *Greek*, and think they were ſo called from the word ξένος, ſtranger, new-comer; on account of their being ſome of the laſt *German* nations that came over the *Rhine* into *Gaul* (8). Accordingly, a *Roman* hiſtorian tells us (9), that they were the very laſt of all the ſtrangers that came thither. *Servius*, indeed, thinks they were at firſt called ξένους, and afterwards ξέρωνας becauſe they received *Bacchus* into their country.

But if we muſt have recourſe to the *Greek*, would not the word Σεμνὸς afford us a better etymon, as it is more like the name of the antient *Semnones* than that of *Senonas* or *Xenonas?* We read of *Semna myſteria*, and *Semnai theai*, in which the word implies ſomething venerable or awful, and might be either taken up by the *Semnonic* tribe, or given them by their neighbours, either on account of their opulence, or the great ſway they bore above the reſt, all which doth well agree with their hiſtory. But we would rather chuſe to ſtick to the *Celtic*, which doth ſtill more cloſely ſquare to it than to the *Greek*, which, how like ſoever to it in moſt things, doth yet ſometimes deviate from the original deſign and meaning, eſpecially as to ſuch appellatives as this we are upon: and if we obſerve, that in ſeveral provinces of *Gaul*, even to this day, the natives never pronounce an *m* before an *n*, but like an *nn*, we may perhaps find out the moſt probable etymon for the words *ſenex*, *ſenatus*, *ſenator*, *ſenior*, *ſeniorati*, *ſeneſchal*, *carta ſenica*, and many others of the like import, in which the *mn* was gradually abſorbed into *nn*, and this laſt ſoftened into a ſingle one.

(8) *Vide Flacc. ſeſt.* (9) *Tit. Liv. hiſtor. l.* v. *c.* 35.

Æstii, and their amber trade.

sea (H), so famed for the great plenty of amber that was found there, especially along those of *Prussia*, and for the vast quantity that was fetched from thence both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of which we find particular mention in most antient authors, such as *Herodotus* [b], *Diodorus Siculus* [c], *Pytheas Massilienſis*, as quoted by *Pliny* [d], but especially by *Tacitus* [e], who has given us a very curious description of it, as well as of these *Æstii*, who gathered and sold it to them. These, he says, worshipped the mother of the gods, and placed such confidence in her safeguard, that they scarcely knew the use of iron weapons, or any other sort but cudgels. They were more industrious than the rest of the *Germans* in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the seas and rivers for amber, which is a commodity peculiar to them, and which was of little use to them, except to sell it to strangers, rough and unwrought, as they gathered it. He then goes on in describing the nature of that wonderful gum, according to the notion they then had of it, which we need not here dwell upon, but from which, as well as from what other antient authors have writ of it, we may infer, that it was in very high esteem in those days. In *Nero*'s reign, by which time the *Romans* had wholly set aside the thoughts of conquering *Germany*, one of that emperor's favourites persuaded him to send thither a kind of embassy to buy it there upon the spot, and at the first hand [f]. The thing was accordingly done, and the *Roman* knight, who was at the head

[b] L. iii. c. 15. [c] Bibl. l. v. [d] N. H. l. xxxvii. [e] Mor. Germ. c. 45. [f] See Pliny nat. hist. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

(H) So called, in all probability, from their inhabiting those coasts of the east sea, containing part of *Prussia*, *Courland*, and *Livonia*. These, as well as their neighbours the *Gothini*, were not unknown to *Tacitus*, who has given us a succinct description of their religion, customs, and language; in all which they differed so little from the *Celtes*, or old *Gauls*, that we may take it as a further proof, that the antient *Germans* and they were but distinct branches of the same nation, as we observed at the beginning of this and the last chapter. What is still more observable is, that our author tells us, that their language differed but little from the old *British*, that is, from the old *Celtic* or *Cimerian*; the *Britons*, who were a branch of these, or rather the same nation under a different name, that was given them on account of their painting their bodies, the word *Brit*, in the old *Celtic*, signifying the same as *Pict* or painted, and both *Britons* and *Cimmerians* retaining the same tongue not only then, but even to this day, as we have had frequent occasion to observe, both in the last chapter, and in the history of the antient *Celtes* (10).

(10) *See before, p.* 152, *&c. and vol.* v. *p.* 252.

of

of this expedition, ſetting out from *Carnuntum*, a fortreſs on the banks of the *Danube* (I), arrived at the place, and met with a kind reception from the *Æſtii*, from whom he bought and brought away, according to *Solinus* [g], 13,000 pounds weight of that commodity, which was deſigned, it ſeems, by one of their kings, as a preſent to the emperor; and among it there was a piece which muſt have been of very great value, if it be true, what another author affirms, that it weighed alone thirteen pounds [h]. We find in *Caſſiodorus*, a letter ſent by *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, to the *Æſtii*, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had ſent to him of the ſame precious drug [i], and wherein he promiſes them his friendſhip, which, it ſeems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this embaſſy and valuable preſent. By this letter it ſhould ſeem, that the inhabitants were wholly ignorant whence it came, and how it was formed; for ſo their embaſſadors told that monarch; and added, that the ſea threw it upon their coaſts. Theſe *Æſtii* were ſtill famed among other *German* nations on the eaſt ſea, in the time of *Charles the great* [k]. We read of the *Scirri*, *Hirri*, *Galindi*, and *Sudeni*, in *Ptolemy*, which ſome have endeavoured to prove were to be reckoned among the *Æſtii* [l], or antient inhabitants of *Pruſſia*, but with very little likelihood: as for the name of *Pruſſia*, it is of much more recent date, as ſhall be ſeen in the modern part of this work. All that needs be added, with reſpect to the *Æſtii*, is, that they were at length conquered, with ſome other nations, by *Ermanaric*, king of the *Goths* [m].

[g] POLYHIST. c. 33. [h] PLINY ubi ſupra. [i] Varia, l v. epiſt. 2. [k] EGINHARD. in vit. Carol. Mag. c. 12. [l] Vide HARTKNOK. Pruſ. A. & M, part. 1. c. 1. [m] JORNAND. hiſt. Goth. l. iv.

(I) *Carnuntum* was a fortreſs in *Upper Pannonia*, on the ſame ſide with *Vienna*, and was a kind of boundary between the frontiers of the *Germans* and *Pannonians* (II). If, therefore, this embaſſy ſet out from thence, as our author affirms, and it be very unlikely they ſhould ſail up the *Danube*, and down the *Rhine*, in order to coaſt it round to the *Pruſſian* coaſts; it may be inferred, that the *Hercynian* foreſt muſt have had ſome paſſage cut acroſs, for them to go thither by land: and as we are told they paſſed through the country of the *Gothiones*, or *Gothini*, in their way thither, we may conclude it probable, that they ſailed down the *Viſtula*, at the very mouth of which were the *Electridæ inſulæ*, or *Amber iſlands*, ſo called from that commodity being either gathered upon thoſe coaſts, or brought thither as to a mart by the *Æſtii*.

(II) *Vide itiner. Ant. Plin. l.* iv *c.* 12.

ON

Gepidæ, *their extract, and kingdom.*

On this side of the *Æstii*, and, as is supposed, near the mouth of the *Vistula*, now *Weychsel*, were the *Gepidæ*; and farther north, on the coasts of the east sea, between these and the *Æstii*, were the *Chaiboni*. It is not easy to determine whether these two were of *German*, *Scythic*, or *Gothic*, extract: the *Gepidæ* are indeed affirmed to be *Germans* by some antient authors [n]; but we have had frequent occasion to observe, that they frequently confound those nations, so that we cannot readily depend upon them: were we allowed to offer a conjecture of our own, we should rather think them of *Celtic* origin. We have already observed, in the *Gaulish* history, that the *Celtes* had spread themselves towards the farthermost parts of the north, as the *Cimbrians* in the *Cimbrica Cherjonesus*, and the *Teutones* (K) in the islands adjacent: and, indeed, it seems as if

[n] Vide Procop. de bell. Vind. l. i. c. 2. & Mascov. l. x. c. 6. l. xi. c. 21.

(K) We have already hinted some conjectures concerning the etymon of that word at the entrance of this chapter, and in a former volume, in speaking of the *Titans*. The old *Celtes* boasted themselves sprung from the god *Theutat*, or *Mercury*, whom *Cæsar* calls *Dis* (12), the name of that deity after his death, or *apotheosis*, as we shewed in the last chapter, and *Tacitus Twiston* (13); and upon that account did, in all probability, take the name of *Teutates* from him, which, by length of time, variety of dialects, and of hands, through which it passed, diversified itself into *Teutoni*, *Teutones*, *Teutonarii*, *Teutobodiaci*, *Tectosagi*, *Tauriski*, *Tautantii*, *Teudesci*, and *Teutschen*, which two last names they still retain in *Germany* and *Italy*.

That this name is very antient, and common to all the *Celtes*, we have shewn in the parts of their history above quoted, and we shall beg leave to add a pregnant testimony of it, which is as follows: *Servius* observes, that the city of *Pisa* had received its name from *Pisus*, a king of the *Celtes*, who founded it; and presently after, upon the authority of *Cato*, adds, that the *Teutones* were settled in that country long before the *Hetrusci* made themselves masters of it. The city itself, says he, was called *Teuta*, and the inhabitants *Theutas* (14).

As to the *Tectosagi*, we find a tribe of them in the neighbourhood of *Thalouse* in old *Gaul*, who were surnamed *Volsci*, of whom we spoke in the last chapter. *Cæsar* and *Strabo* mention another tribe, who were seated about the *Hercynian* forest, and make the former of them to be descended from the *Gaulish* (15). We find the

(12) *Comm. l.* vi. *c.* 18. (13) *German. c.* 2. (14) *Ad Æneid.* x. *Vide & Cluver. Ital. antiq c* 7. (15) *Comm. l.* vi. *c* 24 *Geor. l.* xii.

Teutones

if thoſe antient *Gomerians* were either elbowed by new comers, farther and farther northwards, as our *Welch* were here in *England*; or, if we ſuppoſe them to have been *Celtic* colonies, ſent afterwards in ſearch of new habitations, as they were often forced to do for want of room, that they found the more temperate parts already ſo well inhabited, that they were forced to take up with ſuch climates as they found ſtill uninhabited by reaſon of their extreme coldneſs. In either caſe the *Cimbrians*, *Teutones*, *Gepidæ*, *Chaiboni*, and *Æſtii*, being found all in one line, and under the ſame climate, may, probably enough, have been all of the ſame extract, conſidering the conformity of their manners, language, *&c.* but we only offer this as a conjecture. Of the *Chaiboni*, indeed, we know but little, except what we read of their invading *Gaul* in the time of *Dioclesian* °, and of their being totally routed by *Conſtantine the great* ᵖ. The *Gepidæ* are famed in hiſtory for having reared themſelves into an early kingdom, and extending their territories into *Pannonia*, and taking the famed city of *Sirmium*, or *Sirmiſh*, from the emperor *Marcian* (L); as likewiſe for their wars with the

° CL. MAMERTIN. panegyr. l. i. c. 4, & 5. ᵖ NAZAR. int. panegyr. vet. ix. c. 18.

Teutones and *Teutonarii* ſpread far and wide about the *Baltic*, and *Scandinavia* had ſcarcely any other inhabitants but *Teutones*, if we may believe *Pliny* and *Mela* (16). Among the *Gallogreeks*, or *Galatians*, we find two tribes, one of which had the name of *Tectosagi*, and the other *Teutobodiaci*, or *Tolſtobogi* (17). The name of *Tauriſci* can hardly come from any other than *Thaut-rich*, the kingdom of *Thaut*, and that of *Thaulantii* from *Thaut-landt*, the land of *Thaut*. All theſe, put together, ſufficiently ſhew, that they were originally, or boaſted themſelves ſuch, the deſcendants or ſubjects of *Theut*, or *Mercury*, once the famed monarch of the greateſt part of *Europe* (18).

(L) It ſeems that emperor had ſuppreſſed the annual penſion which he had engaged to pay to them; upon which, they, under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*, who had already conquered *Dacia*, paſſed the *Danube*, and added ſome part of *Pannonia* to their kingdom. As for *Sirmium*, it was the metropolis of *Lower Pannonia*; and though it was afterwards deſtroyed by lightning (19), and ſince then reduced to a mere village by the *Turks*, yet it was celebrated heretofore for two *Arian* councils held in it under *Conſtantius*, viz. an. 351. and 357. and for being the birth place of *Photinus* (20).

(16) *N. H.* l. iv. c. 14. *De ſitu*, l. iii c. 3. *Vide & Ptolem.* l. ii. c. 2. (17) *Strabo, ubi ſupra.* (18) *See before. vol.* v. p. 274, & *ſeq.* (19) *See vol.* xiii. *p.* 359, (V). (20) *See vol.* xv. *p.* 54(V).

Goths,

Goths, *Burgundians*, and eſpecially the *Romans* [q], for their invaſion of *Germany* and *Belgia*, and for the terrible havock they made in both, in conjunction with the *Quadi*, *Vandals*, and other northern nations, of which St. *Jerom* gives us a particular and dreadful account [r], as may be ſeen by the abſtract in the margin (M). They kept themſelves in poſſeſſion of all *Dacia*, till the emperor *Juſtin*'s reign, when, being left in the lurch by that prince, and *Cunemund*, their laſt king, being overthrown and killed by *Alboin*, king of the *Longobards*, there was a final end put to their kingdom. The *Abares*, who were allied with *Alboin*, took poſſeſſion of *Dacia*, and the whole *Gepidæan* nation was ſo thoroughly diſperſed [s], as never to recover itſelf again. Some of them we find accompanying that conqueror's expedition into *Italy* [t], and the reſt went and refuged themſelves where they could (N), as we ſhall ſee in a ſubſequent chapter.

The end of it, and them.

[q] See vol. xv. p 225
[s] Excerpt. ex Menand.
[r] Epiſt. ad Ager. de monogam. ep. 92.
[t] Vide Paul. Diac. hiſt. Longobard. l. ii. c. 26.

(M) Theſe barbarians broke down, like an inundation, not only on *Upper* and *Lower Germany*, but into *Gaul* likewiſe, and as far as even *Spain*. In the former they deſtroyed, among other cities, thoſe of *Straſburgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, and *Mentz*; and in *Belgia* thoſe of *Rheims*, *Amiens*, *Tournay*, *Arras*, and *Terouane*; and carried the inhabitants captive into *Germany*. They likewiſe ravaged, in a woful manner, the provinces of *Aquitania*, *Lugdunenſis*, and *Narbonenſis*, and carried off an immenſe plunder. The reſt the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(N) It is ſuppoſed, that the poor remains of the *Gepidæ* took refuge under the emperor *Juſtinian*, and that he took, upon that account, the title of *Gepidicus*, which we find afterwards added to the imperial ones, as appears by the preamble of ſome of his ſucceſſors letters, eſpecially that of *Maurice*, who ſtyles himſelf there, *Alemannicus*, *Gothicus*, *Anticus*, *Vandalicus*, *Herulicus*, *Gepidicus*, *Africanus*, &c (21).

As for the unfortunate *Cunemund*, the uſe which *Alboin* made of his body was, to make a drinking cup of his ſcull, a cuſtom deſcended to them from their barbarous anceſtors, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak, in the hiſtory of the *Celtes* and *Scythians*, and which, it appears by this, was ſtill rife among a vaſt many nations of their deſcendants, ſo many ages after their embracing chriſtianity. As to the *Gepidæ*, we have nothing to add concerning them, but that they profeſſed *Arianiſm* in common with the *Goths* (22), as will be ſeen in ſome of the following chapters.

(21) *See Miſcell. l.* xiv. *c.* 3, & 24. (22) *Procop. bell. Vandal. l.* i. *c.* 2.

Thus

THUS much ſhall ſerve for the names and ſituation of the antient *Germans*, according to their different tribes and nations at the time of the *Romans* firſt invaſion of them, as far as a ſubject ſo involved in darkneſs and confuſion can be brought into any tolerable light and order. In *Auguſtus*'s reign it was divided into *Germania Prima* and *Secunda*, that is, *Upper* and *Lower*, as we hinted above, and guarded by eight legions of *Roman* forces, which were, according to cuſtom, employed in making high roads, new fortifications, and other uſeful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field [u]. This diviſion ſeems to have continued till about the time of the emperor *Jovinus*, when, though the conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſted with regard to *Germania Prima*, yet it was then, in all probability, loſt, with reſpect to *Germania Secunda*, which was by that time become, in a great meaſure, ſubject to the *Franks*: for in the *Notitia Imperii*, which is thought to have been written then about, though the ſtate of *Belgica Prima* and *Secunda* be there ſtill intire, yet there is no farther mention of *Germania Secunda*.

Germany, how divided.

As for the country of *Germany* itſelf, we have ſuch a dreadful account given us of it, both by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* [w], even of thoſe parts of it which lie under a more temperate climate, that one would think it almoſt incredible that ſuch a brave nation as that would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither ſtrength nor courage to have broken their way into others, more pleaſant and fruitful. Nor would one be able to know the worſt parts of it, as they are now, by the deſcription they give us of the beſt. According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over; and even its variety of ſoil and climate added to the horror of it, from the dreadful foreſts, ſtinking and unwholſome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, dampneſs of its ſeas, lakes, and rivers, and harſhneſs of its ſoil. But as, on the one hand, we muſt allow for exaggeration in hiſtorians, who plainly ſought in every thing to magnify their own courage and proweſs, by the difficulties and hardſhips they met with in the conqueſts of thoſe countries and nations; ſo we muſt grant, on the other, that the *Romans* proved the means of cultivating thoſe, till then, barren and inhoſpitable territories, by cutting down great numbers of foreſts, draining wet and marſhy grounds, and other ſuch-like improvements as they were able to admit of. So that we need not now tell our readers, that this pretended barrenneſs and unhealthineſs was rather owing to the ſupineneſs of the inhabitants, than to any defect

The natural clime, and produce.

[u] BUCHER. Belg Rom. l. c c. 12, 17, & 18. [w] M. Germ. c. 2. Comment. l iii. c. 1.

in its ſoil or climate, ſince we find it now capable of bearing all ſorts of grain, vines, fruit, and even foreign plants, in great abundance and due maturity. And thus far may be owned, that the coming of the *Romans* into *Germany*, as well as into *Gaul*, contributed much to the fertiliſing and enriching of thoſe two countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by both nations, who, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, thought this, and every occupation, beſides the martial trade, too much below their fierce and warlike genius.

Vines, when firſt brought thither.

We are told, in particular, that the emperor *Probus* was the firſt who permitted vines to be brought into *Gaul* and *Germany*, and to be planted along the *Rhine* and *Moſel*, and other parts [x] (O).

Foreſts.

Among thoſe many woods and foreſts with which this country abounded, perhaps, more than any other on this ſide of the *Rhine*, was that famed one called the *Hercynian*, and, by the *Greeks*, *Orcinian* foreſt, the longeſt and thickeſt in *Europe*, and reckoned by *Julius Cæſar* to have extended ſixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. We have given an account of it in a former volume, to which we refer [y]: all that we need to add is, that not only this, but all the foreſts, woods, and groves, in *Germany*, even the trees, boughs, and leaves, of it, were reckoned ſacred; and this is the reaſon why the antient *Germans* made it a piece of their religion not to cut them down, unleſs it be ſome branches of the oak, and ſome other trees which they carried with them, on particular ſolemnities [z]; but ſince their conqueſt by the *Romans*, a good many were cut down, partly for conveniency, and partly out of a diſlike of thoſe ſuperſtitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Many more were deſtroyed, ſince their embracing of chriſtianity, upon the ſame account, and ſome are yet ſtill remaining; and, amongſt others, one which is known by the name

[x] Vopisc. in vit. Prob. c. 18 [y] Vol. xiii. p 357, (T). 434, (T).
[z] Vide Claudian. in laud. Stilic. Lucan. l. iii. ver. 429. Agathias hiſt. l. i. Keyzler. antiq. ſeptentr. c. 4. § 7.

(O) An antient author compares this action of his to that of *Hannibal*, who cauſed olive-trees to be planted in *Africa*, in order to furniſh the ſoldiers with profitable employments in time of peace (23). But if *Probus* knew any thing of that natural propenſity which the *German* nation had to ſtrong liquors, one would be apt to think he had ſomething more in his view, than the bare finding out proper employment for them, when he introduced the juice of the grape among them (24).

(23) *Aur. Vict. in Cæſ. c.* 37. (24) *See the laſt chapter, p.* 119, *paſſ.*

of

of the black foreſt: the *Bacenian* is another famed one, which parted the *Suevi* from the *Cheruſci*, by ſome ſuppoſed to be that of *Thuringia*, and by others the black foreſt laſt mentioned. The *Cæſian* foreſt, or *Cæſia Sylva*, was likewiſe very famous: ſome ſuppoſe it to have likewiſe been a remnant of the *Hercynian*, and part of it remains ſtill in the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Weſtphalia*. *Tacitus* tells us of a famous one dedicated to *Hercules*, and called, from him, the *Herculean* foreſt [a]; but it doth not appear that they had, as yet, adopted either that, or any other *Roman* deities: ſo that if there was any ſuch foreſt of that name, it muſt have been called ſo upon ſome other account than a religious one. For, as we have obſerved in the laſt chapter, the *Germans* made a much longer ſtand againſt the *Roman* polytheiſm than the *Gauls* [b].

RIVERS of note they had in abundance, of which we ſhall only mention the moſt conſiderable ones, and what is moſt remarkable in them. At the head of theſe may juſtly be placed the *Danube*, now *Iſter*, by far the largeſt in *Europe*. It has its riſe in *Swabia*, and flowing through that province, and thoſe of *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Beſſarabia*, and part of *Tartary*, and receiving about ſixty other rivers in its courſe, falls into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, in two arms. It was once the boundary between *Sarmatia* and *Germany*, but became afterwards ſubject to the *Romans* to its very ſource, under the emperor *Trajan* (P). The *Rhine*, another famous river, which antiently divided *Germany* from *Gaul*, and ſprings from the *Rhætian Alps* in the weſtern borders of *Switzerland*, and northern of the *Griſons*: as it riſes from two ſprings, which unite their waves near *Chur*, now *Coire*; ſo it divided itſelf into two ſtreams, one of which falls into the *Maeſe*, and the other into the *German* ocean: upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by *Virgil*, *Rhenus bicornis*, or *bicorniger*. It has now no paſſage into that ocean, but with the *Maeſe* above-mentioned, below *Bricl*, unleſs that branch of the one part of it called the *Yſſel*, which empties itſelf into the

Rivers.

Danube.

Rhine.

[a] L. ii. c. 12. [b] See before p. 22.

(P) We are told, that he eſtabliſhed at *Zarmiſogethuſa*, the capital of *Sarmatia*, the famed colony called *Ulpia Trajana*, laid a bridge over the *Danube*, as appears from ſeveral antient medals, and, particularly, by the column erected in honour of him, and the explanation given us of it by the authors quoted in the margin (25).

(25) *See Gruter's inſcriptions. Ciacon. Bellov. & Fabret.*

Zuyder-Zee, may be ſaid to do it [c]. This mouth, which was antiently known to the *Romans* by the name of *Flavum*, and ſtill retains that of *Vlie*, or *Flie*, had a ſtrong caſtle built by it, to guard the paſſage out of the *Zuyder*, or ſouth, into the north, ſea. As for the *Rhine*, it became afterwards a barrier between the *Romans* and the *Germans*, upon the overthrow of *Varus* by the latter, who unwiſely ſpent their time in deſtroying the fortreſſes of the former along that river, inſtead of purſuing the advantage of that ſignal victory; ſo that they only ſhortened the extent of the *Roman* territories, which before reached as far as the *Weſer*, if not beyond [d]. The ſame river did likewiſe part the *Batavi* from the other *Germans*, as has been formerly hinted [e]. *Julius Cæſar*, in one of his *German* triumphs, cauſed, among other pageantic figures, that of the *Rhine* to be carried; in imitation of which, it is judiciouſly obſerved, that his ſucceſſors did oftener triumph over, than conquer, it [f]. The
Viſtula. *Viſtula*, now *Weichſel*, was another conſiderable river, which divided *Germany* from the *European Sarmatia*, whence the latter was called *Germania Transviſtulana*. It had its riſe in the *Carpatian* mountains in *Higher Sileſia*, and, croſſing the *Hercynian* foreſt, diſembogued itſelf, by three ſtreams, into the *Baltic* ſea, not far from *Dantzic*. The *Drave*, or *Draw*, ſprings from the *Alps* in the *Tyroleſe*, and, dividing *Upper* and *Lower Hungary* from *Sclavonia*, falls into the *Danube* near *Eſſeck*.
Moraw. The *Moraw* riſes in the confines of *Bohemia*, divides *Moravia* into two parts, and falls into the *Danube* not far from *Vienna*.
Nab. The *Nab*, in *Nortgow*, hath its ſource near that of the *Main*, and falls into the *Danube* a little above *Ratiſbon*.
Neckar. The *Neckar*, in *Suabia*, riſes from the black foreſt, not far from the *Danube*, but takes a different courſe, and falls into the
Regen. *Rhine*. *Regen* riſes in *Nortgow*, on the borders of *Bohemia*, and empties itſelf into the *Danube* at *Ratiſbon*, thence called
Veſer. *Regenſburgh*. The *Veſer*, antiently *Viſurgis*, deſcends from *Franconia*, and, paſſing by *Bremen*, falls into the *German*
Elb. ocean between the mouths of the *Elbe* and *Ems*. The former of theſe, called by the *Romans Albus*, and by the *Germans Elbe*, *Elle*, and now *Elb*, is a very large and conſiderable one, and hath its ſpring in the mountains called the *Giant Mountains*, *Montes Herœum*, in *Sileſia*, on the confines of *Bohemia*, and, paſſing through it and *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, falls into
Ems. the above-mentioned ſea at *Ritzbuttel*, twenty leagues below *Hamburgh*. The latter, *viz. Ems*, antiently *Amiſia*, riſes in the biſhopric of *Paderborn*, and, paſſing by *Embden*, the me-

[c] See Mascov. German. & Lediard. ibid. ſub Ind [d] See Florus, l. v. [e] Vol. xv. p 244. [f] Florus, l. v. c. 2.

tropolis

tropolis of *Eaſt Friezland*, and through the bay of *Dullert*, falls into the ſame ocean a little above the mouth of the *Viſurgis*, or *Veſer*. The *Luppia*, now *Lippe*, and *Iſala*, or *Yſſel*, fall, the one into the *Rhine*, below *Cologn*, and divided the *Bructeri* and *Marſi* from the *Uſipii*; and the other into the *Foſſa Druſiana*. The reſt, being of leſs note, we ſhall paſs by. Lippe.

CITIES of any conſideration the *Germans* did not begin to build till after the coming in of the *Romans*, but were divided into cantons and diſtricts, like the *Gauls*; and lived in villages, like them: even thoſe famous large ones they now have, were either moſt of them built by the *Romans*, or inlarged, beautified, and infranchiſed, by them (Q). Such were the city of *Cologn*, of which we have given an account in a former volume [g], and of its being called *Agrippinæ*. It was formerly called *Colonia Ubiorum*, and was their metropolis. It is commodiouſly ſituated on the *Rhine*, and in the circle of the lower *Rhine*, and is now the metropolis of the archbiſhopric of that name, an imperial city, and a famed univerſity. *Colonia Trajana*, another antient *Roman* colony below the former, by ſome thought to be the preſent *Keyſerſwaert*. *Colonia Ulpia*, now *Cleves*, the capital of *Cleveland* in *Lower Germany*, ſuppoſed to have been built by *Julius Cæſar*, as well as that of *Bonn*, antiently *Bonna Julia*, ſituate above *Cologn*, and on the ſame river. This laſt is now the reſidence of the electors of *Cologn*. *Auſburgh*, i. e. *Auguſtus-burgh*, antiently called *Auguſta Vindelicorum* [h], now the capital of *Suabia*; this is likewiſe an imperial city, very populous and trading, ſituate on the *Lech*, not far from the *Danube*, and famed, among other things, for the *Auguſtan* confeſſion, or confeſſion of *Auſburgh*, which is that of the *Lutherans*. *Argentoratum*, now *Straſburgh* in *Alzacia*, the antient capital of the *Trebochi* on the *Rhine*, is reckoned one of the antienteſt cities in *Germany* (R), and is now famed for Cologn. Auſburgh. Straſburgh

[g] Vol. xiv. p. 111. [h] Vol. xiii p. 314, & ſeq. (E).

(Q) Theſe new colonies were, it ſeems, endowed with moſt of the privileges of the city of *Rome*; and *Cologn*, we are told (26), was one of them.

(R) And well it may, if what ſome *German* antiquaries pretend be true, that it was built 33 years before *Abraham*. But it will be time enough to believe it when they give us ſome further proofs of it than they have hitherto.

This place, we are told, was chiefly famed, in antient times, for a living well, or ſpring, which was uſed for the waſhing and purifying of the victims which were offered up by their prieſts, and

(26) *Paul. Diac. de cenſ. l.* viii.

was

for its magnificent cathedral, and the ſpire and curious clock of it, of which we ſhall ſay ſomething more in the ſequel; but, above all, for a living well, incloſed in that church, which was originally dedicated to ſuperſtitious and heatheniſh uſes, ſuch as we have mentioned in the laſt note. *Triers*, another antient city of *Lower Germany*, ſaid to have been built by *Trebeſas*, the brother of *Ninus*, 1496 years before *Chriſt*, and made a *Roman* colony in the time of *Auguſtus*. It became afterwards the moſt famed city of *Gallia Belgica*, and was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the weſtern empire, in the reign of *Conſtantius* [i]. Here *Valentinian* triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the *Alemanni* [k]. *Triers* had been formerly the ſeat of the *Gallic* prefects, or of *præfectura Galliarum* [l], and obtained the right of coinage from the *Romans* [m]; at preſent it is only the metropolis of the eccleſiaſtic electorate of that name, though the biſhops of it were formerly ſtyled primate of thoſe of *Gaul*, on account of its having been once the ſeat of the prefects of it, which was afterwards removed to *Arles*, on occaſion of the former being deſtroyed by the *Franks* [n]. *Ratiſbon*, in the circle of *Bavaria*, ſaid to have been firſt built by *Tiberius*, and now famous for the diet of the empire being held there. *Mentz*, now famous for the invention of printing by *John Fuſt*, alias *Fauſtus*, a gentleman of that city [o], and for being the reſidence of one of the eccleſiaſtic electors, in the lower circle of the *Rhine*, and ſituate on the banks of it; was formerly inlarged and fortified by *Druſus*, with ſeveral others on that river; ſuch as *Bonn*, *Andernach*, and many others on the ſame river, as well as upon

Triers.

Ratiſbon.

Mentz.

[i] Vide Cod. Theodos. & epiſt. ad pop. Alex. ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 2.
[k] Auson. in laud. Moſel. v. 420. Vide Mascov. l. vii. c. 5.
[l] See Mascov's liſt of them, l. v. c. 29. [m] Pollio ap. eund.
[n] See Pagi annal. ad an. 332. ap. Maſcov. l. vi. c. 32. [o] Vide Malincrot & Palmer hiſt. typogr.

was from thence called *Blotkeda*, and *blotabrum*, from the antient word *blot*, which ſignifies a bloody ſacrifice. Hence ſome infer, that human victims were thrown alive into the well; others, that they were firſt daſhed to death againſt the ſtones, and then flung into it (27). This well was, after the converſion of the *Germans* to chriſtianity, incloſed with a wall, and conſecrated, to ſerve for a baptiſmal font; and the waters of it became ſo famous, for ſome miraculous power attributed to them, that they were fetched or reſorted to from all parts: but ſince the reformation it hath been opened, for common uſe (28).

(27) *Vide Keyzler. antiq. ſept. in fin. c.* 3. (28) *Vide Of. S. Lud. a. fer. templ. argent.* 1617. *p.* 35.

the

the *Maeſe*, *Elbe*, and *Weſer*. He built, likewiſe, bridges over them, eſpecially at *Mentz* and *Bonn*, and kept a fleet, for the ſecurity of thoſe parts [p]: near the former of theſe was erected a monument, in form of a funeral pile, in memory of him, by thoſe legions which he had there commanded, ſome remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and are mentioned by ſeveral antient and modern authors [q], and deſcribed by *Hutichius* [r]. It is known by the name of *Eichelſtein*, and ſtands in the now citadel-yard of the city above-named; but that this was the ſame that was erected for that prince, we muſt depend wholly upon tradition, as we muſt for a vaſt number of other ſuch ſtructures, with which this country abounds, but which retain neither inſcriptions nor any other indices, by which they may be fixed to their original deſign. As we mentioned theſe cities only on account of their being either built, fortified, or celebrated, by the *Romans*, we ſhall not take upon ourſelves to go any farther with the reſt, becauſe we confine our geography to the antient, and not to the modern, *Germany*, which latter is too well known to our readers, to need our expatiating upon it.

SECT. II.

Of the religion, government, laws, and policy, of the antient Germans.

THIS ſubject hath been already ſo copiouſly handled in the laſt chapter, as it is ſo naturally knit and interwoven with it, that we hope we may ſave ourſelves the pains of a needleſs repetition. The *Gauls* and *Germans*, as nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, from the ſame hand, and both retained them, ſome few particulars excepted, during a long ſeries of ages, with an invincible tenaciouſneſs; and we have had occaſion to obſerve, that the latter continued much longer inflexible againſt introducing the *Roman* ſuperſtition, than the former: ſo that, with regard to their antient religion, they exactly agreed, in worſhiping the ſame ſupreme deity, under the name of *Eſus*, or *Heſus*, falſely ſaid, by *Roman* authors, to have been *Mars*, or *Mercury*. They worſhipped him under the emblem of an oak, conſecrated that tree more peculiárly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itſelf, but for its leaves and fruit, eſpecially the miſleto, which they call, to this day, by the old name

The religion of the antient Germans *almoſt the ſame with that of the* Gauls.

[p] FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. [q] DIO. SUETON. in Claud. OTTO Frig. chron. SERRAR. rer. Mogunt. [r] Collect. antiq.

of

of *guthyl*, or *gutheyl*, and aſcribe extraordinary virtues to it, eſpecially in epileptic diſeaſes [a] (A). Their method of, and time for, gathering it, was the ſame which was obſerved by the *Gauls* [b]. They held, like them, all other trees, likewiſe, as ſacred, though not in the ſame degree with the oak; all woods, foreſts, and deſerts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, fountains, &c. in high veneration. The druids had the ſole care and direction in all religious, and the greateſt ſway and authority in civil, matters; only it may be here obſerved, that though both nations held ſome ſort of women, whom they looked upon as propheteſſes, in great eſteem; ſo the *Germans* ſeem to have exceeded the *Gauls* in this kind of ſuperſtition, and to have ſhewn and retained a much greater fondneſs and veneration for their pretended oracles (B). In other things they were, as far as can

[a] Vide Plin. N. H. l. xvi. c. 44. Vide Cluver. Germ. Keyzler. ant. ſept. diſſert. de viſco paſſ. Colebatch and Douglas on the miſſeto, & al. [b] See before p. 11, (H).

(A) This name doth in the old *German* ſignify good heal, or good healer, as doth that of *miſtella*, or rather *miſtel dha*, in the *Celtic*; though ſome queſtion whether the word *miſtel* be of *Celtic* extract Hence, that which we formerly mentioned out of *Pliny*, that they called it by a name which ſignified *all heal*. The inhabitants of ſome parts of *Upper Germany*, who ſtill retain a great number of antient heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, are affirmed to retain the old druidiſh cuſtom of rambling about, at certain ſeaſons, from town to town, and from houſe to houſe, in great troops, rapping at every door and window with hammers, and crying out *gutheyl*, *gutheyl*, alluding to that verſe falſely aſcribed to *Ovid*,

Ad viſcum druides, druides clamare ſolebant.

In ſome other parts, eſpecially in *Aiſace*, they give it the name of *marcutaken*. or the buſh or ſhrub of ſpectres; probably from thoſe magical virtues which were attributed to it, not only by the *Germans* and *Gauls*, but much more by the more northern nations; concerning which, the reader may ſee ſome extravagant inſtances in the authors quoted in the margin (1). Among other virtues they attributed to it, that of driving off all ſhafts and offenſive weapons from the perſon that wore it, or of effectually directing againſt the perſon or beaſt they intended to ſhoot, was ſo rife, that they never went even a hunting without it (2).

(B) It is not eaſy to gueſs whence this high eſteem for thoſe female ſoothſayers had its riſe; but moſt antient authors agree, that the *Germans* never undertook any thing of importance without con-

(1) *Plin. Tacit. ubi ſupra. Keyzler, Colebatch, Douglas, & al. de viſco. Iſlandorum mythолog. c.* 43. (2) *Vide Keyzler, ubi ſupra.*

ſulting

can be gathered from *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, ſubject to, and obliged to receive their directions, like the *Gauls*, from that grand druid, who, as we hinted in the laſt chapter, had his reſidence in *England*, or ſome one of the *Britiſh* iſles. If there was any difference between the *Gauls* and *Germans* in point of religion, it conſiſted only in this, that the latter, being more fierce and

ſulting them, and would even forbear fighting an enemy, let the advantage appear ever ſo great on their ſide. if thoſe women diſapproved of it (3). They ſeem to have derived this cuſtom from the *Celtes* and *Cimmerians*, their anceſtors, who, as we have formerly obſerved, looked upon them as inſpired (4); and we have likewiſe mentioned ſome of them, who are reported to have foretold ſome very ſtrange events to ſome of the *Roman* emperors (5), enough to raiſe their reputation, not only among their own people, but likewiſe among the *Romans* and *Greeks*.

If we may, however, be permitted to offer a conjecture concerning the origin of this ſuperſtition, it ſeems to have had its riſe from this: The *Germans*, warlike, fierce, and active, as they were, and conſtantly employed either in the martial or hunting trade, might, probably, have committed the care of their ſick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leiſure upon their hands, began to ſtudy the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal things. From this ſkill, which they generally intermixed with that of aſtrology, they might, in time, pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity. The old ones, might likewiſe naturally give into dreams, viſions, and other ſuperſtitious obſervations, ſuch as were then practiſed by almoſt all other nations; ſuch as the flight of birds, the running of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and ſuch-like kinds of ſortileges; till they, at length, raiſed themſelves to ſuch credit and admiration, that, if *Tacitus* may be credited, they were looked upon as a kind of goddeſſes: and, in particular, that famed one called *Velleda*, of whom he ſpeaks as of a perſon deified, and worſhipped by the whole *German* nation (6). Some others are mentioned of like high repute, viz. *Aurinia* (7), or *Alruna*, *Ganna* (8), *Jettha*, *Siſa*, *Thrudur*, &c. of which we ſhall ſay nothing more, ſeeing we are quite in the dark about them in every reſpect, but that of their being ſpoken of as famed propheteſſes among the *Germans*. The reader may, however, ſee all the different conjectures of the learned about them, in the authors quoted in the margin (9).

(3) *Vide Tacit. German. c.* 8. & *hiſtor. l.* v. *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 50 *Strabo, l.* vii. *Plutarch. in Cæſar. Arrian.* & *Clem. Alexand. ſtrom. l.* i. & *al.* (4) *Vide Polyæn. ſtratag. l.* vii. & *vol.* xv. *p.* 115, & 234. (5) *See the laſt chapter, p.* 74. (6) *Hiſtor. l.* iv. *c.* 61, 65. *l.* v. *c* 22, & *de mor. Germ c.* 8. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Suid. ſub voc.* Διάζοια. (9) *Form. itinerar.* & *Kyper. diſſertat. de mulier. fatid. c.* 56, & *ſeq.*

untractable, were not only more full and tenacious of their ſuperſtitious rites, but likewiſe more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only offered the ſame expiatory human victims, and uſed them in their auguries and other parts of their religion, but treated them much more cruelly than they. The *Gauls*, in ſome caſes, fattened them for one whole year with the fineſt dainties, put them to a quick death, and ſometimes ſtabbed them unexpectedly in the back: the *Germans*, on the contrary, made theirs undergo many grievous indignities and torments, before they diſpatched them, ſome inſtances of which we have given in the *Gauliſh* hiſtory [c], that will hardly bear repeating. Other victims they likewiſe offered of domeſtic animals, and of theſe the horſe was reckoned the moſt acceptable. The fleſh of them was, it ſeems, to be boiled, ſtewed, or dreſſed in ſome other way, in the heart of their groves; the fat and the fleſh was ſerved to the votaries, by way of feaſt, and the blood was ſprinkled upon the altar, trees, and by-ſtanders, by way of ablution: but though they did the ſame by that of human victims, it doth not appear, that they eat the fleſh of them. We have formerly obſerved, likewiſe, from *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, and other antient authors, that the *Germans* had no temples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for that purpoſe, or in woods, foreſts, and deſert places; tho' this latter ſeems to have been practiſed after their conqueſt, and to avoid the penalties of thoſe ſevere edicts which the *Roman* emperors had iſſued out againſt the druids and their inhuman ſacrifices: however that be, temples were not introduced in *Germany* till long after the *Gauls* had ſhewed them the way; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worſhip of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, &c. they dedicated ſtill oaks, groves, woods, and whole foreſts to them, and performed their ſuperſtitious rites in them a conſiderable while, before they could be brought to erect temples to them. This is evident, from what *Tacitus* tells us of the goddeſs *Hertha*, one of their antient deities, whoſe idol was preſerved in a wood, or grove, *Caſtum Nemus*, upon a covered cart, and had but one prieſt to miniſter to her, and the only one who dared come near it. He adds, that whenever the deity had a mind to go out and air herſelf, or to take a view of mankind, that prieſt, who was her only confident, gave notice of it to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to be ſeen but feaſting and jollity amongſt them, whilſt ſhe was carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and attended by the prieſt above-mentioned. His chief buſineſs was to obſerve when ſhe appeared ſatiated with rambling, and

The Germans *had antiently no temples.*

The goddeſs Hertha.

[c] See before p. 20.

to convey her into her ſacred grove again [d]. He doth indeed mention a temple which he there calls the temple of *Tanfana* [e] (C), and which, he ſays, the *Romans* levelled to the ground: but

[d] Annal. l. v. c. 9. [e] Ibid. l. i. c. 51.

(C) It will be, in a great meaſure, labour loſt, to inquire who this *Tanfana* was, whether a *German* goddeſs, or the place where the temple was: if the former, her name is quite foreign, and no footſteps are left of her or her worſhip, unleſs our author, or his copiers, miſtook *Tanfana* for *Onfana*, the name of *Minerva* among the *Gauls*.

There are ſome inſcriptions, one in particular, dug up in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, in which theſe words are engraven on a marble ſtone: *Pro ſalute Dom. N. Imp. L. Sept. Sever. Aug. totiuſq; Domus ejus Aufanis Matronis & Matribus Pannoniorum & Delmatarum. Ti. Cl. Pompeianus*, &c. from which a modern antiquary (10) would conclude, that it ſhould be *Tanfanis*, inſtead of *Aufanis*, as bearing ſome relation to the goddeſs *Tanfania* whoſe temple *Tacitus* here ſpeaks of. But ſince there are other inſcriptions which agree with this, and call theſe *Matres Aufaniæ*, his conjecture will hardly be allowed.

Who theſe *Matronæ* were, is as hard to gueſs; the author laſt quoted thinks them to have been *campeſtrian* deities, ſuch as preſided over woods, rivers, lakes, &c. and were, by this time, worſhipped both by the *Gauls* and *Germans*, as we have ſeen in the laſt chapter: but why ſuch aereal beings ſhould be called *Matres* and *Matronæ*, cannot well be conceived; and to us it ſeems more probable, that they were thoſe famed druideſſes, or propheteſſes, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt note, and who, being deified after their death, were ſtill invoked by the living, and had altars, and other inſcriptions, reared to them by their votaries, as they were ſuppoſed to preſide ſtill on health, life, pregnancy, &c. whereas thoſe aereal beings, which were thought to live in, or preſide over, fire, water, earth, woods, &c. and have been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the names of ſalamanders, ſylphs, nymphs, and gnomes, were ſuppoſed to have been created from the beginning, and to have had thoſe elements aſſigned them by the Supreme Being.

Hence we may ſee whence the *Roſicrucian* notion, ſo much in vogue ſtill among the *Germans* and other northern people, had its riſe; and that it is no other than a relict of the old northern heatheniſm, improved by the enthuſiaſtic help of a warm imagination: for, to this day, the ſame, and even much more prepoſterous, ſuperſtitions are ſtill preſerved, in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, among the vulgar, and much more ſo as you go farther northwards, eſpecially among the *Iſlanders*, *Samojedes*, *Laplanders*, &c. ſome of which can hardly be read without horror, and might be much better

(10) *Reinſ. ſynt. an.* 175. *Vide Keyzler al. ſupra. c.* 30.

but as in the foregoing instance of *Hertha* he first calls it a temple, though he says in general, that the *Germans* had none, and afterwards explains his meaning by calling it a grove and a private lake; might not this of *Tanfana* be of the same kind? However, suppose it to have been a real temple, there will be no wonder, that such a building should be erected by the *Marsi*, or, at least, in their country, and, perhaps, by the *Romans*, who had, by this time, subdued them [f]; for this was in *Augustus*'s reign, about eighty years before the time in which *Tacitus* wrote. For though this be the only one we read of, yet there might as well have been some others built by this time, either in imitation of, or obedience to, the conquering *Romans*, who, as we have formerly hinted, were very industrious to propagate their religion amongst those nations they subdued. For if, either through complaisance or fear, they once adopted their deities, why might they not, from the same motives, erect also temples to them?

Their deities. Jupiter.

WE have already spoken of those inferior ones introduced among the *Gauls*, such as *Jove*, or *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Diana*, &c. The same, and very nearly under the same notion, were adopted by the *Germans*, though some of them under different names: we shall just mention some of those names and attributes as they were peculiarly given by the *Germans* to each of them. *Jupiter* was worshipped under the name of *Thor*, *Tharam*, or *Taran*, i. e. the thunderer. This name we have already seen, in the last chapter, was given by the *Gauls* to *Mars* also, on account of the clattering noise

[f] See before vol. xii. p. 370, & vol. xiii. p. 429.

passed over in silence, were it not, that they plainly shew to us how far unaffisted reason may be depraved and warped by education and custom; since all the pains that have hitherto been taken, especially since the reformation, have not been able to root it out.

Before we dismiss this subject of these *Deæ Matres*, or *Matronæ*, we beg leave to mention an inscription found upon an altar-stone at *Lauther* in *Westmorland*, with these words: DEABUS MATRIBUS TRAMAI TRAMAI VEX CERMA. P. V. R. D. PRO SALUTE, &c. in which a *German* antiquary has endeavoured to shew, that the word *Tramai* should be read *Tarami*, or *Tarani*; *Taran* being one of the *Celtic* names of *Jupiter* (11). But we think our learned *Gale* (12) hath much better corrected the lection, by reading it *Bramæ*, the name of a place in that country, mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and from which these *Matres* might, in all likelihood, be denominated.

(11) *Schedius de iis Germ. c.* 8. (12) *Comment. in Itiner. Anton. de p.* 7.

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of the martial trade. The ſame was done by the *Germans*, who gave it to their *Odin*, or *Woden*, which was the ſame deity, as we ſhall ſee under the next article. As for the name of *Jupiter*, we have formerly ſhewn, that it was never adopted by the *Gauls*, nor doth it appear to have been ſo by the *Germans*: if theſe had any other names for him than thoſe we have mentioned, they have been ſince loſt, and are not worth ſeeking further after.

Mars, or Odin.

Mars, called by them *Odin*, *Othin*, and *Woden* (D), has ſometimes been confounded with *Mercury* by the *Roman* authors, and no wonder, when they were ſo unacquainted with their language, and could have ſo little information from them concerning their religion or politics. For the *Germans*, as well as the *Gauls*, made it a conſtant maxim, not to communicate any thing of either to ſtrangers; and hence may be aſſigned the reaſon why ſome of them have even more abſurdly imagined this *Odin* to have been the ſame with *Heſus*, or *Eſus* [g], the Supreme Deity. The great veneration they obſerved to be paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a

[g] LUCAN. Pharſal. l. i. LACTANT. l. i. c. 12.

(D) This deity had ſeveral other names, according to the ſeveral offices they attributed to him; ſuch as *Walſader*, and *Walladur*, the father of ſlaughter, and of arms; *Sigmundur*, the giver of victory, and the like. This of *Odin* ſeems derived from the antient word *Audun*, which ſignifies exterminator, as they prayed to him to exterminate their enemies. The *Gauls* did, moſt likely, give him that of *Ollodius*, as has been found by an inſcription dug up near *Aix* in *Provence*, which runs thus: *Vigilia Melia Maſſa filia Martì Oiloudio*, which laſt word is thought by ſome to be of *Greek* extract, as it was found ſo near *Marſeilles*, where *Greek* had been ſo long introduced; and may be either from ὀλαύω, or ὄλυμι, to put to death, to deſtroy (13). In the ſame ſenſe he is called, by *Homer*, οὐλὸς, fatal, or murderer; as his chief buſineſs, according to the heathen theology, was, to ſupply hell continually with newcomers.

Yet after all, it may not improbably be derived from the old *Celtic obll*, which ſignifies beer. For as neither *Germans* nor *Gauls* had vines till long after the *Romans* invaded them, as we have lately ſhewn, beer was not only their choiceſt liquor, but they believed, that *Mars*, or *Odin*, diſpenſed it in large quantities to his votaries in the next world, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by. So that he might be properly enough called *Ollodinus*, or *Ollodius*, from thence, that is, the god of ſtrong beer.

(13) *Snorro de reg. Haquino Vide & Keyzler. antiq. Septentr. c. 2. § 7.*

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fight, and vowing to him all the plunder, and even lives, of their enemies, might eaſily lead thoſe authors to miſtake him for the latter. *Mars*, when his worſhip came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from antient monuments, repreſented in armour, though antiently under the type of a naked ſword [h]; whereas *Heſus* was only worſhipped under the type of an oak, or even the bare ſtump of one. *Mars* was looked upon not only as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of thoſe who were ſlain, whoſe ſouls the ſurvivors bequeathed to him, in words to this effect, Odin *receive thee*; *mayeſt thou be with* Odin (E)! If you aſk what they ſuppoſed was to be their employment in that place of bliſs which was called by them *Valhalla*, and of which *Odinus* was the chief diſpoſer; ſome of their antient poets will tell you, that one of them was, to carouſe with exquiſite beer in human ſculls, whilſt *Odinus* alone is allowed to drink wine. They were, moreover, to be ſerved by elegant virgins, whoſe buſineſs it was to furniſh them with a conſtant ſupply of whatever could make them happy and merry; and this notion of a *Mohammed*'s paradiſe was no ſmall ſpur to warlike actions, ſince every man's felicity there was to riſe in proportion to the number of enemies they had conquered or killed [i] (F). According to this notion, we need not

The diſpenſer of future happineſs.

[h] See before, vol. v. p. 291. [i] Edda mythol. 34, & ſeq. Carmen in Lodbrog. reg. ex verſ. Barthol. Vide Mascov. & Ledіard. Germ. l. xiv. c. 3. n. 1.

(E) It ſeems from ſome ſepulchral inſcriptions and funeral orations ſtill extant, that in ſome of the northern regions they bequeathed the ſouls of the deceaſed to *Odin*, in words to this effect: Odin *preſerve thee, a dear child, faithful friend, an honeſt ſervant*, and the like; even after their embracing chriſtianity: and the ſending any one to *Odin*, was reckoned a very kind and good wiſh, though it is ſince looked upon, eſpecially by the *Sueui*, as bad as ſending one to the devil (14).

(F) We have properly no antient author to vouch for this their belief of a *Turkiſh* paradiſe; our authority for it is only taken from ſome of the oldeſt northern poets (15), who quoted it from more antient ſongs and verſes of their druids, who, as we have often obſerved, couched all their religion and hiſtory in ſuch kinds of poems, and conveyed them down from one generation to another. To this we may, however, add this collateral proof, from the general agreement of *Greek* and *Roman* authors, that the antient *Celtes* and *Scythians* made uſe of the ſculls of their ſlain enemies to carouſe

(14) *See Relig. des Gaul. vol* ii *c* 4. (15) *Edda mythol.* 30, & *ſeq. Carm. in reg. Lodbrog. ſupra citat. & al.*

with,

not wonder at their conſecrating ſo great a ſhare, and ſometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treaſure, and often vowing their own lives to him; ſince they expected to be ſo amply rewarded by him in the next life, and with ſuch a kind of happineſs as beſt ſuited with their genius [k].

Is made a northern hero by their hiſtorians.

THE *German*, and other old, hiſtorians have ſince transformed this deity into a northern hero, whom they bring from *Aſia* into *Scandinavia*, where, after a long and bloody proweſs, and a reign ſtuffed with the greateſt wonders, during which he gave them a body of laws, ſome of which we ſhall ſpeak of in its proper place, that he might end as he began, and inſpire his people with the ſame contempt of death, he gave himſelf a

[k] Vide inter al. BARTHOLIN. de contempt. mort. in Dan. l. ii. c. 12.

with, and that they were in general, but none more than the *Germans*, very fond of drinking to exceſs. So that it is very natural to ſuppoſe, the druids would carry this notion of happineſs beyond the grave, in order to inſpire the people with courage and a contempt of death.

Accordingly, the famous king *Lodbrog* is introduced ſinging his own *requiem*, in theſe words, as tranſlated out of *Edda*, by *Bartholine*.

Pugnavimus enſibus
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi (Odin) *patris ſcamna*
Parata ſcio in aula
Bibemus cereviſiam brevi
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini *domibus*
Non venio deſperabundis
Verbis ad Odini *aulam* (16).

He concludes thus:

Fert animus finire
Invitant me dræ
Quas ex Othini *aula*
Othinus *mihi miſit*
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis (diis)
In ſumma ſede bibam
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ
Ridens moriar (18).

(16) *Idem ibid. ſtroph.* 25. (17) *Stroph.* 29. (18) *Vide Runic. literat. Run p.* 222, *& ſeq. & Kyzler antiq. ſept. c.* 2 § 13

light

ſlight wound with an arrow, becauſe he would not go into the other world without one, and ſoon after died; and, after a magnificent funeral, in which his corps was laid on a large and magnificent pile, that the brighter and higher the flames aſcended, the greater might be his glory among the gods, he was deified as the protector and rewarder of thoſe who die in battle[l]. This may, perhaps, have been trumped up to wipe off the imputation of their having given into the *Greek* and *Roman* idolatry, and to ſhew, that they only paid a more than ordinary veneration to their heroes and heroines, ſome of whom they ranked in the ſame number as *Hercules* among the men, and *Hertha* and *Fria*, or *Friga*, among the women. The mythologiſts, on the other hand, have ſplit this *Odin* into two; the antienteſt of the two they ſuppoſe ſome to have been *Mars*, others the ſun, and the youngeſt to have been one of their deified heroes: yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great reſemblance between the antient *Germans*, *Suevi*, *Æſtii*, &c. and other moſt diſtant nations; ſuch, for inſtance, we may reckon the worſhip of the goddeſs *Hertha*, mentioned a little higher, which agreed with that which the *Romans* and others paid to the earth, under the name of *Magna deorum mater*; or, as *Tacitus* ſays of the latter [m], their worſhip of *Fria*, or *Friga*, under that denomination (G). How much of this kind of

[l] Snorron. Yngliga ſaga, c. 8. [m] Germ. c. 9. & 45.

(G) That hiſtorian is, however, contradicted by ſome *German* authors, who pretend, that *Fria*, *Friga*, or *Frejun*, was the ſun (19). This they pretend to prove by what he adds, that they wore the boar on their ſtandard, and which, theſe pretend, was owing to an acceptable ſacrifice, which *Odinus* had offered of this creature to that planet. But, if they worſhipped the ſun under the name of *Frejun*, or *Friggon*, might they not as well do the ſame by the moon, under the name of *Freia*, *Frin*, and *Frigga*? And might not the wild boar be as fit a ſacrifice to that huntreſs, as to the ſun?

Iſis, who was the ſame with the moon, ſince *Cæſar* calls the ſame deity *Luna* which *Tacitus* calls *Iſis*, was worſhipped by *Germans* and *Gauls*, and is affirmed, by the latter hiſtorian to have been the chief deity of the *Suevi*. He doth, indeed, there ſay (20), that he could find no footſteps upon what account her worſhip was there introduced; but ſuppoſes, by the figure in which ſhe was repreſented, viz. that of a ſhip, or frigate, that it was brought thither from abroad; and it is ſomewhat ſtrange, ſince ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under that type, as preſiding over the ſea and navigation (21), and

(19) *Vide Kyl. Lex. Runic. Ingvar.* § 15. (20) *De mor.* c. 45. (21) *Lactant. l.* i. c. 11. *De Sacul. Sacul. &* a.

had

of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the *Romans*, is not eaſy to ſay; and we ſhall gladly refer our readers to what has been already hinted on that head in the hiſtory of the *Gauls*; but after that time, eſpecially after their being ſubdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and ſuperſtitions. However, it plainly appears, upon the whole, that their antient theology differed much from the mythology of the *Romans* and *Greeks*. The *Germans*, even according to the teſtimony of *Roman* writers, neither preſumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to repreſent them under any forms [a], nor admitted into that number any but ſuch as they ſaw, and received aſſiſtance and benefit from; ſuch as the ſun, moon, and *Vulcan* [b], or the god of fire (H). Their *Their worſhip of other deities.*

[a] Idem ibid. c. 9. & 43. [b] Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 21.

had a ſet feſtival in their *faſti*, that he ſhould conclude from thence, that the *Suevi*, who were of *Celtic* extract, and given to navigation, ſhould receive that deity from abroad, which was peculiar to all the *Celtes*. However, therefore, *Friia* and *Freius*, *Iſis* and *Mithras*, *Sol* and *Luna*, *Apollo* and *Dicna*, may be found confounded in antient hiſtorians, on account of their joint influence on earthly things, and their common courſe in the heavens; yet there is no doubt to be made but they were ſeverally worſhipped by all the northern, as well as ſouthern, nations; and why not more ſo than earth, water, rivers, lakes, woods, foreſts, trees, and plants?

(H) So, at leaſt, that author is underſtood by moſt writers. We are, indeed, told by *Plutarch* (22), that *Viridomarus*, a king of the *Gauls*, who lived above 200 years before our Saviour, having declared war againſt the *Romans*, made a vow to conſecrate all the arms he took from the enemy to *Vulcan*: ſo that if that author be right in the name, the worſhip of that deity muſt have been very antient among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. But the misfortune is, as a late writer obſerves (23), that the *Roman* writers either miſtook the names of thoſe heroes or deities, or mentioned them by the names of ſuch of their own gods as they imagined them to reſemble moſt; by which means, that part of *German* antiquity is become ſo intricate, that it can hardly be relied on.

Some inſcriptions ſhew, that they had a deity called *Volian*, or *Volianus*, according to the *Roman* termination. Hence ſome authors have concluded, that the two branches of the K were worn out, and that the name was originally *Volkanus*, which ſuppoſition is natural enough. But *Volian* being a *Celtic* word, which ſignifies either a furnace, or a fiery forge, the latter may, probably, have been the original name, though hardened ſince into *Vulcan*.

(22) *In vit. Marcel.* (23) *See Maſcov. Germ. l.* ii. *c.* 35.

veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they gave them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their ſtrength and courage, victories and conqueſts [p]; whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even ſanctified their moſt monſtrous and unnatural vices [q].

Horrid ſuperſtitions.

THE *Germans*, as well as *Gauls*, were early taught, by their druids, two momentous truths, *viz.* an over-ruling providence and the immortality of the ſoul. The misfortune was, that theſe two noble ſprings of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as, on the one hand, a too eager deſire in the people of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and ſuperſtitions; and ſome of them, as we have elſewhere hinted, were of the moſt inhuman and diabolical kind; ſo, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality, proved but too fatal a ſpur to raſhneſs, ambition, and cruelty, eſpecially after they came to imbibe that poiſonous notion, hinted a little higher, that the ſureſt way to that happineſs was, to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to riſe according to the number of the enemies they had deſtroyed in this. For this not only inſpired them with a barbarous courage aud cruelty in their wars, but made them leſs ſolicitous to inquire whether the motives of it were juſt or unjuſt. We have already given ſuch inſtances of theſe bloody ſuperſtitions, in the hiſtory of the antient *Celtes* and *Scythians* [r], and lately in that of the *Gauls* [s], that our readers, we hope, will eaſily ſpare us the trouble of repeating them here, ſeeing they are all of the ſame kind, and of ſuch a nature, that they can ſcarcely be read without horror. Only this we muſt be bound to add, that, whether the *Germans* received them from their neighbours, or whether they crept in amongſt them by degrees, as they did almoſt every-where elſe, they appear not only to have exceeded other nations in them, but to have retained them much longer than any of thoſe who received the goſpel (I). One piece of ſuperſtition, common to all the *Germans*

[p] German c. 2. [q] Lactant. Minut. Fel. Clem. Alex. & al. [r] See vol. v. p. 250, & ſeq. [s] See before p. 42, 46, & ſeq. 54, & ſeq.

(I) Hence all that ſad trade of witchery and ſorceries ſtill in vogue among the more northern parts; the divining wand, to find out mines, thieves, and murderers, among the ſouthern; their notions of

mans and *Gauls*, was, never to fight, or undertake any material point, before the moon was full ſix days old, nor even then, if their ſoothſayers, who were moſtly women, did not like the auguries. Theſe were always conſulted, upon all emergencies, as the druids and druideſſes were in *Gaul*. They were always admitted to their councils, bore the greateſt ſway in them, not only as having the chief management of all their augurics, without which they did not do any thing, but as being eſteemed by the whole nation to have been endowed with a prophetic ſpirit [t].

NEXT in authority to theſe pretended propheteſſes, were the druids, or rather prieſts. *Cæſar* ſays, indeed [u], that they had no druids, as the *Celtes*; but *Tacitus*, who was better acquainted with them, ſpeaks frequently of their prieſts, whoſe office and authority, according to him, being much the ſame with the *Gauliſh* druids, ſhews them to have been the ſame order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the ſame name. For theſe prieſts, he tells us [w], were not only admitted to their public councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore a great ſway in both. For we are told, that they were the only ones who had power to impoſe ſilence in thoſe meetings, to reprove or puniſh offenders, which exactly agrees with what *Cæſar* ſays of the *Gauliſh* druids, whoſe office it was to try, condemn, and even to inflict capital puniſhment [x]. And hence it may be, that the office of hangman is ſtill in ſo much requeſt all over *Germany*, contrary to what we find it in all other chriſtian nations; where they are either taken from the dregs of the people, or, when that fails, ſome noted delinquent is commonly condemned to it. As, therefore, one main part of the prieſts office among the antient *Germans* conſiſted chiefly in ſtirring them up to martial deeds, in killing and flaying victims, and very frequently human ones, both in their ſacrifices and auguries, in condemning and executing criminals, in puniſhing leſſer offenders with milder puniſhments, and the like; we need not wonder, if the external part of their religion was ſo void of the *Greek*

Their prieſts.

Their office.

[t] TACIT. Germ c. 8. & alib. paſſ. [u] Comment. l. vi. c 21.
[w] TACIT. ubi ſupra, l. vii. [x] Idem ibid.

of fairies, and other aereal beings, ſome of a benevolent, others of a malevolent, nature; of apparitions, charms, inchantments, faſcination, magical and diabolical contracts, carnal commerce with demons, and a number of other heatheniſh forgeries, which cannot be rooted out from among the vulgar of both; all which plainly appear to be owing to their tenaciouſneſs of, and fondneſs for, the old leaven of the antient *Celtic* ſuperſtition.

and *Roman* pomp, and so full of every thing that could strike an awful dread on that fierce and warlike people, whose devotion might perhaps be better kept up under the covert of thick and gloomy groves, as well as by the bloody rites performed in them, than by all the ornaments of *Greek* and *Roman* temples, and the pageantry of their ceremonies and dress. It is therefore no small wonder, that such men should chuse a garb so contrary to their butcherly trade, and affect to be clad in white, and not rather in the deepest crimson: and may not this contrast be a kind of proof, that their office at first was of a quite different nature, and that from singing the praises of their Creator, and of their famed heroes, or killing, perhaps, some few harmless creatures, in honour to them; their ambition, and thirst of rule over an untractable people, made them degenerate, by degrees, into this pitch of arbitrary power and cruelty? But we offer this only as a conjecture, which is not, however, without some foundation, if we consider, that they received their religion from the same fountain that the *Persæ*, *Brachmans*, and other *Indian* sects, did, who yet, either from their living, perhaps, in milder climes, or from a more conscientious adhering to their primitive institution, have ever been justly famed for a character the most opposite to theirs.

Dress.

Their laws and government.

As for their antient laws and government, we can only say, that they discover those evident marks, by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themselves into societies for their general good and preservation; to have magistrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and lead them in war. This, considering the extent of their territories, and their fierce and warlike genius, prevented their being long united into one common state, whatever they might have been originally. But every tribe of them had its own form of government, independent from the rest, except, perhaps, that they had some laws in common, for the better union and preservation of the whole body against foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance amongst themselves, that one nation should not grow too strong for the rest: in other things each canton held their national councils at least once a year, that is, in the spring, and oftener, if need required; and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magistrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military; the sending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other such points, according to their present exigence [y]. And these assemblies were so exactly observed, that, we are told, the last comer to them was sure to

National councils.

[y] Idem ibid. & c. 11, & seq.

lose

loſe his life (K). It is very likely alſo, that all other matters relating to property, crimes, and ſuch-like, were here alſo finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body of laws they can be ſuppoſed to have had in theſe early days. Liberty, being by them looked upon as the *ſummum bonum* [z], made them exceeding watchful againſt every thing that looked like an infringement of it; and as they were too impatient to go through the fatigues of long law-ſuits, they rather choſe to have them decided at once by ſuch an aſſembly, and ſometimes by ſingle combat, rather than ſtay for their next meeting. Theſe aſſemblies were commonly accompanied with ſumptuous banquets, as they were judged to promote friendſhip and mutual confidence, to inſpire men with greater freedom of ſpeech, and open a door to wholſome counſels [a]. In thoſe ſtates which were under a kingly government, as a great many of them were, they applied to the prince only in matters of ſmaller moment; but in thoſe which concerned the whole nation, to the grand council of it [b]: neither allowed they any other revenues to thoſe monarchs but a part of the fines, and ſuch free-will offerings as the people thought fit to make to them of cattle and the fruits of the earth; ſo that they had little elſe to keep up their grandeur, except their hereditary eſtates [c]. Their expence was, indeed, inconſiderable, becauſe all their ſubjects, fit to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue; upon which account theſe had the free uſe of the prince's table, and were ſometimes preſented with a horſe, or ſome of his arms [d]. The ſubjects were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ranks, or claſſes, ſuch as nobles, free-born, freedmen, and bondſmen; in each of which claſſes thoſe were ſtill moſt eſteemed, who had ſignalized themſelves beſt, by their courage, conduct, or any laudable exploit [e]. As for their other laws, if any ſuch they had compiled in a body, they were rather preſerved by tradition and cuſtom, than kept upon record, ſince

Kings, and their revenue.

[z] LUCAN Pharſal. l. vii. v. 430. TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 37.
[a] Idem ibid. c. 22. [b] Ibid c. 11. [c] Ibid. c. 15, & ſeq.
[d] Ibid. c. 14, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. c. 11.

(K) This, we are told, they did in imitation of the cranes, to which they, as well as the *Gauls*, in their auguries, paid a ſingular regard: and as theſe birds are ſaid by naturaliſts to ſhift their habitations every year, and to appoint a general rendezvous, in order to take their flight, and to kill the laſt comer to the place; ſo they did the ſame by him who came laſt to the general aſſembly (24).

(24) *See Voſſ. de idololat. l.* iii. *c.* 22.

We

we have often obſerved, they made it a conſtant maxim, not to commit any thing to writing. But that ſome ſuch laws they had, is apparent from this, that they ſtill retained many of them, even after thoſe of the *Romans* had been introduced amongſt them. Judges they likewiſe had of their own, and their office was held in ſuch eſteem, that men of the higheſt rank were promoted to it, as well as thoſe of the greateſt probity, years, and diſcretion: even their princes ſometimes took it upon them. Every judge had, it ſeems, a number of aſſeſſors, with whom he might conſult upon occaſion; whence, probably, the office of *ſcabinus*, or ſheriff, had its riſe [f].

Their ſtate of war. Had neither cities, nor fortreſſes.

THESE general aſſemblies were antiently held in the open country; for the *Germans* deſpiſed cities and fortreſſes, as monuments of ſervitude, rather than places of defence [g]; and were ſome of the lateſt of the *Europeans* that either built any for themſelves, or would take refuge in them: ſo that, whenever they were obliged to fight an enemy, they always choſe to do it in the open field, and, when worſted, to retire into woods, marſhes, and inacceſſible places, where they could get proviſion for their cattle, and keep their purſuers at a diſtance; rather than to ſhelter themſelves in towns, and fortified places, where they might be caught, as in a trap. It was, moreover, a common ſaying among them, that even wild beaſts would loſe all their ſtrength and courage, if penned up [h]. And we are told, that this cuſtom ſubſiſted in *Gaul* till the eighth century, and much longer in *Germany* [i] (L). The whole nation being, moreover,

[f] See MASCOV. German. l. ii. c. 38. [g] TACIT. ann. l. iv. c. 64. [h] CÆS. comment. l. iii. c. 29. l. iv. c. 19. & 29. [i] Vide PELLOUTIER. hiſt. Celt. l. ii. c. 5. ſect 4.

(L) We have formerly ſeen, that both antient *Germans* and *Gauls* lived in a kind of cantons or villages, with their houſes and grounds about them, at a convenient diſtance from each other, that every family might have land enough for themſelves and their cattle (25); and that, as ſoon as they had gathered in their harveſt, they generally removed to new habitations. But when they came to be either conquered by the *Romans*, or enſlaved, perhaps, by ſome of their ambitious princes; either of theſe were forced to build caſtles, fortreſſes, and fenced cities, to keep them in awe, and deprive them of all poſſible means of regaining their liberty. And hence proceeded their averſion to all ſuch ſtrong places, as tending only to bring and hold them the faſter in ſlavery. But, as neceſſity, in proceſs of time, obliged them to have their cities, caſtles, &c. for their own defence and preſervation, they fell into the ſame ſuperſtition

(25) *See the laſt note* (H) *of vol.* xvii.

with

moreover, naturally of a warlike genius, and eſteeming cowardice as the greateſt reproach and diſgrace that could be thrown upon them, all ſuch fenced cities and fortified places were looked upon by them as ſo many ſhameful aſyla for the weak and puſillanimous to flee to, and they, conſequently, deſpiſed them, as unworthy a brave people, who always ſcorned to take any advantage of their enemy, whether of weapons, intrenchments, diſcipline, ſtratagems, or, indeed, of any other kind but thoſe of ſtrength and bravery, intrepidity, and an invincible love of liberty. It was in theſe that they ſolely trained up their youth, leaving all other arts of gaining a ſuperiority to thoſe of their enemies, to whom the want of theſe martial virtues rendered them more neceſſary. Accordingly, no nation could take more care than they did to enure them to all hardſhips (M), to inſpire them with a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to rear them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and ſureſt road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their prieſts taught them, even to the greateſt happineſs in a future life [k]. It was for this that the ambitious amongſt them neglected agriculture, and deſpiſed all mercantile and mechanic employments [l],

[k] CÆS. com. l. vi. c. 22, & ſeq. [l] Idem ibid. See alſo Eſſay on thoſe countries, &c. which helped to pull down the Roman empire, p. 13—16.

with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, of dedicating them to certain deities, and even perſonifying and apotheoſing them, and to celebrate a kind of anniverſary of their foundation: which cuſtom laſted till long after their embracing chriſtianity, as appears from many antient inſcriptions, which the reader may find in *Grater*'s collection, and from ſundry prohibitions of chriſtian biſhops againſt all future obſervances of them (26).

(M) We are even told, that thoſe who lived neareſt the *Rhine*, or any other rivers, uſed to dip their children, as ſoon as born, into them, in order to knit and harden their limbs (27). We have, indeed, formerly obſerved, from *Julian* the apoſtate (28), that the waters of that river were ſuppoſed to have ſome peculiar virtue above others, inſomuch, that they threw their children into it whenever they had any ſuſpicion of their mothers fidelity. Whether our authors miſtook the deſign, or confounded the one with the other, we cannot affirm; but it is very probable, that if any ſuch cuſtom they had, it was rather introduced on a perſuaſion, that ſuch children who were not proof againſt the ſeverity of ſuch a trial, were not worth the rearing up, and might as well be left to be ſwallowed up by the waves.

(26) *Vide Relig. des Gaul. l.* iv. *c.* 27. (27) *Vide Ariſtot. de repub. l.* vii. (28) *See p.* 15. (I). *& Claudian. in Ruf. v.* 109. *& Nonn. ap. Lediard. Germ. l.* ii. *c.* 37. *n.* 2.

now

how neceſſary and advantageous ſoever, and obliged all who were able to bear arms to go into the field. Hence it was, that they were never at a loſs how to raiſe, in a very ſhort time, ſuch powerful and numerous armies either to repulſe an enemy, or to aſſiſt their friends and allies [m]: for whenever any country was diſengaged from a war, the ableſt ſoldiers were ſent into foreign ſervice, not ſingly, or according to their own option, but in conſiderable bodies, and under the command of ſuch officers as were ſet over them by the ſtate; by which means, the whole nation not only ſhared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewiſe furniſhed with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it, *viz.* that when a canton or ſtate became too populous, they could draw out ſuch numbers as could be ſpared, to go and ſeek out new habitations; and theſe, by being trained up to the trade of war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain themſelves in, thoſe countries which they had the good fortune to ſettle in [n].

Their cavalry and foot.

They had but little cavalry in proportion to their foot, in which they placed the main of their ſtrength; but what they had of the former was extremely well diſciplined, though their horſes were, it ſeems, inferior to thoſe of the *Romans*, either in bigneſs, ſwiftneſs, or dexterity, as well as in thoſe evolutions which were ſo artfully uſed by the latter [n]. As for ſaddles and ſtirrups, they were quite neglected, by both *Gauls* and *Germans*, who were accuſtomed to mount and diſmount by their own agility, and could, whenever occaſion required, fight as well on foot as on horſeback (N). In their order of battle, every canton and diſtrict were placed together, that every one of them might reap either the glory or diſgrace of fighting valiantly or cowardly, which was no ſmall ſpur to them to behave in ſuch a manner as might be a credit to their own tribe; and, by this means, they commonly fought in ſeveral diſtinct bodies. We are told, indeed, that ſome of them, eſpecially the *Cimbri*, formed their whole infantry into one ſquare battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as ſoon as every thing was ready for the onſet, the ſignal was given, which was anſwered by an univerſal

Way of fighting.

[m] Idem ibid. See Mascov. l. ii. c. 37. [n] Tacit. ann. l. iv. c. 12. Cæs. com. l. vi. c. 23. [o] Tacit. Germ. c. 6.

(N) This plainly appears, by *Cæſar*'s own confeſſion (29), who owns, moreover, that he had them in moſt of his wars; and often boaſts of the great ſervices he received from them (30).

(29) *Comment. l.* iv. *c.* 2. (30) *Ibid. l.* vii. *c.* 13. *Vide Hirt. com. de bell. Alexandrin. c.* 29.

ſhout,

ſhout, which was redoubled in a moſt dreadful manner, till they came to cloſe engagement. They uſed no art or ſtratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onſet on the enemy, and continuing it with a deſperate intrepidity, till they had either won or loſt the day; by which means, if they once met with a ſtout repulſe, or were put into diſorder, they ſeldom knew how to rally again, but became ſtupified and deſperate, and either fought till they died, or elſe betook themſelves to flight [o]; for it was reckoned ſo inglorious amongſt them to yield themſelves priſoners, that we read but of few inſtances of their doing ſo, in compariſon to thoſe in which they died with ſword in hand. Time and experience did, indeed, at length teach them to truſt leſs to their own ſtrength and courage, and to ſtudy a little more the *Roman* diſcipline, and art of fighting. But they began too late: had they done ſo from the beginning, they might, perhaps, have continued unconquered to this day.

THEIR weapons were likewiſe vaſtly inferior to thoſe of the *Romans*; the cavalry had their ſhields and ſpears in common with the foot, but the latter had, beſides, their darts, bows and ſlings, and ſeldom had recourſe to their pikes and ſwords [p]. Helmets, armour, and coats of mail, were generally deſpiſed amongſt them; ſome of them did even affect to fight naked: ſo that if any ſuch armour was worn amongſt them, it was rather for diſtinction, than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of ſome wild beaſts. Hence thoſe frightful figures which *Plutarch* obſerved among the *Cimbrian* cavalry [q], ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen upon the ſeals and arms of thoſe antient times. Their ſhields, which they diſtinguiſhed only by different colours, or ſome particular emblem, were reckoned ſo ſacred amongſt them, that they looked upon it as the greateſt diſgrace to loſe them in fight; becauſe none durſt appear either at their religious ceremonies, public aſſemblies, or even funerals, without them (O). Their *Weapons.*

arms

[o] TACIT. & CAESAR. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in Mar. & MAX. l. ii. c. 6. See before, p. 191, & ſeq. [p] TACIT. ubi ſupra, PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [q] Idem ibid.

(O) *Tacitus* adds, that they were forced to live in diſgrace all the remainder of their days, and excluded from the company of men; inſomuch that they choſe often to put an end to both by a voluntary death (31). He tells us further, that the Suevi were the only people in all *Germany* where private men had not the liberty to wear

(31) *Tacit. Germ.* c. 6.

arms were eſteemed their favourite furniture and chiefeſt ornament, they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was ſo earneſtly wiſhed for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them [r]. The ſword was ſo ſacred amongſt them, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than thoſe they took upon a naked one [s]; neither did they appear in public, or aſſiſt at any ſolemn rite, without their ſword, ſhield, and ſpear [t]. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar viſits, banquets, religious dances, and the like. When they ſat down, they had their ſword by their ſide, and a ſervant behind, to hold their ſhield and ſpear; and when they roſe, every one took them up again [u]: in a word, they looked upon themſelves as wedded to their arms; and when they had worn them from their youth to their extremeſt old age, they commonly cauſed them to be burnt or buried with them, when they died [w]. It was on account of this exceſſive regard they paid to their warlike weapons, as well as from their antient cuſtom of rearing a ſword, pike, or ſpear, at the head of their army, round about which they all gathered themſelves to perform their devotions, that they were ſuppoſed to worſhip them [x]; though it is plain, that they only worſhipped the Deity, or, at moſt, the god *Mars*, ſince adopted their grand patron and protector, under theſe types: but, upon the whole, it appears, that both *Celtes* and *Scythians*, and all their deſcendants, were accuſtomed to wear their arms, as well in the time of the profoundeſt peace, as in war; which was alſo practiſed by all the *Greeks*, *Perſians*, and other antient nations [y] (P).

Exceſſive fondneſs for them.

In

[r] Tacit. ubi ſupra. c. 13. [s] Am. Marcel. l. xvii. c. 12. [t] Nic. Damasc ap. Stob. ſerm. 164. Liv. hiſt. l. xxi. c. 20. Cæs. comm l. vii c. 21. [u] Tacit. Germ. c. 2, 13, 22. Annal. l. iv. c. 64 Athen. ex Poſid l. iv. c. 12. [w] Claudian. de bell. Get. v. 501. Comment. l. vi. c 19. Tacit. Germ. c. 13, 27. [x] See vit. Dagobert. ap du Cheſne, tom. i. c. 31. Adam. Bremens. & al. [y] Aristot. politic. l. ii. c. 8. Thucydid. l. i. c. 6. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. c. 6.

their arms, or even to keep them at home; and the reaſon he gives is, that they lived under arbitrary princes, who, to maintain themſelves in their tyranny, ſtripped their ſubjects of them, and put them under the cuſtody of their favourite creatures (32).

(P) It is not unlikely, that not only the *Perſians*, but likewiſe the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, had this cuſtom from the old *Celtes*. However, the two laſt, when they came to form themſelves into

(32) *Ibid.* c. 44.

more

Sieges.

IN their ſieges of places they were likewiſe vaſtly inferior to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whether in the offenſive or defenſive, being ſtrangers to thoſe deſtructive inſtruments which were uſed by the latter, ſuch as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining and countermining; and placing the ſtreſs of their confidence in their miſſile weapons, as darts and ſtones, and their vigorous aſſaults and ſcalings, or in a reſolute and intrepid reſiſtance, if theſe failed, as they too often did, eſpecially when they were engaged againſt the well-diſciplined and artful *Romans*, who, beſides that they uſed all theſe, and many other ſuch warlike engines, in the greateſt perfection, were likewiſe expert in a great variety of ſtratagems, with which the *Germans* were wholly unacquainted, they fell immediately into confuſion, and became an eaſy prey to them. Hence *Valour.* the native ſtrength and valour of the latter is the more conſpicuous, as they defended themſelves ſo long, and ſo bravely, againſt ſuch powerful and dexterous enemies, and at length conquered them by their own arts [z].

Puniſhments.

FROM what we have ſeen we may infer, that the *Germans* in general, though too long unacquainted with the art of war, did yet obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline with their ſoldiery; and that cowardice and neglect of duty were ſeverely puniſhed amongſt them: they were not, indeed, ſo ſtrict in other caſes, but adapted their puniſhments to the different purpoſes of the commonwealth; were ſevere againſt ſome offences, and remiſs towards others; inſomuch, that even murder was not eſteemed capital amongſt them [a], but was puniſhed by ſuch a fine, of great or ſmall cattle, as was deemed a ſufficient compenſation to the family for their loſs. In diſputes and accuſations, whenever the caſe appeared dubious or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by ſingle combat; for in either of theſe they looked upon Providence as the chief director, and therefore ſubmitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, *Paris* endeavoured to introduce the *Roman* laws among them, we are told, that they refuſed it; alledging, that it was their way to decide all their controverſies by the ſword [b]; and this cuſtom continued amongſt them ſeveral hundred years [c].

[z] See MASCOV. Germ. l. ii. in fin. c. 37. [a] TACIT. Germ. c 12, & 21. [b] VEL. PATERC. l ii. c. 188. [c] In vet. leg. Aleman. tit 44. ap. Maſcov. l ii c. 38.

more regular ſocieties, and under a wholſome ſet of laws, probably abrogated this cuſtom, and permitted the people to carry their arms in time of peace, only at their public ſpectacles, games, &c. (3)

(3) *Vide Lucian. de gymnaſiis. p. 803. Plautin. Epid. Act. ii. c. iv.*

Sciences. Sciences they were altogether ſtrangers to, if we except thoſe who lived by the ſea-coaſts, and had made ſome conſiderable progreſs not only in navigation, and building of ſhips, but probably, alſo, in ſome branches of aſtronomy, as well by obſervation, as by their converſe with other more polite nations: the reſt were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the uſe of letters (Q). Their greateſt ſkill in phyſic conſiſted in the knowledge and uſe of certain plants and roots found out by obſervation and experience, in which theſe pretenders intermixed a deal of ſuperſtitious traſh; ſuch as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which ſerved only to amuſe and raiſe the admiration of the vulgar. Muſic and poetry were much better cultivated amongſt them, though one would be apt to judge their tongue too harſh and inharmonious for the one, and for the other. But beſides that ſuch foreign languages appear more ſo to us than to the natives, we may

Muſic and poetry.

(Q) At leaſt *Tacitus*, who knew them beſt, and may be ſuppoſed to have been converſant with the politer ſort, tells us, that neither men nor women knew any thing of them (34); unleſs by *literarum ſecreta* be meant ſomething more than the bare knowledge of letters, which is not unlikely; ſince he tells us in the ſame book, that both they and the *Helvetians* made uſe of the *Greek* characters (35); which is alſo confirmed by *Cæſar* (36), and by ſome antient coins and inſcriptions written in that character (37).

We have already taken notice, that the *Gauls* probably received that character from the *Greek* colony that ſettled at *Marſilles* (38); from whence it might eaſily paſs into *Switzerland*, and thence into *Germany*, and have been adopted by theſe for the ſame reaſon that they were by the *Gauls*; and this is the only way to reconcile *Tacitus* with himſelf, and with *Julius Cæſar*.

With reſpect to the *Germans* being ignorant of the liberal ſciences, we muſt except what a later author ſays of the *Goths* (39), that a *Grecian* philoſopher, named *Dicæneus*, finding in them a fit capacity for philoſophy, aſtronomy, &c. took the pains to inſtruct them in every branch of them: for if that be true, the *Germans* could not be long without them. But our author, who was a *Goth*, is too juſtly ſuſpected of partiality for his own nation, in many other particulars as well as this, to be relied on. As for the *Germans*, it plainly appears, that literature of any kind was not introduced amongſt them till even ſome centuries after him, as we have ſhewn in the laſt chapter (40).

(34) *Germ. c.* 18 (35) *Ibid. c.* 3. (36) *Comment. l.* i. (37) *Vide Rom. ſubterran ap Mabillon. Bouterone traite des monoyes, p.* 157, & 579. *Vide & Relig. des Gaul. l* i. *c.* 4. (38) *See before, p.* 104. (39) *Jornand de reb. Getar. c.* 11. (40) *See before, p.* 108.

reaſonably

reaſonably ſuppoſe, that both their muſic and poetry being adapted to the genius of the *German* nation and tongue, their harſhneſs might be looked upon rather as a majeſtic beauty, than a defect: however that be, they had a ſet of men whoſe buſineſs it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric poems, and to ſing them to the people, upon proper occaſions, as the *Gauls* did of theirs [d]. And as martial deeds were the topic of theſe verſes, and one part of the inſtrumental muſic, which accompanied it, was the clattering their ſwords againſt their ſhields, it is no wonder *Julian* the apoſtate, whoſe ears were accuſtomed to more gentle and harmonious ſtrains, gives ſuch a frightful account both of the *German* tongue, muſic, and poetry [e].

THEIR ſports, games, and exerciſes, were all, likewiſe, of the maſculine kind, and fit to inure them to the martial trade. The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, ſuch as running, ſhooting, ſwimming, leaping, and the like. Some equeſtrian exerciſes were much in vogue with them, as they were extraordinary horſemen; they were likewiſe fond of gaming, to ſuch a degree, that, when they had loſt all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one caſt more of the dice [f]. Manufactures were not introduced very early amongſt them, that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the firſt, if not the only one, they cultivated, for a conſiderable time, as it was the favourite dreſs of their women, prieſts, and men of quality [g]. Their original dreſs, when they came firſt to cover themſelves, were the ſkins of beaſts (R); the *Germans* and *Britons* ſeem to have been ſome of

Games and exerciſes.

Trades.

Dreſs.

[d] Vide TACIT. Germ. c. 2, & 3. [e] Miſopog. p. 336, & ſeq.
[f] TACIT. ubi ſupra, c. 24. [g] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxix. c. 1.

(R) Theſe were called by ſeveral names, according to thoſe nations among which they were worn. In ſome parts of *Germany*, they were called *reno*, which *Cluverius* thinks is derived from the rein-deer, whoſe ſkins they made their garments of (41). In others, *moſtruga*; ſuppoſed to have been called ſo becauſe it made thoſe who wore them appear like monſters (42), or brutes in human ſhape. *Tacitus* adds, that the only diſtinction between men of quality and the vulgar conſiſted in the richneſs and fineneſs of thoſe furs (43).

And here it will not be amiſs to take notice of a merry jeſt which ſome *Greeks*, ſettled in *Scythia*, had endeavoured to impoſe upon *Herodotus*, as a ſerious truth; *viz.* that the *Neuri*, a northern na-

(41) *Germ. ant. p.* 110. (42) *Iſidor. Orig. l.* xix. *c.* 23. (43) *Tacit. Germ. c.* 17.

tion,

of the laſt who exchanged them for cloaths made of flax and wool: theſe they did not wear long and full, as the *Sarmatians*, but ſhort and ſtrait, and fit to diſplay every limb of their body [h]. As they became more acquainted with the *Romans*, they not only improved in their dreſs, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering thoſe ſtuffs of which they were made [i], but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have ſince excelled other nations; for it was their contempt of ſuch trades, and not their want of a capacity for them, which made them be ſo long neglected, as beneath a martial genius; but when they came to take them up, they ſoon convinced the world, that their country ſeemed cut out to produce the beſt artificers; and we may add, that, in the number and variety of curious mechanic inventions, they have outdone all the world (S). They did not ſo ſoon give into the liberal arts, or even that

[h] Tacit. ubi ſupra, c. 17. [i] Idem ibid.

tion, were once a year changed into wolves, and, after ſome time, reſumed their own ſhape (44). He doth indeed own, that he could hardly give credit to it; but it is plain they only impoſed on his too great credulity in this point, as they did in ſome others, particularly where they told him that on the other ſide the *Danube* the air was, at ſome ſeaſons, ſo full of feathers, meaning of ſnow, that a man could ſcarce ſee two yards before him. Wolves, it is certain, were in ſuch quantities, and ſo dangerous, in all theſe northern countries, that the inhabitants were forced to deſtroy them as faſt as they could. Their ſkins they probably dreſſed, and made them into cloſe garments, to wear during the winter, and, when ſpring came on, they exchanged them for ſome lighter habit: and this is all that could be meant by this pretended transformation Unleſs we will ſuppoſe, not without ſome probability, that thoſe *Greeks* had ſo far corrupted their native language, by their long abode in *Scythia*, that our author, naturally fond of wonders, underſtood them quite differently from what they meant.

(S) Amongſt theſe, that of clocks, watches, and other ſuch kind of uſeful and curious machinery, they have been long ſince famed for; but for none more than for the noble art of printing, which was found out at *Mentz*, ſoon after the year 1440, by *John Fuſt*, or *Fauſt*, a citizen of that place, and improved by his ſon-in law, *Peter Shoeffer*, and from thence propagated, by ſome of his countrymen, through all the famous cities of *Europe*, in leſs than half a century (45).

In ſpeaking of this noble and uſeful invention, we cannot paſs by a pathetic reply which a *German* made to a *Frenchman*, who allowed,

(44) *Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 105. (45) *See Palmer's hiſtory of printing, l.* i. *c* 2. *& ſeq. l.* ii. *c.* 1, *& ſeq.*

indeed,

that of writing: we are told, that *Charles the great* caused some of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only sung by heart, and contained the actions of their antient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their use, and to encourage them to learn to read [k]. The *Saxons* had such a contempt for letters, that they refused to learn to read the gospels till they were put into verse, and set to such tunes as they could easily sing [l]. Even their laws were not, it seems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century [m]: which plainly shews that their *runæ*, or letters (T), are not of so antient date as some moderns have imagined. *Writing.*

BEFORE

[k] EGINHARD in vit. Carol. mag. c. 29. [l] Vide DU CHESNE rer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 326. [m] See SCHOTTEL. de antiq. Germ. jur. p. 254. PELLOUTIER. hist. Celt. l. ii. c. 10.

indeed, that the *Germans* were generally good mechanics, but in other cases, said, that they had but a low and groveling genius, and no wit. To which the *German* gravely asked the following question: "Pray, Sir, which of the two nations shewed the brighter "genius; ours, which invented the art of printing; or yours, "which condemned the inventor of it to the flames for a conju-"rer? For it plainly appears, that the parliament of *Paris* had condemned *John Faust* to be burnt for magic, and that he with great difficulty obtained his pardon at the expence of discovering his new invention to the archbishop of *Paris* (46).

(T) The *runæ*, or antient characters, are supposed to have been called so *ab incidendo*, from cutting out, because they were either cut out of wooden blocks, or cut into the bark of some trees (47), and in a very rude manner. The antientest author who appears to have made mention of those *runæ*, is *Venantius Fortunatus*, who lived about the beginning of the sixth century; he speaks of them as being used by the *Franks*, whose manner of writing, as well as of the *Goths*, was as yet but coarse and uncouth. He gives us their method of painting, or rather graving them upon wooden planks, which were called *runæ*. The *Germans* have retained the same etymon in their language, in calling their letters *buchstaben*, which implies their being engraven on wood, and in strait lines (48). It has been much disputed whether those letters were *Latin* or *Greek*, and much has been urged on both sides; but a sepulchral inscription, dug up at *Rome*, and the only one, perhaps, that has been preserved of that old character, shews them to have been mostly *Greek*, with here and there a *Roman* one (49). Some old coins also confirm it, in some of which the legend is wholly *Greek*, and,

(46) *Vide Pelisson. ap. eund.* (47) *See Celsius's letter to Mr. Vignoles, ann.* 1733. *ap. Pelloutier, ubi supra. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (48) *Idem ibid.* (49) *Vide Relig. des Gaul. l.* i. *c.* 4.

in

Genius and character.

Before we finish this section, it will not be amiss to say something concerning the character and genius of the antient *Germans*, which was pretty near the same through all that large country. They are generally described to us by *Greek* and *Roman* authors as resembling one another, and differing from other nations by the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow and bushy hair, haughty and threatening looks, strong constitutions, and proof against hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardship [n]. Nothing could be more conducive to their bodily strength than their coarse diet, their living in huts rather than houses, their constant and strenuous exercises, and inuring themselves betimes to all kinds of fatigue; to which *Tacitus* joins another thing, which is not, perhaps, quite so authentic, *viz.* their drinking of strong liquors made of barley or wheat [o], and which they drank in large quantities. *Cæsar* adds, that their animal spirits not being exhausted in their youth by study, learning, or any troublesome occupations, or enervated by early amours and gallantry, their bodies were more apt to grow large and robust [p]. *Pliny* attributes much of this to the temperateness of their climate [q]; but though it be true, that the perspiration is not so copious in such cold countries, yet it may be much doubted, whether this doth so much contribute to the growth and strength of their inhabitants: on the contrary, experience shews, that there are very small people in some of the coldest climates, as in *Lapland*; and very gigantic ones in some of the warmest, as among some of the *Ethiopians*, as the same author justly observes. What may have further contributed to the strength and stature of the *Germans* was, their never or rarely intermarrying with other nations, nor adopting any of their soft customs; by which means, they transmitted these qualities to their children pure and uncorrupted [r].

Robustness.

[n] Tacit. Germ c. 4. & 30. Horat. epod. xvi. v 7. Juvenal. satir. xiii. Auson. idyl. vii. Comment. l. i. c. 39. Apol. l. viii. c 9, & al. [o] Tacit. ubi supra, c. 23. [p] Comment. l. iv. c. 1. [q] Nat hist. l. ii. c. 78. [r] Tacit ubi supra, c. 4. Conring de habit. antiq. & nov. corp. Germ. caulis. Mascov. Lediard Germ. l. ii. c. 32.

in others, partly that, and partly *Latin* (50). And this is, in all probability, the character which is, by *Venantius* above quoted, called the *rustic*, and was, at that time, common to all the *Europeans*; only among the northern nations they were very coarse and ill shaped, in comparison of the rest.

(50) *Boulenger, ubi supra, p.* 43, 62, *& seq.*

Their

THEIR native diſpoſition diſplayed itſelf chiefly in their martial genius, and in their ſingular fidelity. The former of theſe they did indeed carry to ſuch an exceſs, as came little ſhort of downright ferocity; but as to the latter, they not only valued themſelves highly upon it, but were greatly eſteemed by other nations for it; inſomuch, that *Auguſtus*, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, committed the guard of their perſons to them, and almoſt all other nations either courted their friendſhip and alliance, or hired them as auxiliaries: though it muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that their extreme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppreſſion, has often hurried them to treachery and murder, eſpecially when they have thought themſelves ill uſed by thoſe who hired them: for, in all ſuch caſes, they were eaſily ſtirred up, and extremely vindictive. In other caſes, *Tacitus*, tells us, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or invading thoſe from whom they received no injury; rather chuſing to employ their ſtrength and valour defenſively, than offenſively; to preſerve their own, than to ravage their neighbours [s]. Their friendſhip and intercourſe was rather a compound of honeſt bluntneſs and hoſpitality, than of wit, humour, or gallantry. All ſtrangers were ſure to meet with a kind reception from them, to the utmoſt of their ability; even thoſe who were not in a capacity to entertain them, made it a piece of duty to introduce them to thoſe who could; and nothing was looked upon as more ſcandalous and deteſtable, than to refuſe them either the one, or the other [t]. They do not ſeem, indeed, to have had a taſte for grand and elegant entertainments; they affected in every thing, in their houſes, furniture, diet, &c. rather plainneſs and ſimplicity, than ſumptuouſneſs and luxury. If they learned of the *Romans* and *Gauls* the uſe of money, it was rather becauſe they found it more convenient than their antient way of bartering one commodity for another; and then they preferred thoſe antient coins which had been ſtamped during the times of the *Roman* liberty, eſpecially ſuch as were either milled or cut in the rims, becauſe they could not be ſo eaſily cheated in them as in ſome others, which were frequently nothing but copper, or iron, plated over with ſilver. This laſt metal they likewiſe preferred before gold, not becauſe it made a greater ſhow, but becauſe it was more convenient for buying and ſelling [u]. And as they became, in time, more feared by, or more uſeful to, the *Romans*, ſo they learned how to draw enough of it from them to ſupply their whole country, beſides what flowed to them from other nations.

Valour and fidelity.

Hoſpitality.

Money.

[s] TACIT. Germ c. 35. [t] Ibid. c. 21. [u] Idem ibid. c. 5.

As they deſpiſed ſuperfluities in other caſes, ſo they did alſo in the connubial way; every man was contented with one wife (U), and both were ſo faithful to each other, and chaſte, true, and diſintereſted, in their conjugal affections, that *Tacitus* prefers their manners, in this reſpect, to thoſe of the *Romans*. The men ſought not dowries from their wives, but beſtowed them upon them [w]. Their youth, in thoſe cold climes, did not begin ſo ſoon to feel the warmth of love, as they do in hotter ones; and it was a common rule with them, not to marry young; and thoſe were moſt eſteemed, who continued longeſt in celibacy; becauſe they looked upon it as an effectual means to make them grow tall and ſtrong: and to marry, or be concerned with a woman, before they were full twenty years old, was accounted ſhameful wantonneſs [x]. They have been, indeed, unjuſtly taxed with permitting a promiſcuous and unnatural commerce of parents with their children, brothers with their ſiſters, and the like; but the only thing that ſeems to have given a colour to this pretended inceſtuous mixture was, their living together in their plain and homely cottages, and the whole family lying promiſcuouſly in the ſtraw, and ſtark-naked; which cuſtom, though ſhocking to more polite nations, yet, being natural to them, was much more likely to reſtrain ſuch unnatural commerce, than to give birth to it. But tho' they did lie thus together in the ſame hut, yet we can ſcarcely doubt, but nature taught them to obſerve ſome decency; and that the huſband and wife lay in ſome corner apart, and the boys and girls at a convenient diſtance from each other. We may add, that ſuch a brutiſh intermixture is quite oppoſite to that care which they took to keep their youth chaſte and unmarried, till after twenty; and to that conjugal fidelity for which they are ſo juſtly admired. The women ſhared with their huſbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, but even the hardſhips of war. They attended them in the field, dreſſed their victuals for them, dreſſed their wounds, ſtirred them up to fight manfully againſt their enemies, and ſometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it was upon the point of being ſnatched from them. In a word, they looked upon ſuch conſtant attendance

Marriages.

Unjuſtly charged with inceſtuous commerce.

[w] Ibid. c. 20. [x] Cæſ. com. l. vi. c. 21.

(U) Our author, however, excepts ſome caſes, which yet were not frequent among them, as when any of their princes or noblemen allowed themſelves a plurality of wives, more, ſays he (50), out of grandeur and oſtentation, than wantonneſs.

(50) *Tacit. ubi ſupra*, c. 18.

on

on them not as a ſervitude, like the *Roman* dames, but as a duty, and an honour. We find, in moſt parts of *Germany*, eſpecially where vaſſalage is ſtill in uſe, ſome notable relics of this antient female ſubmiſſion; we have even lately ſeen ſome remarkable, and, as they appeared to us, ſhocking, inſtances of it here, in thoſe *Palatines* and *Saltſburghers* whom perſecution and diſtreſs drove hither for ſhelter; young, hale, and luſty, fellows, ſauntering along, with their pipes in their mouths, and a ſtaff under their arm, whilſt their obſequious wives trudged and ſweated after them, under a load of their cloaths, and other lumber, and a child or two in their arms (W). But what appears to have been ſtill a harder fate upon the antient *German* dames was, that their great *Odinus* excluded all thoſe from his *valhalla*, or paradiſe, who did not by ſome violent death, follow their deceaſed huſbands thither. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it in the next paragraph, and conclude this with an obſervation, that, notwithſtanding their having been antiently in ſuch high repute for their wiſdom, and ſuppoſed ſpirit of prophecy, and their continuing ſuch faithful and tender helpmates to their huſbands, yet they ſunk, in time, ſo low in their eſteem, that, according to the old *Saxon* law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he ſhould have done, if he had hurt or killed a man [y].

THERE is ſcarcely any one thing in which the *Germans*, tho' ſo nearly allied in moſt of their other cuſtoms to the *Gauls*, were yet more oppoſite to them than in their funerals. We have ſhewn, in the laſt chapter, with what pomp and profuſion the latter performed theirs: thoſe of the former were done with the ſame plainneſs and ſimplicity which they affected in all other things: the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with ſome peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other fine furniture of the deceaſed, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums: each man's armour, that is, his ſword, *Their funerals.*

[y] Specul. Sax. l. i. c. 45.

(W) We have ourſelves taken upon us to reprove their huſbands for it, and told them, in a friendly manner, that our nation was much offended at it; but have been gravely anſwered, by their paſſive dames, that it was the faſhion of their country, and that it would caſt a much greater diſgrace on their good men to help them off with any ſhare of the burden. And what appeared ſtill more ſurpriſing was, when theſe poor women have been offered a draught of ale or beer to refreſh them, they have deſired it might be given to their huſbands, for that themſelves could drink water. ſo great is the force of education and cuſtom.

shield, and spear, were flung into it, and sometimes his riding-horse [z]. The *Danes* did, indeed, fling into the funeral of a prince, gold, silver, and other precious things, which the chief mourners, who walked, in a gloomy guise, round the fire, exhorted the by-standers to fling liberally into it, in honour of the deceased [a]. They afterwards deposited their ashes in urns, like the *Gauls*, *Romans*, and other nations; as it plainly appears from the vast numbers which have been dug up all over the country, as well as from the sundry dissertations which have been written upon them by several learned moderns of that nation, a list and account of which the reader may see in the author last quoted [b]. One thing we may observe in general, that, whatever sacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever presents they made to them at their funerals, and whatever other superstitious rites they might perform at them, all was done in consequence of those excellent notions which their antient religion had taught them, the immortality of the soul, and the bliss or misery of a future life [c].

Notion of the state of souls after death.

It is impossible, indeed, as they did not commit any thing to writing till very lately, and as none of the ancient writers have given us any account of it, to guess how soon this belief of their great *Odin*, and his paradise, was received among them. It may, for aught we know, have been older than the times of *Tacitus*, and he have known nothing of it, by reason of their scrupulous care of concealing their religion from strangers: but as they conveyed their doctrines to posterity by songs and poems, and most of the northern poets tell us, that they have drawn their intelligence from those very poems which were still preserved among them; we may, rightly enough, suppose, that whatever doctrines are contained in them, were formerly professed by the generality of the nation, especially since we find their antient practice so exactly conformable to it. Thus, since the surest road to this paradise was, to excel in martial deeds, and to die intrepidly in the field of battle, and since none were excluded from it but base cowards, and betrayers of their country, it is natural to think, that the signal and excessive bravery of the *Germans* flowed from this antient belief of theirs: and, if their females were so brave and faithful, as not only to share with their husbands all the dangers and fatigues of war, but, at length, to follow them, by a voluntary death, into the other world; it can hardly be attributed to any thing else, but a strong persua-

[z] Vide Keyzler de mulier. fatidic. c. 2. [a] Saxo Gram. l. viii Keyzler ant. sept. p. 115. [b] P. 109, & seq. [c] Vid. Diod. Sicul. hist. l. v. Am Marcel. l. xv. Cæs. com. l. vi. c 14. Strab. Mela, & al.

ſion of their being admitted to live with them in that place of bliſs. This belief, therefore, whether received originally from the old *Celtes*, or afterwards taught them by this ſince deified *Odin*, ſeems, from their general practice, to have been univerſally received by all the *Germans*, though they might differ one from another in their notions of that future life (X). In general, they ſeem to have had a twofold notion of this future ſtate, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, *ragna rockur*, or the crepuſcule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the conſummation of all things by a general conflagration [d]. So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliſs and miſery, till the deſtruction of the world; and another which was to follow it preſently after, when a new ſun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endleſs happineſs for the good, and another of endleſs miſery for the bad: which notion one would be apt to imagine they had imbibed from the chriſtians, did it not appear, from *Seneca*, to have been the doctrine of the *Stoics*; unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe that author had it rather from ſome of the apoſtles [e], or their diſciples, than from his own ſect (Y). However that be, ſome of the

[d] EDDÆ. mythol. 30, & 48. EIVIND. SCALDASPILER. & al. ap. Keyzler ubi ſupra, p. 119, & ſeq. [e] Conf. 2 PET. c. iii. v. 7, & ſeq. SENEC. quæſt. nat. l. iii. & conſolat. ad Marcian. OVID. metamorph. l. ii.

(X) What the bliſs of this paradiſe conſiſted in, we have already ſeen; but, beſides this, there are ſome notions attributed to them, by theſe writers lately mentioned, which do not ſeem to ſquare altogether with it (51). ſuch as that of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which, if we may believe ſome antient chriſtian writers (52), *Pythagoras* received from them. We have ſhewn, in the laſt chapter, that the *Gauls* were unjuſtly charged with adopting the ſame notion; and the ſame thing may, for aught appears, have been done with reſpect to the *Germans*. But if theſe had any ſuch belief amongſt them, it can only be reconciled with that of *Odin*'s paradiſe, by ſuppoſing the latter to be reſerved for their brave and enterpriſing heroes; whilſt the reſt, who had no title to it, were left to tranſmigrate from body to body, more or leſs noble and happy, according to their merit or demerit, in a continual rotation, till the conſummation of all things

(Y) It is not to be doubted, that the doctrine of a general conflagration was believed by many antient nations, as we have had occaſion to ſhew at the beginning of this work; but *Seneca*, in the place

(51) *See Keyzler. ubi ſupra, p. 116, & ſeq. & auct. ab eo citat.*
(52) *Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. vi. Euſeb. præp. l. x. c. 2.*

laſt

the circumſtances, which theſe old *Germans* believed would attend this general conflagration, ſeem to us to have been taken from the apocalypſe, now adapted to their own antient notions and taſte: we ſhall give our readers ſome few inſtances of this in the margin (Z), they being ſcarcely worth mentioning anywhere elſe. We ſhall finiſh this ſection with obſerving, that the notion of a future happineſs obtained by martial exploits, eſpecially by dying ſword in hand, made them bewail the fate

Unnatural cuſtoms.

laſt quoted, ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner, as makes one believe he had converſed with ſome chriſtians, or, at leaſt, ſome *Jewiſh* rabbis, from whom he had adopted many particulars, which the ſtoics, till then, knew nothing of.

(Z) They tell you, among other things, the old earth, being thus deſtroyed, a new one is to ſtart up out of the ſea, which will produce all things neceſſary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females which eſcape the general deſtruction are quickly to replenish it with a more hopeful offspring: that on the ſouth ſide of heaven there is a court vaſtly brighter than the ſun itſelf, and which will be proof againſt the flames which are to deſtroy the reſt of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preſerved for that new and endleſs life. That the general deſtruction is to be preceded by the moſt ſevere ſeaſons, bloody wars, enormous crimes, &c. after which, two monſtrous wolves are to be let looſe, who ſhall devour ſun, moon, and ſtars. That the rainbow, by which the ſouls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down. That ſome of the *aſæ*, or deified heroes, ſhall begin an unſucceſsful war, and *Odin* himſelf be devoured by one of the wolves; after which, the univerſe is to be ſet on fire; that there is another court, as diſmal as the other is glorious, whoſe gates open towards the north; the fences of it are woven with the hinder-parts of venemous ſerpents, whoſe heads are all turned towards the inſide of it, and caſt continual ſtreams of deadly poiſon, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade; and much more to the like purpoſe.

We ſhall not trouble ourſelves further, to inquire whence thoſe northern poets drew all this mythological rhapſody; but only obſerve from the whole, that they plainly appear not to have had ſo high an opinion of their country, as ſome of a moderner date, who have taken a vaſt deal of pains to prove, that the earthly paradiſe was ſituate there, and that they, eſpecially *Sueaſland*, afforded every thing that is uſeful and delightful to mankind (53); for if thoſe old ones had entertained any ſuch favourable opinion of theſe cold regions, they would hardly have made them the abode of miſerable ſouls, and removed the ſeats of the bleſſed to the ſouthern ſide of the univerſe (54).

(53) *Rudbeck. Olai Atlantic. & al.* (54) *Vide Kyzler. ubi ſupra, p.* 123.

of

of thoſe who lived to an old age, as diſhonourable here, and hopeleſs hereafter: upon which account, they had a barbarous way to ſend them packing into the other world, willing or not willing. And this cuſtom laſted ſeveral ages after their receiving chriſtianity, eſpecially among the *Pruſſians* and *Venedi*; the former of whom, it ſeems, diſpatched, by a quick death, not only their ſick children, ſervants, &c. but even their parents, and ſometimes themſelves [f]: and of the latter we have inſtances of this horrid parricide being practiſed even in the beginning of the fourteenth century [g]. All that need be added is, that, if thoſe perſons, thus ſuppoſed to have lived long enough, either deſired to be put to death, or, at leaſt, ſeemed chearfully to ſubmit to what they knew they could not avoid, their exit was commonly preceded with a feaſt, and their funeral with another; but if they endeavoured to ſhun it, as it ſometimes happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepeſt mourning. In the former they rejoiced at their deliverance, and being admitted into bliſs; in the latter they bewailed their cowardly excluding themſelves from it. Much the ſame thing was done towards thoſe wives who betrayed a backwardneſs to follow their dead huſbands. We need not here obſerve, that, in theſe funerals, as well as in all their other feaſts, they were famed for drinking to exceſs; and one may ſay of them, above all the other deſcendants of the antient *Celtes*, that their hoſpitality, banquets, &c. conſiſted much more in the quantity of ſtrong liquors, than in the elegance of eating. Beer, and ſtrong mead, which were their natural drink, were looked upon as the chief promoters of health, ſtrength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account, they made no ſcruple to indulge themſelves to the utmoſt in them, not only in their feaſts, and eſpecially before an engagement, but even in their common meals. *Tacitus* tells us, that they could bear neither heat nor thirſt; and that they thought it no diſgrace to ſpend whole days and nights in quaffing [h]: ſo that though they were in no caſe more invincible than in this, yet, if they plied them with enough of it, you could not fail of overcoming them [i]. As for wine, tho' they at firſt betrayed an exceſſive fondneſs for it, yet they quickly found by experience, that it only tended to enervate and emaſculate the men, and obſtructed the fecundity of the women; for which reaſon ſome of them, eſpecially the *Suevi*, forbad the importation of it [k]. And it is thought, to this day, that the

Exceſſive love of ſtrong liquors.

[f] See CHRISTOPH. HARTNOCH. antiq. Pruſſia, diſſert. xiii.
[g] MARESCALE annal. Herul. & Vandal. l. ii. c. 8. KRANTZ. Vandal. l. vii. KEYZLER, ubi ſupra, p. 147, & ſeq. [h] Germ. c. 4, & 22. [i] Ibid. c. 23. Vide & JULIAN. miſopog. p. 352.
[k] CÆS. comment. l. iv. c. 2.

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degeneracy of the modern *Germans*, in this respect, as well as that of the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and other nations, is, in a great measure, owing to their exchanging their old natural liquors for the foreign juice of the grape [1].

SECT. III.

The history of the antient Germans.

The antient history of the Germans *unknown.*

WE have taken notice, at the beginning of this chapter, that the most antient historians, both *Greek* and *Roman*, have so injudiciously confounded the whole *German* nation under the names of *Scythians* and *Celtes*, and that *Tacitus* himself, who had conversed so much amongst them, is, in some cases, so manifestly fabulous, and, in many others, so obscure and inconsistent, that no tolerable certainty can be expected either with relation to their origin, or antient history, except we can strike out some light from better hands, and from some such concurring circumstances as may add weight to their testimony. This, we hope, we have done, in some measure, with relation to the first of these two points; but it is much more difficult to adjust the latter to any satisfaction, considering what a vast number of nations are comprehended in the general name of *Germans*, their constant fluctuations, and driving each other from place to place, their various intermixtures with each other, till the name of the one was quite swallowed up in the other; that many of them did, in time, come to differ widely from the rest, in their customs, government, laws, and politics; and others are scarcely known to us by any thing but their names; and especially, considering that none of them wrote any thing of their own affairs, and that both *Romans* and *Greeks* had but a very confused, if any, knowledge of them, till the *Romans* did, by their wars and commerce with them, open a more easy way to it (A). Upon these accounts, we must be contented to set down

[1] Kluzler. ubi supra, c. 6. §. 6.

(A) It is plain, that, before the *Romans* came over the *Alps*, they had so little knowledge of them, that they confounded them with the *Gauls*, and called both nations by that name. The general one of *Germans* doth not, indeed, appear to have been of so early date as some have thought it, as we have shewn at the beginning of this chapter; so that each nation being distinguished by their peculiar names, unknown then to the *Romans*, it was natural for these to

down the epocha between the coming and ſettling of the former in the ſeveral parts of *Germany*, and the invaſion of the latter; for dark and uncertain, and as impenetrable as their famed *Hercynian* foreſt; except what we have been able to gather from thoſe authors concerning their names, ſituation, and ſome few other particulars, which we have already, or ſhall have occaſion to mention, in the ſequel of this ſection.

WHAT occaſioned the *Romans* breaking in upon *Germany*, as they did upon all other nations they could come at, we have already ſeen, in the courſe of the *Roman* hiſtory[a]; the *Germans* were then ſo far from being formed into one ſingle community, that they were divided into a vaſt number of ſmall kingdoms and commonwealths. They might, indeed, look upon themſelves, in general, as a nation deſcended originally from the ſame ſtock, and ſo have ſome laws in common to them all, either for the ſupporting of each other againſt foreign invaders, or for the preſervation of a due balance amongſt their vaſt variety of commonwealths; but in other things, each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and intereſt. They were all of them bred up with an exceſſive love of liberty, and hatred to

[a] See vol. v. p. 75, & ſeq.

to include them all under the name of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, and *Galatæ*, as they were ſo nearly allied in their origin, religion, cuſtoms, *&c.*

There is, indeed, one paſſage, in the *faſti Capitolini* (1), in which mention is made of that great victory ſo much cried up by *Virgil* and other writers (2), which *Marcellus* gained over *Viridomarus* and his *Gauls*, who are here joined with the *Inſubri* and *Germans*, and which, if this laſt name be not corrupted by the tranſcriber, will plainly ſhew it to have been longer in uſe than we ſuppoſe it. But a late writer hath ſhewed it very probable, at leaſt, both from the ſimilitude of the names, and other concurring circumſtances, that *Germani* is here tranſcribed inſtead of *Cenomani* (3); for theſe were not only next neighbours to the *Inſubri*, and concerned with them in the ſame war againſt the *Romans*, but were defeated with them, not long after, by *Cethegus*, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the ſame time (4).

This *Viridomarus* is by ſome ſtyled a king, and by others a general, of the *Gauls* (5); and his invaſion threw the *Romans* into ſuch a conſternation, that, to turn away the impending evil, they were guilty of that inhuman piece of ſuperſtition we have mentioned out of *Plutarch*, in a former volume (6).

(1) *Sub. an. U. C.* 531. (2) *Æneid.* vi. *v.* 855, & *ſeq.* (3) *Muſgrav. Germ l.* i. *c.* 4. (4) *Faſt. Capitol ſub an. U. C.* 556. (5) *Plutarch. in Marcel. Polyb. l.* ii. *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 4, & *al.* (6) *See before, vol.* xiv. *p.* 510.

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[a] See vol. v. p. 75, & ſeq.

to include them all under the name of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, and *Galatæ*, as they were ſo nearly allied in their origin, religion, cuſtoms, &c.

There is, indeed, one paſſage, in the *faſti Capitolini* (1), in which mention is made of that great victory ſo much cried up by *Virgil* and other writers (2), which *Marcellus* gained over *Viridomarus* and his *Gauls*, who are here joined with the *Inſubri* and *Germans*, and which, if this laſt name be not corrupted by the tranſcriber, will plainly ſhew it to have been longer in uſe than we ſuppoſe it. But a late writer hath ſhewed it very probable, at leaſt, both from the ſimilitude of the names, and other concurring circumſtances, that *Germani* is here tranſcribed inſtead of *Cenomani* (3); for theſe were not only next neighbours to the *Inſubri*, and concerned with them in the ſame war againſt the *Romans*, but were defeated with them, not long after, by *Cethegus*, who, thereupon, triumphed over them both at the ſame time (4).

This *Viridomarus* is by ſome ſtyled a king, and by others a general, of the *Gauls* (5); and his invaſion threw the *Romans* into ſuch a conſternation, that, to turn away the impending evil, they were guilty of that inhuman piece of ſuperſtition we have mentioned out of *Plutarch*, in a former volume (6).

(1) *Sub. an. U. C.* 531. (2) *Æneid.* vi. *v.* 855, & *ſeq.*
(3) *Muſeov. Germ l* i. *c.* 4. (4) *Faſt. Capitol ſub an. U. C.* 550.
(5) *Plutarch. in Marcel. Polyb. l.* ii. *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 4, & *al.* (6) *See before, vol.* xiv. *p.* 510.

all kinds of invasion; and could not, but with jealousy and resentment, behold the daily encroachments which the *Romans* continually made on all their neighbours, or, consequently, without uniting themselves more closely against them, and assisting those of their neighbours, who were likely to fall the next sacrifice to their ambition; as we have seen they did, with respect to the *Gauls*, *Helvetii*, and other neighbouring states. Hence arose those wars and conquests which ended in their total conquest; for the politic *Romans* soon took the advantage of their being divided into so many different republics; and by fomenting jealousies among some of them, bribing and corrupting others, and by using all their force and art against the rest, they found means to subdue them gradually, and by piece-meal: so that one state after the other fell a prey to their conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a *Roman* province. This part, therefore, of their history, is not to be looked upon as a general one of a whole nation, but as a separate one of such a number of different states subdued one after the other, and in a great measure independently one from the other, till we come to that period of time the *Franks* brought and united all the other *Germans*, who remained in those countries, together with many other *Roman* provinces, under their dominion. For this reason, and because a full and particular account has been given of all these conquests in the *Roman* history, we shall, to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, content ourselves with giving a chronological summary of the reduction of each of these nations, till we come to the grand epocha of the *Franks* above-mentioned; and refer our readers to the volume and page where each of them is more fully and severally mentioned. For the *Roman* history being not only the most considerable one in this whole work, in all respects, but being, as it were, the basis, or pivot, on which that of all the nations they subdued doth chiefly turn, we thought it would render it more complete, useful, and instructive, to give them all in one view, or series, in that part of it, than if we had detached them from the main body, and branched them out into so many distinct parts of history; which could hardly have been done without either great confusion, or endless repetitions. From the conquest of *Germany* by the *Romans*, our next point in view will be, to shew by what means they regained their liberty, and made such ample reprisals upon their conquerors under the *Franks*; and as the detection of these gave rise to the *German* empire, which will make a considerable part in our modern history, which is to follow, we shall, to avoid confusion, give the history of all those several nations, and of those kingdoms which they erected in other countries, in their several transmigrations, each in a distinct

The design of this section.

tinct chapter, and confine ourselves, in the latter part of this, to mentioning the most considerable of those other countries which have been since conquered and possessed by the *Germans*, who now inhabit the empire, at least as far as will be necessary to open the way to the modern history of it.

Germany invaded by the Gauls.

BUT before we come to the *Roman* invasion, it will be necessary to mention some transactions, relating to the antient *Germans*, which are previous to it, and have yet been but touched upon; the first of which is, the *Gallish* irruption into their territories, under the conduct of *Segovesus*, whilst his brother, *Bellovesus*, made the like over the *Alps*. These two valiant princes were sons to the sister of *Ambigatus*, a king of the *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*, about the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*. That monarch, finding his subjects to increase too fast for the extent of his territories, resolved to send two large colonies out of it, to settle somewhere else, under the conduct of his two nephews. These being directed, as the *Gallish* manner then was, by the flight of birds, the former of these was directed over the *Rhine*, and settled in the *Hercynian* forest [b], whilst the other went and penetrated into *Italy*, as we have seen in a former volume [c] (B). Whether the *Germans* had any hand in this latter expedition, doth not clearly appear, for the reasons mentioned in the last note. Only if the regions lying at the foot of the *Apennine* hills were at that time inhabited by *Germans*, or semi *Germans*, as *Livy* calls them [d], there is no question to be made, but they might be hurried, by those *Gallish* swarms, to follow them in those excursions, and share in those devastations and pillages, which they committed. But hitherto it doth not appear, that the rest of the *German* nation were at all concerned in them, since *Tacitus* gives them this peculiar character, that they rather studied how to preserve their own, than

[b] Liv. decad. I. v. c. 34. [c] Vol. xi. p. 419, 420. [d] Decad. I. xxi c. 28.

(B) We find, however, no farther mention of the former colony, and their settlement in *Germany*, unless we suppose, that it is of them which *Julius Cæsar* speaks, when he informs us of a *Gallish* nation, which in his time inhabited the heart of *Germany*, along the *Hercynian* forest, and all the most fertile parts of that country between the *Rhine* and that famed wood, and had intirely conformed themselves to the customs and manners of that country (7). *Tacitus*, likewise, by placing the *Boii* and *Helvetii* much about the very same spot of ground, and making them both to be descended from the *Gauls* (8), doth in all probability, mean the very same nation and colony with *Cæsar* and *Livy*.

(7) *Comment.* l. vi. c. 24. (8) *Germ.* c. 28.

how to invade the territories of others [e]; and it is moſt likely, that they did not begin to act offenſively againſt the *Romans*, at leaſt, till they were alarmed at the greatneſs of their power, and the daily encroachments they made round about them. Swarms of colonies they muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſent abroad, to prevent the want of elbow-room, as they multiplied ſo faſt: but there was ſo much of that to ſpare towards the north parts of *Europe*, and ſo little on the ſouth parts, where they were, moreover, ſure to meet with a ſtout oppoſition, that they poured moſt of them towards the other way, at leaſt till the *Gauls* did, in ſome meaſure, oblige them to make repriſals upon them.

THE firſt of theſe we meet with, and which, in all appearance, is of much later date than that of *Segoveſus* into *Germany*, is that of the *Belgæ*, one of the fierceſt, and moſt warlike nations of *Germany*; who, having paſſed the *Rhine*, and driven the *Gauls* out of a canton of it, ſeated themſelves ſo firmly in it, that neither their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever drive them out of it. *Cæſar* adds, that they were not a little proud of this their ſettlement, and that they aſſumed a high hand over all their neighbours [f]; and we have elſewhere obſerved, that they were, probably, called *Belgæ*, upon that account, that word, in the old *Teutonic*, ſignifying fierce and quarrelſome [g] (C). They afterwards peopled the coaſts of *Britain*, and drove the natives into the inland parts, and waged continual wars with the *Germans* [h]. We have already given an account of theſe *Belgæ*, of their origin, wars with the *Romans*, and reduction to their yoke, in a former volume, to which we refer our readers [i]. From this irruption of the *Belgæ* into *Gaul*, which is the firſt the *German* nation made upon them, at leaſt that we read of, theſe two nations continued in a kind of alternate ſtate of hoſtility and friendſhip, as occaſion ſerved; ſometimes invading each other's territories, at other times aſſiſting each other againſt the *Romans*, as we have had frequent occaſion to hint in the laſt chapter, and ſhall again in this; but it is time that we ſhould ſpeak of thoſe

[e] Germ. c. 35. [f] Comment. l. ii. c. 4. [g] See before, vol. xvii. in the laſt ſection. [h] Comment l. i. c. 1. [i] See vol. xii. p. 537, & (X), & ſeq. & 555.

(C) And which is the character *Cæſar* gives them, and attributes this roughneſs of theirs to their living at a diſtance from the more civilized provinces of *Gaul*, and having few or no foreign merchants to trade with them, and bring them ſuch commodities as ſerve to effeminate mankind (9).

(9) *Comment. l.* i *c.* 1.

wars

wars and defeats which the ſeveral *German* nations waged againſt the *Romans*, the defeats they received from them, and by which they were ſubdued by them, in the ſuccinct method and order of time, as we have promiſed.

THE firſt we read of, who ventured to invade the *Roman* territories, were the *Cimbri* and *Teutones:* we have already ſpoken of their antient ſettlement, the former in the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and the latter on the coaſts and iſles of the *Baltic* [k]; but whether for want of room there, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer clime, both theſe (D) marched, with their wives and children, through, and ravaged *Noricum* and *Illyricum*, penetrated into *Italy*, defeated the *Romans* at ſeveral pitched battles [l], and threw all *Italy* into the greateſt conſternation [m]. In the firſt of theſe actions they vanquiſhed the famous conſul, *Papyrius Carbo:* in another *M. Junius Silanus*, another conſul, who was ſoon after called to a ſevere account for it; and, in a third, *L. Caſſius*; and, in a fourth, the brave *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, whom they took priſoner, and put to death by their king, *Bolos* (E), for ſpeaking too boldly in praiſe of the *Romans:* but, Cimbri *invade* Italy.

[k] See before, p. 155, 156. [l] Vol. xii. p. 316, & ſeq. & 362, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. p. 373, 378.

(D) It doth not, indeed, appear, that theſe two nations began their firſt excurſions jointly, or at the ſame time; much leſs, that they all left their territories, for they left a much greater number behind; but only that ſome of the reſoluteſt of each reſolved to exchange them for new ones. It is more likely that, upon the ſight of the vigorous oppoſition they were likely to meet with from the conſular armies, and under ſuch experienced generals, the *Cimbri* invited the *Teutones*, who were their neighbours, to come and join them, as they did ſome others, both *Germans* and *Gaul*, through whoſe territories they paſſed; particularly the *Tigurini* and *Ambrones*, who are mentioned in the ſame invaſion (10). They parted, indeed, from them all, upon what account doth not appear; but inſtead of purſuing their *Italic* invaſion towards the *Pyrenees*, being there repulſed by the *Celtiberi*, they rejoined the *Teutones* again, and made ſad havock in *Gaul*, which was then in no condition to withſtand them. They moved, at length, towards *Italy*, by ſeveral ways, and were forced to fight their way through each of them. It proved, however, a fatal expedition to them all, particularly to the *Teutones*, who, after having inſulted the *Roman* army with the moſt biting taunts (11), were cut off by them, to the number of 100,000, by the ſame victorious conſul (12).

(E) This is, in all likelihood, the ſame whom *Plutarch* calls *Boiorix*, king of the *Gauls* (13), but *Livy Boios*, king of the *Cim-*

(10) *See vol.* v. *p.* 4, & 34. (11) *Ibid.* p. 30. (12) *Id. Ibid.*
(13) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

bri

Defeated by Marius

but, after ſeveral other ſucceſſes in *Italy*, they were totally defeated and deſtroyed by the policy of the conſul *Marius* [n]. For this general took care to poſt himſelf ſo advantageouſly, on the day of battle, that the *Cimbri* had not only his army, but the ſun, wind, and duſt, to combat with, and were the more eaſily overthrown, by that ſubtile ſtratagem (F). How greatly the *Romans* eſteemed this victory, may be ſeen by the triumph, and other ſingular honours which they decreed both to *Marius*, and to *Catulus*, as well as by the monuments which theſe cauſed to be reared in memory of it[o] (G). Thoſe *Cimbri* who eſcaped this dreadful

[n] Ibid. p. 380. [o] See PLUTARCH, ubi ſupra, & vol. xii. p. 381, & ſeq.

bri (14). We have formerly mentioned the murder of the brave *Scaurus*, by that young hot-headed prince, and the occaſion of it (15); and there we followed the former of theſe authors, though, moſt likely, the latter is in the right. We lately took notice, how apt the *Greeks* and *Romans* were to confound the *Gauls* and *Germans*; the *Cimbri* were, doubtleſs, antient *Celtes*, as their name imports, with reſpect to their origin; but *Gauls* they could not be, ſince they inhabited the moſt northern parts of *Germany*.

(F) This circumſtance we are beholden to *Plutarch* for (16), and need the leſs queſtion it, ſeeing that author had it out of *Sylla*'s memoirs, who was himſelf in *Marius*'s army, and had wrote a deſcription of this victory, beſides *Catulus*, who likewiſe left an account of his conſulſhip; and, perhaps, ſome other helps he might have had beſides. The deſcription which he and ſome others (17) give us of the order of battle of the *Cimbrians*, their accoutrements, weapons, valour, and intrepidity to the laſt, plainly ſhews what brave warriors they were, and that they only wanted ſome parts of the *Roman* diſcipline and policy to have made them, in all points, ſuperior to the conquerors of the world.

We are told, farther, that their wives behaved, in this action, with incredible bravery; and at length preferred an honourable death for themſelves and their children, to a diſhonourable captivity (18): and *Seneca* adds, that, after their death, their very dogs fought in defence of the carriages, which theſe heroines had loſt their lives for.

(G) Among theſe was the famed temple of *Virtue*, built by the former, and the brazen bull, which the latter is ſaid to have taken from them, and cauſed to be preſerved in his own houſe (19). What this bull was, hath puzzled moſt antiquaries, becauſe it is not mentioned by any other author: ſome think, that the *Cimbrians*

(14) *Epiſt.* lxvii. (15) *Vol* xii. p. 364, & *ſeq.* (16) *In Mario.* (17) *Valer. Max. l.* ii *c.* 6. *Vide & Arbolin de contempt mort. ap. V. Mal.* (18) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.* (19) *N. Hiſt. l.* vi. ii *c.* 41.

had

dreadful ſlaughter, did, in all likelihood, return into their own country; for they are ſaid to have ſent afterwards a ſubmiſſive embaſſy to *Auguſtus* [p]; and are likewiſe mentioned, by authors of later date, as the moſt warlike of all the northern *Germans* [q], down to *Claudian*'s time, who calls the north ſea by their name [r]. But it is likely the *Saxons*, their neighbours, joining with them in their excurſions, and growing, by degrees, more famous, the *Cimbrian* name was ſwallowed up in theirs [s].

THE next excurſion we find recorded of the *Germans* is, that Arioviſtus which happened in *Julius Cæſar*'s time, on occaſion of the jealouſy, which it is juſtly ſuppoſed that politic conqueror fomented between the *Ædui* and the *Arverni*, the then two moſt potent nations in *Gaul*; the former of whom being then in friendſhip with *Rome*, and the latter allied with the *Sequani*, theſe thought fit to call in the neighbouring *Germans* to their aſſiſtance. At firſt, only 15000 came over to them, but they became ſo enamoured with this delightful country, that, to keep their footing in it, they ſent for freſh ſupplies from over the *Rhine*, inſomuch, that they amounted, at laſt, to 120000. The *Sequani*, by their aſſiſtance, ſoon ſubdued the *Ædui*, as we have formerly ſeen [t]; but their victory coſt them dear, for they were forced by *Arioviſtus*, the *German* king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to ſettle his troops in. He ſoon after obliged them to yield another third to him, as a ſettlement for 40000 *Harudes*, who croſſed over to him, and, at the ſame time, did, by his addreſs, induce *Julius Cæſar*, then conſul, to allow him the title and honour of a king [u]. But it proved a ſhort-lived kingdom, and *Cæſar*, who only careſſed him for his own ends, ſoon found a ſpecious pretence to diſpoſſeſs him of it. The vaſt numbers of *Germans* which *Arioviſtus* had brought into *Gaul*, and the ſucceſs which their bravery had gained them, could not but raiſe the *Roman* jealouſy, and alarm not only the *Sequani*, but the greateſt part of the *Gauls*, who thereupon applied to the conſul with bitter complaints againſt the *German* devaſtations, and the danger they were in of being quickly ſwallowed up by them. *Cæſar* turned all this to his own advantage, and ſent to deſire an interview with the *German* prince, who found means to excuſe himſelf from it, and to get ſix other nations, or can-

Settles in Gaul, and forms a kingdom there.

[p] STRABO. l. vii. [q] TACIT. Germ. c. 37. PTOLEM. l. ii. c. 11. [r] Conſul. Honor. p. 335, 450. [s] See MASCOV. in fin. l. i. [t] See before, vol. xii. p. 535. [u] DIO. l. xxxviii.

had it upon their ſtandards, as the *Romans* had the eagles; others, that it was only a bullock's head (20); but all this is mere conjecture, and not worth dwelling upon.

(20) *See Maſcov & Lediard.* l. i. c. 13, n. 1, & ſeq.

tons,

tons, to join with him, beſides his own *Suevi* (H), and a freſh reinforcement of thoſe which were haſtening over to him; upon which, *Cæſar* made what haſte he could towards him, to prevent their joining. A conference was, at length, agreed upon, in which *Cæſar* uſed ſome threats to him, and plainly told him, that the *Romans* would doubly reſent his tyrannic uſe of their old friends the *Ædui*, after they had ſhewed him ſo much regard, and beſtowed ſuch honours upon him; and therefore inſiſted, that he ſhould reſtore their hoſtages to them, ſend back part of his *German* troops, and forbear all future hoſtilities. To all this imperious ſtuff, *Arioviſtus*, in vain, pleaded the right of conqueſt, his being invited into *Gaul*, and his treaties with the *Sequani*, and even offered his ſervices and friendſhip to *Cæſar* himſelf: the conference was broken, and followed with a dreadful engagement, in which the *Roman* policy got the advantage of the *German* bravery (I), gave them a total overthrow,

(H) Theſe were the *Marcomanni*, *Harudes*, *Tribochi*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes*, and *Seduſii*. We have given an account of theſe *German* nations, at the beginning of this chapter; beſides theſe, the *Treviri* gave notice to *Cæſar*, that a freſh ſwarm of *Suevi* were got as far as the banks of the *Rhine*, under the command of *Naſua* and *Cimberius*, two brothers, who were juſt on the point to croſs over into *Gaul*, and join the *German* army (21).

(I) *Cæſar* played a double ſtratagem againſt them; the firſt, by animating his *Romans* and *Gauliſh* allies, with a pretence, that *Arioviſtus* had been guilty of the blackeſt treachery againſt him (22); which notion, whether true or falſe, would not fail exaſperating them, and diſheartening the *Germans*: the other, by obliging them to fight before the new moon, which, he had been informed, both *Gauls* and *Germans* carefully avoided, as ominous to them: and accordingly, *Arioviſtus* ſtrove all he could to ſhun it, till the *Romans* fell ſuddenly upon him, and obliged him to fight, which both he and his men did, with greater fury than diſcretion; and, being once put into diſorder, betook themſelves to a haſty flight, in ſpite of the cries and endeavours of their wives and children to rally them, and ſtopped not till they got ſafe over the *Rhine*.

The misfortune is, that we have no other account of theſe things but what *Cæſar* has been pleaſed to give us, who is evidently partial to his own nation, and much more to himſelf. Had they been written by a more impartial hand, it is likely we ſhould find them in a very different light from what he has given them. However, even as we have them from him, it is not difficult to diſcover ſuch inconſiſtencies as ſeem to us to carry their own confutation. Such as is that which he ſays of the *Germans* at this action, *viz.* that they

(21) *Comment. l.* i. *c.* 35, *&ſeq.* (22) *See vol.* xii. *p.* 535.

formed

throw [w], and forced them over the *Rhine*, ſome by ſwimming, and others in boats, and, amongſt the reſt, *Arioviſtus* himſelf, who, by what may be gueſſed by a paſſage in *Cæſar*, did not long outlive his diſgrace [x]. After this, the nations which fought under him diſperſed themſelves, the *Marcomanns* into *Boiohemum*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*; the *Tribochi*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*, ſtayed in *Gaul*, or went over the *Rhine*, and ſubmitted, with the *Ubii*, to the *Romans*; for we find them ſtill ſeated along the banks of that river [y]. As for thoſe *Suevi* who were aſſembled on the ſame ſide, they retired, upon their receiving the news of this defeat; only a great number of them were cut off, in their flight, by the *Ubii*, who had been treated in a hoſtile manner by them [z]. And thus ended this ſecond expedition of the *Germans* into *Gaul*. On the very next year, the *Belgæ*, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the *Romans*, formed a great alliance with the *Celtes*, *Germans* and *Gauls*, in order to drive them farther from their neighbourhood. *Cæſar*, according to cuſtom, found means to ſow ſuch diviſions amongſt them, that many of thoſe allies ſubmitted to him; only the *Nervii*, *Atrebates*, and *Veromandui*, ſtood firm againſt him, and, though defeated at length, yet yielded him one of the deareſt victories he had ever got: ſo that the whole *Belgic* nation was forced to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke [a]. *Comius*, a faithful dependent on *Cæſar*, was by him made king of the *Atrebates*, and ſoon gained a conſiderable authority over all that country [b]; the *Atuati*, about the ſame time, hearing of theſe ſwift con-

The Belgæ ſubdued.

[w] CÆS. comment l. i. c. 52, & ſeq. [x] Ibid l. v. c 29 See vol. xii p. 536. [y] TACIT. Germ. c. 28. [z] Comment. l. i. c. 54. [a] Ibid. l. ii paſſ See vol. xii. p. 558, 555. [b] Comment. l. iv. c. 21.

formed themſelves into ſuch a thick and impenetrable phalanx, and held their ſhields ſo cloſe over their heads, that the *Romans* were forced to leap upon them, and tear them aſunder, and, ſinking down between them, kill thoſe who lurked under them, till they had opened a paſſage for their companions to come in upon them (23).

But *Cæſar* was not the only *Roman* writer who betrays ſuch fond partiality for the glory of that nation; the account which ſome of them give of the total overthrow of ſuch a vaſt army as that of the brave *Cimbrians*, and their allies, mentioned a little higher, and with the loſs of only 300 men on *Marius*'s ſide (24), ſeems no leſs ſtretched beyond all probability, eſpecially conſidering how bravely they tell us the enemy behaved on this occaſion, and how much ſuperior they had proved in all former actions.

(23) *Comment. il. l. c.* 52. (24) *Vell. Paterc. & Flor. l. i. c.* 38.

quests, came in one body to the ſuccour of the *Atrebates*, and entertained no ſmall contempt of the *Romans*, when they found them ſo far inferior in ſtature: they were, however, ſoon undeceived, to their coſt, when, being briſkly beſieged by them in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the *Atrebates*, and unable to obtain better terms than to ſurrender it at diſcretion, both their city, and all the gariſon of it, to the number of 53000, were ſold by the conqueror [c] (K).

53000 Atuaci ſold for ſlaves.

Cæſar was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other *German* nations, *viz.* the *Tencteri*, and *Uſipetes* (L): theſe, having been forced out of their own territories by the *Suevi*, the fierceſt and moſt warlike of all the northern *Germans*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of this volume, had paſſed into *Gaul*, and ſettled themſelves in the neighbourhood of the *Eburones* and *Condruſi*. *Cæſar* was then at *Rome*, to obſtruct the cabals of *Lucius Domitius* againſt him, but was obliged to haſten into *Gaul*, to prevent their joining with that nation againſt the *Romans*. Upon his arrival, they ſent an embaſſy to acquaint him with the reaſons of their coming into that country, and to beg, that he would allow them ſettlements there, promiſing him, if he did, to ſerve him upon all occaſions; otherwiſe, that they would maintain their ground by force of arms. *Cæſar* not only refuſed to grant them their requeſt, but fell ſuddenly and furiouſly upon them, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them, together with their wives and children; and

[c] Ibid. c. 33, & ſeq.

(K) *Cæſar*, in his account of this action, ſeems to intimate, that he had extirpated the whole nation by it (24): for he ſays, that they had all abandoned their cities and towns, and had ſheltered themſelves in this capital, where thoſe who eſcaped being killed in the ſiege, were all ſold for ſlaves. But they are found, in proceſs of time, to have made ſuch powerful head againſt the *Romans*, as ſhews plainly enough how apt that conqueror was to exaggerate every advantage he got againſt thoſe who fell under his hand.

What this capital was, he doth not tell us: *Cluverius* thinks it to have been *Namur*; if ſo, it is ſtrange, that *Cæſar*, when he deſcribes the ſtrength of the place (25), ſhould ſay nothing of the *Marſa*, on which that place is ſituate, and which could not but add conſiderable ſtrength to it.

(L) We have given an account of theſe two nations, and their country, in a former volume (26).

(24) *Comment. l.* ii. *c.* 29, & *ſeq.* (25) *Ibid. c.* 24. (26) *Ibid.* xii. *p.* 542, (*a*).

of

of thoſe who eſcaped, the greateſt part periſhed, with endeavouring to croſs the *Maeſe* [d]; only their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, croſſed the *Rhine*, and fled to the *Sicambri*, whoſe territories were ſited between thoſe two rivers. This, and the aſſiſtance which the *Ubii* about *Cologn* ſent to beg of him againſt the threatening *Suevi*, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the *Rhine*, to the great ſurpriſe of all the *Germans* (M), but eſpecially of the *Sicambri*, whoſe country he ravaged at an unmerciful rate, ſet fire to their houſes, cut down their corn, and returned to the *Ubii*; whilſt they, at his approach, ran with all their effects into their forcſts, and exhorted the *Tenctteri* and *Uſipetes* to do the ſame [e]. This was the firſt time, in all likelihood, that the *Romans* ſet foot on the *German* territories, which became afterwards the ſcene of ſo much bloodſhed on both ſides, both under that conqueror, and his ſucceſſors, and which ended in the almoſt total conqueſt of this brave nation. The *Treviri* were the firſt who gave an occaſion to that general to invade their country, who doth not appear to have had any intention, upon his firſt entering *Germany*, to carry on a war againſt them, but only to keep them in awe, by convincing them, that he was not afraid to come and attack them in their own territories (N). However that be, the *Treviri*, grown jealous of the *Romans*, and of their own liberty (O), had, by their credit and valour, well nigh

Tenctteri and Uſipetes defeated.

A bridge built over the Rhine.

[d] Ibid. c. 1, & ſeq See vol. xii p. 542. 543. [e] Comment. ubi ſupra, c. 7, & ſeq.

(M) The *Ubii*, indeed, offered to waſt him over in their boats; but the politic general told them, that it would be more for the honour of the *Romans* to build a bridge over that river; which, it ſeems, was the firſt attempt of that kind, they being uſed before to croſs it in floats, and other ſlight and flat veſſels. What increaſed their ſurpriſe, if his account can be credited, was, that he finiſhed it in ten days, and ſet a ſtrong guard on each ſide of it. The reader may ſee this famed fabric deſcribed by himſelf (27).

(N) *Cæſar* had two other views, the one to ſhew the *Germans*, by the example of the *Sicambri*, how dangerous it was to exaſperate the *Romans*; and the other, by the timely aſſiſtance he gave the *Ubii* againſt the *Suevi*, though for his own ends, to induce them to ſet a high value upon *Roman* friendſhip.

(O) They had been formerly reckoned a very powerful nation among the *Germans* (28), and, having ſince paſſed the *Rhine*, had extended their dominions from that river quite to the country of the *Rhæti*. They had, a little before, ſhook off the *Roman* yoke, and were even reported to have invited other *Germans* to come, and

(27) *Comment. l.* iv. *c.* 17. (28) *Tacit. Germ. c.* 28.

nigh ſtirred up a general revolt in *Gaul*, which had groaned ſome time under the *Roman* yoke: this obliged *Cæſar* to ſend *Labienus* againſt them, whilſt he went to the aſſiſtance of *Cicero*, who was, in ſome meaſure, beſieged by the *Nervii*. We have given already a full account of all theſe tranſactions, in a former volume; for which reaſon, we ſhall refer our readers to them, as they are quoted in the margin, to avoid needleſs repetitions [f].

For the ſame reaſon we ſhall content ourſelves with juſt recapitulating the principal and brave efforts which they made, upon all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the deſperate wars which they renewed, and carried on, upon all proper occaſions, againſt ſeveral *Roman* emperors, and during ſeveral centuries, till they had accompliſhed their end, and ſubdued their conquerors; and refer our readers to thoſe parts of the *Roman* hiſtory, where they have been as fully treated of as could be done in a work of this extenſive nature. It is not, indeed, to be ſuppoſed, that their inſuperable love of liberty could ſuffer them to be longer patient under the *Roman* yoke, than till an opportunity offered itſelf for ſhaking it off; and this, in ſpite of the *Roman* careſſes, policy, and vigilance, could not but often happen, conſidering the continual diſtractions of that unwieldy empire: neither could the ill ſucceſs, which too often attended theſe attempts, diſcourage them from freſh ones: ſo that it would unavoidably draw us too far, to particularize them all here again; eſpecially conſidering that they were, in proceſs of time, divided into many diſtinct nations, and appear, in hiſtory, under ſeveral names; ſuch as thoſe of *Franks*, *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Burgundians*, &c. of each of whom, as well as of the other conſiderable northern nations, ſuch as the *Hunns*, *Goths*, *Sueves*, *Dacians*, *Lombards*, &c. we ſhall give a full hiſtory, in the ſubſequent chapters (P).

With

[f] See vol. xii. p. 538, & ſeq. 551, 555. & vol. xiii. p. 307, 314. 326, 435.

aſſiſt them, and the *Gauls*, in defence of their liberty (29); which occaſioned their being defeated by *Labienus*, as has been elſewhere hinted (30).

(P) It will not, however, be amiſs to advertiſe our readers here, that, as thoſe nations branched out into a vaſt multitude of tribes, governments, and names, it will be impoſſible, in a work of this extent, to take notice of them all under ſeparate articles, eſpecially as many of them are known to us by little more than their names,

(29) *Comment. l.* v *c.* 2. (30) *See vol.* xii *p.* 555.

or,

WITH relation to the *Germans* in general, the moſt conſiderable tranſactions which remain to be taken notice of, are thoſe which follow, and which having been already ſpoken of in ſome former volumes, we ſhall here only recapitulate and refer our reader to the places quoted in the margin. In *Auguſtus*'s reign, who, as we formerly took notice, had iſſued out ſome edicts againſt the inhuman ſuperſtitions of the druids [g], which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the *Germans* took that opportunity to paſs the *Rhine*, and to ravage thoſe countries which were ſubject to him. Againſt them *Agrippa* was ſent, whoſe arrival ſo intimidated them, that they quickly repaſſed that river [h]. But, whilſt he was gone into *Spain*, they repaſſed it, and defeated a body of *Roman* horſe, and afterwards the *Gallic* proconſul *M. Lollius*, from whom they carried off a ſtandard: but he ſoon recovered his honour, and drove them back again [i], with conſiderable loſs. All this while the *Gauls* were in great ferment, and meditating a general revolt; upon which he ſent *Druſus* thither to quell them, which he had no ſooner done [k], but he paſſed the *Rhine*, drove all before him, and penetrated almoſt to the *German* ocean [l].

THE famed revolt which happened among the *Roman* legions left in *Pannonia*, and which was happily quelled, in part, by *Druſus*, and afterwards wholly by *Germanicus* [m], gave occaſion for a freſh invaſion, which the laſt mentioned general carried on with great ſucceſs, and much greater havock and ſlaughter of the *Germans* for fifty miles about; and, if we may believe *Tacitus*, without the loſs, or even the wounding, of one ſingle *Roman* [n]. This action, which may be more properly called a

[g] See before p. 43. [h] See vol. xiii p 307. [i] Ibid. p. 314.
[k] See the laſt chapter, p. 146. & vol. xiii. p. 326. [l] Ibid & ſeq.
[m] Vol. xiii. p. 408—427. [n] Annal. c. 49, & ſeq.

or, at moſt, on account of ſome of their alliances with, or aſſiſting, other more conſiderable ones. and ſharing with them either in ſome notable victory or defeat. Of ſuch, we hope, it will be ſufficient to ſpeak occaſionally, as we find them mentioned by antient authors, and to give the beſt account which can be found of them, in as few words as poſſible.

But of thoſe who have made a greater figure in antient hiſtory, ſuch as the *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Longobardi*, *Vandals*, *Suevi*, &c. among the antient *Germans*, the *Huns*, *Goths*, eaſtern and weſtern, and other *Scythian* nations, together with their migrations, ſettlements, wars, conqueſts, &c. they will be beſt treated of, each under a ſeparate chapter, according to the beſt accounts we can get from antient authors, and in ſuch a manner as may beſt open the way to the modern hiſtory of the *German* empire.

maſſacre

maſſacre than a conqueſt (Q), alarmed ſome other *German* nations againſt them; but theſe, likewiſe, had the misfortune to be defeated, as we have ſeen in the *Roman* hiſtory [o]. The *Roman* general had ſoon after a fairer field offered to him, on occaſion of the rupture between the two *German* chiefs, *Arminius* and *Segeſtes*, the former a ſworn enemy to the *Romans*, the latter a ſtaunch friend to them. What advantage *Germanicus* made of this rupture, we need not repeat here, but only that the *Germans* received ſeveral defeats, and *Arminius* himſelf, after ſome advantages gained over them, was totally routed [p]. All that we ſhall add concerning this war is, that though it coſt the *Roman* general very dear [q], yet he had received ſuch reinforcements of men and arms from *Gaul* and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all *Germany*; but his ſucceſs raiſed the jealouſy of *Tiberius*, and occaſioned his being recalled [r].

THEIR other moſt conſiderable wars with the *Romans* the reader will find in the places quoted in the margin [s]; in the reign of *M. Aurelius* [t], and afterwards under the following emperors, which we ſhall but juſt mention here, and refer to the places where they are ſpoken of in the *Roman* hiſtory, *viz.* againſt *Alexander* and *Maximin* [u], againſt *Valerian* [w] and *Aurelian* [x], *Probus* [y], *Conſtantius* [z], *Julian* [a], *Valentinian*, and ſome of his ſucceſſors [b]: but theſe, and the ſequel of their hiſtory, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the ſubſequent chapters,

[o] Ibid. p. 429. 430, & notes. [p] Ibid. p. 435—445, & 452, & ſeq. [q] See ibid. p. 446. [r] Ibid. p. 461, & ſeq. [s] Vol. xiv. p. 353. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. p. 587, & ſeq. [u] Vol. xv. p. 115, 130. [w] Ibid. p. 170. [x] Ibid. p. 199. [y] P. 223. [z] P. 408. [a] P. 420, & ſeq. [b] P. 518.

(Q) That general was, it ſeems, informed, that the *Germans* were then celebrating ſome great feſtival; and as he knew it was their cuſtom to drink very hard, and to carouſe it all night, he did not doubt but to find them either dead-drunk, or faſt aſleep, as he actually did. For having, with a numerous army, croſſed the *Caſian* foreſt all night, he fell upon them, before they either knew any thing of his coming, or were recovered from their debauch. The confuſion that reigned amongſt them upon ſuch a ſurpriſe, made them become an eaſy prey to him, and he failed not to make the beſt advantage of it; permitting his troops to put all to fire and ſword, ſparing neither age or ſex, or even their moſt ſacred groves; witneſs that famed one of *Tanfana*, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak at the beginning of this chapter, and which they burnt, and levelled to the ground [31].

[31] *See Tacit. Annal.* [illegible] & ſeq. Vol. xiii. p. 429 & [illegible]

where

where we ſhall ſpeak of them under the names of *Alemans*, *Gepidæ*, *Franks*, &c. by which they were diſtinguiſhed, and better known, by that time.

BUT before we come to their ſeveral hiſtories, it will be neceſſary to paſs, according to our plan, over to the *Britiſh* iſles, whoſe firſt inhabitants being undoubtedly of antient *Celtic* extract, as we have, we hope, ſufficiently ſhewn in a former volume [c], as well as in this and the foregoing chapters, claim a preference, in point of time; whereas thoſe northern people above-mentioned, ſo far as they appear, at leaſt, under thoſe new names, being not only of recenter date than the antient *Britons*, but of more uncertain origin, we think will more properly be ſpoken of in the ſubſequent chapters, and each in its due order.

[c] Vol. v. p. 231.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The antient ſtate and hiſtory of Britain, *to its deſertion by the* Romans, *and the invaſion of the* Angles *and* Saxons.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Britain. *The firſt inhabitants. The cuſtoms, religion, government,* &c. *of the antient* Britons. *The ſtate of* Britain *under the* Romans.

Britain *called, in more antient times,* Albion.

THE iſland, which is now called *Great Britain*, and comprehends the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, with the principality of *Wales*, was, in more antient times, by way of diſtinction, ſtyled *Albion*, the name of *Britain* being then common to all the iſlands, that lie round it. Hence, *Agathemerus*, ſpeaking of the *Britiſh* iſlands, *They are many in number*, ſays he; *but the moſt conſiderable among them are* Hibernia *and* Albion [a]. And *Ptolemy*, to the chapter, wherein he deſcribes the iſland now called *Great Britain*, prefixes the following title; *The ſituation of* Albion, *a* Britiſh *iſland* [b]. But, as this far excelled the other *Britiſh* iſlands, the name of *Albion*, in proceſs of time, was quite laid aſide, and that of *Britain*, by way of excellency, uſed in its room. By this name it was known in *Pliny*'s time, and even in *Cæſar*'s. *The iſland of Britain*, ſays *Pliny*, *ſo much celebrated by the* Greek *and* Latin *writers, was formerly called* Albion, *the name of* Britain *being then common to all the iſlands round it* [c]. And *Cæſar*, *The other angle of* Britain, *ſhooting out to the weſt, lies over-againſt* Spain; *on which ſide is* Hibernia, *an iſland thought to be half as big as* Britain, *and about the ſame diſtance from* Britain, *as* Britain *is from* Gaul [d]. Hence it is manifeſt, that the name of *Britain*, once common to all the iſlands in our ocean, was, in *Cæſar*'s time and *Pliny*'s, become peculiar to the iſland, which is ſtill known by that name. Whence it had the name of *Albion*, is uncertain, ſome deriving it from the *Greek* word *alphon*, which,

[a] AGATHEM. l. xi. c. 4. [b] PTOL. l. ii. c. 3. [c] PLIN. l. iv. c. 16. [d] CÆS. l. v. c. 13.

according

according to *Festus*, signifies *white*, the chalky cliffs, that, in several places, rise on our coasts, being of that colour; while others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, feigned to have been the son of *Neptune*, and mentioned by several antient writers. Some of our etymologists have recourse to the *Hebrew* tongue, and some to the *Phœnician*; *alben*, in the former, signifying *white*; and *alp*, in the latter, high. The derivation from the *Greek* word *alphon*, or from the *Hebrew alben*, seems to be countenanced by the *British* poets, who style *Britain Inis Wen*, that is, the *White Island*[c]. The origin of the name *Britain* is no less uncertain, than that of *Albion*. *Nennius* and some other *British* writers derive it from *Brutus*, whom they likewise call *Brito*, the fifth in descent from the celebrated *Æneas*. Others bring it from the *British* words *Pryd Cain*, that is, a *white form*, softened, by degrees, into *Britannia*. The learned *Camden* derives it from the words *Brith*, which, in the antient language of the island, signifies *painted*, and *Tania*, importing in *Greek*, a *region* or *country*; so that the name *Brithtania*, changed in process of time into *Britannia*, expresses what the *Britons* really were, that is, *painted*. *Somner*, disliking *Camden*'s etymology, proposes another, *viz.* that the name *Britain* comes from *Brydio*, signifying, in the *British* tongue, *rage*, and pointing out the violent motion of the sea, that surrounds the island. Of these four etymologies, the first is founded on a fable; and against the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanswerable objection; which is, that the name of *Britain* was given to the island by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the *British* tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unacquainted. That the island received the name of *Britain* from foreigners, is evident, since the natives never styled themselves *Britons*, nor their country *Britain*, their true name being *Cumri*, or *Cumbri*; whence *Cambria* the name of *Wales* to this day among the *Welsh*. Besides, the second of the above-mentioned etymologies, deriving *Britain* from *Pryd Cain*, seems too far fetched. As to *Camden*'s etymology, *Somner* observes, that *Cæsar*, in telling us, the *Britons* painted their bodies with woad, speaks only of the inhabitants of *Albion*; whereas all the isles in our ocean were called by one general name *insulæ Britannicæ*, British *islands*. Is it probable, that a name, common to all the islands in our ocean, should owe its origin to a custom peculiar to one, though the most considerable, among them? As for the rage and fury of the sea, whence *Somner* derives the name of *Britannia*, it is not true, that the sea rages

Various conjectures concerning the original of this name.

Whence styled Britain.

Various etymologies of the word Britain.

[c] Vide SELD. annot. ad Poly alb. p. 20.

Bochart's opinion the most natural.

more on the coaſt of *Great Britain* than elſewhere. The learned *Bochart*, ſpeaking of the colonies and language of the *Phœnicians*, offers a conjecture, which moſt of our modern writers have adopted as the moſt natural. The *Phœnicians*, according to that writer [f], called this iſland, and ſome others near it, *Barat Anac*, that is, *the land or country of tin or lead*, and more contractedly *Bratanac*; which name, paſſing from the *Phœnicians* to the *Greeks*, and from theſe to the *Romans*, might have been ſoftened into that of *Britannicæ* and *Britannia*. That the *Phœnicians* firſt diſcovered thoſe iſles, which were afterwards by the *Greeks* called *Caſſiterides*, and are proved by *Camden* to be our *Scilly* iſlands, appears both from *Strabo* and *Pliny*, of whom the former tells us, that the *Phœnicians* firſt brought tin from the *Caſſiterides*, which they ſold to the *Greeks*; but kept the trade to themſelves, and the place private [g]: and the latter writes, that *Mediocritus* was the firſt, who brought lead from the *Caſſiterides* [h]; where *Bochart* ſhews, that we ought to read *Melichartus*, who is the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanchoniathon*, to whom the *Phœnicians* aſcribed their firſt weſtern diſcoveries [i]. But, notwithſtanding the care of the *Phœnicians* to conceal theſe iſlands, the *Greeks* at laſt diſcovered them, and gave them the name of *Caſſiterides*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, anſwers that of *Barat Anac* in the *Phœnician*. This name was at firſt given to the above-mentioned iſlands, but, by degrees, communicated to all the others lying in the ſame ſea. Thus *Bochart*. But, after all, his opinion, however plauſible in appearance, may be as foreign to the purpoſe, as any of the reſt, the late inſtances to names given to new-diſcovered countries teaching us, that the origin of ſuch names is not always owing to reaſon, but often to chance and caprice. As therefore the origin of the names given to this iſland is of too antient a date to be traced with any certainty, we ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject, and proceed to ſome more material account of the country.

Deſcription of the country.

Britain lies over-againſt *France* and *Germany*, as *Cæſar* obſerved, in a triangular form, having three promontories ſhooting out three different ways, *viz.* *Belerium*, the *Land's-end* towards the weſt, *Cantium*, the *Kentiſh* or *North Foreland* towards the eaſt, and *Traviſium* or *Orcas*, *Cathneſs*, towards the north. It is divided from *Ireland*, to the weſt, by the *Vergivian* or *Iriſh* ſea; waſhed on the north by the northern ocean; on the eaſt, where it faces *Germany*, by the *German* ocean; and on the ſouth, towards *France*, by the *Britiſh* channel,

[f] Boch. l. i. c. 30. [g] Strab. l. ii. c. 2. [h] Plin. l. vii. c. 56. [i] Boch. ubi ſupra.

called by the *Romans Fretum Britannicum.* Some writers have thought, that, where the channel is moſt contracted, the iſland was antiently joined by an iſthmus to the continent [k]. It lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of north latitude, extending from north to ſouth about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compaſs its three ſides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coaſt, about eighteen hundred miles. The ſouth ſide, extending from the *North Foreland* in *Kent* to the *Land's-end* in *Cornwall*, contains about three hundred miles; the weſt ſide from the *Land's-end* to the moſt northern point of *Scotland*, about eight hundred; and the eaſt ſide about ſeven hundred. Were *Great Britain* to be conſidered as a perfect triangle, formed by three right lines, the length of its three ſides, put together, would amount to about fifteen hundred miles. The fertility and pleaſantneſs of *Britain* gave occaſion to *Iſaacius Tzetzes* to imagine, that theſe were the fortunate iſlands, deſcribed by the poets, where the face of nature ſmiled with a perpetual ſpring. It was, in former times, the granary of the weſtern empire; for hence was every year tranſported an immenſe quantity of corn for the ſupply of the army on the frontiers of *Germany*. But the convenience of its ſituation, the fertility of its ſoil, and the innumerable bleſſings, with which it has been enriched by nature, are, with high encomiums, deſcribed by two antient panegyriſts, one of whom pronounced his ſpeech before *Conſtantine*, and the other before *Conſtantius*. To theſe we refer the reader, and paſs to the firſt inhabitants of this iſland.

THE ſouthern parts of *Britain* were peopled, according to *Cæſar* [l], by the *Gauls*. *Tacitus* is of the ſame opinion: *If we conſider all circumſtances*, ſays he, *it is probable, that* Gaul *firſt peopled* Britain, *which lies ſo near it* [m]. This opinion, which is followed by moſt of the antient, as well as the modern, writers, is chiefly founded on the agreement obſerved by the *Roman* writers between the two nations in their cuſtoms, manners, language, religion, form of government, way of fighting, &c. Beſides, as the *Gauls* ſent colonies into *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, aud *Aſia*, it is but reaſonable to conclude, that they did the ſame with reſpect to *Britain*, which lay ſo near them, that they could diſcern it from the continent, and was no leſs plentiful than the other countries, where they ſettled. As for the more northern inhabitants of *Britain*, *Tacitus* infers, *Its firſt inhabitants.*

[k] Vide SERV. in Virg. *Et penitus toto diviſos*, &c. WHITE hiſt. Brit. l. ii. not 2. BURTON. comment. in Anton. p. 18, 19. TWIN. de reb. Albion. SAMMES Brit. l. i. c. 4. VERSTEGAN. l. i. c. 4.
[l] CÆSAR. l. v. c. 10. [m] TACIT. vit. Agr.

from the make of their limbs, and other circumſtances, that they came from *Germany* [n]; and *Cæſar* telling us, that they were *Aborigines*, ſeems to imply, that he diſcovered no affinity in their language, manners, cuſtoms, *&c.* with thoſe of *Gaul* and the ſouthern parts of *Britain*.

The origin of the Picts.

As for the *Picts*, who held the eaſtern parts of *Britain*, which lay north of the *Tine*, the venerable *Bede* tells us, that they came out of *Scythia* in long ſhips, and landed firſt in the north of *Ireland*; but not being ſuffered to ſettle there by the *Scots*, who then poſſeſſed that iſland, they were adviſed to plant themſelves in the north part of *Britain*; which they did accordingly, with the aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, who moreover ſupplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony; but upon this condition, that, in all diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, the *Picts* ſhould prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; which is obſerved among them, ſays *Bede*, to this day [o]. By *Scythia*, *Bede* perhaps meant the northern parts of *Germany*; for that *Scandinavia*, now comprehending the kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, was, by the beſt writers of the middle ages, ſtyled *Scythia*, is ſhewn by the learned *Uſher* [p] and *Stillingfleet* [q], of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of *Hector Boetius*, deriving the *Picts* from the *Agathyrſi*, who, from *Sarmatia*, came into *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and from thence into *Scotland* [r].

Whether the Picts and Britons one and the ſame people.

As no *Roman* author makes mention of the *Picts* before *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived about the end of the fourth century, ſome writers are of opinion, that the *Picts* were not a diſtinct people from the *Britons*, but ſuch of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the *Romans*, had retired into the northern parts of the iſland, where, continuing to paint their bodies, they were, by the *Romans*, called *Picti*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe, who, ſubmitting to *Rome*, had laid aſide that cuſtom, and adopted the *Roman* manners. To confirm this opinion, they alledge the authority of *Camden*, who, in his introduction, endeavours to ſhew, that the names of places, formerly held by the *Picts* in the ſouth and weſt parts of *Scotland*, are *Britiſh*, and conſequently, that one and the ſame was the language of the *Britons* and *Picts*. But that theſe two nations ſpoke different languages, is manifeſt beyond diſpute from *Bede*, who tells us, that, in his time, God was ſerved in five ſeveral languages in *Britain*, *viz.* of the *Angles*, of the *Britons*, of the *Scots*, of the *Picts*, and of the *Latins*; which latter was commonly uſed in divine worſhip [s]. Now this difference of

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Bed. hiſt. l. i. c. 1. [p] Uss. antiq. Brit. c. 15.
[q] Stillingf. orig. Brit. c. 5. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Bed. l. i. c. 1.

language,

language, which *Bede*, who lived ſo near a neighbour to the *Picts*, could not be ignorant of, weighs down, with us, all the arguments, that are alledged to prove, that the *Britons* and *Picts* were one and the ſame people. Beſides, it is certain, that the *Picts* were, for ſeveral ages, a ſeparate and diſtinct nation, differing both from the *Scots* and *Britons*, not only in their language, but in their laws and cuſtoms. The contrary opinion is intirely built on the conformity of the name *Picts* with the *Latin* word *Picti*; which is but a weak foundation, ſince ſome writers, and among the reſt *Verſtegan*, derive the name of the *Picts* from a word in their own language ſignifying *warrior*. The *Scots* called them *Pebiti*, which name, in the opinion of ſome antiquaries, anſwers that of *Picts*, from the *Latin* word *Picti*; but others think it highly improbable, that the *Scots*, who were late ſubdued by the *Romans*, and continued but a ſhort time under their dominion, ſhould give their neighbours a *Roman* name. *Buchanan* takes the name of *Picts* to be *Roman*; but, at the ſame time, pretends, they came from certain *Gauliſh* colonies ſettled in *Thrace*, where they painted their bodies, as well as in *Britain*. The ſame author adds, that the *Picts* ſpoke the ſame language as the *Britons* and *Scots*. But herein he is contradicted, not only by *Bede*, whom we have quoted above, but by *John Major*, one of the moſt antient *Scots* hiſtorians, who tells us, that *as yet*, that is, in his time, *almoſt half* Scotland *ſpoke the* Iriſh *tongue, which they had brought over with them from* Ireland.

The origin of the Scots.

As for the origin of the *Scots*, *Bede* tells us, that they came into this iſland out of *Ireland: In proceſs of time*, ſays that writer [t], Britain *received a third nation*, viz. *the* Scots, *beſides the* Britons *and* Picts, *who, coming out of* Ireland, *under the conduct of one* Reuda, *poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe territories, which they ſtill hold among the* Picts. From this *Reuda*, adds our hiſtorian, they are called, to this day, *Dalreudini*, the word *Dal*, in their language, ſignifying *ſhare* or *portion*. But of this colony, and the time, in which it is ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the north part of *Britain*, called afterwards *Scotland*, we ſhall ſpeak more at length in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

The cuſtoms and manners of the antient Britons.

To return to the *Britons*: their manners, cuſtoms, religion, form of government, *&c.* are deſcribed, not only by *Cæſar* in his commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the *Romans* were become maſters of the iſland. The country was, according to *Cæſar*, well peopled, and ſtocked with cattle. Their houſes were not unlike thoſe of the *Gauls*. They uſed copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain

[t] Idem ibid.

ſtandard,

ſtandard, inſtead of money. If they bred domeſtic fowls, hens, or geeſe, it was for their diverſion, being ſtrictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the *Britons*, thoſe, who inhabited *Cantium* or *Kent*, were the moſt civilized, not differing much in their manners from the *Gauls*. The more inland people, for the moſt part, ſowed no corn, their uſual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well ſtored. The uſe of cloaths was ſcarce known in the iſland. Only the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſt covered their nakedneſs with ſkins of wild beaſts careleſsly thrown over them, not ſo much to defend themſelves againſt the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the ſtrangers, who came to trade with them. All the *Britons* painted their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a ſky-colour, and wore long hair; but ſhaved the reſt of their bodies, except their upper lip. One cuſtom prevailed among them, which ſeemed deteſtable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common [u]. This cuſtom continued among them ſome time after the *Romans* were maſters of the iſland; for *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that a *Britiſh* lady, being upbraided with this uſage by *Julia*, wife to the emperor *Severus*, returned her this ſmart anſwer: *Surely the* Roman *ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, ſince we do publicly with the beſt of men no more, than what they do privately with the worſt of their freemen and ſlaves* [x]. They abſtained from all manner of fiſh, though the ſeas, that ſurrounded their iſland, and their rivers, were plentifully ſtored with them [y]. Their towns, or rather villages, were a confuſed parcel of huts, placed at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and, generally ſpeaking, in the middle of a wood, whereof the avenues were defended with ſlight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground [z]. *Strabo* tells us, that they exceeded the *Gauls* in ſtature, but their bodies were not ſo well-ſet; that he ſaw, at *Rome*, ſome of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and diſtinct governments among them; that their woods ſerved them inſtead of cities; for having cut down trees, and incloſed with them a large, round, ſpot of ground, there they built huts for themſelves, and folds for their cattle [a]. *Diodorus Siculus*, ſpeaking of the manners and cuſtoms of the antient *Britons*, Their houſes, ſays he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they conſume in one day; they are ſimple and upright in their dealings, and ſtrangers to the craft

[u] Cæs. Comm. l. v. ubi ſup. [z] Idem ibid. [x] Diodor. Sic. l. lxxvi. [a] Strab. l. iv. [y] Cæs.

craft and ſubtlety of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; they are ſatisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their iſland abounds with men, who are ſubject to divers kings and princes. Thus *Diodorus* [b]. And *Pomponius Mela*: *Britain* is well peopled, and obeys ſeveral kings; but they are all rough and unpoliſhed, and the farther they live from the continent, the leſs they are acquainted with foreign riches, abounding chiefly in cattle. They dye their bodies with woad, but whether by way of ornament, or for ſome other cauſe, is uncertain. Ambition of empire, and deſire of inlarging their dominions, prompt them to diſturb each other with frequent wars [c]. *Tacitus* writes, that the *Britons*, in their manners, reſembled the *Gauls*, which was owing either to the ſame original, or the like climate: that the *Britons*, however, not yet ſoftened by a long peace, ſhewed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were then, that is, in *Agricola*'s time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. *Tacitus* adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the *Romans* againſt the moſt powerful among them, than their not conſulting one common intereſt, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight ſeparately, ſays that author, they are all alike overcome [d]. *Dion Caſſius*, as epitomized by *Xiphilin*, ſpeaking of the more northern *Britons*, ſays, that they tilled no ground, their food being game and fruits; that they lived in their huts naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority reſided in the people; that, in war, their arms were a ſhield, and a ſhort ſpear, to the lower end of which was faſtened a ball of braſs, in order to terrify the enemy with the noiſe, when they ſhook it. They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardſhips, continues the ſame writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees. He adds, that, on all occaſions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirſt for a conſiderable time after [e]. *Herodian* and *Solinus*, in deſcribing the more northern nations of *Britain*, tell us, that they knew not the uſe of garments, but girt their waiſts and necks with iron, by way of ornament, that metal being no leſs in requeſt among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep inciſions in their bodies in the ſhape of flowers, trees, and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a ſky-colour, that never wore out [f].

[b] DIOD. SIC. l. iv. [c] POMP. MEL. de ſitu orbis, l. iii. [d] TACIT. vit Agric. c. 2. [e] DIO. apud Xiphilin. l. lxiii. [f] HERODIAN. l. xi. & SOLIN. l. vii. c. 8.

They

They are a warlike nation, adds *Herodian*, and moſt greedy of ſlaughter. In war they uſe a narrow ſhield, a lance, and a ſword. As for breaſt-plates and helmets, they look upon them as an incumbrance[g]. *Pliny* obſerves, among their other cuſtoms, that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; which muſt be underſtood of the more civilized *Britons* dwelling near the coaſt; for the others, as we have related above, did not apply themſelves to agriculture.

Their manner of fighting.

As to their manner of fighting, *Cæſar*, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery, with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made uſe of chariots, driving furiouſly among the enemy's ranks, and diſcharging their darts, by which means they often put the *Romans* in diſorder. When they engaged the horſe, they left their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and placing themſelves ſo, that their maſters, if overpowered with numbers, might readily find them, and have an eaſy retreat. By this manner of fighting, they had, ſays *Cæſar*, both the ſpeed of the horſe, and the ſteadineſs of the foot, and were, by daily practice, ſo expert, that they could ſtop their horſes on a ſteep deſcent, though in full career, turn them in a narrow compaſs, run along the pole, ſit upon the yoke, and from thence, with incredible quickneſs, return to their chariots. Thus *Cæſar* [h]. But why they choſe to engage the horſe rather on foot than in their chariots, is not eaſily conceived.

Their trade.

Their trade was very inconſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenient ſituation of their iſland for carrying on an extenſive commerce. Their veſſels were very ſmall, with their keels and ribs made of ſlight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; which ſhews, that they undertook no long voyages; nay, in all likelihood, they never ventured to ſea beyond the coaſts of *Gaul*. Their chief traffick was with the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after the diſcovery of the iſland, which happened, according to *Sammes*, before the *Trojan* war [i], yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they ſold to the *Greeks*, and other diſtant nations. As this trade proved very profitable, the *Phœnicians*, with great care, concealed, for many ages, the fountain-head; but the *Greeks* diſcovered it at length, about an hundred and ſixty years before *Julius Cæſar*, as *Sammes* will have it [k], and traded to the ſame place, giving the iſlands, from whence chiefly they brought the tin, the name of *Caſſiterides*, anſwering, as we have obſerved above, the *Phœnician* name *Barat-Anac*. But this trade was only carried on in the *Scilly* iſlands,

[g] Herod ibid. [h] Cæs. comment. l. iv. [i] Sam. Brit. p. 47.
[k] Idem ibid.

iſlands, where *Camden* tells us that ſome veins of lead were found even in his time.

THE religion of the antient *Britons* was, as *Cæſar* informs us [l], much the ſame with that of their neighbours the *Gauls*. They worſhipped *Jupiter* under the name of *Taramis*, or *Taran*, ſignifying in the antient *Britiſh* language, as it does ſtill in the *Welſh*, *thunder*. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, that they paid divine worſhip to the higheſt oak they could find, as the figure or repreſentation of this god. Their other deities were *Tutates*, called by the *Britons Duw Taith*, the god of journeys, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Mercury*; *Heſus*, called alſo *Camulus*, according to *Camden*, the god of war, other *Mars* of the *Britons*; *Belens* or *Belinus*, that is, as appears from a paſſage of *Julius Capitolinus* [m], *Apollo*, who is alſo ſuppoſed to have been called *Belatucardus*, this inſcription, *Deo Belatucardo*, being found in ſeveral monuments of antiquity. As for their goddeſſes, they worſhipped *Diana* under the name of *Camma*, and paid a very particular veneration to *Andate*, their goddeſs of victory, who had a temple at *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*. To her they are ſaid, by *Dion Caſſius*, who calls her *Andraſte*, to have ſacrificed their priſoners of war [n]. The care and direction of all religious matters was, by the *Britons* as well as the *Gauls*, committed to the *Druids*, whoſe authority was great, not only in religious, but civil, affairs. Their name ſeems to come from the *Britiſh* word *Dreu*, or the *Greek* work *Drus*, both ſignifying an *oak*, not only becauſe they eſteemed nothing more ſacred than the miſleto that grows on the oak, but likewiſe becauſe their uſual reſidence was in groves among oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without ſome branches or leaves of that tree [o]. They were held both by the *Britons* and *Gauls*, in ſuch veneration, that their authority was almoſt abſolute. To them belonged the care of private and public ſacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the beſtowing of rewards, or inflicting of puniſhments, the deciding of controverſies, let the difference be of what nature ſoever; and whoever refuſed to obey their decree, whether lord or vaſſal, was excluded from the ſacrifices, which was accounted the greateſt puniſhment that could be inflicted; for ſuch as were thus, we may ſay, excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as ſuch, avoided by all, not allowed to commence a ſuit, to diſcharge any public office, or to have the leaſt regard paid them. Theſe *Druids* had a ſuperintendant or pontiff, to whom they were all ſubject. Upon his deceaſe, the moſt worthy ſucceeded

Their religion.

The Druids.

[l] CÆS. comment. l. iv. [m] JUL. CAPIT. in vit. Maximin.
[n] DIO. l. lxiii. [o] Vide PLIN. l. xvi c. 44.

him; but if there happened to be ſeveral candidates of equal merit, the election was decided by a majority of votes, and ſometimes, as *Cæſar* tells us, by the ſword. Once a year, the *Druids* of *Gaul* had a general aſſembly in the midſt of the country, to which reſorted perſons from all quarters, who had any controverſies to decide, every one ſubmitting readily to their decrees [p]. The diſcipline of the *Druids* was thought, as *Cæſar* writes [q], to have been firſt inſtituted in *Britain*, and from thence transferred to *Gaul*; for, even in his time, thoſe who were deſirous to have a thorough knowledge of it, came over to this iſland to learn it. The *Druids* were exempted from all military duties, taxes, and impoſts, and met with ſuch encouragement, that many embraced that profeſſion. The youth, eſpecially the nobility, were educated by them. Thoſe who embraced the ſame profeſſion, were, firſt of all obliged to learn by heart a great number of verſes; which employed ſome, ſays *Cæſar*, for the ſpace of twenty years; for the *Druids* never committed any thing to writing, not that they were ignorant of letters, for, on all other occaſions, they made uſe of *Greek* characters, but in order to lock up, by that means, their myſterious learning from the vulgar, or to exerciſe the memory of their diſciples. Thus *Cæſar*. But from hence we muſt not conclude, that they had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, ſince *Cæſar* himſelf, when he wrote to *Q. Cicero*, beſieged among the *Nervii*, penned his letter in *Greek*, to prevent its giving, if intercepted, any intelligence to the enemy; which plainly ſhews, they were ſtrangers to that language. *Selden* thinks the word *Græcis* has crept into the text, the meaning of *Cæſar* being, that the *Druids* never committed their learning to writing, but, on all other occaſions, made uſe of letters; which opinion does not appear to us ill-grounded. One of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the ſoul, and its tranſmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they looked upon as proper to inſpire them with courage, and a contempt of death. They inſtructed their youth in ſeveral other traditions concerning the ſtars, and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods [r]. There were women as well as men *Druids*; for a female *Druid* of *Tungria*, now the biſhoprick of *Liege*, foretold to *Diocleſian*, as we read in *Vopiſcus*, when yet a private ſoldier, that he ſhould one day be emperor. The ſect and religion of the *Druids* ſpread as far as *Italy*; for *Auguſtus* publiſhed an edict, forbidding the *Romans* to celebrate their myſteries. Beſides the *Druids*, there were, among the *Britons* and

[p] Cæs. l. vi. Plin, ubi ſup. [q] Cæs. ibid. [r] Idem ibid.

Gauls,

Gauls, prieſts of an inferior rank, called *Bards*, whoſe province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes in verſes, which they ſung to the harp. The *Bards* were ſtill in *Britain*, after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned it.

The civil government of Britain.

THE ſame form of government prevailed in *Britain*, as in *Gaul*; that is, the whole country was divided into ſeveral ſmall ſtates, with a head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of theſe heads or kings, *Cæſar* mentions four in the ſmall compaſs of *Kent*. Whether theſe ſtates were hereditary, or elective, we find no-where recorded. On great and imminent dangers, one of theſe heads or kings was, in a general aſſembly, and by common conſent, choſen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when *Cæſar* invaded the iſland, the chief command of all the *Britiſh* forces was conferred upon *Caſſibelanus*; and when the *Britons* revolted in the time of *Claudius*, *Caractacus*, king of the *Silures*, was choſen general. As, in other caſes, the ſeveral ſtates, into which *Britain* was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and conteſts among themſelves. But of their affairs before *Cæſar*'s invaſion we have no account, but ſuch as may be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and, no higher, ought the *Engliſh* hiſtorian, as *Camden* well obſerves, to begin his hiſtory.

Diviſion of the country.

THAT part of *Britain*, which comprehends the preſent kingdom of *England* and the principality of *Wales*, was in antient times divided into ſeventeen petty ſtates, whereof the inhabitants were diſtinguiſhed by the following names, *viz.* the *Danmonii*, the *Durotriges*, the *Belgæ*, the *Attrebatii*, the *Regni*, the *Cantii*, the *Dobuni*, the *Cattieuchlani*, the *Trinobantes*, the *Iceni*, the *Coritani*, the *Cornavii*, the *Silures*, the *Dimetæ*, the *Ordovices*, the *Brigantes*, the *Ottadini*. That part of *Britain*, which extends a great way to the weſt, and is bounded on the north by the *Severn* ſea, on the ſouth by the *Britiſh* ocean, and on the weſt by St. *George*'s chanel, was antiently inhabited by thoſe *Britons*, who are called by *Solinus*, *Dunmonii*, by *Ptolemy*, *Domnonii*, and, in the more correct copies, *Danmonii*. In this tract, or, as we may call it, peninſula, now comprehending the counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, the following places are mentioned by *Ptolemy* [a], *viz.* the eſtuary *Vexalla*, formed by the confluence of the two rivers *Petredus* and *Ivellus*, now the *Parret* and the *Ill*; the promontory of *Hercules*, about half-way between that eſtuary and another promontory, called by *Ptolemy*, *Bolerium*, and by *Diodorus Siculus* [b]; *Pelerium*. The promontory *Belerium*, which is by

The Danmonii.

[a] PTOL. l. ii. c. 3. [b] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 22.

Ptolemy called also *Antivestæum*, is the most western point of *Britain*, now known by the name of the *Land's-end*. Not far from this shoots out to the south the promontory *Dannonium*, or *Ocrinum*, now the *Lizard*. On the south coast the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, *viz.* *Voliba*, now *Falmouth*; the mouth of the *Tamara*, now the *Tamar* or *Tamer*, on which stands the town of *Plymouth*; the mouth of the *Isca*, now the *Ex*. The inland places mentioned by *Ptolemy* are, *Isca Dannoniorum*, *Exeter*; *Tamara*, *Tavistock*; *Uxella*, according to *Camden*, *Lestwithiel*.

Durotriges. NEXT to the *Dannonii*, eastward, were the *Durotriges*, inhabiting that tract, which is now called *Dorsetshire*. In this county *Ptolemy* takes notice of one place only, which he calls *Dunium*, and *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Durnovaria*. All critics agree, that, instead of *Dunium*, we ought to read in *Ptolemy*, *Durnium*; and that this was the antient name of *Dorchester*, the chief town of the county of *Dorset*. To the north and east of the country of the *Durotriges*, were situated

Belgæ. the *Belgæ*, who possessed *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Hampshire*. In this country *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* mention on the coast *Magnus Portus*, *Portsmouth*; and *Trisantonis Portus*, *Southampton*, so called from the river *Trisanto*, now *Hampton*, on which it stands. Either *Portus Trisantonis*, or another place very near it, is called by *Antoninus*, *Clausentum*. In the inland country stood *Venta Belgarum*, *Winchester*, a place of great note in antient times, as we read both in *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*; *Aquæcalidæ*, or, as *Antoninus* styles it, *Aquæsolis*, so called from its hot waters, now *Bath*; *Iscalis* or *Ischalis*, *Ilchester*.

Attrebatii. On the *Belgæ* bordered the *Attribatii*, the inhabitants of *Berkshire*. The *Attrebatii*, as well as the *Belgæ*, came originally from *Belgic Gaul*, as we read in *Cæsar* [u], and, settling in *Britain*, retained their antient names. The chief city of the *Attrebatii* was *Calcua*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Caleva*, as it is named by *Antoninus*, now *Wallingford*. *Antoninus* mentions another place, *viz.* *Spinæ*, which, according to *Camden*, still retains its antient name, being called *Spene*; but is now only

Regni. a village near *Newbury*, which rose out of its ruins. On the country of the *Attrebatii*, bordered that of the *Regni*, comprehending *Surry*, *Sussex*, and part of the sea-coast of *Hampshire*. In this country *Ptolemy* mentions but one city, *viz.* *Noviomagus*, which is also taken notice of by *Marinus Tyrius*, as appears from *Ptolemy* [x]. Some antiquaries take this to be the present town of *Guilford*; but *Noviomagus* was only ten miles distant from *London*, as we read in *Antoninus*'s itinerary; whereas *Guilford* is thirty. *Camden* tells us, that, in his time,

[u] Cæs comm. l. v. c. 12. [x] Ptol. l. ii. c. 15.

were

were ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a city, anſwering exactly the diſtance ſet down in the itinerary. Beſides *Noviomagus*, *Antoninus* mentions ſeveral other places in the country of the *Regni*, viz. *Othona*, where was, according to the *Notitia*, the ſtation of the *Roman* ſoldiers called *Fortenſes*. *Camden* takes *Othona* to have ſtood where *Haſtings* now ſtands. *Portus Adurni*, now the ſmall village of *Ederington*, and *Regnum*, now *Ringwood*, that is, the wood or foreſt of the *Regni*, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the *Regni*, namely at *Ockham* in *Surry*, where the *Wey* falls into the *Thames*, at a place to this day called *Coway-ſtakes*, from the ſtakes, with which the *Britons* had fenced the bank, *Cæſar* paſſed the *Thames*, and entered the territories of *Caſſivelan*. *Cæſar* croſſed the *Thames* eighty miles from the ſea; and this is the only place, at that diſtance, where the river is fordable. To the eaſt of the *Belgæ* and *Attrebatii*, lay the country of the *Cantii*, called, by *Ptolemy* and *Cæſar* [y], *Cantium*, by *Bede Cantia* [z], now *Kent*. The *Cantii* were, according to *Cæſar*, the moſt civilized of all the *Britons*, not differing much, in their cuſtoms and manners, from their neighbours the *Gauls* [a]. The places in *Cantium*, mentioned by the antients, are, *Durovernum*, *Durobrivis*, *Durolenum*, *Portus Rutupiæ*, *Portus Dubris*, *Regulbium* or *Regulvium*, and *Portus Lemanis*, now *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, *Lenham*, *Dover*, *Reculver*, and *Lime*. Whether *Rutupiæ* and *Portus Rutupenſis*, called by *Tacitus Portus Trutulenſis*, were one and the ſame place, is queſtioned by our antiquaries. *Somner* thinks they were two places [b], contrary to the opinion of *Leland*, *Lambard*, and others. Perhaps he may be in the right; but it is not probable, ſays *Camden*, that *Sandwich* was the *Portus Rutupenſis*, it being evident, that *Stonar* was the road, where the ſhips lay, that came to *Rutupiæ*; and *Somner* himſelf allows *Stonar* to have been an antient port [c]. In the opinion of *Camden* therefore, *Portus Rutupenſis* was *Stonar*, and *Rutupiæ* the preſent village of *Richborough*, at ſome diſtance from the ſea. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, in the *Roman* times, *Geſſoriacum*, now *Bologne*, and *Rutupiæ* or *Portus Rutupenſis*, were, for thoſe who from *Gaul* came into *Britain*, or from *Britain* croſſed over into *Gaul*, what in our times are *Dover* and *Calais*. Hence, frequent mention is made of *Rutupiæ* by the *Latin* writers [d]; nay the word *Rutupinus* was, by

Cantii

[y] PTOL. ubi ſupra. CÆS. comm. l. v. c. 14. [z] BED. hiſt. l. i c. 26. & l iii c. 3. [a] CÆS. ibid. [b] SOMN. ports and forts, p. 3, 4. [c] Vide CAMD. Brit. p. 244 [d] Vide LUCAN. l. v. c 67. JUVEN ſatir. iv. ver. 140 AUSON. parental. xviii. & de clar. urb Zos. l. iv c 25, 40 AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xx. c. 1. & l. xxvii. c. 18. TACIT. vit. Agric c. 38.

ſome

some of the poets, used instead of *Britannus* [e], so famous was *Rutipiæ* in the *Roman* times. *Portus Dubris*, now *Dover*, is first mentioned by *Antoninus*; but, before the *Romans* abandoned the island, it became no less famous than *Rutupiæ* itself. At *Rutupiæ* was quartered the second *legio Augusta*; at *Portus Dubris* the *Tungricani*; at *Portus Lemanis*, or *Novus Portus*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the *Turnacenses*; and at *Regulbium* or *Regulbium*, the first cohort of the *Betasii*, as we read in the *Notitia*. *Ptolemy* reckons *Londinium*, *London*, among the cities of the *Cantii*; but he was therein certainly mistaken. When the *Roman* government was established in *Britain*, the sea-coast of *Kent*, which they termed *littus Saxonicum*, or the *Saxon* shore, had, from the time of *Diocletian*, a particular governor, called by *Marcellinus*, *count of the sea-coast*, and by the *Notitia*, *count of the* Saxon *shore*, whose province it was to prevent the barbarians, especially the *Saxons*, who began then to infest *Britain*, from plundering the country. In imitation of the *Romans*, our ancestors set over this coast a governor or portreve, commonly called *the warden of the cinque ports*, from his presiding over five ports. *Cæsar* landed, when he invaded *Britain*, in the country of the *Cantii*, and, as is commonly believed, at *Deal*, on the twenty-sixth of *August*, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ [f]. *Cantium* is parted from the continent by a narrow sea, called by *Solinus*, *Fretum Gallicum*; by *Tacitus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Fretum Oceani*, and *Oceanus Fretalis*. Thus far of that part of *Britain*, which is bounded by the ocean, the *Severn* sea, and the river *Thames*.

Dobuni. On the north side of the *Thames*, near its head, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Dobuni*, the antient inhabitants of *Glostershire* and *Oxfordshire*. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely *Corinium*, called by *Antoninus*, so far as we can conjecture from the distances set down in his itinerary, *Durocornovium*, which stood in or near the place, where the present town of *Cirencester* stands. Two other places are taken notice of by *Antoninus*, viz. *Altone*, or *Avone*, and *Clevum*, or *Glevum*, built by the *Romans*, as a curb upon the *Silures*, now *Alvington* and *Gloucester*. To the east of the *Dobuni* lay the country of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Calycuchlani*, *Cattidudani*, *Cathicludani*, as they are styled in different copies of *Ptolemy*'s works. *Dion* calls them *Cattuellani*, and also *Cassii*. In their country, which comprehended *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hertfordshire*, the following places are named by *Antoninus*; *Lactodo-*

[e] Juven. & Auson. ibid. [f] Vide Halley philosoph. transact N°. 193.

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rum, *Bedford*; *Magiovinium*, *Aſhwell*; *Durocobrivis*, or *Durocobrivæ*, *Hertford*; *Pontes*, placed in the itinerary twenty-two miles from *London*; and *Verulamium*, mentioned not only by *Antoninus*, but by *Ptolemy* and all the *Roman* writers, who ſpeak of *Britain*. *Camden* conjectures *Verulamium* to have been the town of *Caſſivelan*, which was taken by *Cæſar* [g]. In *Nero*'s time it was a *municipium*, as we read in *Tacitus* [h]; but being afterwards deſtroyed, as is ſuppoſed, in the *Saxon* war, the town of *St. Albans* roſe out of its ruins, which are ſtill called *Verulam*. In the country of the *Cattieuchlani*, *Ptolemy* mentions only *Verulamium*, which he calls *Urolamium*, and *Salenæ*, of which no footſteps are remaining. Before the arrival of *Cæſar*, the *Cattieuchlani* had reduced great part of the country belonging to the *Dobuni*, and were conſtantly at war with their neighbours. Trinobantes.

NEXT to the *Cattieuchlani* were the *Trinobantes*, as *Cæſar* calls them, or *Trinonnantes*, as they are ſtyled by *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*. They inhabited the preſent counties of *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*. To them belonged the city of *London*, called by *Tacitus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Antoninus Londinium*; but *Ammianus*, *Lundinum*; by *Stephanus Lindonion*; and by *Bede*, *Lundonia* and *civitas Lundonia* [i]. There ſeems to have been no ſuch place as *London* in *Cæſar*'s time; and yet it was a town of great note and trade in *Nero*'s, as appears from *Tacitus* [k]. It muſt therefore have been founded between the times of theſe two emperors, and, in all likelihood, as the learned biſhop of *Worceſter* thinks, about the time of *Claudius*. *Tacitus* calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourſe of merchants, tho' not diſtinguiſhed with the title of *colony* [l]. Whether in proceſs of time it attained this honour, may be queſtioned; for though *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſtyles it *Auguſta*, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a *Roman* colony, ſince antiquaries, of no mean character, are of opinion, that the emperors allowed ſome towns, that were not colonies, to aſſume that title [m]. Perhaps it took the name of *Auguſta* from *Conſtantine the Great*, who is ſaid to have ſurrounded it with a wall. *Ptolemy*, as we have obſerved above, and alſo *Ravennas*, place *London* in *Cantium*, on the ſouth ſide of the *Thames*. The other towns of the *Trinobantes* were, *Durolitum*, *Cæſaromagus*, *Cononium*, *Camalodunum*, and *Colonia*, now *Leiton*, *Burghſtead*, *Cannonden*, *Maldon*, and *Colcheſter*. *Camalodunum*, called by *Ptolemy Camudolanum*, was the firſt *Roman* colony in *Britain*, granted by the emperor *Claudius* to the veterans, who, driving

[g] CÆS. comm. l. v. c. 21. [h] TACIT. l. xiv. c. 33. [i] BED. l. ii. c. 4, 7, 3. [k] TACIT. ubi ſup. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Vide CELL. geog. antiq. tom. ii. l ii. c. 4.

out

out the natives, ſettled there; but they were afterwards themſelves, in a general inſurrection, either driven out, or put to the ſword, the theatre, the temple of *Claudius*, and the ſeveral villas in the neighbourhood, belonging to the *Roman* commanders, being utterly demoliſhed by the incenſed *Britons*, who looked upon the colony as the ſeat of ſlavery [n]. The country bordering on that of the *Trinobantes*, and comprehending the counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*,

Iceni. was inhabited by the *Iceni*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Simeni*, and by others, *Tigeni*. *Gamden* is of opinion, that the *Iceni* were the people, whom *Cæſar* calls *Cenomagni* [o]. To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*, *Villa Fauſtini*, *Cambretonium*, *Sitomagas*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Garienis Oſtium*, *Iciani*, *Brannodium*, and *Durobrivæ*, now *St. Edmundſbury*, *Bretenham*, *Thetford Caſtle*, *Yarmouth*, *Icburrough*, *Brancaſter*, *Dornford*. In the *Roman* times, the commander of the horſe under the count of the *Saxon* ſhore was ſtationed at *Oſtium Garienis*, called alſo *Oppidum Garianorum*: and the *Dalmatian* horſe, as appears from the *Notitia*, at *Brannodunum*. To theſe we may add *Camboritum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, though not by *Ptolemy*, and in the itinerary placed on the *Cam*, where the preſent city of *Cambridge* ſtands; which *Camden* ſuppoſes to have been built out of the ruins of *Camboritum*.

Coritani. On the *Iceni* bordered the *Coritani*, whoſe country comprehended *Northamptonſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*. Their chief places were, *Lindum*, *Lincoln*; *Tripontium*, *Towceſter*; *Bennavenna* or *Beneventa*, thought to be *Northampton*; *Ratæ*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Rage*, according to *Camden*, *Leiceſter*; *Verometum*, *Burrowhill*; *Margidunum*, *Margedoverton*; *Pontes*, *Panton*; *Crococolanum*, and *Agelocum*, or, as *Camden* will have it, *Adelocum*, *Idleton*. *Lindum*, called by *Bede*, *Lindocolina civitas*, was, according to *Ptolemy*, the metropolis of the *Coritani*. In this country, between the ſprings of the *Nen*, and the *Avon*, are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of antient fortifications and military fences, erected, as *Camden* believes, by *Oſtorius* governor of *Britain*, after he had fortified the banks of the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, in order to prevent the irruptions of thoſe who inhabited *Wales*, and the north parts of *Britain*. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eaſtward, and the other weſtward, were well defended, the only paſſage from the north into the hither part of *Britain* was between the ſprings of theſe two rivers; and this paſs was de-

[n] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 31, & vit. Agricol. c. 16. [o] Camd. Brit. p. 434

fended

fended with ſtrong works, whereof the ruins are ſtill to be ſeen at *Gildſborough* and *Dantrey*. *Oſtorius*, ſays *Tacitus* [p], after having diſarmed ſuch as were ſuſpected, by fortifying the banks of the *Antona* and *Sabrina*, reſtrained them from breaking into the province; where, inſtead of *Antona*, mentioned by no other writer, *Camden* reads *Auſona*, or *Avona*, which name was, according to him, common to the *Nen* and *Avon* [q]. To the weſt of the *Coritani*, were ſituated the *Cornavii*, who, Cornavii. according to *Ptolemy*'s deſcription of their country, ſeem to have poſſeſſed *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*. Their chief towns were, *Branonium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Branogenium*, *Worceſter*; *Præſidium* on the *Auſona* or *Avona*, *Warwick*, where the prefect or commander of the *Dalmatian* horſe was poſted by the appointment of the governor of *Britain*, as we read in the *Notitia*; *Pennocrucium*, *Penkridge*; *Viroconinum* or *Uricomium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the metropolis of the *Cornavii*, probably built by the *Romans*, when they fortified the banks of the *Severn*, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a ſmall village, called *Wrockceſter*. Out of its ruins roſe the preſent town of *Shrewſbury*. *Deva*, or *Deuna*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, on the river *Deva*, from whence the town borrowed its name, now *Cheſter*. It was antiently a *Roman* colony, and the ſtation of the twentieth legion, ſurnamed *Victrix*, *Condate*, *Congleton*; and *Rutunium*, now *Routon*.

THE principality of *Wales*, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the *Severn*, was, in the *Roman* times, inhabited by the *Silures*, the *Demetæ*, and the *Ordovices*. To theſe belonged not only the twelve counties of *Wales*, but likewiſe the two others lying beyond the *Severn*, *viz.* *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*, now reckoned among the *Engliſh* counties. The *Silures* and *Demetæ*, according to the deſcription *Ptolemy* gives us of them, inhabited that part, which is now known by the name of *South Wales*, and comprizes the following counties, *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Glamorganſhire*, with *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*. As to the origin of the people *Tacitus* is of opinion, that they came originally from *Spain*, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their ſituation over-againſt that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and reſolution, utterly averſe to ſervitude, and great ſticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the *Romans* under *Oſtorius*, *Veranius*, and *Julius Frontinus*, who in the end ſubdued them. In *Herefordſhire* ſtood *Bletium*, now the *Old Town* on the *Mu-* Silures.

[p] TACIT. l. xii. c. 31.

[q] Vide CAMD. Brit. p. 404.

out the natives, ſettled there; but they were afterwards themſelves, in a general inſurrection, either driven out, or put to the ſword, the theatre, the temple of *Claudius*, and the ſeveral villas in the neighbourhood, belonging to the *Roman* commanders, being utterly demoliſhed by the incenſed *Britons*, who looked upon the colony as the ſeat of ſlavery [n]. The country bordering on that of the *Trinobantes*, and comprehending the counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*,

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[n] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 31, & vit. Agricol. c. 16. [o] Camd. Brit.

fended

fended with ſtrong works, whereof the ruins are ſtill to be ſeen at *Gildſborough* and *Dantrey*. *Oſtorius*, ſays *Tacitus* [p], after having diſarmed ſuch as were ſuſpected, by fortifying the banks of the *Antona* and *Sabrina*, reſtrained them from breaking into the province; where, inſtead of *Antona*, mentioned by no other writer, *Camden* reads *Aufona*, or *Avona*, which name was, according to him, common to the *Nen* and *Avon* [q]. To the weſt of the *Coritani*, were ſituated the *Cornavii*, who, according to *Ptolemy*'s deſcription of their country, ſeem to have poſſeſſed *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*. Their chief towns were, *Branonium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Branogenium*, *Worceſter*; *Præſidium* on the *Aufona* or *Avona*, *Warwick*, where the prefect or commander of the *Dalmatian* horſe was poſted by the appointment of the governor of *Britain*, as we read in the *Notitia*; *Pennocrucium*, *Penkridge*; *Viroconinum* or *Uricomium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, the metropolis of the *Cornavii*, probably built by the *Romans*, when they fortified the banks of the *Severn*, which is here fordable, and no-where lower. It is now a ſmall village, called *Wrockeſter*. Out of its ruins roſe the preſent town of *Shrewſbury*. *Deva*, or *Deuna*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, on the river *Deva*, from whence the town borrowed its name, now *Cheſter*. It was antiently a *Roman* colony, and the ſtation of the twentieth legion, ſurnamed *Victrix*, *Condate*, *Congleton*; and *Rutunium*, now *Routon*. Cornavii.

THE principality of *Wales*, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the *Severn*, was, in the *Roman* times, inhabited by the *Silures*, the *Demetæ*, and the *Ordovices*. To theſe belonged not only the twelve counties of *Wales*, but likewiſe the two others lying beyond the *Severn*, *viz.* *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*, now reckoned among the *Engliſh* counties. The *Silures* and *Demetæ*, according to the deſcription *Ptolemy* gives us of them, inhabited that part, which is now known by the name of *South Wales*, and comprizes the following counties, *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Glamorganſhire*, with *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*. As to the origin of the people *Tacitus* is of opinion, that they came originally from *Spain*, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their ſituation over-againſt that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and reſolution, utterly averſe to ſervitude, and great ſticklers for their liberties, as will appear from their wars with the *Romans* under *Oſtorius*, *Veranius*, and *Julius Frontinus*, who in the end ſubdued them. In *Herefordſhire* ſtood *Bletium*, now the *Old Town* on the *Ma-* Silures

[p] TACIT. l. xii. c. 31. [q] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 491.

now; and about three ſhort miles weſt of the preſent city of *Hereford*, near the village of *Kenchester*, *Ariconium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*. In this country are to be ſeen the veſtiges of ſeveral *Roman* camps. In *Brecknockſhire*, towards the north, where it is divided from *Radnorſhire* by the *Wye*, ſome place *Bellæum Silurum*; but others think it ſtood in *Glamorganſhire*. *Brecknock*, the chief town of the county, was inhabited, in the *Roman* times, as appears from ſeveral *Roman* coins, found there, from a *Roman* brick diſcovered with this inſcription, *Leg.* II. *Aug.* and from a ſquare camp near this place, called by the natives *Gaer*, that is, *fortification*. In *Monmouthſhire*, about three miles from *Chepſtow*, which ſtands near the fall of the *Wye* into the *Severn*, is placed by all our antiquaries *Venta Silurum*, called to this day *Kaer-went*, that is, *the city Venta*; but now only ſome ruins of it are to be ſeen. On the north-weſt border of the county ſtood *Gobannium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, at the confluence of the *Iſca*, now *Wyſk* or *Uſk*, and the *Govenni*; whence it took the name of *Gobannium*, which with a ſmall alteration, it retains to this day, being called *Aber-Gavenni*, that is, the confluence of the *Gavenni* or *Gobannium*. About twelve miles from *Gobannium*, *Antoninus* places *Burrium*, where the *Birdhin* or *Birthin* falls into the *Uſk*. This place is now known to the *Welſh* by the name of *Brynbiga*, and to the *Engliſh* by that of *Uſk*. On the other ſide of the *Uſk*, twelve miles from *Burrium*, ſtood *Iſca Silurum*, where the ſecond legion was ſtationed; whence it is ſtyled by *Antoninus*, *Legio Secunda*, and by the *Britons* to this day *Kaer-Lheion*, or *Kaer-Wyſk*, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river *Uſk*. The *Legio Secunda*, called alſo *Britannica Secunda*, was raiſed by *Auguſtus*, and removed out of *Germany* into *Britain* by *Claudius*, under the conduct of *Veſpaſian*, to whom, upon his aſpiring to the empire, it ſecured the *Britiſh* legions. It was placed in gariſon at *Iſca* by *Julius Frontinus* againſt the *Silures*, and long after that, that is, in the reign of *Valentinian*, tranſlated from thence by count *Theodoſius*, the father of *Theodoſius the Great*, to *Rutupiæ*, as we read in the *Notitia* and in *Marcellinus* [r]. At *Iſca Silurum*, many monuments of antiquity have been diſcovered, as the reader will find in *Camden* [s]. The moſt ſouthern county formerly belonging to the *Silures*, is *Glamorganſhire*, where, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Remney*, which divides it on the eaſt from *Monmouthſhire*, is to be ſeen *Kaer-phily-caſtle*, in the opinion of *Camden*, the moſt noble and antient piece of architecture remaining in *Britain*. That this

[r] Ammian Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 18. p. 718, 728.

[s] Vide Camd. Brit.

caſtle

caſtle was built by the *Romans*, ſeems highly probable, though we have no other reaſon to conclude it *Roman*, but the ſtatelineſs of its ſtructure, no *Roman* inſcriptions, ſtatues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity, having ever been diſcovered there. *Camden* thinks it was the *Bullæum Silurum*, of which we have ſpoken above.

THE remaining part of *South Wales*, comprehending *Caer-Mardhinſhire*, *Pembrokeſhire*, and *Cardiganſhire*, was likewiſe inhabited, according to *Pliny*, by the *Silures*; but *Ptolemy*, to whom *Britain* was better known, placed another nation here, called by him *Demetæ* and *Dimetæ*. Beſides, both *Gildas* and *Nennius* ſtyle this country *Demetia*; and the *Britons* to this day call it *Dyved*, changing M. into V, according to the dialect of that language. Perhaps the *Latin* name *Demetia* owes its origin to the *Britiſh Dyved*; for it was the cuſtom of the *Romans*, as *Camden* obſerves, to retain ſuch names of the places they conquered, as had been given them by the natives, adding only to them a *Latin* termination. In the country of the *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy* takes notice only of two places, *Loventium* or *Luentium*, at the mouth of the *Tuerobis*, now the *Towy*, and *Maridunum*, or, as *Antoninus* calls it, *Muridunum*, now *Caer-Mardhin*. The country now known by the name of *North Wales*, and comprehending *Montgomeryſhire*, *Merionethſhire*, *Caernarvanſhire*, *Denbighſhire*, and *Flintſhire*, was inhabited by the *Ordovices*, a brave and powerful nation, who held out firſt againſt the *Romans*, and afterwards againſt the *Engliſh*, after the other *Britons* were ſubdued; for by the *Romans* they were not reduced till the time of *Domitian*, nor by the *Engliſh* till the reign of *Henry* I. In their country, namely in *Montgomeryſhire*, where the village of *Meivod* ſtands at preſent, ſtood formerly, according to the conjectures of the beſt antiquaries, the city of *Mediolanum*, celebrated both by *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*. Beſides *Mediolanum*, *Antoninus* mentions other places in the country of the *Ordovices*; viz. *Segontium*, on the river *Sejont*, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; *Conovium*, now *Conway*; and *Varis*, of which the ruins were to be ſeen in *Camden*'s time, near the village of *Bodwar*. In this country are the ruins of ſeveral antient forts raiſed by the *Romans*, to awe and keep in ſubjection the natives. Over-againſt *Caernarvanſhire* lies the iſland of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, the antient ſeat of the *Druids*, firſt attempted by *Paulinus Suetonius*, and afterwards reduced by *Agricola*. It was called in the *Britiſh* tongue *Môn*, and, when conquered by the *Engliſh*, *Angleſey*, that is, the *Engliſh iſland*.

Demetæ.

Ordovices.

THE *Brigantes*, whom *Stephanus* calls *Brigæ*, a numerous and powerful people, and much commended by the antient

Brigantes.

writers, poſſeſſed the following countries, *viz. Yorkſhire* and the biſhopric of *Durham* towards the eaſt and the *German* ocean, and to the weſt *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*. In *Yorkſhire*, and in the weſt-riding, on the *Dan*, now the *Don*, ſtood the city of *Danum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, and in the *Notitia*, called the ſtation of the *Criſpinian* horſe. *Nennius* ſtyles it *Caer-Dann*; but it is now known by the name of *Doncaſter*. *Olicana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is, from its ſituation with reſpect to *Eboracum* or *York*, thought by *Camden* to have ſtood where *Ilkly*, on the *Wharf*, now ſtands. It was rebuilt in the reign of *Severus* by *Virius Lupus*, legate and propretor of *Britain*, as appears from an antient inſcription dug up there [t]. The ſecond cohort of the *Lingones* was quartered here. Near the confluence of the *Calder* and the *Are* ſtands the ſmall village of *Caſtleford*, formerly, according to *Camden*, *Lagcolium*, or, as *Antoninus* ſtyles it, *Lagetium*. This our learned antiquary conjectures from its ſituation, by a *Roman* way, from ſeveral monuments of antiquity diſcovered there, and its diſtance from *Danum* and *Eboracum*. *Colcaria*, according to ſome *Tadcaſter*, according to others *Aberford*, is mentioned by *Antoninus*, but not by *Ptolemy*. *Iſurium Brigantum* is placed by both on the *Ure*; and by *Camden* thought to have ſtood where the preſent village of *Aldborrow* ſtands, at a ſmall diſtance from *Borrowbridge*. *Eboracum*, or *Eburacum*, now *York*, on the *Ouſe*, for the *Ure* takes that name at *Aldburrow*, where the *Ouſeburn*, a ſmall brook, falls into it, was the metropolis of the *Brigantes*. It owed, no doubt, its origin and grandeur to the *Romans*; for it was both a *Roman* colony and a *municipium*, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [u]. The ſixth legion, called *Victrix*, ſent out of *Germany* into *Britain*, was quartered here in the time of the *Antonines*, and likewiſe the ninth in *Galba*'s reign [x]. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which died *Septimius Severus* and *Conſtantius Chlorus*. Upon the death of the latter, his ſon *Conſtantine*, who afterwards acquired the ſurname of *Great*, was here firſt declared emperor. The reſcript of the emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, *de rei vindicatione*, is dated from this place. Upon the death of *Severus*, juſtice was, for ſome time, adminiſtered here by the great oracle of the law *Æmilius Paulus*. When the *Romans* abandoned *Britain*, *Eboracum* was, by the *Scots* and *Picts*, reduced to the ſhadow of what it had been. In the eaſt riding, about ſeven miles from *York*, ſtood *Derventio*,

[t] Vide Camd. p. 861. [u] Vide Camd. p. 853 Grut. p. 485. [x] Vide Camden in comment. de Antonin. Iter Brit. p. 19. [y] Vide Camd. and

now

now *Auldby*, a ſmall village on the *Derwent*, formerly *Derventio*. At the ſame diſtance from the *Abus*, now the *Humber*, where the ſmall town of *Wigton* ſtands, ſtood, in the *Roman* times, *Delgovitia*; and on the promontory called by *Ptolemy* *Ocellum*, now *Holderneſs*, the city of *Prætorium*, now *Patrington*. The only places in *Lancaſhire* mentioned by *Antoninus*, are, *Mancunium*, now *Mancheſter*, and *Alone*, called in the *Notitia*, *Alione*, now *Lancaſter*, the chief town of the county to which it gives name. In *Weſtmorland*, two ſhort miles from the *Ituna* or *Eden*, ſtood *Veteræ*, now a village called *Burgh*. It is mentioned by *Antoninus*; and from the *Notitia* we learn, that upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, was quartered there a prefect, with a band of *Directores*. Not far from hence ſtood *Aballaba*, on the *Ituna*, the ſtation, as we read in the *Notitia*, of the *Mauri Aureliani*. It retains its antient name, being now called by contraction *Apelby*. At *Whallop-caſtle* appear vaſt ruins of an antient town, where *Roman* coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here ſtood, according to *Camden*, *Gallagum*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and called by *Antoninus*, *Gallatum*; which conjecture agrees with the diſtances in the itinerary. From this place, an old cauſeway runs almoſt in a ſtrait line, for the ſpace of about twenty miles to *Caer-Varran*, near the *Picts* wall. Upon this cauſeway, now commonly called the *Maiden-way*, *Camden* thinks, that the ſtations and manſions, mentioned by *Antoninus* in his ninth *iter*, were ſettled. At *Brougham*, according to *Camden*, the antient *Brocovum* and *Brevoniacum* of *Antoninus*, called in the *Notitia*, *Brocaniacum*, where a cohort of the *Defenſores* was quartered, ſeveral coins, and other monuments of antiquity, have been dug up. In *Cumberland*, the ſea-coaſt was fortified by the *Romans* in ſuch places as were convenient for landing; whence the *Scots*, when from *Ireland* they invaded the iſland, met here with the greateſt oppoſition. Many remains of antiquity are ſtill to be ſeen at *Moreſby*, perhaps, as the preſent name ſeems to imply, the *Morbium* of the antients, where, according to the *Notitia*, the *equites cataphracti* were quartered. At the head of the *Wiſe*, a ſmall river, that falls into the *Waver*, are the ruins of an antient town, called, by the neighbouring inhabitants, *Old Carliſle*, perhaps the *Caſtra Exploratorum*, placed ſomewhere hereabouts by *Antoninus*; for it is ſeated on a high hill, and therefore, as it commands a free proſpect round the country, was very convenient for ſpying an enemy. From ſeveral inſcriptions it appears, that the *ala*, named *Augusta*, and *Augusta Gordiana*, was quartered here in the time of the emperor *Gordian*. A little higher j ts out a ſmall promontory, below which is a large arm of the ſea, at preſent the boundary

of

of *England* and *Scotland*, and formerly of the *Roman* province and the country of the *Picts*. On this promontory ſtood *Blatobulgium*, now *Bulneſs*, from which, as the moſt remote limit of the province of *Britain*, *Antoninus* begins his itinerary. At *Blatobulgium* are frequently found *Roman* coins and inſcriptions. A mile beyond it, at low-water, are to be ſeen the foundations of the famous wall called the *Picts wall*, built by the *Romans* to reſtrain the barbarians from breaking into the province. Though a vaſt arm of the ſea comes up here about eight miles, called by *Ptolemy Itunæ æſtuarium*, now *Solway-frith*, yet at low-water, the *Scots* and *Picts* found means to ford it. Upon the ſame frith ſtands *Drumburgh-caſtle*, formerly a *Roman* ſtation, and thought by *Gale*[y], to be the antient *Blatobulgium*. This frith is called by *Ptolemy Itunæ æſtuarium*, from the river *Ituna*, now *Eden*, which here falls into the bay. It is now called *Solway-frith* from the town of *Solway* in *Scotland* ſtanding upon it. At the preſent *Burgh-upon-ſands* was another *Roman* ſtation. At a ſmall diſtance from the confluence of the *Eimot* and the *Loder* ſtands *Penreth*, according to *Gale*, the *Voreda* of *Antoninus*. The city of *Carliſle*, having the *Eden* to the north, the *Petervill* to the eaſt, and the *Caude* to the weſt, was by the *Romans* called *Luguvallum*, *Luguballum*, and *Lugubalia*. The word *vallum* was, no doubt, derived from that famous *vallum* of the *Romans*, which ran cloſe to the city. As to the word *Lugus*, or *Lucus*, it ſignified among the *Celtæ*, who ſpoke the ſame language as the *Britons*, a *tower*; for what *Antoninus* calls *Lugo-Auguſti*, *Pomponius Mela* ſtyles *turris Auguſti*; ſo that *Lugovallum* ſignifies a *tower on the* vallum. This city was a place of great note in the *Roman* times, as appears from ſeveral monuments of antiquity found in that neighbourhood, and from the frequent mention made of it by the antient writers.

Ottadini. Next to the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy* places the *Ottadini*, *Ottadeni*, or *Ottalini*, according to the various readings of the ſeveral copies. *Camden* reads *Ottatinos*, becauſe they dwelt *ultra Tinam*, beyond the *Tine*. Their country extended from the wall at leaſt to the *Tweed*, and was afterwards part of the province *Valentia*; for ſo count *Theodoſius* named it, after he had recovered it, by driving out the barbarians, who had ſeized it. It is now called *Northumberland*, as lying north of the *Humber*. In this country, near *Caer-vorran*, part of the wall was ſtill ſtanding in *Camden*'s time, fifteen foot in height and nine in breadth. *Bede* writes, that it was only twelve foot high, and his account is, generally ſpeaking, exact; for, where there has

[y] Gale, p. 36.

not

not been any extraordinary fortification, what was ſtill ſtanding in *Camden*'s time came near that height, and no part exceeded it. The breadth which *Bede* allows it, *viz.* eight foot, is pretty exact; for every-where it ſtill exceeds ſeven. In this country have been diſcovered many monuments of antiquity, of which the reader will find an account in *Camden* [z]. Beyond the wall, and at the mouth of the *Tina* or *Tine*, ſtood *Segedunum*, now *Seton*, where reſided, according to the *Notitia*, the tribune of the ſixth cohort of the *Lergi*. At a ſmall diſtance from *Segedunum*, *Antoninus* places *Corſtorpitum*, or, as *Camden* reads it, *Morſtorpitum*, according to him, *Morpeth*. On the north ſide of the *Alaunus*, now the *Aln*, and not far from that river, ſtood antiently *Bremenium*, from which *Antoninus* begins his firſt journey in *Britain*. Some take *Bremenium* to be *Rocheſter*, near the head of the *Rhead*, others to be *Brampton*. At *Babroſentum*, according to ſome, *Newcaſtle*, was quartered the ſecond cohort of the *Thracians*. The country of the *Ottadini* reached, according to ſome, to *Edinburgh-frith*; but the only place taken notice of by the antients between *Bremenium* and that frith, called by the *Roman* writers *Bodotriæ æſtuarium*, are *Tæi* or *Tavi oſtium*, the mouth of the *Tweed*, and *Caſtra Alata*, thought by all our antiquaries to be *Edinburgh*. On the weſt coaſt, between *Solway* and *Dumbriton* friths, are placed by *Ptolemy* the *Selgovæ*, and the towns *Trimontium* and *Oxellum* belonging to them. To the north of the *Selgovæ* were the *Damnii*, in whoſe country, extending to *Dumbriton-frith*, antiently *Glotæ æſtuarium*, ſtood the following towns mentioned by *Ptolemy*; *Colania*, *Coria*, *Alauna*, and *Victoria*. The *Horeſti*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, are placed by *Camden* between the *Selgovæ* and the *Ottadini*. *Agricola* entered their country, as we read in *Tacitus*; and, having received hoſtages, commanded his admiral to ſail round *Britain*. Hence *Camden* infers, that their country bordered on *Solway-frith*, and that the *Roman* fleet was then riding there. In this voyage were diſcovered the *Orcades*, unknown to the world till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which *Glotæ* and *Bodotriæ æſtuaria*, that is, *Dumbriton* and *Edinburgh* friths, arms of different ſeas, are kept from joining, was fortified by *Agricola* with gariſons and caſtles; by which means all *Briton*, on this ſide, being poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, the barbarians were removed, as it were, into another iſland. Thoſe who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by *Dion Caſſius* comprehended under the two denominations of *Mæatæ* and *Caledonii*. The ſouth part of *Britannia Barbara*, as the *Romans* ſtyled it, was poſſeſſed by the former; and

Selgovæ.

Damnii.

Horeſti.

Mæatæ.

Caledonii.

[z] CAMD. Brit. p. 1071.

the

the north part by the latter. From the *Caledonii*, *Calidones*, *Deucalidonii*, or *Dicalidones*, as they are ſtyled by different authors, the north part of *Britain* was called *Caledonia*; nay, *Florus* calls the woods adjoining to the *Thames*, *Caledonian* woods; for ſpeaking of *Cæſar* ſoon after he had paſſed that river, *Having followed the* Britons, ſays he, *into the* Caledonian *woods, he took one of their kings priſoner* [a]. But herein he ſhews himſelf little acquainted with the country. Of the *Picts* no mention is made either by *Tacitus* or *Ptolemy*; but under that denomination the *Caledonians* were comprehended in *Conſtantine*'s time, *I do not mention*, ſays *Eumenius* in his panegyric upon that prince, *the woods and marſhes of the* Caledonians *and other* Picts [b]. And *Ammianus Marcellinus*, writing of the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens*; *The* Picts, ſays he, *under which denomination are comprehended the* Dicalidones *and the* Vectu-riones, *the* Attacotti *likewiſe, a warlike nation, and the* Scotti, *roaming about, committing great devaſtations* [c]. Hence it is manifeſt, that, in the reigns of thoſe two princes, the *Attacotti*, and the *Scotti* or *Scots*, were two different nations from the *Caledonii* and the *Picts*. But of *Scotland*, and its antient inhabitants, we ſhall ſpeak more at length hereafter. Thus far of the inhabitants of *Britain*, of their towns and territories, while the *Romans* were maſters of the iſland, in the deſcription of which we have followed *Ptolemy*, *Antoninus*, and our beſt modern antiquaries. But, after all, we cannot pretend exactly to aſcertain the bounds of ſo many different nations ſubject to ſo many kings, who were continually making encroachments upon each other. Moſt of the towns we have mentioned were, in all likelihood, built after the *Romans* had made themſelves maſters of the iſland; but that the *Britons* had no towns at all before their arrival, as *Strabo* ſeems to inſinuate [d], is what we can hardly believe. What that geographer wrote of *Gaul* and *Britain*, he copied from *Cæſar*, who tells us indeed, that the *Britons* gave the name of towns to woods, after they had fortified them with a ditch and rampart, to reſtrain the incurſions of thoſe with whom they were at war [e]. But, from their giving the name of towns to the woods, which they choſe for places of ſhelter, and fortified in time of war, we cannot conclude, that they had no other places, deſerving that name, to dwell in, when under no apprehenſion of an enemy. Who can believe, that the twenty towns, which *Veſpaſian* reduced under the em-

Picti.

Attacotti.
Scotti.

[a] Flor. l. iii. c. 10. [b] Eumen. panegy. Conſt. c. 7. [c] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. c. 18. Vales. c. 18. [d] Strabo, l. iv. p. 138. [e] Cæs. l. v. c 21.

peror

peror *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* [f], were only woods thus fortified and fenced in?

WE cannot dismiss this subject, without taking notice of the walls or ramparts raised by the *Roman* emperors in this island, to secure the countries belonging to *Rome* against the incursions of the northern barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpose by three different emperors, is manifest from history. Of these the first and hithermost was, without all doubt, the work of *Adrian*; for *Spartian* tells us in express terms, that he was the first, who, by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, parted the *Romans* and barbarians [g]. This wall is, by our best antiquaries, placed between *Solway-frith* and *Tinmouth*; and truly, considering its extent, it can be placed no-where else. This wall or rampart, (for some writers style it *murus*, and others *vallum*) was made, says *Spartian*, *in modum muralis sepis*, or *septi*, that is, *after the manner of a mural hedge*, with large stakes fixed deep in the ground, and fastened together. Upon it stood *Pons Ælia*, perhaps *Pont-Eland* in *Northumberland*, *Classis Ælia*, *Cohors Ælia*, and *Ala Sabiniana*, which took their names from *Ælius Adrianus* and his wife *Sabina*. In the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the successor of *Adrian*, the *Brigantes* revolted; but *Lolius Urbicus*, then governor of *Britain*, having overcome them, and driven back the barbarians, built another wall of turf, or earth says *Capitolinus* in the life of *Antoninus Pius* [h]. As no antient writer mentions the place where this second wall was built, it is impossible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries, whom we have followed in our *Roman* history [i], place it between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. But *Camden* and *Brietius*, upon the authority of a very antient chrorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tweed*, and was carried southward to the head of the *Esk* in *Eskdale*, so as to secure the east coast, and inclose part of the country of the *Ottadini*. Upon second thoughts this opinion does not seem to us improbable, since *Antoninus* begins his itinerary from the mouth of the *Tweed*, as the most northern boundary, at that time, of the *Roman* empire. The first wall was built, according to our best chronologers, in the year of the christian æra 123, the fourth of *Adrian*'s reign, *Glabrio* and *Torquatus* being then consuls; and the other in 142, the third of *Antoninus Pius*, then consul with *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* [k]. That a third wall was built by the emperor *Severus*, is plain from *Spartian*, who, in the life of that prince,

Adrian's wall.

Antonius's wall.

Severus's wall.

[f] SUET. in Claud. c 4 [g] SPARTIAN. in Adrian c. 11. [h] CAPITOL. in Anton. Pio. c. 5. [i] Vide Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 371. [k] Vide ALFORD annal. p. 108, & 116.

tells us, that he ſecured *Britain* with a wall carried on croſs the iſland from ſea to ſea [l]. There is a great diſagreement among antiquaries about the place where this wall was built. *Camden* maintains, that *Severus*'s wall was raiſed in the ſame place, where *Adrian* had erected his about eighty years before. But we cannot help diſagreeing herein with that learned antiquary, ſince *Eutropius*, in the life of *Severus* writes, that he built a wall thirty-two miles in length, reaching from ſea to ſea; whereas *Adrian*'s wall extended eighty, *viz.* from *Solway-frith* to *Tinmouth*. Beſides, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Severus*, after having overcome in ſeveral battles the barbarians, after having marched from one end of the iſland to the other, and been at an immenſe trouble and charge, not to mention the loſs of fifty thouſand men, in draining marſhes, cutting down woods, and making highways, ſhould have abandoned ſo extenſive a country, which *Agricola* had formerly reduced, and *Antoninus* incloſed with a wall, and this at a time when the enemies of *Rome* were quite diſpirited, and ſuing for peace. It muſt therefore be placed on the iſthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*; and indeed, if it was but thirty-two miles in length, it could ſtand in no other part of the whole iſland, that was ever poſſeſſed by the *Romans*. But the hithermoſt wall, ſays *Camden*, is ſtill called *Gual Seuer*, that is, *Severus*'s wall. May not thoſe, who call it ſo, be miſtaken? Is it not well known, that many appellations, or, as we may ſtyle them, traditions, of this nature, when narrowly examined, prove quite groundleſs? Such is this, if we believe the *Scots* writers, who, as *Camden* himſelf obſerves, have always called the hithermoſt wall *Adrian*'s wall. The neck of land between the two friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* is not above ſixteen miles over. This tract *Agricola* ſecured with caſtles and forts placed at convenient diſtances, that the forces might eaſily draw together upon the firſt apprehenſion of danger. In building afterwards the wall, thoſe who were employed in the work, took the moſt direct line; which muſt be the cauſe why ſome of the forts are at a diſtance from it. They began it where the rivers are narrow, and carried it along the neck of land between the friths. It begins between the *Queen's-ferry* and *Abercorn*, and, for the ſpace of thirty-ſix *Scots Miles*, runs weſtward to *Dunbriton*, with a great ditch on the north ſide of the wall, and many ſquare fortifications in the form of a *Roman* camp. It is called by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country *Graham's dyke*. But of *Severus*'s wall, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [m], to which we refer the reader. The hithermoſt was,

[l] Spart. in vit. Sever. c. 18. [m] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 64:

as we have obſerved already, built by *Adrian*, not with ſtone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a ſtone wall was built in the ſame place; but when, or by what emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were ſtill to be ſeen in *Camden*'s time. That learned antiquary traced it with great care, and, according to the account he gives us of it, it began at *Blatobulgium*, or *Bulneſs*, on the *Iriſh* ſea, kept along the ſide of *Solway-frith* by *Burgh-upon-ſands* to *Lugovallum*, now *Carliſle*, where it paſſed the *Ituna* or *Eden*. Thence it was carried on croſs the little river of *Cambeck*, where the ruins of a great caſtle were to be ſeen. Afterwards paſſing the rivers *Irthing* and *Poltroſe*, it entered *Northumberland*, and, through thoſe mountains along the river *South Tine*, was continued by a bridge over *North Tine*, and ended at the *German* ocean. On the north ſide of the wall was a ditch twelve yards broad. In ſome places it is ſix yards deep, hewn out of the ſolid rock. The wall itſelf was about eight foot thick, and in very few places built upon that of *Adrian*. *Camden* takes this to be the wall, that was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the iſland. But one legion only was then ſent over, and that was ſoon after recalled: and could one legion, in a very ſhort time, and in great haſte to return, build even with the aſſiſtance of the *Britons*, a ſtone wall eight foot in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This to us ſeems incredible, and therefore we are inclined to think, that this laſt wall was built upon that of *Severus* between *Bodotria* and *Glota*, where, in *Buchanan*'s time were diſcovered the remains of a ſtone wall [n]. This is the opinion of the learned *Uſher*, who maintains, that *Bede* was miſtaken in placing the laſt wall between the *Eden* and the *Tine* [o]. The laſt legion, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Britons*, drove out the barbarians with great ſlaughter, and recovered the country they had ſeized. Is it therefore probable, that, abandoning ſuch a vaſt tract to the enemy, they would have choſen to build a wall eighty miles in length, though in great haſte to return to the continent, when they might have incloſed a much larger country with a wall not half ſo long?

THESE three walls were, in different times, the boundaries of the *Roman* empire, dividing *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*, which laſt appellation they gave to that part of *Britain*, which was not ſubject to *Rome*. *Britannia Romana* was divided into *Britannia Superior* and *Britannia Inferior*, Britannia Superior *and* Inferior.

[n] BUCHAN. rer. Scot. l. iv. ſub rege 27. [o] Uſſ. rer. Brit. p. 1024, 1027.

rior, or *Upper* and *Lower Britain*. The former reached from the *Chanel* at leaſt as far as *Cheſter*, comprehending both *England* and *Wales*, as they are now ſtyled; for, on one hand, we read in *Dion Caſſius*, that the *legio ſecunda Auguſta* was quartered in *Upper Britain* [p]; and on the other, in *Ptolemy*, that it had its ſtation at *Iſca Silurum*, now *Caer Lheon*, about four miles from the *Severn* in *Monmouthſhire* [q]. The ſame *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that the *Legio vigeſima*, called likewiſe *Valeriana* and *Victrix*, was quartered in *Upper Britain*; and both *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* determine the place, *viz.* *Deva*, now *Cheſter*, on the *Deva*, now the *Dee*. The *Legio ſexta Victrix* is placed by *Dion Caſſius* in *Lower Britain*; and by *Antoninus*, as well as by *Ptolemy*, at *Eboracum* or *York*, which, as it is plain from hence, ſtood in *Lower Britain*. Under this diviſion was compriſed only that part of *Britain*, which was ſubject to the *Romans*, the other more northern part being by them diſtinguiſhed with the name of *Britannia Barbara*. This diviſion owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor *Severus*, who, having ſettled the affairs of *Britain*, divided it, as we read in *Herodian* [r], into two prefectures. Before that prince's reign, no mention is made of any diviſion of *Britain*; and *Ptolemy*, who divides *Germany*, *Pannonia*, and *Mœſia* into *Upper* and *Lower*, takes no notice of any ſuch diviſion in his deſcription of *Britain*; a convincing proof, that, when he wrote, that is, in the reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, this diviſion was not yet introduced. If *Severus* was, as he ſeems to have been, the author of this diviſion, *Britannia Inferior* extended to the iſthmus between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where he built a wall, parting *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*.

Britain *divided into five governments.*

Britannia Romana, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Britain*, was firſt divided, probably by *Conſtantine the Great*, into four governments; *viz.* *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*. *Britannia Prima* lay between the *Chanel* on one ſide, and the *Thames* and the *Severn* on the other; *Britannia Secunda* reached from the *Severn* to the *Iriſh* ſea; *Flavia Cæſarienſis* was incloſed by the *Thames*, the *Severn*, and the *Humber*; and *Maxima Cæſarienſis* extended from the *Humber* to *Adrian*'s wall. To theſe was added afterwards the province of *Valentia*, probably ſo called by the emperor *Valentinian* from his brother *Valens*; for, in the reign of *Valentinian*, this country, extending from *Adrian*'s wall to the friths of *Bodotria* and *Glota*, was recovered by *Theodoſius*, father to the emperor of that name.

[p] Dio Cass l. iv. p, 564. [q] Ptol. l. ii c. 3. [r] Herodian. l. iii. c. 8.

The

This diviſion we have copied from the breviary, which *Sextus Rufus* wrote, and dedicated to the emperor *Valentinian*. Of this work, ſome imperfect copies leave out *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; and one of theſe *Camden* has followed. Each of theſe provinces had its particular magiſtrate, ſome a conſular, others only a *præſes* or preſident. They were all, according to the *Notitia*, ſubject to the *vicarius* of *Britain*, as he was to the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul*, one of the four *præfecti prætorio* inſtituted by *Conſtantine*. The vicar of *Britain* had ſeveral officers under him for the better and more expeditious adminiſtration of civil affairs, *viz.* his *princeps* or lieutenant; a *cornicularius*, who publiſhed the ſentences and decrees of the vicar and other magiſtrates, and was ſo called from *cornu* a *horn*, with the ſounding of which he commanded ſilence in the court; two *numerarii* or accountants, whoſe province it was to ſet down the ſums of the public revenues; a *commentarienſis* or jailor, ſo called from the *commentaria* or kalendars of the priſoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called *ab actis*, that is, public notaries, who wrote teſtaments, contracts, and other inſtruments; ſecretaries called *de cura*, and *de cura epiſtolarum*, whoſe office it was to write and ſend letters and diſpatches from the governors of the provinces to the emperor, or to each other. Beſides a great number of petty officers, *viz.* informers, purſuivants, apparitors, *&c.* the vicar had under him the governors of the five above-mentioned provinces, who were three preſidents, and two conſulars; for by preſidents were governed *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; and the other two, *Maxima Cæſarienſis* and *Valentia*, by conſulars, as appears from the *Notitia*, and was agreeable to the cuſtom of the *Romans*, who, on the decline of the empire, committed to conſulars the care of thoſe provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were moſt expoſed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reverſing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the ſame power was the *præfectus prætorio* of *Gaul* veſted, with reſpect to the judgments and decrees of the vicar. The enſigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five caſtles placed in the triangular form of the iſland, with the names of the five above-mentioned provinces, which they repreſented [1].

The form of the Roman *government in* Britain.

Their civil government.

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government adminiſtered. As to the military, it was executed by three chief officers under the *magiſter militum* of the weſt; *viz.* the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes litoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*. No mention is made

Their military government.

[1] Vide PANCIROL. in not. imperii

in the *Notitia* of the troops under the command of the count of *Britain*, nor of the places under his jurisdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coasts, and in the northern parts of *Britain*, as appears from the places where their forces were quartered, we conclude from thence, that the inland and south part of the island was subject to his command. The *comes litoris Saxonici*, or count of the *Saxon* shore, whose province it was to cover the eastern coast, lying over-against *Germany*, and prevent the *Saxon* pirates from ravaging the country, had no fewer than eight *præpositi* under his command, and one tribune; *viz.* the *præpositus* or commander of the *numerus* or cohort of the *Fortenses*, quartered at *Othona*, thought to be *Hastings*; the *præpositus* of the *Tungricani* at *Dubris* or *Dover*; the *præpositus* of the *Turnacenses* at *Lemanis* or *Lime*; the *præpositus* of the *Branodunenses*, who were *Dalmatian* horse, at *Brandunum* or *Brancaster*, in *Norfolk*; the *præpositus* of the *Stablesian* horse at *Garriannonum* or *Castor*, near *Yarmouth*; the *præpositus* of the second legion, called *Augusta*, quartered at *Rutupiæ* or *Richborough*; the *præpositus* of the *Abulci* at *Anderida* or *Newenden*; and the *præpositus* of the *Exploratores*, whose office it was to discover the state and motions of the enemy at *Portus Adurni*, or *Ederington* in *Sussex*. The tribune commanded under the *præpositus* of the legion. The *dux Britanniarum* had under him fourteen *præpositi*; *viz.* the *præpositus* of the sixth legion quartered at *York* or *Eboracum*; the *præpositus* of the *Dalmatian* horse at *Præsidium*, or *Patrington* in *Holderness*; the *præpositus* of the *Crispinian* horse at *Danum* or *Doncaster*; the *præpositus* of the *Catafractarian* horse at *Morbium*, perhaps *Morsby* in *Cumberland*; the *præpositus* of the *Nervii Dictenses* at *Dictis* or *Diganwy* in *Caernarvanshire*; the *præpositus* of the *Vigiles* or scouts at *Concangii* or *Kendal* in *Westmorland*; the *præpositus* of the *Exploratores* at *Lavatres* or *Bowes* in *Yorkshire*; the *præpositus* of the *Directi* at *Veteræ* or *Burgh-upon-Stanmore* in *Westmorland*; the *præpositus* of the *Defensores* at *Broconiocum* or *Bougham* in the same county; the *præpositus* of the *Solenses* at *Magona*, thought by *Camden* to be *Machleneth* in *Montgomeryshire*; the *præpositus* of the *Pacenses* at *Magi* or *Old Radnor*; the *præpositus* of the *Longonicarii* at *Longonicus* or *Lanchester*, in the bishopric of *Durham*; and lastly, the *præpositus* of the *Derventionenses*, so called from *Derventio*, where they were quartered, a town upon the *Derwent*, seven miles from *York*, thought to be *Auldby*. All these *præpositi* are named in the *Notitia*, with the places where they were quartered.

Besides

BESIDES the above-mentioned forces, a ſtrong guard or watch was kept on the wall, or, as the *Notitia* expreſſes it, along the line of the wall, *per lineam valli*. Here was poſted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Lergi*, at a place called *Segodunum*, now *Seaton*, on the ſea-coaſt of *Northumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Comonii* had his ſtation at *Pons Ælii* or *Pontland* in *Northumberland*. This bridge was probably made by order of the emperor *Ælius Adrianus*. The tribune of the *ala* of the *Aſtores* was quartered at *Condercum* or *Cheſter-upon-the-ſtreet*, in the biſhoprick of *Durham*, next to him was ſtationed the tribune of the firſt cohort of the *Frixagi* at *Vindobala*, as we read in the *Notitia*, or *Vindomora*, as it is ſtyled in the itinerary, the former name importing, in the *Britiſh* language, *finis muri*, and the latter *finis valli*, and hence the place is now called the *Wall's-end*, in *Northumberland*, the river *Tine* ſerving perhaps inſtead of a rampart from this place to the ſea. The prefect of the *ala Saviniana* was poſted at *Hunnum*, which *Camden* conjectures to be *Sevenſhale* in the ſame county. The prefect of the ſecond *ala* of the *Aſtores* lay at *Cilurnum*, which ſome take for *Cillerford*, and ſome for *Scilicheſter-on-the-wall*, likewiſe in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the *Batavi* was ſtationed at *Procolitia*, according to ſome, *Colcheſter* upon the *Tine*. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the *Tungri* was quartered at *Borcovicus* or *Borwic* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the fourth cohort of the *Gauls* at *Vindolana* or *Winchheſter-on-the-wall*. The tribune of the firſt cohort of the *Aſtores* at *Æſica*, thought to be *Netherly* on the *Eſk* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the ſecond cohort of the *Dalmatæ* at *Magni*, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not *Radnor*, called by the ſame name. The tribune of the firſt cohort *Ælia* at *Amboglanna*, according to ſome *Willoford* in *Cumberland*, according to *Camden*, *Ambleſide* in *Weſtmorland*. The prefect of the *ala Petriana* at *Perith* in *Cumberland*. The prefect of the *Mauri Aureliani* at *Aballaba*, or *Apleby* in *Weſtmorland*. The tribune of the ſecond cohort of the *Largi* at *Congavata*, or *Roſe-caſtle* near *Carliſle* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the cohort of the *Hiſpani* at *Axelodunum*, now *Hexam* in *Northumberland*. The tribune of the ſecond cohort of *Thracians* at *Gabroſentum*, *Gateſhead*, cloſe to *Newcaſtle*. The tribune of the firſt cohort, called *Ælia Claſſica*, at *Tunnocellum* or *Tinmouth*. This cohort, *Camden* thinks, was employed in naval affairs, induced thereunto by the ſurname of *Claſſica* given it in the *Notitia*. That the *Romans* kept ſome veſſels on the *Tine*, to hinder the *Caledonians* from making deſcents on their territories, is not improbable; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of this iſland, is manifeſt

from

from a law still extant in the pandects, wherein mention is made by *Javolenus* of one *Seius Saturninus*, *archigubernus* or admiral of the *British* fleet [t]. The tribune of the first cohort of the *Morini* was stationed at *Glannobanta*, thought by *Camden* to have stood on the *Wentsbeek* in *Cumberland*. The tribune of the third cohort of the *Nervii* at *Alione*, now *Whitley-castle* in *Westmorland*. The *cuneus* of the *Armaturæ* is placed by the *Notitia* at *Brementuracum*, a station near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of *Preston* in *Lancashire*, sixty miles distant from the wall, as *Camden* would have it. The prefect of the first *ala Herculea* had his station at *Olenacum* or *Ellenborough* in *Cumberland*, where many monuments of antiquity have been discovered. The tribune of the sixth cohort of the *Nervii* is mentioned the last of all in the *Notitia*, and placed at *Verosidium*, thought to be *Wercwich* upon the *Eden* near *Carlisle*. All these forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to secure the wall, under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*. These three officers, *viz.* the *comes Britanniarum*, the *comes litoris Saxonici*, and the *dux Britanniarum*, were equal in power, but subordinate to the vicar. The forces maintained in *Britain* under the two latter officers, amounted, according to *Pancirolus*, to nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse. Of the troops under the *comes Britanniarum*, we find no account in the *Notitia*; *Pancirolus* thinks, because the greater part of the island was then in the power of the barbarians. But this reason might have served against enumerating the forces under the two other commanders; for, at the very time the *Notitia* was compiled, the *Britons* were, by frequent embassies, soliciting the emperor, and his officers in *Gaul*, for aid; which they could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops, set down in the *Notitia*, been quartered towards the wall. In the times before the *Notitia*, no mention is made of the *comes Britanniarum*, but only of the *dux*, and the *comes tractus maritimi*, called *comes litoris Saxonici*, when the *Saxon* pirates began to infest the coasts. The first vicar of *Britain* we find mentioned in history, and probably the first who, with that title, governed here, is *Pacatianus*, to whom we find an edict directed in 319, enacting, that one *decurio* should not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from another [u]. The authority of the count of the *Saxon* shore was thought to have been confined within *Britain*, till it was by the learned *Selden* extended to the opposite coast of *Cimbria*, *Bata-*

[t] Pand. SC. ad Trebell. l. xii. tit. 7. dat. 12. calend.

[u] Lib. ii. de exact. Cod. Theod. Decemb. A. D. 319.

via,

via, *Belgica*, and *Armorica* [x]; for to them he finds the name of *litus Saxonicum* given by the writers of thoſe times, no doubt from their being infeſted by the *Saxon* pirates. The count of *Britain* had for his enſigns a book of mandates, and the iſland repreſented in a triangular form; the count of the *Saxon* ſhore a purple book, with nine caſtles, repreſenting the nine places where the *præpoſiti* and tribune, under his command, were quartered; and the *dux* likewiſe a purple book, with the fourteen places, where the prefects under him were ſtationed. Of theſe munitions or forts, fourteen have over them the names we have mentioned; but the firſt has only the word *ſextæ*, ſignifying, we ſuppoſe, the ſtation of the ſixth legion, which was quartered at *York*; whence that city is ſtyled by *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *Eboracum legio ſexta*; and in a coin of *Severus*, *Col. Eboracum Legio* VI. *Victrix*. If the power and juriſdiction of the count of the *Saxon* ſhore had extended to the oppoſite coaſts of *Gaul* and *Germany*, as *Selden* maintains, mention would have been made in the *Notitia* of the forces under his command in thoſe places; but as the *Notitia* is quite ſilent upon that head, and, in the enſigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine *Britiſh* towns or gariſons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this iſland. His troops were quartered in ſeveral towns or ſtations along the coaſt from *Kent* to the moſt northern part of *Norfolk*. The more northern coaſts, and that facing *Ireland*; with the inland countries in thoſe parts, were under the juriſdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*; for *Danum*, now *Doncaſter*, ſeems to have been the moſt ſouthern ſtation of his troops. Theſe ſtations, deſigned at firſt for camps, called in *Latin caſtra*, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almoſt all our great cities and towns, built either in the ſame places where the *Roman* camps were, or at a ſmall diſtance from them. This obſervation holds, eſpecially in thoſe, the names of which end in *cheſter* or *ceſter*, derived from the *Latin* word *caſtra*; for, to this day, the ſtations or forts near the *Picts* wall, the remains of which are to be ſeen in ſeveral places, are, by the common people, called *Cheſters* [y].

The Roman highways.

To maintain a communciation between one ſtation and another, and for the convenience of the armies, when they marched, or of the governors, when they viſited the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed in making roads or cauſeways, called *viæ militares*, *conſulares*, *prætoriæ*, *ſtratæ*, *publicæ*, &c. As no fewer than an hundred and fourteen manſions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the *Itine-*

[x] Vide SELD. in Mari clauſo. [y] Vide BARTON. comment. in Antonin. itiner.

rary, and in the *Notitia* forty-ſix gariſons, *viz.* nine on the ſea-coaſt, under the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici*, fourteen more inland, and twenty-three *per lineam valli*, or along the wall, under the juriſdiction of the *dux Britanniarum*, many highways muſt have been made for paſſing, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, from one place, however diſtant, to another. Our hiſtorians, indeed, mention only four of note; but, in a province ſo abounding with ſtations, camps, fortreſſes, and cities, there muſt, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the *Notitia* given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*, as well as of the other two great officers, we ſhould have had knowledge of more cities and places of note in this iſland; for *Bede* tells us out of *Gildas*, who flouriſhed about the time the *Notitia* was compoſed, that, in thoſe days, there were twenty-eight moſt ſtately cities, beſides innumerable caſtles, fortified with ſtrong walls, towers, and gates [z]. The four ways, or, as we call them, *ſtreets*, mentioned by our hiſtorians, are, *Watling-ſtreet*, ſo called, as is conjectured, either from *Vitellianus*, a *Roman*, perhaps employed in making it, or from a *Saxon* word ſignifying a beggar, it being much frequented by beggars. This way is thought by ſome to have reached from *Dover* to *Cardigan* in *Wales*; by others to have extended from *Dover* to the coaſt over-againſt *Angleſey*, paſſing through *London*, *Dunſtable*, *Towceſter*, *Allerſton*, and croſſing the *Severn* near the *Wrekin* in *Shropſhire*. The *Foſſ-way*, ſo called, perhaps, becauſe in ſome places it was never perfected, but left like a ditch. This way is thought to have reached from *Totneſs* in *Devonſhire* to *Lincoln*, and from *Lincoln* to *Cathneſs*, the moſt northern point in *Scotland*. *Ikenild-ſtreet*, ſo called, perhaps, from *Iceni*. It led from *Southampton* to *York*, and from thence to *Tinmouth*. *Ermine* or *Erminage-ſtreet*, reaching from St. *David's* to *Southampton* [a]. Beſides theſe, we find two others mentioned in hiſtory, *viz.* *Julia Strata* in *Monmouthſhire*, made, as *Camden* conjectures, by *Julius Frontinus*, who ſubdued the *Silures*; and *Strata Marcella*, mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, as lying at a ſmall diſtance from *Julia Strata*. The former is thought to have been the work of *Ulpius Marcellus*, propretor of *Britain* in the reign of *Commodus*.

Several corps of Britons in the Roman armies.

The forces, employed in the defence of *Britain*, were all foreigners, as the reader muſt have obſerved, the *Romans* not thinking it ſafe to truſt the natives, who perhaps would have defended their country with more vigour and reſolution againſt

[z] Bed. hiſt. l. i. c. 1. [a] Vide Barton. comment. in itiner. Antonin

the

the barbarians, but might, when maſters of all the ſtrong places, have turned their arms againſt their maſters, and ſhaken off the yoke. To prevent this, the *Romans* tranſplanted into other countries the numerous levies raiſed here. It appears from the *Notitia*, and ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that bodies of *Britiſh* troops were diſperſed almoſt over the whole empire; for we find the following corps mentioned; *viz. Ala Britannica milliaria*, *Ala quarta Britonum in Ægypto*, *Cohors prima Ælia Britonum*, *Cohors tertia Britonum*, *Cohors ſeptima Britonum*, *Cohors viceſima ſexta Britonum in Armorica*, *Britanniciani ſub magiſtro peditum*, *Invicti juniores Britanniciani*, *Excubitores juniores Britanniciani*, *Britones cum magiſtro equitum Galliarum*, *Invicti juniores Britones intra Hiſpaniam*, *Britones ſeniores in Illyrico*. Theſe different corps were ſupplied from time to time out of this iſland. No wonder therefore, that *Britain*, exhauſted and deprived of its youth by ſo numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered here, a prey to the northern barbarians. Having thus deſcribed the ſtate of *Britain* before and after the arrival of the *Romans*, we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of that part of it, which was ſubject to *Rome*, from the time of its being firſt invaded by *Julius Cæſar*, to its deſertion by the *Romans* in the reign of *Valentinian* III. containing the ſpace of about five hundred years.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Britain, *from the firſt coming of* Julius Cæſar, *to its deſertion by the* Romans.

BRITAIN was but little known to the *Romans* till the time of *Julius Cæſar* (A), who, having carried his victorious arms to the oppoſite coaſt of *Gaul*, parted from *Britain* by Britain.

Cæſar's *firſt expedition into*

(A) We muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that we have no accounts, but ſuch as are evidently fabulous, of what paſſed in this iſland before the *Romans* were acquainted with it. *Gildas*, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the ſixth century, freely owns, that, as for the antient monuments of his country, they were no-where to be found in his time, being either deſtroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the baniſhed *Britons*. However, *Annius* of *Viterbo*, in his *Beroſus*, gives us a long ſucceſſion of *Celtic* kings, whom he derives from *Samothes*, one of the ſons of *Japhet*, ſuppoſing him to have planted colonies firſt on the continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and afterwards in this iſland, from him named *Samothea*. But *Annius* has been long ſince unmaſked, and the fables he vends in his counterfeit

by a narrow chanel, there formed the design of bringing the *Britons*, as he had already done the most warlike nations of *Gaul*,

terfeit *Berosus* universally exploded. What *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* writes of *Brutus*, and the kings descended from him, supposed to have reigned in this island, deserves no more credit, than the fables of *Annius*, whether *Geoffrey* was the author, or only the translator, of that pretended history; for, in the preface prefixed to it, he tells us, that he received an antient *British* history from *Walter* archdeacon of *Oxon*, which he faithfully translated out of the *British* tongue into *Latin*. This history, or rather romance, he inscribed to *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, natural son to *Henry* I. But though it was at first received with uncommon applause by the *Welsh*, who, to this day, are unwilling to give it up as fabulous, yet it began very early to be cried down, as appears from what we read in *William Niobrigensis*, who flourished not long after *Geoffrey*, and writes of him thus: "In these our days a certain writer is risen, who has devised "many foolish fictions of the *Britons*. His name is *Geoffrey*." And a little after: "With how little shame, with what great con-"fidence, does he frame lies!" However, as it would be unpardonable in us to pass over in silence what all our historians have thought fit to take notice of, we shall here relate, in a few words, what we read in *Geoffrey*'s fabulous history of *Brutus*, and his successors, said to have reigned in this island many ages before the arrival of the *Romans*. According to that writer, *Brutus*, the great-grandson of *Æneas* by his son *Ascanius*, having accidentally killed with an arrow his father *Sylvius*, king of *Alba*, was forced to leave *Italy*; and flying into *Greece*, joined there the *Trojans*, who had settled in that country after the destruction of their city. With these he put to sea, being supplied with a fleet by *Pandrasus*, king of the country, whose daughter he had married; and entering the *Atlantic* sea, performed wonders in several places, particularly in *Gaul*, where he overcame *Goffarius* king of *Aquitain*, and drove him from his kingdom. But the banished king having prevailed upon the other princes of *Gaul* to lend him powerful succours, *Brutus*, not finding himself in a condition to withstand so great a force, put to sea again, and, after a few days sail, arrived on the coast of *Albion*, and landed at the place in *Devonshire*, where *Totness* now stands. He immediately marched up into the country, which he found peopled by giants, whose chief or king was *Gogmagog*. These he overcame, and having rooted them out, and divided the lands among his people, he called the island, from his own name, *Britain*. Having got possession of the whole country, he built a city in a proper place, which he made the seat of his kingdom, calling it *Troja Nova*, a name afterwards changed into *Troynovantum* or *Trinobantum*. Before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three sons. *Locrinus*, the eldest, had for his share *Leogria*, so called from him, now *England*. *Cambar*, *Brutus*'s second son, had *Cambria*, now *Wales*; and *Albanactus*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*. Having

Gaul, under the dominion of *Rome*. Whatever was the real motive that prompted him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition and thirſt of glory, as to us ſeems moſt likely, or the hopes of enriching himſelf with the *Britiſh* pearls, as we read in *Suetonius* [b], the pretence he alledged was, that, in all the wars of *Gaul*, the *Britons* had aſſiſted with conſiderable ſupplies the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to paſs over into *Britain*, and, by the conqueſt of this iſland, enhance the reputation, which he had already acquired in *Gaul*. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, and winter came on very early in theſe northern climates, he was ſenſible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finiſh the war. However, he thought it would be no ſmall advantage to view the iſland, to learn the temper, cuſtoms, and manners, of the inhabitants, and to get ſome knowledge of their ports and havens, then viſited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coaſt lying over-againſt *Gaul*, but ſeemed utter ſtrangers to the reſt of the country; for, being called together by *Cæſar* from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the iſland was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they underſtood the art of war; by what cuſtoms they were governed; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ſhips (B). In order therefore to diſcover what he could not learn

[b] SUET. in JUL. c. 58.

ing laid this foundation the author purſues his hiſtory, giving us an account of the various revolutions, that happened in the iſland in the reigns of the kings, who ſucceeded each other, from *Brutus* to *Caſſibelan*, who, being appointed guardian to *Androgius* and *Tenuantius*, his two nephews, the ſons of king *Lud*, prevailed upon the people to transfer the kingdom upon himſelf. *Lud* is ſaid by *Geoffrey* to have ſurrounded the city of *London* with new walls and towers, and to have built a gate, which, from him, is ſtill called *Ludgate*. In the reign of *Caſſibelan*, *Cæſar* landed in *Britain*; and here it is, as *Camden* well obſerves, that the *Engliſh* hiſtorian ought to begin his hiſtory, whatever *Geoffrey* or others have written of the *Britiſh* affairs before this period being altogether groundleſs. As for *Geoffrey*'s hiſtory in particular, it ſufficiently confutes itſelf, bringing with it ſuch marks of forgery, as muſt evidently convince every reader, that the whole is a fiction either of *Geoffrey* himſelf, or of the author, whom he pretends to have copied.

(B) *Cæſar* tells us elſewhere (1), that *Divitiacus*, one of the moſt powerful men in *Gaul*, was not only maſter of a conſiderable part of that country, but had ſome footing likewiſe in *Britain*; that

(1) *Cæſar. comment. l.* ii *c.* 2

ſeveral

learn of the merchants, he ſent out *C. Voluſenus* with a galley, injoining him to return as ſoon as poſſible with what intelligence he could get. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæſar* went in perſon to view the coaſt; but *Cæſar*'s own account ſhews that writer was miſtaken [c]. In the mean time, *Cæſar* marched all his forces into the country of the *Morini*, now the province of *Picardy*, whence was the ſhorteſt paſſage into *Britain*, ordering, at the ſame time, all the veſſels, that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition againſt the *Morini*, to attend him.

The Britons ſend embaſſadors to Cæſar.

The *Britons*, alarmed at theſe preparations, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, offering to ſubmit to *Rome*, and deliver hoſtages for their fidelity. *Cæſar* received them with great kindneſs; and having encouraged them, with fair promiſes, to perſiſt in their reſolution, he ſent them back to their own country, ordering *Comius*, whom, for his extraordinary wiſdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the *Atrebates*, to attend them into *Britain*, with inſtructions to viſit as many ſtates as he could, to perſuade them to accept of an alliance with *Rome*, and to acquaint them with his deſign of landing in a ſhort time in their country. In the mean time, *Voluſenus*, having made what diſcoveries he could from his ſhip, for he did not think it adviſeable to venture aſhore, returned after five days to *Cæſar*, and acquainted him with what he had obſerved.

Cæſar *embarques with two legions.*

Hereupon *Cæſar*, having embarqued two legions on board eighty tranſports, and appointed eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to embarque at the port, where the veſſels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were too ſlowly executed. *Cæſar* himſelf arrived in a few hours on the *Britiſh* coaſt; but finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the ſea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, eaſily prevent his landing, he lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for ſome of his ſhips that

[c] Idem ibid. Cæs. comment. l. iv.

ſeveral provinces of *Britain* were peopled by colonies from *Gaul*; that the *Britons* had aſſiſted the *Gauls* in moſt of their wars; and, laſtly, that ſuch of the *Gauls* as were deſirous to be perfect maſters of the learning of the *Druids*, uſed to paſs over into *Britain* to ſtudy it there. How could *Britain*, therefore, at that time, be ſo utterly unknown in *Gaul*, or only known to merchants, nay, and to them ſo little, that being called together by *Cæſar* from all parts, they could not give him any tolerable account of the people, of their cuſtoms, manners, laws, method of fighting, &c. nay, not even of their ports and harbours?

were

were not yet come up, in order to look out for ſome other place, where he might land his troops, with leſs danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he ſummoned the chief officers to a council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from *Voluſenus*, and given them ſuch orders as he thought proper for the occaſion, he ſet ſail, and arriving at a plain and open ſhore about eight miles farther, he there came to an anchor. The *Britons*, appriſed of *Cæſar*'s deſign, ſent their cavalry and chariots before, the reſt of the army haſtening after them, in order to oppoſe his landing. The main difficulty in getting to land proceeded from the largeneſs of the ſhips, which required a conſiderable depth of water; ſo that the *Roman* ſoldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the ſea, and at the ſame time to ſtruggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands diſengaged, as they either ſtood on dry land, or waded but a little way into the water, could boldly caſt their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, as *Cæſar* himſelf owns, that they did not appear ſo chearful, nor ſo eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ſhips or galleys to advance with their broad ſides towards the ſhore, in order to force the *Britons*, with their ſlings, arrows, and engines, to retire from the water-ſide. This had, in ſome degree, the deſired effect; for the *Britons*, ſurpriſed at the make of the galleys, a ſort of ſhipping they had never ſeen, and overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and arrows thence diſcharged upon them, began to give ground. But the *Romans* ſtill betraying great backwardneſs to throw themſelves into the water, the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the gods, cried out aloud, *Fellow ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your colours, and ſuffer the* Roman *eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am reſolved to diſcharge my duty to the commonwealth and my general.* Having thus ſpoken, he leaped into the ſea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the ſoldiers in the ſame ſhip, encouraging each other not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their enſign, followed his example; which thoſe in the other ſhips perceiving, they too caſt themſelves boldly into the ſea, and, preſſing forward, began the fight, which proved very ſharp, on both ſides, and, for ſome time, no-ways favourable to the *Romans*; for not being able either to keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, follow their particular ſtandards, they were put into great confuſion by the *Britons*; who, being acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw them coming in ſmall numbers

The Britons *oppoſe the landing of the* Romans.

bers out of their ships, spurred their horses into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared; which *Cæsar* observing, he caused several boats to be manned, and sent them to the assistance of those, whom he saw most distressed. By this means, the *Romans*, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy so briskly, that they put them to flight; but could not pursue them for want of horse, the cavalry not being yet arrived; which, *Cæsar* says, was the only thing wanting to complete his wonted success [d].

The Romans land with great difficulty. Year before Christ 54.

The Britons sue for peace.

Upon this defeat, the *Britons* immediately sent embassadors, and with them *Comius*, whom they had committed to prison, to sue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuse, by laying the blame on the multitude. *Cæsar*, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him, after they had sent embassadors to him into *Gaul*, desiring peace, promised to forgive them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hostages. Part of these they brought immediately, promising to return in a few days with the rest, who lived at some distance. Peace being thus concluded four days after *Cæsar*'s landing in *Britain*, the *British* princes, having disbanded their men, and sent them back into their several countries, came to submit themselves and their states to *Cæsar*. In the mean time, the eighteen transports, that were conveying over the *Roman* cavalry, being overtaken by a violent storm, were driven back to the ports of *Gaul*. By the same storm, *Cæsar*'s fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, several of them being dashed to pieces, and others, by the loss of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly useless; which caused a great consternation in the army, for they wanted materials wherewithal to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and provisions to support them any considerable time in the island, *Cæsar* having all along intended to pass the winter in *Gaul*. What added to the misfortune, the same night, it being then full moon, the tide rose so high, that the galleys, which had been drawn ashore, were filled with water. This caused a new panic, the *Roman* mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides. The *British* chiefs, who were assembled to perform their agreement with *Cæsar*, perceiving his want of horse, ships, and provisions, and judging of the number of his men from the smallness of his camp, which was narrower than usual, because the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, resolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, persuading themselves, that, if they could cut off the few *Romans* that were come over, or prevent their return, they

Cæsar's fleet greatly damaged by a storm.

[d] *Cæs. comment. l. iv.*

would

would thereby deter others from invading *Britain* for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to ſteal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to liſt again their diſbanded troops. *Cæſar* knew nothing of their deſign; but nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hoſtages after the loſs of his ſhipping, reſolved to prepare againſt all events. Accordingly he cauſed all the proviſions, that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp, and gave orders, that thoſe ſhips, which had been the leaſt damaged by the ſtorm, ſhould be refitted with the materials of thoſe, that had been ſhattered to pieces. He ſent likewiſe to *Gaul* for what things were farther neceſſary; which were ſo well applied by the ſoldiers, who, on this occaſion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that only twelve ſhips being loſt, the reſt were ſoon in a condition to put to ſea again. In the mean time, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, while part of the ſoldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehenſion of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the reſt in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the *Britons*, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not queſtioning but the *Romans* would come and forage in that place, the harveſt being brought in every-where elſe, fell upon them unexpectedly; and having killed ſome of them, drove the reſt into a ſmall compaſs, and ſurrounded them with their horſe and chariots in ſuch manner, that not a ſingle man would have eſcaped, had not the advanced guards, obſerving a greater duſt than uſual riſing from that quarter, acquainted *Cæſar* therewith; who, ſuſpecting the *Britons* had begun hoſtilities anew, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the legion with the two cohorts, that were upon guard, ordering two others to ſupply their room, and all the reſt to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the *Britons* gave over the attack, and the *Romans* reſumed their courage. However, *Cæſar* not thinking it adviſeable to engage the enemy, ſtood ſome time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued ſeveral days ſucceſſively, kept the *Romans* in their camp, and hindered the *Britons* from attempting any thing againſt them. The latter, however, were not idle in the mean time, but having diſpatched meſſengers into all parts of the iſland, to inform their countrymen how ſmall an army the *Romans* had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themſelves for ever, by forcing the *Roman* camp, they drew together a great body of horſe and foot, and boldly advanced to the *Roman* entrenchments. Upon their approach, *Cæſar* drew up his legions in order of battle before

The Britons break the peace;

And fall upon the ſeventh legion.

They attack the Roman camp; but are repulsed with great slaughter.

the camp, and gave the *Britons* so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. *Cæsar* pursued them with great slaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt several towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The *Britons*, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent the same day embassadors to sue for peace; which *Cæsar* readily granted, upon their promising to send him over into *Gaul* double the number of hostages he had required before. His want of horse, and the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he staid till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The same night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived safe in *Gaul*, whence he immediately wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his exploits in *Britain*; for which a supplication, or general thanksgiving, was decreed for twenty days [c].

Cæsar *returns to* Gaul.

The *Britons*, it seems, were not much awed by *Cæsar*'s arms; for of all the states, into which the island was then divided, two only sent him hostages. Provoked at this neglect or contempt, he resolved to make a new descent the following spring with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left *Gaul* to return to *Italy*, where he used to pass part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ships, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were executed with such diligence, that, upon his return, he found six hundred ships, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his soldiers and the supervisors, he commanded them to repair with the fleet to *Portus Itius* (C), while he marched with four legions, and eight hundred horse, into the country of *Treves*, to prevent a rebellion there; which he had no sooner done, than he hastened to the above-mentioned port, and leaving *Labienus* there with three legions, and two thousand horse, to secure it, to provide corn, and to send him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarqued with five legions, and two thousand horse, and weighing anchor about sun-set, arrived

Cæsar's *second expedition into Britain. Year before Christ* 53

[c] Cæs. ibid.

(C) *Camden* and *Somner* in his dissertation *de Portu Iccio*, will have *Boulogne* to be the *Portus Itius* mentioned by *Cæsar*; others look for the *Portus Itius* at *Calais*, or in that neighbourhood. *Horsley* observes, that *Cæsar* calls the passage from *Portus Itius* to *Britain* the shortest and easiest, being about thirty miles. Now, by an accurate survey, the distance at *Calais* from land to land is twenty-six *English* miles, or twenty eight and a half *Roman*

with

with his whole fleet the next day by noon on the *Britiſh* coaſt, where he landed, without oppoſition, in the ſame place, which he had found ſo convenient the year before. The *Britons* had aſſembled in vaſt multitudes to oppoſe his landing, as he afterwards underſtood from the priſoners; but being terrified at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, amounting, with the veſſels which ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, to eight hundred and upwards, they had left the ſhore, and retired to the hills. *Cæſar*, being informed, after landing his troops, where the *Britons* were lodged, left ten cohorts and three hundred horſe to ſecure the fleet, and with the reſt marched in queſt of the enemy, whom he found poſted on the other ſide of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed (D). Their deſign was to oppoſe his paſſage; but, notwithſtanding the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the *Roman* cavalry, to quit their poſt, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees cut down for that purpoſe. Out of this place, which ſeemed to have been fortified in ſome former war, they never ventured but in ſmall parties. But, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts to prevent the *Romans* from entering it, the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion, having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, obliged them to abandon their aſylum, and ſave themſelves by flight; but the day being far ſpent, *Cæſar*, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more adviſeable to return, and fortify his camp, than to purſue the fugitives [f].

He lands without oppoſition.

Is forced by the Britons to retire.

EARLY next morning, *Cæſar* diſpatched both his horſe and foot, divided into three bodies, in purſuit of the enemy; but when he was already come in ſight of their rear, he was acquainted by ſome horſemen from *Q. Atrius*, that, by a dreadful ſtorm, which had happened the night before, moſt of his ſhips were daſhed to pieces, or driven aſhore. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened back to the ſea-ſide, where he was an eye-witneſs of the misfortune, which he had heard from the meſſengers; for forty ſhips were intirely loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged,

The Romans ſuſtain a great loſs by a ſtorm.

[f] CÆS. comment. l. v.

(D) This river is ſuppoſed to be the *Stour*, the *Thames* being too diſtant: ſo that the battle was fought on the banks of that river, to the north of the town. *Horſley* is of opinion, that the ſtrong place to which the *Britons* retreated after their defeat, muſt have been *Durovernum* now *Canterbury*, diſtant twelve miles from the place where *Cæſar* landed (z).

(z) *Horſley*, p. 14.

that they could not be refitted without great trouble and labour. However, without loſs of time, he ſet all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and ſent over to *Gaul* for others, ordering at the ſame time *Labienus* to build as many ſhips as he could with the legions that were there. To prevent the like misfortune for the future, he reſolved upon a very difficult undertaking, which was, to draw all his ſhips aſhore, and incloſe them within the fortifications of his camp. This ſtupendous work being completed in ten days, the ſoldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermiſſion, and the camp being ſtrongly fortified, *Cæſar*, leaving the ſame guard as before to defend it, marched with the reſt of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from purſuing the enemy. Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increaſed, under the conduct of *Caſſibelan*, king of the *Trinobantes*, whoſe territories lay about eighty miles from the ſea. He had formerly made war on his neighbours; but, upon the arrival of the *Romans*, they had all unanimouſly committed the whole management of the war to him, as the moſt proper perſon to head them at ſo important a conjuncture. While the *Romans* were on their march, they were attacked by the *Britiſh* horſe and chariots, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter, and drove into the woods; but purſuing them too eagerly, they loſt ſome of their own men. Not long after, the *Britons* made a ſudden ſally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the *Romans* were buſied in fortifying their camp. *Cæſar* immediately detached two cohorts to their aſſiſtance; but the enemy, while the *Romans* ſtood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again without the loſs of a man. *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a tribune, was ſlain in this action; but ſome freſh cohorts coming to the relief of the *Romans*, the *Britons* were, in the end put to flight. The next day they kept on the hills, at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Roman* camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by *Cæſar*, with all the cavalry, under the command of *C. Trebonius*, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight; and being purſued by the *Roman* cavalry ſo cloſe, that they had not time to rally, to make a ſtand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their cuſtom, great numbers of them were cut in pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops, that had come from all parts, abandoning *Caſſibelan*, returned to their reſpective countries; nor did the *Britons* ever after engage *Cæſar* with their united forces[g].

Caſſibelan *foils upon the* Romans; *but is repulſed.*

The Britons *fall upon three* Roman *legions, but are defeated.*

[g] Idem ibid.

After

AFTER this victory, *Cæsar* marched toward the *Thames*, with a design to cross that river, and enter the territories of *Cassibelan*; but when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind so deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though *Cæsar* had intelligence of this from the prisoners and deserters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled (E). *Cassibelan*, now despairing of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about four thousand chariots, to observe the motions of the *Romans*. With these he kept at some distance in the woods, or in such places as were scarce accessible to the *Romans*, carrying off the cattle and corn from those countries through which the *Romans* were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, if the *Roman* cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waste, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great disadvantage. This prevented the *Romans* from making excursions, as they would have otherwise done, and obliged *Cæsar* not to suffer his horse to go farther to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them. In the mean time the *Trinobantes* sent embassadors to *Cæsar*, promising to submit to him, and at the same time intreating him to protect *Mandubratius* against the oppression of *Cassibelan*, and send him to them for their king and governor. *Mandubratius*, called by *Eutropius* and *Bede*, *Androgeus*, was the son of *Imanuentius*, king of the *Trinobantes*; but, upon the death of his father, who

Cæsar *passes the* Thames.

The Trinobantes *submit to* Cæsar.

(E) *Polyænus* tells us, that *Cæsar*, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem: he caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back full of men, to be driven into the river; which unusual sight struck such terror into the *Britons*, that they abandoned the opposite shore (3). The stakes are just above *Walton* in *Surrey*; and the meadow facing them is called *Coway*. They are even now to be seen at low water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the *Thames*, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, though they have been so long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At *Shepperton*, they have several knife handles made of them (4).

(3) *Polyæn. strat. l.* viii. (4) *Tindal. in not. ad Rapin.*

WAS

was ſlain by *Caſſibelan*, to avoid the like fate, he had fled to *Cæſar*, who had granted him his protection. *Cæſar* readily complied with the requeſt of the *Trinobantes*, injoining them to ſend him forty hoſtages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the *Trinobantes*, whoſe ſubmiſſion ſecured them from being plundered by the *Roman* ſoldiers, was ſoon followed by other ſtates; *viz.* the *Cenomagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Anaclites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi* (F), who, by their embaſſadors, ſubmitted to *Cæſar*. From theſe he had intelligence, that the town of *Caſſibelan*, ſuppoſed to be *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, well fortified with woods and marſhes, whither the country people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he marched with his legions; and though he found the place ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be ſtormed at two different places; which was done with ſuch reſolution, that the *Britons*, not able to ſuſtain the fury of the aſſault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood; for this town was only a thick wood, ſurrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart. Many of the *Britons* were overtaken, a- they attempted to make their

Who takes Caſſibelan's chief city.

(F) *Lipſius*, inſtead of *Cenomagni*, reads *Iceni*, *Cangi* (5), the names of two nations mentioned elſewhere by *Cæſar*. The *Iceni* inhabited *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*; and the *Cangi* the country lying on the *Iriſh* ſea; for when *Oſtorius* led his army againſt them, he approached the ſea, ſays *Tacitus* (6), that faces the iſland of *Ireland*. *Camden* agrees with *Lipſius* in changing the firſt part of *Cenomagni* into *Iceni*; but as for the latter, he reads *Regni*, who were the inhabitants of *Suſſex* and *Surry*, and conſequently more likely to follow the example of the *Trinobantes*, who inhabited *Hertfordſhire*, *Eſſex*, and *Middleſex*, than the *Cangi*, who lived at a great diſtance. The *Segontiaci* are placed by ſome in *Berkſhire*, by others in *Hampſhire* (7). The city of *Segontium*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, ſtood on the coaſt of *North Wales*, overagainſt the iſland of *Anglſey*, as appears from the itinerary; but we cannot think the inhabitants of that city to be the *Segontiaci* mentioned in this place, it being altogether improbable, that they ſhould have ſubmitted by their embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, while he was ſtill at ſo great a diſtance from their country. The *Anaclites* and *Bibroci* are placed by moſt of our antiquaries in *Berkſhire*, the former about *Henley*, and the latter about *Bray*. The *Caſſi* are ſuppoſed to have inhabited ſome part of *Hertfordſhire*, perhaps the hundred of *Caiſhow*.

(5) *Lipſ. in Tacit. l.* xii. *c.* 32. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Thom. Savil. in epiſt.* 13 *ad Cam.*

eſcape,

eſcape, and cut in pieces. Here *Cæſar* found great ſtore of cattle [h].

To repair, in ſome degree, this loſs, and divert *Cæſar* from purſuing his conqueſts, *Caſſibelan*, by his meſſengers, perſuaded four petty princes of *Kent*, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Cæſar* ſtyles kings, to raiſe what forces they could, and attack the camp, where the ſhips were laid up; but the *Romans*, having made a ſally, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, took *Cingetorix* priſoner, and returned, without any loſs, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, *Caſſibelan*, conſidering the many loſſes he had ſuſtained, how his country was laid waſte, and, above all, that ſeveral ſtates had already ſubmitted to the conqueror, reſolved to follow their example; and accordingly ſent embaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender, who were introduced by *Comius* of *Attrebatum* or *Arras*. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, *Cæſar*, who was determined to winter in *Gaul*, to prevent ſudden inſurrections there, readily hearkened to their propoſals; ſo that a treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following conditions, *viz.* that the *Britons* ſhould pay an annual tribute to the people of *Rome*; that *Caſſibelan* ſhould leave *Mandubratius* in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions, and not moleſt the *Trinobantes*; and that he ſhould deliver a certain number of hoſtages. Theſe *Cæſar* no ſooner received, than he marched back to the ſea-ſide, where he cauſed his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and ſome of his ſhips had been loſt in the ſtorm, he reſolved to tranſport his army at two voyages. But moſt of thoſe veſſels, which were ſent back from *Gaul*, after they had landed the ſoldiers, that were firſt carried over, and of the ſixty, that *Labienus* had taken care to build, being driven back by contrary winds, *Cæſar*, after having long expected them in vain, leſt the winter ſhould prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crouded his ſoldiers cloſer than he deſigned, and putting to ſea about the ſecond watch of the night, reached the continent with his whole fleet by break of day [i].

Four Kentiſh *kings attack the* Roman *camp; but are repulſed.*

Caſſibelan *ſues for peace, and obtains it.*

Cæſar *returns to* Gaul.

SUCH is the account *Cæſar* himſelf gives us of his two famous expeditions into *Britain*; but other authors have ſpoken more doubtfully of his victories here. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that the *Britons* uttterly routed the *Roman* infantry; but were afterwards put in diſorder by the cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus*, in ſeveral places of their works, ſpeak of the *Britons* as a nation not yet conquered [k]. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæſar* rather ſhewed

[h] Cæs. comment. l. v. c. 21. [i] Idem ibid. c. 22—23. [k] Horat. epod. vii. & quar. l. i. c. 35. Tibull. l. iv.

the

the *Romans* the way to *Britain*, than put them in poſſeſſion of it [l]; and *Lucan* more plainly, that he turned his back to the *Britons*, and fled. Be that as it will, upon his return to *Rome*, he offered to *Venus*, as *Pliny* tells us, a breaſt-plate enriched with *Britiſh* pearls, as a trophy of his conqueſts in this iſland.

After the departure of *Julius Cæſar*, the *Romans* were diverted, for the ſpace of twenty years, by their domeſtic broils, and civil wars, from attempting any thing againſt *Britain*. During this time, the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded; ſo that the *Britons* continued no leſs free from the *Roman* yoke, than they had been before the arrival of *Cæſar*.

Auguſtus. State of Britain during his reign.

But *Auguſtus*, having at length put an end to the civil wars, and firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the empire, reſolved to force the *Britons*, that is, thoſe who inhabited the moſt ſouthern part of the iſland, to perform the agreement they had made with his uncle *Julius*. With this view he advanced as far as *Gaul*; but was, by a revolt in *Pannonia*, diverted from putting his deſign in execution. About ſeven years after, he entered *Gaul* with the ſame reſolution; but the unſettled ſtate of that province made him readily hearken to the propoſals of the embaſſadors ſent by the *Britons* to ſue for peace; which was granted them, no doubt, upon their promiſing to ſtand to their agreement with his predeceſſor *Julius*. But they neglected, it ſeems, to perform their promiſe; for the year enſuing *Auguſtus* reſumed the reſolution of paſſing over into *Britain*; but was anew prevented, by the revolt of the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*. However, ſome of the *Britiſh* princes took care to cultivate his friendſhip with preſents; which were laid up in the capitol [m].

Cunobeline maintains a correſpondence with Rome.

Cunobeline, who is ſaid to have ſucceeded *Tenuantius*, the ſucceſſor of *Caſſibelan*, maintained a correſpondence with *Rome*, and even cauſed coins to be ſtamped, after the manner of the *Romans*, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and among the reſt one with the word *Taſc* on the reverſe, ſignifying, according to our antiquaries, *tribute*; whence they conclude, that this money was deſigned for the payment of the tribute; for though braſs and iron rings of a certain weight ſerved, as *Cæſar* informs us, for their current coin, yet the *Romans* exacted the tribute in gold or ſilver; and of the latter metal is the coin we are here ſpeaking of (G). Thus *Britain*, by degrees, became well known

[l] Tacit. vit. Agricol. [m] Strabo, l. iv.

(G) On this medal is repreſented *Apollo* playing on the lyre, the name of *Cunobeline* being engraved round it. *Aſpird* obſerves, that the *Gauls* and *Britons* worſhipped *Apollo* under the name of *Belenus* or *Belinus*; and thence he derives the name of *Cunobeline*. On the reverſe

known to the *Romans*, even in *Auguſtus*'s time. That prince, however, ſatisfied with the ſmall tribute that was yearly ſent him from *Britain*, forbore any further attempts upon the iſland, either thinking the friendſhip or enmity of the *Britons* of no moment to the *Romans*, as *Strabo* inſinuates [n], or being, out of a ſtate maxim, reſolved to ſet bounds to the empire, leſt it ſhould grow too great and unwi ldy [o].

Tiberius, who ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, being more inclined to contract than inlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of *Auguſtus*, and never entertained the leaſt thought of conquering *Britain*; but, ſatisfied with the reſpect the *Britiſh* princes ſhewed him in ſending back ſome of *Germanicus*'s ſoldiers, who had been ſhipwrecked on their coaſt [p], and with their paying the uſual cuſtoms for ſuch commodities as they brought into *Gaul*, ſuffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws: Theſe cuſtoms the *Roman* officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the *Britons*, as *Strabo* tells us [q]. *Caligula*, the ſucceſſor of *Tiberius*, having paſſed the *Alps* with a deſign to plunder *Gaul*, as he had already done *Italy*, received there under his protection *Adminius*, called by our writers *Guiderius*, the ſon of *Cunobeline*, who had been baniſhed by his father. Hereupon he wrote boaſting letters to *Rome*, ordering the meſſengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and to the very curia, and ſtrictly injoining them not to deliver their letters but in the temple of *Mars*, and in a full ſenate, as if the whole iſland had ſubmitted to him. Soon after, no doubt at the inſtigation of *Adminius*, he marched his forces to the ſea-ſide; but being informed there, that the *Britons* were ready to receive him, his courage cooled, and, inſtead of purſuing his deſign, he ordered his ſoldiers to fill their helmets and laps with cockle-ſhells, which he called the ſpoils of the conquered ocean. Having, by ſuch marks of folly and madneſs, expoſed himſelf to the deriſion both of the *Gauls* and *Britons*, he wrote to the ſenate, deſiring them to de-

Tiberius *ſuffers the Britons to enjoy their liberties.*

Caligula's *mock expedition againſt the Britons.*

[n] Idem, l. ii. [o] TACIT. in vit. Agric. JULIAN. in Cæs.
[p] TACIT. annal. l. ii. [q] STRABO. l. iv.

verſe is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words *Tascia* and *Novante*. *Tascia* ſignifies in the *Britiſh* tongue, according to *Powel*, a *tribute penny*, probably from the *Latin* word *taxatio*, the letter X not being uſed by the *Britons*. By the woman is, in all likelihood, repreſented *Britain*; and as for the word *Novante*, *Aſhmol* conjectures it to be the name of ſome town, perhaps the metropolis of the *Novantes* or *Trinobantes* (S).

(S) *Aſhmol. antiq. Oxon.* l. *Camden. Britan.*

cree him a triumph. But they being averſe to comply with his demand, he reſolved to cauſe them all to be murdered; but was murdered himſelf, before he could put his barbarous deſign in execution [r].

Claudius.

THE *Britons* may be ſaid to have continued hitherto free from the *Roman* yoke; but in the reign of *Claudius*, the ſucceſſor of *Caligula*, great part of the iſland was brought under ſubjection to *Rome*, and the reſt by degrees under the ſucceeding emperors. *Dion Caſſius* gives us a diſtinct account of the invaſion by *Claudius*, the occaſion of which he thus relates:

What induced him to make war on the Britons.

Cunobeline being dead, his two ſons *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*, reigned; but whether jointly or ſeparately, whether with equal or ſubordinate power, we are no-where told. In their reign, one *Bericus* (who he was, is not known), being driven out of the iſland for attempting to raiſe a ſeddition, fled, with thoſe of his party, to *Claudius*; and, being highly provoked againſt his countrymen, perſuaded the emperor to invade *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, reſenting the emperor's receiving the fugitives, and his refuſing to deliver them up when demanded, forbad all commerce with the *Romans*. A

Plautius *ſent into* Britain *with an army.*

war being therefore reſolved on, *Claudius* ordered *Plautius*, then prætor in *Gaul*, to tranſport thoſe legions he had with him into *Britain*, and begin the expedition. The ſoldiers, unwilling to make war, as they ſaid, out of the compaſs of the world, refuſed to follow their general, or obey his commands; but being at length brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, in the manner we have related elſewhere [s], they embarqued chearfully, and put to ſea from three ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, which greatly diſheartened them; but reſuming their courage upon the appearing of a meteor ſhooting from the eaſt, and directing, as they imagined, their courſe, they put to ſea again, and landed

He lands without oppoſition.

in *Britain* without oppoſition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the *Roman* army, and did not expect ſo ſudden an alteration, having delayed to draw together, in order to oppoſe them. Hearing therefore they were landed, they kept in ſmall bodies behind their marſhes, and in their woods, in order to ſpin out the time till winter; which they imagined *Plautius*, after the example of *Julius Cæſar*, would paſs in *Gaul*. But the *Roman* general, having with great difficulty, firſt found out *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togodumnus*,

And having defeated the British *princes* [t] *poſſeſſes part of the* Dobuni.

and defeated them both, reduced part of the *Dobuni*, who were then ſubject to the *Catticuchlani*; and leaving a gariſon

[r] Suet. in Calig. Dio. l. lix.

[s] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 88.

to

to keep them in awe, he marched to a river, where the *Britons* lay carelesly encamped, imagining the *Romans* could not pass it without a bridge. But the *German* soldiers, accustomed to swim the strongest currents in their armour, having passed the river, and, pursuant to their orders, fallen only upon the horses that drew their chariots, in which the main strength of the *Britons* consisted, *Vespasian* and his brother *Sabinus*, sent over with a body of troops to support them, easily put the enemy to flight, their chariots being rendered unserviceable, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. The *Britons*, however, not disheartened, engaged the *Romans* the next day so vigorously, that the victory, for a considerable time, inclined to neither side; but at length the *Romans*, encouraged by the example of *Caius Sidius Geta*, charged the *Britons* so briskly, that they were forced, after a most obstinate resistance, to betake themselves to flight. The conduct of *Geta* in this action was so remarkable, that triumphal honours were decreed him, though he had never been consul[t]. This battle is supposed to have been fought on the banks of the *Severn*. From hence the *Britons* retired to the mouth of the *Thames*, and, being acquainted with the flats and shallows, drew the *Romans*, who followed them, into great danger. But the *Germans* having crossed the river by swimming, and the others on a bridge somewhat higher, the *Britons* were surrounded on all sides, and great numbers of them put to the sword. Many of the *Romans*, pursuing the fugitives with too much eagerness, fell into the marshes, and were lost. In one of these battles, *Togodumnus* was killed, whose death was so far from disheartening the *Britons*, that they betrayed greater eagerness than ever to oppose the *Romans*, and revenge it. Hereupon *Plautius*, not thinking it advisable to penetrate farther into the country, put garisons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, who had ordered him so to do, if any thing extraordinary should happen, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a further pursuit of his conquests. *Claudius*, who aspired at the honour of a triumph, not being satisfied with the triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, no sooner received this letter, than he set out from *Rome*; and embarking at *Ostia*, sailed to *Marseilles*, whence he pursued his journey by land to *Gessoriacum*, now *Bologne*, where he again embarked, and, landing safe in *Britain*, joined his lieutenant *Plautius*, who lay encamped on the banks of the *Thames*. Upon his arrival, the whole army passed the river, and falling upon the *Britons*, gave them a total overthrow. After this

The Britons attack the Romans, but, notwithstanding their gallant behaviour, are put to flight.

Claudius sets out from Rome, and lands in Britain. Year after Christ [illegible] the Britons, and [illegible] victory,

[t] Dio. l. lx. p. 679, 680.

victory, he advanced to *Camalodunum*, the royal ſeat of *Cunobeline*, which he took, and, without any conſiderable oppoſition, reduced ſome of the neighbouring ſtates. For theſe exploits, he was ſeveral times by his ſoldiers ſaluted *imperator*, contrary to the received cuſtom of the *Romans*, which allowed no general to aſſume that title more than once in the ſame war [u]. Part of *Britain* being thus ſubdued, *Claudius* diſarmed the inhabitants, and appointed *Plautius* to govern them, ordering him at the ſame time, to ſubdue thoſe who remained yet unconquered. To ſuch as had ſubmitted, he generouſly forgave the confiſcation of their eſtates; which obliged them to ſuch a degree, that they erected a temple to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having ſtaid in *Britain* but ſixteen days, ſet out from thence on his return to *Rome*, having ſent thither his two ſons-in-law, *Pompeius* and *Silanus*, before him with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival in the city, he was honoured with a triumph, and the ſurname of *Britannicus*; which was given both to him and his ſon: the officers, who had attended him in this expedition, were diſtinguiſhed with triumphal ornaments (H): annual ſports were decreed by the ſenate; and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at *Rome*, and the other at *Geſſoriacum*, whence he had paſſed over into *Britain*. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conqueſt of the *Britiſh* ocean. In ſhort, the ſame honours were decreed to *Claudius*, who had conquered but a very ſmall part of the iſland, as had been de-

He returns to Rome, where he is honoured with triumph, and the ſurname of Britannicus.

[u] Dio. ibid. p. 680, 681. Suet. in Claud. c. 11.

(H) The inferior officers were rewarded with other valuable preſents, as appears from an antient inſcription ſtill to be ſeen at *Turin*, wherein mention is made of the preſents, with which *Claudius* rewarded one *C. Gavius*, who, it ſeems, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Britiſh* war. The inſcription is as follows:

C Gavio L. F.
Stel. Silvano
Primipilari Leg VIII. *Aug.*
Tribuno coho. II. *vigilum*
Tribuno coh. XIII. *Urban.*
Tribuno coh. XII. *Prætor.*
Donis Donato A. D. Claudio
Bello Britannico
Torquibus, Armillis, Phaleris,
Corona Aurea
Patrono Colon.

creed

creed to other conquerors, after they had reduced whole kingdoms [x] (I).

Plautius, appointed by *Claudius* governor of *Britain*, purſued his conqueſts, after the emperor's departure, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, upon his return to *Rome*, he was honoured with an ovation, and met, without the gates, by the emperor himſelf, who, at his ſolemn entry, gave him the right-hand. In this war, *Veſpaſian* likewiſe, afterwards emperor, and his ſon *Titus*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the *Britons*, ſubdued two powerful nations, and reduced above twenty towns, with the iſle of *Wight*; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two ſacerdotal dignities, and the conſulſhip [y]. As for *Titus*, he no leſs ſignalized his piety, than his courage and valour; for ſeeing his father in a battle ſurrounded on all ſides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke through the enemy's ranks, and having reſcued him, put the *Britons* to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter [z]. Some years after, that is, in the ninth year of *Claudius*'s reign, as we gather from *Tacitus* [a], *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, being ſent into *Britain*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Britons*, who had broken into the *Roman* conqueſts; and having put great numbers of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt, to reſtrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the *Romans*, or their allies, he built ſeveral forts on the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, reduced that part of the iſland, which lies ſouth of theſe rivers, to a *Roman* province, and, for a further ſecurity, made *Camalodunum* a military colony. This the *Iceni* could not brook, and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raiſed a conſider-

Veſpaſian and Titus diſtinguiſh themſelves in this war.

P. Oſtorius Scapula *governor of* Britain.

Camalodunum *is made a* Roman *colony.*

[x] DIO. & SUET. ibid. [y] SUET. in Veſp. c. 4. [z] DIO. l. lx. p. 679. [a] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 113. not. (V).

(I) And yet *Suetonius* writes, that he became maſter of part of *Britain* without bloodſhed; which is confirmed by the following antient inſcription, copied by Mr. *Wright*, from the *Barbarini* palace at *Rome*, and lately publiſhed by him in his travels:

Ti. Claudio Cæſ.
Auguſto.
Pontifici Max. Tr. P. IX.
Coſ. V. Imp. XVI. P. P.
Senatus Popul. Q. R. Quod
Reges Britanniæ Alſq.
Ulla Jactura Domuerit
Gentesque Barbaras
Primus Indicio Subegerit.

able

able army, and encamped in an advantageous poſt, in order to prevent the *Romans* from penetrating farther into the iſland. However, *Oſtorius*, advancing againſt them, after a moſt obſtinate conflict, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the preſent counties of *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*; but being informed, as he approached the *Iriſh* ſea, that the *Brigantes* were in arms, he marched with all ſpeed againſt them; and having cauſed the chief authors of the diſturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the reſt, he ſoon reſtored that country to its former tranquillity. After this, *Oſtorius* made war upon the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South Wales*, headed by *Caractacus*, a commander of great renown, whom nevertheleſs he defeated in a pitched battle, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory, to which we refer our reader [b]. *Caractacus*, upon his defeat, fled for protection to *Cratiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, who, dreading the *Roman* arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror, by whom he was ſent to *Rome*, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received there by the emperor in a kind of triumph. *Claudius*, moved with the ſpeech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the conſtancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. The *Silures*, notwithſtanding the loſs of their general, purſued the war with great vigour, and gained very conſiderable advantages over the *Romans*, related by us elſewhere [c]; which ſo affected *Oſtorius*, that he died with grief. He was ſucceeded by *A. Didius*, who reſtrained the *Silures* making frequent and wide incurſions into the *Roman* territories within more narrow bounds; but was not able to reſtore *Cratiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes* and an ally of *Rome*, to her kingdom [d]. He defeated the *Brigantes* in a pitched battle, but afterwards, as he was ſtricken in years, he contented himſelf with acting only defenſively, and reſtraining the enemy by his lieutenants. *Veranius*, who ſucceeded him in the reign of *Nero*, died in leſs than a year after his arrival in *Britain*, without performing any thing worthy of notice. After him, *Suetonius Paulinus* governed *Britain*, who reduced the iſland of *Angleſey*, and defeated with great ſlaughter the *Britons*, who, under the conduct of queen *Boudicea*, had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the *Romans*, and their allies, to the ſword, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory, to which we refer

Oſtorius defeats the Iceni, *and quells the rebellious* Brigantes.

Caractacus *defeated, and delivered up to the* Romans.

Oſtorius *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Aulus Didius.

And he by Veranius.

Suetonius Paulinus *ſucceeds* Veranius, *and reduces the iſland of* Angleſey.

[b] Ibid p. 115, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. p. 118 [d] Ibid.

the

the reader [c]. *Suetonius Paulinus* was ſucceeded in the government of *Britain* by *Petronius Turpilianus*, and he by *Trebellius Maximus*. During their government, nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper and no ambition, they took care not to provoke the *Britons* by any acts of hoſtility, giving to this cowardly inaction the ſpecious name of peace. In the mean time, *Nero* dying, the *Roman* army in *Britain* was commanded, during the ſhort reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, only by tribunes, among whom *Cælius* bore the chief ſway, who, by carefully avoiding to give the *Britons* any juſt cauſe of complaint, kept all things quiet in the iſland. *Vitellius*, upon his acceſſion to the empire, appointed *Vectius Bolanus* governor of *Britain*, who ruled with great gentleneſs, without either provoking the *Britons*, or being by them provoked. In the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who ſucceeded *Vitellius*, *Petilius Cerealis* was ſent into *Britain*, to take upon him the command of the army there. *Petilius*, upon his arrival, attacked the *Brigantes*, the moſt numerous and powerful of all the *Britiſh* nations; and having defeated them in ſeveral encounters, ſome of which proved very bloody, he reduced great part of their country, and continued to ravage the reſt [f]. He was ſucceeded by *Julius Frontinus*, who not only maintained the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, but fought himſelf with great ſucceſs againſt the warlike nation of the *Silures*, whom he entirely reduced. *Julius Frontinus* being recalled, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was ſent to command in his room. But of the exploits of that renowned commander, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [g]; and therefore, to avoid tedious repetitions, ſhall only add here, that having, in ſeven campaigns, reduced the whole iſland, he abandoned the more northern parts, and by raiſing forts, and planting gariſons, on the iſthmus between the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now of *Dumbriton* and *Edinburgh*, he removed the *Caledonians*, as it were, into a ſeparate iſland. Thus *Agricola* gave the finiſhing blow to the liberty of *Britain*, and reduced that part of the iſland, which lies ſouth of the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, to a *Roman* province. The loſs of their liberty was, in ſome meaſure, counterbalanced by the politeneſs, that was introduced among them by the conquerors; for, by degrees, they aſſumed the cuſtoms and manners of the *Romans*, and, forgetting their ſavage ways, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the liberal arts and ſciences, which were no leſs eſteemed and cultivated in *Britain*, than in any other province of the empire. But to

Petilius Cerealis *reduces great part of the country of the* Brigantes

Julius Agricola *governor of* Britain *Year after Chriſt* 73.

He reduces Britain *to a* Roman *province.*

[c] Ibid p. 165, & ſeq. [f] TACIT. vit Agric. c. 4—9.
[g] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 371, 386, 388, 389. & ſeq. & 450.

return

return to *Agricola*: *Domitian*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Titus* in the empire, envying his general the great reputation he had gained by his conqueſts, recalled him, on pretence of preferring him to the government of *Syria*. After his departure, we have but ſhort and broken accounts of what paſſed in this iſland, till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. We do not even know who was *Agricola*'s ſucceſſor in the government of *Britain*. We only read in *Suetonius* [h], that *Salluſtius Lucullus* was legate of *Britain* in the reign of *Domitian*; and that he was put to death by that prince, for ſuffering his name to be given to a ſort of ſpears, which he had invented. In the reigns of the emperors *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, and *Trajan*, who ſucceeded *Nerva*, ſome commotions happened in the iſland; but all we know of them is, that they were ſoon appeaſed, and the country reſtored to its former tranquillity, by the *Roman* troops quartered there; which, according to *Joſephus*, amounted to four legions [i]. In the reign of *Adrian*, the ſucceſſor of *Trajan*, the *Caledonians*, having demoliſhed ſome of the forts built by *Agricola* between the above-mentioned friths, made an irruption into the *Roman* province. Againſt them was diſpatched by *Adrian*, in the firſt year of his reign, *Julius Severus*, a commander of great renown; but he being ſuddenly recalled, and employed againſt the *Jews*, then in rebellion, *Priſcus Licinius* was ſent over in his room (K), and followed ſoon after by the emperor in perſon; whoſe arrival ſtruck the *Caledonians* with ſuch terror, that, abandoning the countries they had ſeized, they retired to the more northern parts of the iſland. *Adrian*, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order to keep them quiet, relin-

Adrian *in* Britain.

Year after Chriſt 120.

[h] Suet. in Domit. [i] Joseph. apud Camden in Roman. Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 5.

(K) It appears from an antient inſcription found near *Adrian*'s wall, that *Licinius Priſcus* had been proprætor of *Cappadocia* before he was ſent into *Britain*, had commanded the fourth legion, and had been honoured with a military banner by the emperor *Adrian* in his *Jewiſh* expedition. The inſcription is as follows:

M. F. Cl. Priſco
· · icinio Italico Legato Auguſtorum
PR. PR. Provinc. Cappadociæ
PR PR. Prov. Britanniæ
. . . . . .
Leg. IIII *Galliciæ Præf Coh.* III. *Lingonum*
Vexillo Mil. ornato A Divo Hadriano
In Expeditione Judaica
Q. Caſſius Domitius Palumbus.

quiſhed

quiſhed to them all the country between the *Tine* and the two friths; but at the ſame time, to reſtrain them from making incurſions into the *Roman* province, he cauſed a wall to be built, extending from the *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length [k]. Having thus ſettled affairs in *Britain*, and reformed many abuſes there, he returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the title of *Reſtorer of* Britain; which was ſtamped on his coins (L). *His wall.*

To *Adrian* ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, in whoſe reign the *Brigantes* revolted; and the *Caledonians*, having, in ſeveral places, broken down *Adrian*'s rampart, began anew to ravage the *Roman* territories. Againſt them was ſent *Lollius Urbicus*, *Licinius Priſcus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Britain*, being, in all likelihood, dead; for *Antoninus*, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us [l], removed none of the governors whom *Adrian* had preferred. *Lollius* obliged the *Brigantes* to ſubmit anew to the *Roman* yoke; and having driven back the northern barbarians, he confined them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending, as *Camden* and *Brietius* conjecture, from *Bremenium*, now *Brampton* in *Cumberland*, to the river *Eſk*. For theſe atchievements, *Antoninus* received the ſurname of *Britannicus*, though he had never ſeen *Britain* himſelf [m] (M). In the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, the ſucceſſor Lollius Urbicus *builds a new wall. Year after* Chriſt 138.

[k] Idem in Hadrian, p. 6. [l] JUL. CAP. in Antonin. c. 5. [m] Idem ibid.

(L) Some of theſe have reached our times, and, among the reſt, one with the figure of *Adrian*, and three ſoldiers on the reverſe, repreſenting, as *Camden* conjectures, the three legions, of which the *Roman* army in *Britain* then conſiſted, *viz.* the *Legio ſecunda Auguſta*, the *quarta decima Victrix*, and *vicęſima Victrix*, called alſo *Britannica*. Under them is this inſcription, *Exer. Britannicus*. Other coins of the ſame prince bear this inſcription, *Reſtitutor Britanniæ*

(M) *Lollius Urbicus* was ſent into *Britain*, according to *Alford*, in the third year of *Antoninus*'s reign, of the chriſtian æra 142; and the ſame year he reduced the rebellious *Brigantes*, and built the wall, which we have mentioned in the text. This *Alford* proves from two of *Antoninus*'s medals, coined, by a decree of the ſenate, in that prince's third conſulſhip, that is, as *Alford* ſhews, in the third year of his reign. On theſe medals he is ſtyled *Pater patriæ*; and on the reverſe is repreſented *Britain*, on one ſitting on a globe, and on the other holding a ſpear, and reſting on a ſhield. As *Antoninus* is not, on either of theſe medals, ſtyled *Britannicus*, but on ſuch only as were coined five years after, *Alford* conjectures from thence, that ſome ſignal victory was gained, about that time, over

ſucceſſor of *Antoninus Pius*, new commotions were raiſed in *Britain*; which obliged the emperor to ſend thither *Calpurnius Agricola*, who, it ſeems, appeaſed them; for *Fronto*, the famous orator, as quoted by *Eumenius*, in a panegyric on the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, ſays, among other things, that though, ſitting in his palace at *Rome*, he had committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot ſitting at the ſtern, and guiding the helm, he deſerved the honour of the whole expedition [n]. To *Marcus Aurelius* ſucceeded *Commodus*, in whoſe reign the *Caledonians*, having paſſed the wall, which parted them from the *Romans*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* general and moſt of his army, committed every-where dreadful devaſtations without reſtraint, till *Ulpius Marcellus* was ſent againſt them, who, as he was a commander of great experience, and a ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline, drove back the *Caledonians* with great ſlaughter, and reſtored the iſland to its former tranquillity. The reputation he gained in this expedition was ſo great, that the emperor, thinking his own glory eclipſed by that of his general, reſolved to put him to death; but, in the end, only removed him from his government. For the great advantages gained by *Ulpius* in *Britain*, *Commodus* aſſumed the title of *imperator* the ſixth time [o]. That brave commander had no ſooner left *Britain*, than the army there began to mutiny, complaining chiefly of *Perennis*, the emperor's favourite, who, governing with an abſolute ſway, ſent only perſons of the equeſtrian order to command the *Britiſh* army, whom the ſoldiers therefore refuſed to obey. The mutiny was carried ſo far, that the army ſent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, of their own body, to complain of *Perennis*. Theſe the emperor met without the city; and being by them informed, that *Perennis* aſpired at the empire, and had, with that view, caſhiered the braveſt officers, and put his own creatures in their room, he delivered the traitor to the fury of the prætorian bands, which he then commanded, and muſt have no leſs diſobliged than he had done the *Britiſh* army; for he was by them, after a thouſand outrages, torn in pieces, with his wife, his ſiſter, and his two ſons [p]. The downfal and death of this favourite are related by *Herodian* in a quite

Ulpius Marcellus drives the Caledonians out of the Roman province.

Year after Chriſt 184.

The army in Britain mutinies on account of Perennis, who is ſet up to them.

[n] Eumen. panegyr. x. numm. 7. Spebtus, fol. 133.

[o] Dio. l. lxxii. p 821. Camd. p. 43.

[p] Dio. ibid. Lamp. in Commod.

the revolted *Britons* or *Caledonians*, which procured him the title of *Britannicus* (9).

(9) *Vide Alford. annal. ad ann.* 142 & 147.

different manner, as we have obſerved in our *Roman* hiſtory [q]. In the mean time, *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards emperor, was ſent into *Britain*, to bring back the mutinous army there to a ſenſe of their duty. Upon his arrival, the ſoldiery, not able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*, offered him the ſovereignty; but he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with too much ſeverity againſt the mutineers, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was ſhed, and *Pertinax* himſelf left for dead among the ſlain. However, in ſpite of all obſtacles, he brought the army at laſt to ſubmit, and reſtored tranquillity to the province; but, as his ſeverity had drawn upon him the ill-will and hatred of the ſoldiery, he was, ſome time after, recalled at his own requeſt, *Clodius Albinus* being appointed governor of *Britain* in his room [r]. *Albinus*, having, in a ſpeech to the ſoldiery, upon a falſe report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the ſenate againſt that of the emperor, was commanded by *Commodus* to reſign the government of *Britain* to *Junius Severus*. But *Commodus* being ſoon after murdered, *Pertinax*, his ſucceſſor, ſent *Albinus* again into *Britain*, where he continued during the ſhort reigns of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*. As he had, by his generoſity and largeſſes, gained the affections of the *Britiſh* army, he was, upon the death of *Julianus*, by them proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title againſt *Severus*, who had received the ſame honour from the army in *Pannonia*, he paſſed over into *Gaul* with his *Britiſh* troops; but being met by his rival in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, his army was defeated, and he himſelf ſlain, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [s]. *Severus*, now maſter of the whole *Roman* empire, divided *Britain* into two governments, not thinking it perhaps adviſeable to truſt one man with ſo great a command. The hither, or ſouthern part of the iſland, was given to *Heraclitus*, and the northern to *Virius Lupus* (N), who was ſo harraſſed by the continual inroads of the *Caledonians*, that he was in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace with money;

A new mutiny in the army quelled by Pertinax.

Albinus, *governor of* Britain, *is ſaluted emperor.*

Britain *divided into two governments.*

[q] Hiſt. univerſ. vol. xv. p. 7, 8. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 474. [r] CAPITOL. in Pertinace, c. 3. [s] Hiſt. univerſ. vol. xv. p 53.

(N) The *Caledonians*, according to *Herodian*, had promiſed to reſtrain the *Mæatæ* from making incurſions into the *Roman* territories; but they neglecting to perform this article of their agreement, *Virius Lupus* was obliged to apply to the *Mæatæ* themſelves, and buy a peace of them at a great rate. From an antient inſcription found at *Ilkly* in *Yorkſhire*, by *Ptolemy* called *Olinaca*, it appears, that *Virius Lupus* reſtored that place. The inſcription is as follows:

money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of *Severus*'s reign, when breaking anew into the *Roman* province, they committed every-where dreadful devaſtations. *Virius Lupus*, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province, unleſs powerful and timely ſupplies were ſent to make head againſt the barbarians. Hereupon *Severus*, reſolved to put an end to the daily incurſions of the enemy, by the intire conqueſt of the north, ſet out for *Britain*, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*. The *Caledonians* no ſooner heard of his arrival, than they ſent embaſſadors to him, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. Theſe the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then diſmiſſed them, without granting them their requeſt. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, he marched into their country, and putting all to fire and ſword, advanced to the moſt diſtant and northern coaſts of the iſland. Though no battle was fought in this expedition, yet what by the enemy's continual ambuſcades, what by the hardſhips and toils the ſoldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, draining marſhes, *&c.* fifty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed. The *Caledonians* however were, in the end, obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to *York*, leaving to his ſon *Caracalla* the command of the army, and the finiſhing of the wall, which he had begun, according to the opinion which to us ſeems moſt probable, on the iſthmus between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*. Of this wall we have ſpoken above, and more at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [t]. For this expedition, *Severus* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two ſons with that of *Britannicus* [u]. The emperor being taken ill at *York*, the *Caledonians* were no ſooner informed of his indiſpoſition, than they took up arms with one accord; which provoked *Severus* to ſuch a degree, that he ordered his ſon *Caracalla* to enter their country anew with the whole army, and put all he met to the ſword,

Severus goes over into Britain. Year after Chriſt 207.

And penetrates into the moſt northern parts of the iſland.

He builds a new wall.

[t] Idem ibid. p. 64, & ſeq. [u] Spart. in Sever. Goltz. p. 88.

Im. Severus
Aug. et Antoninus
Caeſ. Diuinatus reſtituerunt
Curante Virio Lupo Leg.
eorum PR PR.

without

without distinction of sex or age. But the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two sons, having concluded a shameful peace with the *Caledonians*, returned to *Rome* [x]. Severus *dies.*

IN the reigns of the twelve succeeding emperors, *viz. Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and *Claudius*, we are left almost quite in the dark as to the affairs of *Britain*; for all we know of them, while these princes ruled, is, that *Britain* still continued to be a *Roman* province; that, in the reign of *Gordian* III. it was governed by *Nonnius Philippus* (O); that, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, the *Roman* troops quartered in the north, to restrain the *Caledonians*, were commanded by one *Desidienus Ælianus* (P); that *Britain*, revolting

[x] Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 882.

(O) This we learn, notwithstanding the silence of the *Roman* historians, from an antient inscription found at a place, by the *Romans* called *Castra Exploratorum*, and by us *Old Carlisle* It is a votive inscription for the health of the emperor, of his wife, and the whole imperial family, set up by the *Roman* horse quartered in *Britain*, under the command of *Æmilius Crispinus*, a native of *Tuidrum* in *Africa*. The words of the inscription are as follows:

I. O. M.
Pro Salute Imperatoris
M. Antoni Gordiani P. F.
Invicti Aug. et Sabinæ Tur
iæ Tranquilæ conjugi ejus To-
taque Domu Divin eorum Aix
Augg. Gordia ob Virtutem
Appellata pojuit: cui praest
Æmilius Crispinus Praef.
Eqq. natus in Pro. Africa De
Tuidro sub cur. Nunnii Phi-
lippi Leg. Aug. Proprcto
Attico et Pretextato
Coss.

In two other inscriptions found at *Lanchester* in the county of *Durham*, mention is made of *Mæcilius Falcus*, and *Cnæus Lucilianus*, both proprætors of *Britain* in the reign of the same emperor *Gordian* III.

(P) This appears from the following inscription found in *Northumberland*:

Pro

ing from *Gallienus* declared for *Postbumus*, who had usurped the sovereignty in *Gaul*; that of the thirty usurpers, or, as they are styled, tyrants, besides *Postbumus*, the following were acknowledged in *Britain*, *viz. Lollianus*, *Victorianus*, and *Tetricus*, of whom the last being overcome by the emperor *Aurelian*, *Britain* submitted to the conqueror, who sent hither *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, to establish his authority in the island [y]. *Aurelian* was succeeded by *Tacitus*, and he, after a short reign of about six months, by *Probus*, in whose time *Bonosus*, descended of a *Spanish* family, but born in *Britain*, usurped the sovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in *Gaul* and *Spain*; but being, after several battles, reduced by *Probus* to great straights, he chose rather to strangle himself, than fall into the hands of the conqueror, as we have related at length elsewhere [z]. *Zosimus* [a] and *Zonaras* [b], tell us, that a governor, sent hither by *Probus*, assumed the imperial purple; but was soon after killed by *Victorinus*, upon whose recommendation he had been preferred to the government of this island [c]. *Probus* was, according to *Vopiscus* [d], the first that allowed the *Britons*, *Spaniards*, and *Gauls*, to plant vines. The same emperor having, in an engagement on the banks of the *Rhine* with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, taken their king *Igillus* prisoner, with many others of these two nations, he transplanted them into *Britain* [e]. In the beginning of *Diocletian*'s reign, *Carausius*, a native of *Gaul*, passing over into *Britain*, took upon him the title of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and *Maximian*, whom *Diocletian* had taken for his partner in the empire, *Britain* was given up to *Carausius*, who governed it with the title of emperor for the space of six or seven years; but was in the end killed by *Allectus*, as was *Allectus*, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, in a pitched battle with *Asclepiodotus*, one of *Constantius*'s officers. Upon his death, *Britain* was re-united to the empire,

Constantius, *the father of* Constantine the Great, *sent into* Britain.

Burgundians *and* Vandals *transplanted into* Britain.

Carausius *and* Allectus *usurp the sovereignty of* Britain.

[y] Eumen. panegyr. ix. & x. Trebel. Poll. in 30 tyran. [z] Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 227. [a] Zos. l. i. p. 663. [b] Zonar. p. 246. [c] Vide Univers. hist. ibid. [d] Vopisc. in Prob. c. 18. [e] Zos. l. i. p. 865, & Univers. hist. ibid.

Pro Salute
Desidieni Æliani Præ . . .
et Sua S.
Posuit Vot.
. . ao. Solvit. Libe-
ns Tus.o et Bas-
so Coss.

alter

after it had been held about ſeven years by *Carauſius*, and three by *Allectus*. Of theſe tranſactions the reader will find a particular and diſtinct account in our *Roman* hiſtory [f]. The two emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* having reſigned the empire to *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, the latter, to whoſe ſhare fell the weſtern provinces, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, paſſed over into *Britain*, to make war, ſays *Eumenius* [g], on the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, whom he overcame; but, not long after, died at *York* [h], where he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his ſon *Conſtantine* before he expired, and to appoint him his ſucceſſor; ſo that *Conſtantine* began his reign in *Britain*, and, ſome time after, returned to this iſland, as we read in *Euſebius* [i], probably to put a ſtop to the daily incurſions of the *Caledonians*. Of the new form of government, both civil and military, which he introduced here, we have ſpoken above. He likewiſe altered the diviſion of *Britain*, which, by *Severus*, had been divided into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, *viz. Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, which laſt was afterwards ſubdivided into two parts, *viz. Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*. The removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, which happened in the reign of *Conſtantine*, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the *Roman* province, the emperor having carried with him, firſt into *Gaul*, and afterwards into the eaſt, not only moſt of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, but likewiſe the flower of the *Britiſh* youth; whence he is cenſured by *Zoſimus*, for neglecting the the boundary of the empire on this ſide [k]. *Conſtantine* divided the empire among his three ſons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtans*, and *Conſtantius*, of whom the latter, being in a ſhort time poſſeſſed of the whole, ſent into *Britain* the famous notary and informer *Paulus*, ſurnamed *Catena*, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had ſided with *Magnentius*. But of the enormous oppreſſions, extortions, and cruelties, practiſed on this occaſion by that mercileſs man, we have ſpoken at length elſewhere [l]. *Conſtantius*, about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the weſtern provinces to *Julian*, afterwards called *the Apoſtate*, who, being informed, while he was in his winter-quarters at *Paris*, that the *Picts* and *Scots*,

Conſtantine *begins his reign in* Britain.

The famous informer Paulus, *ſurnamed* Catena, *in* Britain.

[f] Ibid. p. 238, & ſeq.
[g] EUMEN. panegyr. ix. p. 104.
[h] HIER. chron AUR. VICT. p 526. EUTROP. p. 587.
[i] EUSEB. vit Conſtant. l. i. c. 25.
[k] Zos. l ii.
[l] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. 396.

about

about this time first distinguished in history by that name (Q), had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed everywhere dreadful ravages, dispatched his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, with some troops, against them. *Lupicinus*, embarquing at *Bologne* in the depth of winter, reached *London* in a few days; but he had scarce landed his troops, when he was recalled [m], the northern nations having perhaps appeased *Julian* by their submission. During the short reigns of *Julian* and *Jovian*, we find nothing in history concerning the affairs of *Britain*.

The Roman *province ravaged by the* Scots *and* Picts.

But, under *Valentinian* I. the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots*, *Saxons*, and other northern nations, invaded the *Roman* province at one and the same time; and having killed *Nectaridus*, count of the maritime tract, and *Fullofaudes*, who is distinguished with the title of *dux* or duke, and probably commanded the land-forces, ravaged the country far and wide, and reduced the inhabitants to a most deplorable condition. News of this invasion being brought to *Valentinian*, while he was on his journey from *Amiens* to *Treves*, he immediately dispatched into *Britain Severus*, his *comes domesticorum*; but soon after recalled him, and sent *Jovinus* in his room; who having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, was thereupon chosen for this province, and trusted with the whole management of so troublesome a war, *Theodosius*, upon his arrival in *Britain*, divided his forces into several parties;

Theodosius *the elder sent into* Britain. *Year after Christ* 367.

[m] Ammian. l. xx. p. 154.

(Q) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the first historian that mentions the *Scots*. But St. *Jerom*, in his epistle against *Ctesiphon* the *Pelagian*, has given us a much more antient passage which he translated out of *Porphyry* the *Greek* philosopher, who wrote an age before *Ammianus*. The passage is as follows: *Neither* Britain, *a province fertile in tyrants, nor the* Scotish *nations, nor the barbarous nations round about to the very ocean, did ever acknowledge* Moses *and the prophets*. *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Propertius*, and his animadversions on *Eusebius*, corrects the common editions of *Seneca*'s satire upon *Claudius*, by reading, instead of the words *Scuta Brigantes*, *Scoti Brigantes*; but that correction is not countenanced by any manuscript copies; and besides, it is certain, that *Claudius* never made war upon the *Scots*, but kept in the southern parts of *Britain*. As for *Dempster*'s reading *Scoticas prunas*, instead of *Scythicas*, in the verses of the poet *Florus* to the emperor *Adrian*, that correction is generally looked upon as altogether groundless [10].

[10] *Vide Usser. antiq. Brit. c.* 15.

which

which, advancing againſt the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, recovered the booty and priſoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The barbarians being thus repulſed, *Theodoſius* entered *Lundonium*, or *London*, in a kind of triumph, and reſtored that, as well as ſeveral other cities, which had ſuffered greatly by the late invaſions, to their former ſplendor. As the barbarians had retired beyond the friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, he built ſeveral caſtles on the iſthmus between the two ſeas, in order to reſtrain them from breaking anew into the province. By this means, all the country between *Adrian*'s wall and the two friths, which had been, for ſome time, held by the *Picts*, was recovered. Of this tract *Theodoſius* made a fifth province, to which the emperor gave the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. *Theodoſius*, before he left the iſland, cruſhed, in its very beginning, the revolt of one *Valentine*, or *Valentinian*, who, being baniſhed into *Britain*, had prevailed upon ſome of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but *Theodoſius*, having got the uſurper into his power, delivered him up to the civil magiſtrates [n]. And now *Britain* being reſtored to its former tranquillity, *Theodoſius* returned to the emperor, by whom he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. In the joint reign of the ſucceeding princes *Valentinian* II. and *Gratian*, *Maximus*, who commanded in *Britain*, hearing that *Gratian* had taken *Theodoſius* the younger for his collegue in the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a perſon, in his opinion, ſo much beneath him in merit, reſolved to aſſume the imperial purple, and put himſelf upon an equality with his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the *Roman* legions quartered in *Britain*, he carried them with the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, into *Gaul*. As theſe never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or ſettling elſewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its ſtrength, became afterwards an eaſy prey to the *Picts* and *Scots*. Over theſe two nations *Maximus* is ſaid to have gained great advantages before his uſurpation, nay, and to have driven the latter quite out of the iſland; but this is not agreeable to what we read in the more antient writers, as we have obſerved elſewhere [o]. In the reign of *Theodoſius*, the *Scots* and *Picts* were, it ſeems, kept in awe by *Chryſantius*, the ſon of *Marcian*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who, being appointed governor of *Britain*, acquitted himſelf in that office with great reputation [p]. *Theodoſius* was ſucceeded by his

He beats back the barbarians.

And makes a fifth province.

Maximus uſurps the imperial dignity in Britain.

[n] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 368 Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 509

[p] SOCRAT. l. vii.

two ſons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the former ruling in the eaſt, and the latter in the weſt. As *Honorius* was very young, the famous *Stilicho*, who had been appointed by *Theodoſius* regent of the weſtern empire, during the minority of his ſon, is ſuppoſed to have ſent over a legion into *Britain*, to defend it againſt the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Saxons* [q]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that he ſecured *Britain* againſt the incurſions of its antient enemies; for *Claudian*, in enumerating the great things performed by *Stilicho* before his firſt conſulſhip, tells us, that he ſuccoured *Britain* attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the *Scots*; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he ſecured the *Britiſh* coaſts againſt the deſcents of the *Saxons* [r]. He adds elſewhere, that the *Saxons* being overcome, the ſea was quiet; that the *Picts* having loſt their ſtrength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears [s]. About this time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coaſt againſt the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici* (R). But, not long after, the empire being over-run by the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Suevians*, moſt of the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain* were recalled, and the iſland left almoſt quite open to the attacks of the *Scots* and *Picts*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no aſſiſtance from *Honorius*, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly inveſted with that dignity one *Mark*, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, after a few days, they murdered, and placed *Gratian*, a native of

Stilicho *ſecures* Britain *againſt the incurſions of th* Scots, Picts, *&c.*

The Britons *chuſe an emperor.*

[q] Uss. eccleſ. Britan. antiq. p. 595. [r] Claudian. de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. [s] Idem ibid. p. 139.

(R) The learned *Uſher* aſcribes to *Stilicho* the eſtabliſhing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it againſt the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons* (t t). This *Claudian* ſeems to inſinuate, where he introduces *Britain* thus ſpeaking in praiſe of that great general and miniſter:

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, nec litore toto
Proſpicerem dubiis venientem Saxona velis.

As *Stilicho* is ſuppoſed to have appointed troops to guard the coaſts of *Britain*, and prevent the *Saxons* from making deſcents, ſo he may be likewiſe ſaid to have appointed a proper officer to command them, with the title of *the count of the* Saxon *ſhore*.

(t t) *Uſſer. antiq. Brit.* p. 595.

Britain, in his room [t]. *Gratian*, after a ſhort reign of four mounths, underwent the ſame fate, and was ſucceeded by *Conſtantine*, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name, common to him with *Conſtantine the Great*. The new prince obliged the *Scots* and *Picts* to quit the *Roman* province, and retire beyond the two friths; which ſucceſs inſpiring him with a mighty opinion of his own merit and fortune, he formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole empire. With this view he paſſed over into *Gaul*, taking with him the few *Roman* forces that had been left here, and ſuch of the *Britons* as were able to bear arms. Of the ſucceſs that attended him at firſt in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and of his unhappy end, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory, to which we refer the reader [u]. The unhappy *Britons*, thus leſt to themſelves after the departure of the *Romans*, and the flower of their youth, were more harraſſed than ever by the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no oppoſition, broke into their country, and, putting all to fire and ſword, ſoon reduced them to a moſt miſerable condition. In this ſtate they continued from the year 407, when the uſurper *Conſtantine* paſſed over into *Gaul*, to 410, when, after having often implored in vain the emperor's aſſiſtance, they withdrew their obedience to *Rome*, ſays *Zoſimus* [x], and, being reſolved to defend themſelves with their own ſtrength, would no longer obey the laws of the empire. The emperor *Honorius* ſeemed to approve their conduct; for, by his letters, he permitted, and even adviſed, them to provide for their own ſafety [y]; which was an implicit act of reſigning the ſovereignty of the iſland, and releaſing of the inhabitants from their allegiance to the empire. This renunciation was made, according to *Bede*, a little after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in the year of the city 1164 [z], or rather 1163, for it is certain, that *Rome* was taken 410. The *Britons*, now again a free people, ſeem to have at firſt fought with ſucceſs againſt their antient and irreconcileable enemies the *Scots* and the *Picts*; for *Zoſimus* writes, that they delivered their cities from the inſults of a haughty enemy [a]. But being in the end overpowered, they had recourſe to the emperor, imploring his protection, and promiſing an intire and perpetual obedience to *Rome*, provided they were delivered from the tyranny and oppreſſion of their mercileſs enemies. *Honorius*, touched with compaſſion, ſent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in *Britain*,

Marcus *and* Gratian *choſen and ſlain.* Conſtantine *choſen.* *Year after Chriſt* 407.

The Britons *withdraw their obedience to* Rome. *Year after Chriſt* 410.

Honorius *ſends them a legion.*

[t] Soz. l ix. c. 11. p. 813.
[u] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 44, & ſeq. 65, & ſeq.
[x] Zos. l. vi. p. 827.
[y] Idem ibid. p. 830.
[z] BED. hiſt c. 11.
[a] Zos. l. vi. p. 827.

cut in pieces great numbers of the *Scots* and *Picts*; and having obliged them to retire beyond the friths of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbriton*, they advised the natives to build a wall on the isthmus from sea to sea, and then returned to the continent, where their assistance was wanted to repulse the barbarians, breaking from all quarters into the empire. The *Britons*, without loss of time, applied themselves to the building of the wall; but as it was done only with turf, the barbarians broke it down in several places, and pouring in upon the territories of the *Britons*, like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, destroying every thing with fire and sword [b]. This happened, according to the learned *Usher* [c], in 422, but, according to *Alford* [d], in 421 (S). The unhappy *Britons*, after many miseries and calamities, sent deputies anew to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and dust on their heads, prevailed upon him to send new forces to their relief. These, hastening into *Britain*, fell upon the barbarians, not in the least apprised of their arrival, and made a dreadful havock of them, while they were roving up and down the island in quest of booty [e]. This slaughter of the northern nations is placed by *Usher* in 426 [f], wherein he disagrees with *Bede*, who supposes it to have happened before the year 423, in which *Honorius* died [g]. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus driven beyond the above-mentioned friths, the *Romans*, who had no ambitious view in assisting the distressed *Britons*, but were come over merely out of compassion and good nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no further assistance from the emperor; that the troops he had now sent were ordered back to the continent, to make head against the barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire; and that they were therefore obliged to take their last farewel of *Britain*, and intirely abandon the island. After

They build a new wall.

Another legion sent to their relief.

[b] Gild. excid. Britan. c. 12, 13. p. 117. [c] Uss. p. 1096.
[d] Alford. annal ad ann. 421. [e] Gild. ibid. c. 14. p. 118.
[f] Uss. ubi sup [g] Bed. chron. p. 114.

(S) *Alford* produces a medal of the emperor *Honorius*, with this legend on the reverse, *Victoria Auggg.* and thence concludes, that the slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* by the legion, which *Honorius* sent over, happened in the year of the christian æra, 421, the twenty seventh of *Honorius*'s reign. The word *Auggg.* denotes, as he rightly observes, three emperors reigning at the same time. These were *Honorius*, *Theodosius*, and *Constantius*. Now, as *Constantius* was made emperor and died in the same year 421, the victory ascribed to the three emperors must necessarily have been gained in that year (12).

(12) *Vide Alford. annal. ad ann.* 421.

this

this declaration, *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, commander of the *Roman* troops, exhorted the *Britons* to defend themſelves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itſelf, their liberty, againſt an enemy no ſtronger than themſelves, provided they would but lay aſide their fears, and exert their antient courage and reſolution. Not ſatisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withſtand the attacks of the enemy, he adviſed them to build a wall, not of turf, but of ſtone, offering them the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers, and his own direction in the work. Hereupon the *Britons*, jointly with the *Romans*, fell to work, and carried on their new wall with ſuch diligence, that, though eight foot in breadth and twelve in height, it was ſoon finiſhed. This wall ſtood, ſays *Bede* [h], in the ſame place where *Severus* had built his, that is, according to the moſt probable opinion, as we have obſerved above, on the iſthmus between the two friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*. They likewiſe built towers at convenient diſtances on the eaſt coaſt againſt the *Saxons*, and other barbarians, who, coming from *Germany*, made frequent deſcents on that ſide. The *Roman* commander, having thus ſecured the nation, employed the reſt of the time he continued in the iſland, in inſtructing the natives in the art of war; which when he had done, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make, after many encouraging exhortations, he with his *Romans*, took his laſt farewel of *Britain*, and telling the *Britons*, that they muſt expect their return no more, he croſſed over to the continent [i]. From this laſt departure of the *Romans* we may date the total deſertion of *Britain* by them, and the final period of the *Roman* empire in this iſland. As to the year, in which *Britain* was thus finally abandoned, there is a great diſagreement among chronologers, ſome placing the retreat of the *Romans* in 426, ſome in 435, or 437. According to *Alford*, *Gallio* returned to *Gaul* in 422, the twenty-eighth of *Honorius*'s reign [k]. *Bede*, in his hiſtory, ſpeaks of the departure of the *Romans* as happening in 431 [l], but, in his chronicle, he ſeems to ſuppoſe it to have happened even before the year 423, and hence *Alford* places it in 422. The *Britons*, fought, as we have ſeen, for many years againſt the *Romans*, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without a great deal of bloodſhed that they ſubmitted to the yoke. But being in the end pleaſed with their ſervitude, and become, as it were, one

The Britons *build another wall.*

The Romans *take their laſt farewel of* Britain.

[h] BED hiſt. c. 12. p. 156. [i] GILD c. 24. p. 118. BED hiſt. c. 12. p 156. [k] ALFORD. annal. ad hunc an. [l] BED. hiſt. l. i. c. 12, 13. p. 14, 15.

nation

nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the ſpace of four hundred years and upwards, they were no leſs unwilling to part with them, than they had been at firſt to receive them. This appears from the laſt meſſage they ſent to *Aetius*; but ſince it happened after the *Romans* had intirely abandoned the iſland, we ſhall refer the further relation of it to the following ſection.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of Britain, *from its deſertion by the* Romans, *to the invaſion of the* Angles *and* Saxons.

The Scots and Picts break into the Britiſh territories.

THE *Romans* having abandoned *Britain*, with an intention to return no more, as we have related in the foregoing ſection, the *Scots* and *Picts* no ſooner heard of their departure, than landing in ſwarms from their leather veſſels on the lands of the *Britons*, they committed greater ravages than ever, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Theſe two nations, differing ſomewhat in manners, but equally greedy of ſpoil and booty, ſeeing the cowardly *Britons* fly like ſheep before them, reſolved to attack the wall, which had been lately repaired, not doubting but they ſhould become maſters of it without great loſs, ſince it was defended by ſuch a faint-hearted enemy. At their approach, the *Britons*, inſtead of preparing for a vigorous defence, ſtood trembling on the battlements, till the enemy, more bold and active, pulling ſome of them down with long iron hooks, and driving the reſt, with ſhowers of darts and arrows from their ſtations, made themſelves maſters of the wall. The *Britons* betook themſelves to flight, which, however, could not ſave them; for the *Scots* and *Picts*, purſuing them cloſe, made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and took poſſeſſion of the frontier towns, which they found deſerted by the inhabitants. As the enemy met with no oppoſition, they over-ran the whole country, putting all to fire and ſword without controul. This general havock and devaſtation bred a dreadful famine, which occaſioned new miſchiefs, and a kind of civil war among the *Britons* themſelves, obliged, for their ſupport, to plunder each other, and take from their friends the little the common enemy had left them. The whole country being thus ruined, the famine became general, and raged to ſuch a degree, that the *Britons*, who remained, were obliged to betake themſelves to the woods, and there live upon what they could get by hunting [a]. In this deplorable condition they continued ſome years. The

[a] Gild. c. 15, 16. p. 118.

Britons

Britons had already kings of their own; for *Gildas*, in his uſual melancholy ſtrain, finds fault with his countrymen for raiſing to the throne ſuch only as were remarkable for their cruelty [b]. Perhaps they judged them beſt qualified to redreſs the diſorders, and put a ſtop to the robberies, that prevailed all over the iſland. The ſame author adds, that thoſe, who had raiſed them to the throne, cauſed them ſoon after to be murdered, not becauſe they had found them guilty of any crime, but that they might chuſe worſe men in their room. If any of their princes proved more mild and humane than the reſt, he was abhorred by all as a coward, and perſecuted as a public enemy [c]. The unhappy *Britons*, thus at variance among themſelves, and at the ſame time preſſed with famine, and purſued by a mercileſs enemy, had recourſe once more to the *Romans* for aſſiſtance, writing to *Aetius*, who was then conſul the third time, and governed the weſtern empire almoſt with an abſolute ſway. To move him to compaſſion, they directed the letter thus: *The groans of the* Britons *to the conſul* Aetius. And in the letter; *The barbarians*, ſaid they, *drive us to the ſea, and the ſea forces us back to the barbarians, between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be ſwallowed up by the waves, or to be cruelly maſſacred by the enemy.* What anſwer they received is uncertain; all we know is, that they could not prevail upon *Aetius*, who was then in *Gaul*, to lend them the leaſt aſſiſtance, the emperor *Valentinian* III. being then, as *Uſher* thinks, under apprehenſion of a war with *Attila* [d], who had not yet broken into the weſtern empire. The *Britons*, now deſpairing of any relief from the *Romans*, and, on the other hand, reduced to the utmoſt extremity by the famine, which increaſed daily, knew not what meaſures to take to free themſelves from their unfortunate circumſtances. Great numbers of them fled over to *Armorica*, where thoſe *Britons*, who attended *Maximus* into *Gaul*, are ſuppoſed to have ſettled [e]; others ſubmitted to the *Scots* and *Picts*, purchaſing a miſerable ſuſtenance with everlaſting ſlavery. Some, however, more reſolute, placing their confidence in God, ſays *Gildas*, ſince they found themſelves abandoned by men, betook themſelves to their arms; and ſallying out in parties from their woods and caves, fell upon the enemy, while they were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire. The *Picts* withdrew, in all likelihood, to the country about the wall, either abandoned by the *Britons*, or inhabited by ſuch of them as had ſubmitted to their new maſters.

The Britons *write mournful letters to* Aetius.

Their miſerable condition.

They drive back their enemies.

[b] Idem, c. 19 p. 119. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Uss. p. 1104.
[e] Vide hiſt. univerſ. vol xv. p. 614.

sters. The *Scots*, as *Usher* conjectures [f], returned to *Ireland*, whence they originally came; but *Gildas* and *Bede* only tell us, that they returned home [g]. And now the *Britons*, having some respite, began anew to cultivate their lands; which, after having for some time lain fallow, produced all sorts of provisions in such plenty, as in no age had been remembered. This plenty was attended with luxury, wantonness, and all manner of vices incident to human nature; but what above all contributed to the immorality and irreligion, that prevailed all over the land, was, according to *Gildas*, the hatred of truth, and love of lies, evil being miscalled good, and good evil, and every thing transacted directly contrary to the common welfare and public safety. The clergy, who should have reclaimed the laity with their example, proved the ringleaders to every vice, being, for the most part, addicted to drunkenness, envy, contention, &c. and incapable of discerning between good and evil [h]. In the mean time, the *Britons* were alarmed anew with a report, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with a greater force than ever, being determined utterly to extirpate the natives, and plant themselves in their room from one end of the island to the other. This report occasioned a general consternation, which, however, was not sufficient to reclaim them from their wicked ways, says *Gildas*; and therefore they were visited with a dreadful plague, which raging with uncommon fury, swept away most of those, whom the sword and famine had spared; insomuch, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. But this calamity likewise proving ineffectual, the contagion no sooner ceased, than the enemy, returning with incredible fury, and putting all to fire and sword, soon reduced the unhappy *Britons* to the utmost extremity. *Vortigern* was then the chief, if not the only, king of *Britain*, a proud, covetous, and debauched, tyrant, quite regardless of the public welfare, and no less incapable of promoting it in the field, than in the cabinet. However, being awaked by the clamours of the people, and finding it was absolutely necessary for his own preservation to repulse the enemy, he summoned a council, to deliberate with the chief men of the nation about the proper means to deliver the country from the calamities it then groaned under, and prevent the like misfortunes for the future. In this council, they all agreed, being, in a manner, infatuated, on the most pernicious expedient, that could be imagined, and what, in the end, proved the utter destruction of the nation, which was, to invite the *Saxons* into the island, a people at that time famous

They abandon themselves to all manner of vice.

A dreadful plague.

[f] Uss. p. 609, 1105. [g] Gild. p. 119. Bed. chron. p. 114.
[h] Gild. c. 19. p. 119.

for

for their piracies and cruelty, and dreaded, even by the *Britons*, as death itſelf [i] (T). The expedient being approved of embaſſadors were diſpatched in all haſte into *Germany*, to repreſent to the *Saxons* the requeſt of the *Britons*, and offer them advantageous terms, provided they would come over to their aſſiſtance (U). The *Saxons* were highly pleaſed with the propoſal, the

The Britons *under* Vortigern *agree to invite the* Saxons *over.*

[i] Idem ibid. BED. hiſt. c. 16. p. 157.

(T) The firſt *Saxon* troops are ſaid, by moſt hiſtorians, to have landed in the year 449, though, by ſome, this event is placed a few years ſooner; by others, a few years later. *Tyro Proſper* ſuppoſes the *Saxons* to have been maſters of the iſland in 444, and conſequently to have landed many years before. But that writer was therein groſly miſtaken, as is manifeſt from *Gildas*, *Bede*, and all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of this event. *Bede* places the arrival of the *Saxons* and *Angles* in the reign of *Marcian*, before the death of *Valentinian* III. that is, between the year 450 and 455, and ſeems to ſuppoſe the reſolution of the *Britons* to call them in to have been taken before the reign of *Marcian*; ſo that, according to *Bede*, their arrival may be well placed in 450, and in that year it is accordingly, by the learned *Uſher*, ſuppoſed to have happened (13).

(U) *Witichind*, a *Saxon* hiſtorian, who lived in the ninth century, in his hiſtory *de geſtis Saxonum*, introduces the *Britiſh* embaſſadors making the following ſpeech before an aſſembly of the *Saxons*: "Illuſtrious *Saxons*, the fame of your victories having reached our "ears, the diſtreſſed *Britons*, harraſſed by the continual inroads of "a neighbouring enemy, ſend us to implore your aſſiſtance. We "We have a fertile and ſpacious country, which we are commanded "to ſubmit to you. We have hitherto lived under the protection "of the *Roman* empire; but our antient maſters having abandoned "us, we know no nation more powerful than you, and better able "to protect us. We therefore recur to your valour. Forſake us "not in our diſtreſs, and we ſhall readily ſubmit to what terms you "yourſelves ſhall think fit to preſcribe to us." If the *Britons* made ſuch a frank ſurrender, and promiſed ſuch an abſolute ſubjection, as is inſinuated in this ſpeech, it is ſtrange, that neither *Bede* nor *Ethelwerd*, both *Saxons*, ſhould take any notice of it; nay, the latter writer tells us, that the *Britons* promiſed to live in perpetual friendſhip and amity with the *Saxons*; and friendſhip and amity are inconſiſtent with abſolute ſubjection. Beſides, when the *Saxons*, deſigning to make themſelves maſters of the iſland, wanted a pretence to quarrel with the natives, they did not urge the promiſe of the *Britiſh* embaſſadors, which they would certainly have done, had any ſuch promiſe been made, but alledged, for a pretence, their ſhort diet and bad pay, as *Gildas* tells us in expreſs terms; which plainly ſhews, that they came over only as mercenary ſoldiers.

(13) *Bed. hiſt. c.* 15. *p.* 157. *Chron. p* 114 *Uſſer. p* 1107.

more as they were foretold by their soothsayers, that they should plunder the country, to which they were called, for the space of an hundred and fifty years, and quietly possess it twice that time [k]. Having therefore fitted out three long ships, called in their language *chiules*, they put to sea, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, the sons of *Witigisil*, great-grandson to the celebrated *Woden*, from whom all the royal families of the *Saxons* pretended to derive their pedigree [l]. These, arriving at *Ebbesfleet* in the isle of *Thanet*, were received there both by the prince and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The isle itself was allotted them for their habitation, and a league was immediately concluded with them, in virtue of which the *Saxons* were to defend the *Britons* against all foreign enemies; and the *Britons*, on the other hand, to allow the *Saxons*, besides their place of abode, pay and maintenance. Historians have not told us, what the number was of these *Saxon* auxiliaries; but they could not be above fifteen hundred, since they all came over in three ships; and we cannot well suppose any of those ships to have carried above five hundred men. But, before we proceed farther in this history, it will be necessary to give some account of the origin, manners, government, and religion, of the people, who, being called in by the *Britons* to their assistance, made themselves masters of the island, and hold it to this day.

The arrival of the Saxons.

The *Saxons* were, according to the most probable opinion, a colony of the *Cimbrians*, that is, of the inhabitants of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, now *Jutland*; who, finding their country overstocked with people, sent out, much about the same time, three numerous bands to seek for new settlements. To one of these bands was afterwards given the name of *Suevians*, to another that of *Franks*, and to the third the name of *Saxons*. The *Suevians* took their route towards *Italy*, the *Franks* advanced to *Belgic Gaul*, and the *Saxons* possessed themselves of the whole country between the *Rhine* and the *Elb*; nay, by degrees, extending their conquests along the coast of the *German* ocean, when the *Britons* sent to implore their assistance, they were masters not only of the present *Westphalia*, *Saxony*, *East* and *West Friseland*, but likewise of *Holland* and *Zealand*. The first place they settled in, upon their leaving the *Chersonesus*, was the present dutchy of *Holstein*; which is thence called the antient seat of the *Saxons*. Between this country and the *Chersonesus*, or *Jutland*, dwelt a people, known, even in *Tacitus*'s time, by the name of *Angles* *. According to this account, which we have copied from *Bede* [m],

The seats of the Saxons, Angles, *and* Jutes.

[k] Gild. c. 23. p. 119, 120.
[l] Bed. ibid. c. 15. p 157
* Tacit. de Ger. mor. c. 40. p. 136
[m] Bed. l. i. c. 15.

the *Angles* inhabited that ſmall province in the kingdom of *Denmark* and dutchy of *Sleſwick*, which is called at this day *Angel*, and of which the city of *Flenſburgh* is the metropolis. *Lindebergius*, in his epiſtles, ſtyles this country *Little-England*; and *Ethelwerd*, who wrote about the year 950, ſpeaking of the antient habitation of the *Angles*; Old Anglia, ſays he, *lies between the* Saxons *and* Giots. *The metropolis of this country is by the* Saxons *called* Sleſwick; *but by the* Danes Haithby. Britain *took the name of thoſe, by whom it was conquered, and is therefore now called* Anglia. The ſame writer adds, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* came from the country of the *Angles* into *Britain* [n]. When the *Saxons* came firſt out of the *Cherſoneſus*, going in queſt of new ſettlements, the *Angles* joined them, and, in proceſs of time, became one nation with them. Hence they are, by moſt authors, compriſed under the general name of *Saxons*, though ſome diſtinguiſh them by the compound name of *Anglo-Saxons* [o]. Some time after the *Saxons*, *Franks*, and *Suevians*, had left the *Cherſoneſus*, the *Goths*, having driven out the *Cimbrians* that were remaining, made themſelves maſters of that peninſula, which was thenceforth called *Gothland* or *Jutland*, from its new inhabitants the *Goths* or *Jutes*. Theſe, in the old printed copies of *Bede*, are ſtyled *Vitæ*; but the learned *Uſher* aſſures us, that all the manuſcript copies of that author, which he conſulted, read *Jutæ*, and not *Vitæ* [p]. *Fabius Ethelwerd*, whom we have mentioned above, a writer of the *Saxon* blood royal, and the fourth in deſcent from king *Adulph* or *Ethelwolf*, calls the country *Giota*, and the people *Giotæ*. Great numbers of theſe *Giotæ* or *Jutæ*, mixing with the *Saxons* and *Angles*, came over with them into *Britain*, to ſhare in their conqueſts. This is the moſt probable account of theſe people, after their ſettling in *Jutland* and *Germany*, that we have been able to gather from the ſeveral authors, who have ſtudied this ſubject. Of their origin, which *Cluverius* and *Verſtegan* derive from the *Germans*, but *Gratius* and *Sherringham*, with more probability, from the antient *Getæ* or *Goths*; of their various migrations before they ſettled in the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſus*, and their conqueſts under their ſeveral kings, eſpecially under the celebrated *Woden*, we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtories of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. As the *Saxons* were, by their piracies on the coaſts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, better known at the time of their ſettling in this iſland, the conqueſt of *Britain* is, by the antient writers, aſcribed to them, and not to the *Angles* or *Jutes*; nay, *Britain* was, for

[n] ETHELWERD chron. l. i. [o] Vide ad ALFORD. ad ann. 449.
[p] Uſs. de Brit. eccleſ. primord. p. 391.

ſome time, from them, called *Saxony*; but, in the end, the name of *Anglia*, from the *Angles*, prevailed. The *Jutes* were leſs known, at leaſt under that name, than the other two nations or tribes. *Bede*, however, tells us, that the province of *Kent*, the iſle of *Wight*, and the country lying over-againſt it, now *Hampſhire*, were peopled by the *Jutes*. As to the name of *Saxons*, it has occaſioned a great diſagreement among authors. *Becanus* and *Camden* ſuppoſe them to have been firſt called *Sacaſons*, that is, the ſons or deſcendants of the *Sacæ*, to whom, according to theſe writers, they owed their origin. But they are by no antient writer ſtyled *Sacaſons*, as *Sherringham* well obſerves, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*. Beſides, none of the antients ſpeak of colonies ſent by the *Sacæ* out of *Aſia*, where they dwelt, in the neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea; but *Strabo*, on the contrary, tells us, that the whole nation of the *Sacæ* were to a man deſtroyed by the *Perſians* [q]. *Iſidore* derives their name from the *Latin* word *ſaxum*, a *ſtone*, becauſe they were a ſtrong and hardy nation. But they were ſo called many ages before the *Romans* had any knowledge of them, or they of the *Romans*. The opinion of *Lipſius*, which *Verſtegan* has followed, ſeems to us the moſt probable, *viz.* that the name of *Saxons* was given them by their neighbours, from their wearing a ſhort ſword, called in their tongue *ſaex*; and hence the arms of *Saxony*, as *Pontanus* obſerves [r], are to this day two daggers placed acroſs. As to the name of *Angles*, *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus*, ſon to *Humblus*, king of the *Danes*. But how the *Angles* came to borrow their name from a ſon of the king of *Denmark*, he has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Widiſcind*, a *Saxon* writer, will have the *Angles* to be ſo called from a certain iſland in the corner or angle of the ſea, which they ſubdued. But this, as well as all other etymologies deriving their name from the *Latin* tongue, ſeems to us altogether improbable, and foreign to the purpoſe, when we conſider, that the names of other *German* nations are not *Latin*, but *German* or *Gothic*. *Goropius* therefore derives the name of *Angles* from the *Saxon* word *angel* or *engel*, ſignifying *a fiſhing-hook*, the *Angles*, who lived on the ſea-coaſt, being, like the other *Saxons*, greatly addicted to piracy, and, on that account, ſtyled *Angles* by the neighbouring nations, as if, like hooks, they caught all that was in the ſea. Other derivations are brought by *Aventinus* and other etymologiſts. But as we have perhaps already dwelt too long upon conjectures, we ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the manners, government, and religion, of the antient *Saxons*, our forefathers. The *Saxons* were, as

Etymology of the name Saxons.

And of the name Angles.

[q] Vide Shering. c. 11. [r] Pontan. orig. Francic. l. ii. c. 2.

is agreed on all hands, and appears from their conquests, one of the most warlike nations inhabiting *Germany*. They were not known to the *Romans*, by the name of *Saxons*, till the fourth century, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and the poet *Claudian*, being the first *Roman* writers, who make mention of them. The former, speaking of them, says, they were formidable above all other enemies. And *Zosimus*, The *Saxons* are inured to the toils of war, and, for their courage and strength, reckoned the most warlike of all the *German* nations [s]. As they were a barbarous and uncivilized people, they treated their enemies with great cruelty, especially the prisoners they took in war, sacrificing them to their gods. As to their government, the countries subject to them were, according to *Verstegan*, divided into twelve provinces, each of which was governed by a chief or head, accountable to the general assembly of the nation. By this assembly a general was chosen in time of war, who commanded with almost a sovereign power; but his authority ceased as soon as the war was ended. Their religion was the same with that of the other northern nations. Their chief gods, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, the celebrated *Woden*, his son *Thor*, his wife *Frigga* or *Fræa*, *Tuisto*, *Theutates*, *Hesus*, *Taranis*, &c. The three last are mentioned by *Lucan* (W), as is *Tuisto* by *Tacitus* [t]. *Woden* was the god of war; *Thor* presided over the air, and was thought to have storms, winds, showers, and fair weather, at his disposal; *Frigga* was the goddess of pleasure. The two first days of the week were consecrated to the *Sun* and *Moon*; the third, according to some, to *Tuisto* or *Tuisco*, according to others, to *Thysa* or *Dysa*, the goddess of justice, and wife to *Ther* [u]; the fourth to *Woden*; the fifth to *Thor*; the sixth to *Fregga* or *Fræa*; and the seventh, as *Verstegan* supposes, to *Crodo*, named also *Saeter*; but the latter name, as *Sheringham* observes, is to be found in no writer before *Verstegan* [w]. The *Saxons* had, besides these, several other deities, to whom they paid great veneration, namely, the goddess *Eostre*, to whom they sacrificed in the month of *April*, which was thence by them styled *Eostur monath*, or *the month of Eostre*;

Their manners.

Their government;

And religion.

[s] Zos. apud Camd. [t] TACIT. de mor. German. [u] WORMIUS, monument. Dan. l. i. c. 4. [w] SHERINGH. c. 14. p. 318.

(W) In the following verses:

Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
Et Taranis Scythiæ non mitior ara Dianæ (14).

(14) *Lucan. Pharsal. l.* i.

and

and thence the word *Easter*, which the *Saxons* retained even after their conversion to the christian religion, giving it to the solemn festival, which we celebrate in commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection [x]. *Nocca* was the same among the *Saxons*, as *Neptune* among the *Romans*. *Mara* was a frightful spectre, that terrified and oppressed people in their sleep; whence the word *night-mare* [y]. *Tanfana*, mentioned by *Tacitus* [z], was worshipped by the *Saxons* as the god of lots [a]. The *Elvæ* or *Elfs*, named also *Fairies*, were honoured by them with a kind of sacrifice called *Alf-blot* [b]. The *Dysæ* were inferior goddesses, the messengers of the great *Woden*, whose province it was to convey the souls of such as died in battle to his abode, called *Valhall*, that is, *the hall of slaughter*, where they were to drink with him and their other gods, *cerevisia* a kind of malt liquor, in the sculls of their slaughtered enemies (X). On the contrary, those who died a natural death, were, by the same *Dysæ*, conveyed to *Hela*, the goddess of hell, where they were tormented with hunger, thirst, and all kinds of evils [c].

[x] Bed. de ratio. temp. c. 13. [y] Shering. ibid. p. 331, 332.
[z] Tacit. annal. l. i. [a] Sheringh. p. 333, 334. [b] Worm. mon. Dan. l i. c. 5. [c] Sheringh. p. 322, 323.

(X) Of these goddesses mention is made in an antient *Danish* monument, whereof the following lines were thus translated by *Sheringham*:

Fert animus finire.
Invitant me Dysæ,
Quas ex Othini aula
Othinus mihi misit.
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede libam.
Vitæ elapsæ sunt Horæ.
Ridens moriar (15).

Cicero writes that the *Cimbrians* envied those who fell in battle; but pitied the condition of such as died a natural death (16). Hence they went joyful to battle; but bemoaned their misfortune, when seized with any distemper, looking upon that kind of death as mean and inglorious (17). *Lucan* takes notice of this, as he styles it, philosophy of the northern nations, and calls it a happy error:

Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona virís, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ (18).

(15) Vide Sheringh. c. 14. p. 335. (16) Cic. Tusc. quæst. l ii.
(17) Val. Max l. ii. de institut. antiq. (18) Lucan. Phar. l i.

The

The *Angles* worshipped, as we read in *Tacitus* the goddess *Herthus*, that is, the *earth*, as the mother of all things [d]. As to the worship the *Saxons* paid to their gods, and the sacrifices they offered to them, we refer our readers to *Wormius*, *Verstegan*, *Isaacius Pontanus*, and other *German* and *Danish* writers, it being now time to resume the thread of our history.

THE *Saxons* being arrived in *Britain*, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, as we have related above, and put in possession of the isle of *Thanet*, king *Vortigern* did not suffer them to continue long there without employment, but led them, soon after their arrival, against the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had made an irruption, and were advanced as far as *Stanford* in the province now called *Lincolnshire*. There a battle was fought, in which the *Scots* and *Picts* were utterly routed, and forced to save themselves by a precipitous flight, leaving the *Saxons* in possession of the spoil and booty they had taken [e]. *Vortigern*, highly pleased with the conduct of the two *Saxon* brothers, rewarded them with ample possessions in *Lincolnshire* [f], We are told, that *Hengist* desired here only as much land as an ox-hide could encompass, and that, upon *Vortigern*'s granting him it, he cut the hide into small thongs, and inclosed with them a space large enough to hold a castle, which to this day is from thence called *Thong-caster*, that is, *the castle of thongs* [g]. Be that as it will, *Hengist*, taken with the fruitfulness and wealth of the island, and at the same time observing the inhabitants to be enervated with luxury and addicted to ease and idleness, began to entertain hopes of procuring a settlement in *Britain*. Having therefore first obtained *Vortigern*'s consent, he sent home to acquaint his countrymen with the fruitfulness of the country and the effeminacy of the inhabitants, inviting them to share with him in his good success, of which he had not the least occasion to doubt. The *Saxons*, glad of the opportunity, readily complied with the invitation; and, arriving in seventeen large ships, made up, with those they found in the island, a considerable army. With this supply came over, if *Nennius* is to be credited, *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengist*, with whose charms the king was so taken, that, divorcing his lawful wife, he married her, after having obtained the consent of her father, who pretended to be averse to the match, by investing him with the sovereignty of *Kent* [h]. Thus *Nennius*, and those who have copied from him. But no mention is made of *Rowena* in the *Saxon* annals, which rather seem

They defeat the Scots and Picts.

New supplies of Saxons arrive in Britain.

[d] TACIT. de mor German.
[e] MATT. WESTM. ad ann 450.
[f] GILD. p. 120. Bed. p. 157.
[g] Vide CAMDEN. in Coritan.
[h] NENN. c. 3.

to insinuate, that the *Saxons* made themselves masters of *Kent* by force of arms; for we are told there, that *Hengist* defeated the *Britons* in two pitched battles, and obliged them to abandon *Kent*, and retire to *London*. But this did not happen till the arrival of the third body of *Saxon* troops; for *Hengist*, by laying before the king, and exaggerating the dangers that threatened him, not only from the *Scots* and *Picts*, but from his discontented subjects, obtained leave to send for a new reinforcement of *Saxons*, who, coming over in forty ships, under the conduct of *Octa* and *Ebusa*, the son and nephew, or, as others will have it, the brother and nephew of *Hengist*, arrived at the *Orcades*; and having ravaged there, and all along the northern coast, the countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, they made themselves masters of several places beyond the friths, and, in the end, obtained leave of the king to settle in *Northumberland*, under the specious pretence of securing the northern parts, as *Hengist* did the southern. *Hengist*, encroaching still on the king's favour, sent by degrees for more men and ships, till the countries from whence they came were almost left without inhabitants. And now their numbers being greatly increased, they began to quarrel with the natives, demanding larger allowances of corn and other provisions, and threatening, if their demands were not complied with, to break the league, and lay waste the whole country. The *Britons*, refusing them what they demanded, desired them to return home, since their numbers exceeded what they were able to maintain. This answer, however just and reasonable, provoked the *Saxons* to such a degree, that, having secretly concluded a peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, they turned their arms against those whom they were come to defend, and, overrunning, without opposition, the whole island, destroyed all with fire and sword from the eastern to the western sea. The public, as well as the private, buildings were laid level with the ground; the cities pillaged and burnt; the priests slain at the altars; the bishops cruelly massacred, without the least respect to their dignity; and the people, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, butchered in such multitudes, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. Some of the unhappy *Britons*, who escaped the general slaughter, took refuge among the inaccessible rocks and mountains; but great numbers of them either perished with hunger, or were forced, by the extremity of famine, to abandon their asylum, and, delivering themselves up to their merciless enemies, preserve their lives at the expence of their liberty. Some, crossing the sea, took shelter among foreign nations, settling either in *Holland*, where the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old castle, built, as is supposed, by them on this occasion, are still to be seen, or among their countrymen in

Octa and Ebusa settle in Northumberland.

The Saxons begin to quarrel with the Britons.

And lay waste the whole island.

The miserable condition of the Britons.

in *Armorica* (Y). But thoſe, who remained at home, ſuffered inexpreſſible calamities, living among the woods, rocks, and mountains, in perpetual apprehenſions and want of neceſſaries [i]. *Nennius*, tells us, that *Vortigern* was ſo far from being reclaimed by theſe calamities, that, on the contrary, adding to his other crimes that of inceſt, he married his own daughter, and had by her a ſon named *Fauſtus*, who led a ſolitary and religious life near the river *Rennis* in *Glamorganſhire*. The ſame writer adds, and after him *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, that the *Britons*, highly provoked at the king's wickedneſs, and the partiality he ſhewed to the *Saxons*, depoſed him, and raiſed to the throne his ſon *Vortimer*, who, as he was a brave and valiant youth, undertook the defence of his diſtreſſed country; and falling upon the *Saxons* with what troops he could aſſemble, drove them into the iſle of *Thanet*, and there kept them cloſely beſieged, till being reinforced with freſh ſupplies from *Saxony*, they opened themſelves a way through the *Britiſh* forces. But *Vortimer*, not yet diſheartened, fought with them four battles; the firſt on the banks of the *Derwent* in *Kent*, where he obtained a ſignal victory, and cut in pieces great numbers of the enemy; the ſecond at a place called in the *Saxon* tongue *Epiſford*, and in the *Britiſh*, *Sagathenbail*, now *Aylesford* in *Kent*. In this battle fell *Horſa*, and likewiſe *Catigern*, the brother of *Vortigern*. Some writers will have the *Britons* to have won the day [k], and others the *Saxons* [l]; nay, *Ethelwerd* ſeems to aſcribe to this victory the founding of the kingdom of *Kent* [m]. *Horſa* is ſuppoſed to have been buried at a place, called from him to this day *Horſted*; and *Catigern* near *Aylesford*, where a monument is to be ſeen ſomewhat like *Stonehenge*, called by the country people *Kith's Coty-houſe*, that is, *Catigern's houſe* [n]. The place where the third battle was fought is not mentioned; but we are told, that *Vortimer* engaged the *Saxons* the fourth time at a place called *Lapis tituli*, which *Camden* and *Uſher* take to be *Stonar* in the iſle of *Thanet*; but *Somner* [o] and *Stillingfleet* [p], inſtead of *Lapis tituli*, read *Lapis populi*, that is, *Folkſtone*, where, according to them, the battle was fought. In this battle the *Saxons* were routed with great ſlaughter, and

Vortigern *depoſed, and his ſon* Vortimer *raiſed to the throne in his room.*

He fights with ſucceſs a gainſt the Saxons.

[i] GILD. p. 120. BED. p. 157. [k] HUNTIN. l. ii. MATT. WESTM. ad ann. 455. [l] FLOR. of WOR. [m] ETHEL. l. i. ad ann. 445. [n] Vide CAMD. in Cantio. [o] SOMN. forts and ports, p. 94. [p] STILLING. orig. Brit. p. 322.

(Y) Moſt of our hiſtorians ſuppoſe the *Britons* to have been ſettled in *Armorica* long before the arrival of the *Saxons*; but this ſuppoſition, as we ſhall ſhew anon, is not countenanced by the authority of any antient writer.

forced back to their ſhips, on which they embarqued, being no longer able to withſtand the valour of *Vortimer*, and, abandoning the iſland, returned home, where they continued till the death of *Vortimer*, that is, for the ſpace of five years, without making any attempt upon *Britain*. Thus *Nennius*, and the hiſtorians who have copied from him. But of theſe battles no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. The former writer only tells us, that the *Saxons* retired, which moſt of our hiſtorians underſtand of their returning home, though *Gildas* perhaps meant no more, than that, after having laid waſte the iſland, they withdrew to the territories, that had been granted them by *Vortigern*, that is, to *Kent* and *Northumberland*: and truly it ſeems to us altogether incredible, that, had the *Britons* gained ſo many ſignal victories, *Gildas* would have paſſed them all over in ſilence. Our hiſtorians tell us, that *Vortimer* died about this time, after a ſhort reign of ſix years; and add, that, upon his death-bed, he deſired his ſervants to bury him near the place where the *Saxons* uſed to land, being perſuaded, that the ſecret virtue of his bones would deter them from making any attempts there for the future; but they, neglecting his commands, buried him at *Lincoln* [q], or, as others will have it [r], at *London*. Some will have him to have been poiſoned by his mother-in-law *Rowena* [s]; others write, that he died a natural death [t]. Be that as it will, *Hengiſt* was no ſooner informed of his death, than he returned with a numerous body of *Saxons* to *Britain*; and, landing in ſpite of all oppoſition, fought ſeveral battles with the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Vortigern*, who, upon the death of his ſon *Vortimer*, was reſtored to the throne. In one of theſe battles, fought at a place called *Crecanford*, the *Britons* were overthrown, with the loſs of four thouſand men; which obliged them to abandon *Kent* and retire to *London* [u]. From this victory, moſt authors date the beginning of the kindom of *Kent* under *Hengiſt*, who took his ſon *Eſk* for his collegue. But *Vortigern* ſtill maintaining the war againſt the *Saxons*, *Hengiſt* had recourſe to treachery, and pretending a great deſire to conclude a peace, and renew the former amity between him and the *Britiſh* king, ſent embaſſadors to require an interview with him. To this propoſal *Vortigern*, after adviſing with his nobles, readily conſented, and it was agreed, that they ſhould meet at an entertainment without arms. But the treacherous *Saxon* having ſecretly ordered thoſe who attended him to take their daggers, and keep them in readineſs concealed under

Vortimer dies.

The Britons overthrown.

The firſt Saxon kingdom in Kent.

Year after Chriſt 455.

[q] Westm ad ann. 457. [r] Sigebert. ad ann. 457. [s] Westm. Sigebert. ibid. Rich. vit. &c. [t] Hunting. l. ii. [u] Nenn. c. 46.

their

their garments, when they met, pursuant to the agreement, and the *Britons*, suspecting no treachery, began to be heated with wine, the *Saxons*, starting up at a signal given, and drawing their daggers, dispatched each of them his next man, to the number of three hundred, the flower of the *British* nobility. *Vortigern* alone was spared; but being taken prisoner, and put in fetters, he was forced, for his ransom, to surrender to the *Saxons* those provinces, that were afterwards called *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. By this means the *Saxons* got such footing in the island, that they could never afterwards be driven out. Thus *Nennius* [w] and *William* of *Malmesbury* [x]. But of these transactions no mention is made either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. *Vortigern*, being set at liberty, retired, as we are told, to a vast wilderness near the fall of the *Wye* in *Radnorshire*, where he was, some time after, consumed by lightning, with the city *Kaer Guortigern*, which he had built there for his refuge [y]. Upon the retreat of *Vortigern*, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or, as *Gildas* calls him, *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, took upon him the command of the *British* forces. He was a wise and modest man, says *Gildas*, and perhaps the only *Roman* that remained in the island, having, in the calamitous times of *Britain*, lost his parents who had worn the purple. Thus *Gildas* [z], without explaining himself farther. He adds, that the offspring of *Aurelius* continued still in the island in his time; but had greatly degenerated from the good qualities of their ancestors [a]. *Bede* writes, that his parents had borne the royal name and ensigns; but had been slain [b]. Neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* name his parents; which has given room to many conjectures, some maintaining him to have been the son of *Constantine*, who was chosen emperor by the *Romans* in *Britain* about the year 407 [c]. Of him and his son *Constans*, who was declared *Cæsar* in 408, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history [d]. Others think he was descended from some of the *British* kings, who reigned in the island after the departure of the *Romans*; for it is manifest from *Gildas*, that the *Britons* had several kings at the same time. *Matthew* of *Westminster* tells us, that *Ambrosius* had fled, with his brother, *Uterpendragus*, whom others call *Uther*, into *Armorica*, to avoid falling into the hands of *Vortigern*, who, it seems, had usurped his right [e]; nay, some writers tell us, that the fear of *Ambrosius* induced *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*. *Matthew* of *Westminster* adds, that the *Britons*, no longer able to bear *Vortigern*, sent for *Am-*

300 *of the* British *nobility treacherously slain, and* Vortigern *made prisoner.*

Aurelius Ambrosius *succeeds* Vortigern. *Year after Christ* 458.

[w] Idem, c. 48, 47. [x] MALMES. de reg. l. i. c. 1. [y] Vide CAMD. in Radnor. [z] GILD. c 25. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Bed. c. 15. p. 157. [c] ALF. ad ann. 464. [d] Univers. hist. vol. XVI. P. 44, & seq. 65, & seq. [e] WESTMON. ad ann. 464.

brosius and his brother; who, complying with their invitation, landed with a considerable body of men in the island; upon which *Vortigern* retired to the mountains of that part of *Britain*, which is now called *Wales*; and *Ambrosius* was declared king. But the great disagreement we find among the writers after *Gildas* and *Bede*, convinces us, that we cannot depend upon any thing they have related. All we can gather from the best authors is, that the *Britons*, under the conduct of *Ambrosius*, took courage, and falling upon the *Saxons* when most of their forces were returned home, routed them with great slaughter [f]. It was perhaps in this battle that *Horsa* was slain; for of the other battles mentioned above, no notice is taken either by *Gildas* or *Bede*. From this time, the war was carried on, says *Bede* [g], sometimes favourable to the *Britons*, and sometimes to the *Saxons*, till the latter made themselves masters of the whole island. Those, who have written several ages after *Bede*, give us a more particular account of the transactions of those dark times; but we will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what they relate. According to them, *Ambrosius*, after the above-mentioned victory, assembled the nobility at *York*; and having ordered the churches to be rebuilt or repaired throughout the kingdom, which had been destroyed by the *Saxons*, he marched from *York* to *London*, from *London* to *Winchester*, and from thence to *Salisbury* (Z), endeavouring every-where to restore the declining state of the church and kingdom [h]. In the mean time, *Pascentius*, *Vortigern*'s third son, aspiring to the crown, raised a rebellion in the north; but was overcome and put to flight by *Ambrosius*, who nevertheless bestowed upon him *Bualth* in *Brecknockshire*, and *Kaer-Guortigern* in *Radnorshire*. After this, the *Britons* enjoyed some respite; but were, in the eighth year of *Ambrosius*'s reign [i], worsted in a pitched battle by *Hengist* and his son *Esk*, who took a great

He defeats the Saxons *with great slaughter.*

[f] Gild. c. 25. Bed. c. 15.
[g] Bed. de sex ætat. in Zenon.
[h] Westmonast. ad ann. 465.
[i] Alford. ad hunc ann.

booty.

(Z) *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* tells us, that, on this occasion, *Ambrosius* erected the famous monument known by the name of *Stonehenge*, in honour of the *British* nobles treacherously slain there, as he supposes, by *Hengist*. It is surprising, that any of our historians should have followed him, and yet *Matthew* of *Westminster* copies the main of his account; and *Walter* of *Coventry* sets it down as a thing not to be questioned, adding two circumstances to render it the more probable, *viz.* that *Ambrosius* was crowned, and not long after, buried there. *Polydore Virgil* supposes it to be the monument of *Ambrosius*; and *John* of *Tinmouth* calls it *Mons Ambrosii*.

booty [k]. No mention is made of any other battle fought, till four years after, when other *Saxons* coming over, under the conduct of *Ella* and his three ſons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, and *Ciſſa*, the *Britons* fell upon them as they were landing at a place called *Cymenſhore*, that is, *Cymen's ſhore*. The *Saxons*, ſays *Huntington*, who were tall, ſtrong, and vigorous, gave the *Britons* a warm reception; and having put them to flight as they advanced in ſtraggling parties, they purſued them to the foreſt of *Andredeſleige*, ſuppoſed to be the weald of *Kent*, and the woody parts of *Suſſex* [l]. After this victory, the *Saxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of all the ſea-coaſt of *Suſſex*, and continued to extend their dominions more and more till the ninth year after the arrival of *Ella*, when all the kings and princes of *Britain*, ſays *Huntington*, having united their forces, engaged *Ella* and his ſons at a place called *Mercredeſburne*. The victory, according to *Henry* of *Huntington*, remained doubtful, and both armies retired with great loſs [m]: but others will have the *Saxons* to have won the day. *Ella*, being greatly weakened by the loſs he had ſuſtained, ſent for freſh ſupplies, ſays the above-mentioned writer, out of his own country. In the mean time, *Hengiſt*, having raiſed and gariſoned ſeveral forts in *Kent*, marched with great expedition into the north, and, having joined there the *Scots* and *Picts*, took and fortified ſeveral towns. But *Ambroſius*, drawing together his forces, marched in queſt of the enemy, and coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow [n]. The following year 488, died *Hengiſt* king of *Kent*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Eſk*, called alſo *Oiſc* and *Oſric*, who reigned twenty-four years, without attempting to inlarge his dominions [o]. Some writers tell us, that *Hengiſt* was taken priſoner in the above-mentioned battle by *Eldol* duke of *Claudioceſtria*, and beheaded by him, purſuant to the ſentence which had been pronounced againſt him in a great council, at the inſtigation of *Eldadus*, brother to *Eldol*, and biſhop of *Claudioceſtria*, who declared, that, if the relt ſpared him, he would, with his own hands, cut him in pieces [p]. But this account is generally looked upon as an arrant fable (A).

The Britons *routed by* Hengiſt *and his ſon* Eſk.

Ambroſius *obtains a ſignal victory over the* Saxons.

[k] ETHELWERD. l. i. [l] HUNTING. l. ii. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem, ad ann. 487. [o] Idem, l. ii. ETHELW. ad hunc ann. MALMESB. de reg. l. i. c. 1. [p] FLORIL. ad ann. 489.

(A) *Hengiſt*, as we have obſerved above, withdrew from *Britain*, after his firſt landing there, to recruit his army, which wa greatly diminiſhed. *Cornelius Kempius*, in his hiſtory of *Friſia*, tells us, upon what grounds we know not, that *Hengiſt* retired to *Holland*, and there built, on the banks of the *Rhine*, the city of *Lyden* [q].

(q) *Corn. Kemp. in Friſ. l.* ii.

[e

The Saxons, *under the conduct of* Ella, *besiege* Andred-cheſter;

In the mean time *Ella*, having received freſh ſupplies from *Germany*, laid ſiege to *Andred-cheſter*, ſuppoſed by *Camden* to be *Newenden* in *Kent*; by *Somner* to be *Pemſey* or *Haſtings*. On the other hand, the *Britons*, having raiſed a great army, advanced to the relief of the place, and, with frequent attacks, harraſſed the *Saxons* to ſuch a degree, that they were obliged to abandon the ſiege. Hereupon the *Britons* withdrew to the woods, nor caring to venture a battle; but the *Saxons* were no ſooner returned to the ſiege, than the *Britons*, ſallying out upon them anew, forced them to quit it. Thus the *Saxons* loſt great numbers of their men, and made but a ſmall progreſs in the ſiege. But *Ella* having at laſt divided his army into two bodies, one of which purſued without intermiſſion the ſiege, while the other obſerved the enemy's motions, the citizens, quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer withſtand the efforts of the aggreſſors. The town was therefore taken, and by the mercileſs conquerors levelled with the ground, after they had put to the ſword all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Such is the account *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us of this ſiege [q]. Thus in the year 491, three years after the death of *Hengiſt*, and thirty-four after the beginning of the kingdom of *Kent*, began the ſecond kingdom in the iſland, called the kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which compriſed at firſt only *Suſſex*, but was extended by *Ella* before his death, for he reigned twenty-four years, to all the provinces lying ſouth of the *Humber* [r]. News being carried into *Germany* of the good ſucceſs that attended the *Saxons* in *Britain*, new adventurers flocked over daily to ſhare with them their good fortune. Among the reſt came *Cerdick*, the tenth in deſcent from *Woden*, with his ſon *Cenrick*, and as many men as he could tranſport in five ſhips. Theſe landing at a place, which, from their leader, was called *Cerdick's-ſhore*, now, according to *Brompton*, *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, were vigorouſly attacked by the *Britons*, whom, after a ſhort engagement, they put to flight. Several other battles were fought; but fortune proving ever favourable to the *Saxons*, the natives were forced to retire, and leave them in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſts [s]. About ſix years after, *Porta*, another *Saxon*, with his two ſons *Bleda* and *Magla*, arrived at *Portſmouth*, ſo called, as ſome imagine, from him; and having defeated with great ſlaughter the *Britons* who attempted to oppoſe his landing, and killed a young *Britiſh* prince, who commanded them, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the neighbouring country [t]. But the progreſs made by *Cerdick*

Which they take, and level with the ground.

The ſecond Saxon *kingdom in* Britain.

The South Saxons.

More Saxons *arrive under* Cerdick *and* Porta.

[q] Hunting. l. ii. [r] Bed. l. ii. c. 5. [s] Hunting. l. ii. Chron. Sax. ad ann. 490. [t] Hunting. ibid.

moſt

moſt of all alarmed the *Britons*, and therefore, ſeven years after the arrival of *Porta*, and ſixty after the firſt coming of the *Saxons*, *Nazaleod*, whom *Henry* of *Huntington* ſtyles the greateſt of the *Britiſh* kings, aſſembled the whole ſtrength of *Britain* to put a ſtop to his conqueſts. On the other hand, *Cerdick*, aware of the danger that threatened him, had recourſe to *Eſk* king of *Kent*, to *Ella* king of the *South Saxons*, and to *Porta* and his ſons, who all ſent him powerful ſupplies. With theſe he advanced againſt the *Britons*, leading the right wing himſelf, and his ſon *Cenrick* the left. As the two armies drew near each other, *Nazaleod*, perceiving the enemy's right wing to be by far the ſtronger of the two, charged it with the flower of his army, and obliged *Cerdick*, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, to ſave himſelf by flight; but, as he was purſuing the fugitives with more heat than caution, *Cenrick*, falling upon his rear, renewed the battle with ſuch vigour, that the *Britiſh* army was utterly defeated, and *Nazaleod* himſelf ſlain, with five thouſand of his men [u]. Who this *Nazaleod* was, is much controverted: ſome think it may be the *Britiſh* name of *Ambroſius*, who, as *Gildas* informs us, fought, about this time, ſeveral battles with the *Saxons*; others will have it to be the name of his brother *Uther Pendragon*. But the ſtory of *Uther Pendragon* is now deemed a fable by all the *Britiſh* antiquaries. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſpeaks of *Nazaleod*, whom he calls *Nathanlioth*, not as a king, but only the general of *Uther Pendragon*, by whom he was ſent againſt the *Saxons*, who ſlew him, and fifteen thouſand of his men. But the *Saxon* annals, *Ethelwerd*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Henry* of *Huntington*, agree in diſtinguiſhing him with the title of king; nay, the latter writer ſtyles him the greateſt of the *Britiſh* kings. *Uſher* conjectures *Uther* and *Nazaleod* to be one and the ſame perſon, the ſurname of *Uther*, ſignifying in the *Britiſh* tongue *terrible*, having been given him on account of the great things atchieved by him [w]. But as this is the darkeſt period of the whole *Britiſh* hiſtory, our beſt antiquaries can alledge nothing but mere conjectures to clear it. It is even uncertain who ſucceeded *Nazaleod*. The *Welſh* annals leave an inter-regnum of about ſix years, and place the beginning of *Arthur*'s reign in 514, or 515. The learned *Uſher* conjectures him to have been the ſon of *Nazaleod*, called alſo *Uther*. Some have doubted whether there ever was ſuch a perſon (B); but the generality of our hiſtorians

Nazaleod, *a king is defeated and ſlain by* Cerdick.

Arthur *ſucceeds* Nazaleod.

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Vide Uss. in primord. p. 466, 467.

(B) The hiſtory of king *Arthur* has been ſo diſfigured, and interwoven with ſo many abſurd, ridiculous, and romantic, ſtories, that ſome

hiſtorians not only agree, that there was ſuch a prince, but that he made a powerful reſiſtance againſt the *Saxons*. Some will have

ſome have doubted, whether there ever was ſuch a perſon as *Arthur* in the world. Among theſe, *Milton* alledges the following objections againſt *Arthur*: 1. That he is not ſo much as mentioned by *Gildas*, or any antient *Britiſh* hiſtorian, except *Nennius*, who lived three hundred years after him, and is allowed by all to have been a very credulous and trifling writer, and to have vented a great many fables. 2. Though *William* of *Malmeſbury*, and *Henry* of *Huntington* have both related his exploits, and his many victories over the *Saxons*, yet the latter took all he wrote concerning him from *Nennius*; and the former either from the ſame fabulous author, or from ſome monkiſh legends in the abbey of *Glaſſenbury*; for both theſe writers flouriſhed ſeveral centuries after *Arthur*, and conſequently knew no more of him, than we do at this day. 3. In the pretended hiſtory of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, ſuch contradictions occur concerning this prince's victories, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, *Italy*, and other countries, as are ſufficient to make us look upon him as a hero altogether fabulous and romantic. But theſe objections, however plauſible in appearance, are not of weight enough to convince us, that whatever has been written of king *Arthur* is quite fabulous; for, in the firſt place, his not being mentioned by *Gildas* does not at all ſeem ſtrange to us, ſince that author's deſign was not to write an exact hiſtory of his country, but only to give us a ſhort account of the cauſes of its ruin by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*, of which the chief was, according to him, the great wickedneſs of the *Britons*, and the general corruption of manners, that prevailed among them. On this he chiefly dwells, and from this ſubject no exploits of the princes, who then reigned, were capable of diverting him. Beſides, he only mentions thoſe princes, whoſe notorious wickedneſs ſeemed to draw down upon the unhappy *Britons* divine vengeance, expatiating upon the vices to which they were addicted, without taking the leaſt notice of their good qualities, or of the exploits, that were performed by them, or by others, tho' it is evident even from him, that the *Saxons* met with a vigorous oppoſition, and were often defeated by the *Britiſh* kings or commanders. As for *Nennius*, who lived about three hundred years after *Arthur*'s time, allowing what is objected againſt him to be true, yet we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the whole ſtory of *Arthur*, and the battles he fought, were a mere invention of his. We are rather inclined to believe, that he copied, at leaſt part of what he wrote, from other more antient authors, or perhaps from the general tradition of his countrymen at that time. It is true, the *Saxon* annals make no mention of this king, perhaps becauſe they could not do it, without tranſmitting to poſterity the many overthrows he gave the *Saxon* nation. But *Radulphus de Dicto*, one of our beſt and moſt antient *Engliſh* hiſtorians, ſpeaking of king *Cerdick*, mentions his fighting ſeveral battles with king

have him to have been king of all *Britain*; while others confine his kingdom to *Cornwall*. *Nennius*, who lived about three hundred

king *Arthur*. As for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Henry* of *Huntington*, though neither of them perhaps knew any thing of *Arthur*, but what they learnt from *Nennius*, or the antient registers of *Glassenbury*, yet, in our opinion, they deserve some credit, since we cannot persuade ourselves, that those registers consisted merely of fables. *William* of *Malmesbury* himself owns, that the *Britons* had vented a great many fables concerning this prince; but adds, that he was a hero more worthy to be celebrated in true history, than in romance. The many stories, feigned and related of his exploits by the *Britons* or *Welsh*, encouraged *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* to write many incredible fables of his conquests; but it does not thence follow, that whatever has been related of him must be fabulous; for a genuine history may be corrupted, and yet the substance of it remain true. If we therefore distinguish truth from falshood, and reject what savours too much of romance, we shall meet with nothing in the life of this hero unbecoming the character of a great prince. He was buried at *Glassenbury* in *Somersetshire*, and his coffin was dug up in the reign of *Henry* II. with this inscription on it in *Gothic* characters, *Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arturius in insula Avalonia*. We are told that the following account of this discovery was hung up in the monastery of *Glassenbury*, and was to be seen there till the dissolution of the said monastery: *In this island, which is called the island of* Avalonia, *nay, in this burying-place of saints at* Glastenbury, *rest the renowned king* Arthur, *the flower of the* British *kings, and* Guenhumara *his queen, who, departing this life, were honourably interred near the old church, between two stone pyramids, where they lay many years till the time of* Henry de Soili, *who was abbot of the place after the burning of the said church. This abbot, being importuned by many persons, ordered some to dig between the pyramids for the bodies of the above-mentioned king and queen. Having dug very deep, they at length discovered a great wooden coffin close shut, which they opened, and found in it the king's body, with a leaden cross, on which was the following inscription,* Here lies buried the renowned king *Arthur* in the island *Avalonia*. *Then they opened the queen's grave, and found her lying with her hair dishevelled, as if she had been but just buried; which, however, fell to ashes as soon as touched. The abbot and convent, with great joy, took thence their remains, and placed them in the greater church in a tomb, which was cut in a rock, and divided into two parts, the king's body being by itself at the head of the tomb, and the queen's in the eastern part of it. On the tomb were engraved their several epitaphs* (19). The abbot, by whom these bodies were discovered, was not, as *Leland* supposes, *Henricus Blaisensis*, nephew to *Henry* I. but *Henricus Soliacensis*, or *Henry de Soily*, or *Sully*, who

(19) *Vide Usser. in primord. p.* 116. *&c. & Gerald. Cambr. in Spec. eccles. l* ii. *c.* 11.

He is said to have overthrown the Saxons *in twelve battles.*

hundred years after him, tells us, that he overthrew the *Saxons* in no fewer than twelve battles. The firſt of theſe was fought near the mouth of a certain river, called *Glein*, or *Gleni*, placed by ſome in *Devonſhire*; by others in *Lincolnſhire*: the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, near the river *Duglas*, in the country of *Linvis* or *Linnis*. This river ſome ſuppoſe to be the *Dug* or *Duc* in *Lincolnſhire*; others the *Dugles* near *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*. The ſixth battle was fought on the banks of a river called *Baſſas*, ſuppoſed by ſome to run by the town of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*; the ſeventh in the wood of *Chelidon*, called in the *Britiſh* language *Cattoit Celidon*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* gives us a very particular account of this battle; but, in our opinion, ſo fabulous, that it does not deſerve a place in hiſtory [y]. The eighth battle was near the caſtle of *Suinnion*; the ninth near the city of *Lergis* or *Leogis*, called in the *Britiſh* tongue *Kaer-leon*; the tenth in the neighbourhood of the

[y] Westm. ad ann. 524.

was made abbot after the burning of the church of *Glaſſenbury* in 1184, was afterwards raiſed to the biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and died in 1195. The epitaphs, which he cauſed to be engraved on the monuments of king *Arthur* and his queen, were as follows:

Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas, commendant laude perenni.

Arthuri jacet hic conjux tumulata ſecunda,
Quæ meruit cælos virtutum prole ſecunda.

We are told, that, in the king's body, were plainly ſeen the marks of ten wounds, whereof one only ſeemed mortal. What *Giraldus Cambrenſis* writes of his ſtature, and the dimenſions of his body, is unqueſtionably fabulous. The leaden croſs was preſerved in the treaſury of the church of *Glaſſenbury*, till the diſſolution of that monaſtery and there ſeen and carefully viewed by *Leland* (20). His tomb was diſcovered in the reign of *Henry* II. about the year 1189, that is, ſix hundred years after his death. So great was the love and eſteem of the *Britons* for this hero, that, for ſeveral ages, he was thought by many to be ſtill alive: nay, this notion, as our hiſtorians aſſure us, was not intirely rooted out, till his tomb was diſcovered. It was this perhaps that gave occaſion to the many fables, that have been invented concerning *Arthur*'s travels, and his numberleſs victories in foreign countries. To conclude, had this renowned hero of the *Britiſh* nation been leſs celebrated by romantic writers, no one perhaps would have queſtioned the truth of what has been related concerning his noble deeds by more grave hiſtorians.

(20) *Leland. apud Uſſ. p.* 120. *in aſſert. Arturii.*

river

river *Ribrot* or *Arderic*; the eleventh on the hill *Brenion*, supposed to be somewhere in *Somersetshire*; and the twelfth on the hill of *Badon*. *Gale* thinks these battles were fought in the space of forty years, under *Vortigern*, *Ambrosius*, and others, though they have been all ascribed to *Arthur*. *Cerdick*, having sustained great losses in the many battles that were fought with the *Britons*, sent over to *Germany* for new supplies; which arriving in three ships, under the conduct of *Stuf* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, landed at *Cerdickshore*, where they were attacked by the *Britons*, whom they put to flight, *Henry* of *Huntington*, who describes this battle at length, tells us, that the *British* forces were drawn up on the side of a hill, and likewise in a valley, which at first frightened the new-comers; but recovering themselves from their consternation, they fell with great resolution upon the *Britons*, and put them to flight [z]. In this year 514, died *Esk*, the son of *Hengist*, and second king of *Kent*, and was succeeded by his son *Otta*, who reigned twenty-two years; but performed nothing worthy of notice [a]. The same year died, as we are told by *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ella*, the first king of the *South Saxons*, having reigned twenty-four years. *Cissa*, his youngest son, succeeded him, the other two, who came over with him, being, in all likelihood, dead before him. *Cissa* is supposed to have built *Chichester*, called in the *Saxon* language *the city of* Cissa. About this time *Cerdick*, after he had been twenty-four years in the island, and made himself master of a very large territory, took upon him the title of king, and founded the third kingdom in the nation, called the kingdom of the *West Saxons*, comprehending the counties of *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, to which was afterwards added *Cornwall*. In subduing these countries, *Cerdick*, though reinforced with continual supplies from *Germany*, spent twenty-four years; which shews, that the *Britons* did not tamely part with their territories, but, being overpowered with numbers, were forced, after a long and vigorous resistance, to quit them. The same year that *Cerdic* assumed the regal title, he fought a battle with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's-ford*, supposed to be *Charford* in *Hampshire*. The account *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us of this battle is very advantageous to the *Saxons*; but upon what grounds he gives it, we know not, since the *Saxon* annals only tell us, that from this time forward, the royal offspring, meaning the off-spring of *Cerdick*, reigned over the *West Saxons*; which seems indeed to imply, that *Cerdick* won the day, and, by this victory, secured the crown to his poste-

New supplies of Saxons *arrive under* Stuf *and* Witgar.

The third Saxon *kingdom. The* West Saxons.

Cerdick *defeats the* Britons.

[z] HUNTING. ibid. [a] RAN. HIGD. in Polychron.

rity. No mention is made of *Cerdick* till seven years after this battle, when we find him again engaged with the *Britons* at a place called *Cerdick's-lea*, or *Cerdick's-league*, supposed to be *Cherdley* in *Buckinghamshire*[b]; but whether the *Saxons* conquered, or the *Britons*, we are no-where told. All we know from the annals is, that, after this battle, *Cerdick* reduced the isle of *Wight*; a convincing proof, that the battle had proved favourable to him. He is said to have granted the isle of *Wight* to *Stuf* and *Witgar*, his two nephews, who put to the sword an incredible number of the inhabitants at a place, called from the latter, *Witgaraburg*, and now, by contraction, *Caresbroke*. Of these battles *Henry* of *Huntington* gives us very particular accounts; but as we are convinced he did not copy them from any authentic or credible authors, we forbear descending with him to particulars. But that we may not rely altogether on the *Saxon* annals, nor those authors, who have written long after the things they relate had happened, *Gildas*, a writer of unquestionable authority, who lived in those times, tells us, that a great battle was fought on *Badon-hill*, supposed to be *Bansdown* near *Bath*, in which the *Saxons* were utterly routed by the *Britons*[c]. This battle is said by *Nennius*, and after him by most of our historians, to be the last of the twelve fought by king *Arthur*. There are not, however, wanting some, who maintain, that this battle was fought in the reign of *Ambrosius*; but, at the same time, they ascribe the victory to the valour and conduct of *Arthur*, who commanded the *Britons* as general to *Ambrosius*. In this battle the *Saxons* received such an overthrow, that, for many years, they forbore molesting the *Britons*. It was fought, according to the best *British* manuscripts, in the year 520, though some place it in 493, and others even before the year 491. Be that as it will, the *Britons*, it seems, still enjoyed the peace and tranquillity which so signal a victory produced, when *Gildas* wrote his account of the destruction of *Britain*, that is, forty-four years after the battle was fought. This seems the most natural sense of the obscure words of *Gildas*[d], tho' *Bede* understood him as if he had meant, that the battle was fought forty-four years after the first coming of the *Saxons*[e]; whence, in his chronicle, he places it in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, who died in 491[f]. But, notwithstanding the peace which the *Britons* enjoyed, the *Saxons*, who were continually flocking over, and making new encroachments, founded, according to the *Saxon* annals, in the year 527, a fourth kingdom, called

And reduces the isle of Wight.

The Saxons receive a total overthrow on Badon-hill.

The Britons *enjoy a long peace.*

[b] Sax. annal. ad ann. 527. [c] Gild. c. 26. p. 120. [d] Vide Uss. p. 477 [e] Bed. hist. c. 16. p. 253. [f] Idem chron. [illegible]

the

the kingdom of the *East Saxons*, compriſing *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. This kingdom was begun by *Erchenwin*, deſcended from one *Saxnat*. To *Erchenwin* ſucceeded, according to *Henry* of *Huntington*, his ſon *Sleda*, whom *William* of *Malmeſbury* makes the firſt of the *East Saxon* kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. About fifteen years after the founding of the *East Saxon* kingdom, that is, near the year 542, the great king *Arthur* is ſuppoſed to have died, and to have been ſucceeded by his kinſman *Conſtantine*; but the moſt antient *Britiſh* chronicles leave an inter-regnum of near eleven years, without ſo much as mentioning *Conſtantine*. In the year 547, *Ida*, the tenth by deſcent from *Woden*, founded the fifth kingdom in this iſland, called the kingdom of *Northumberland*, as it compriſed that part of the *Britiſh* provinces, that lies north of the *Humber*. *Otta* and *Ebuſa* had, at the requeſt of *Hengiſt*, as we have related above, been allowed by *Vortigern* to ſettle in thoſe parts, under pretence of making war on the *Scots* and *Picts*, and ſecuring the northern provinces againſt their incurſions. This they effected; but having at the ſame time driven out the antient inhabitants, they ſeized on thoſe countries for themſelves, and held them as inferior governors and vaſſals to the kings of *Kent*. This moderation, ſays our hiſtorian [g], deſcended to their poſterity; ſo that, for the ſpace of an hundred years, the princes of *Northumberland* continued ſubject to the kings of *Kent*. But this year 547, the principality was changed into a kingdom, *Ida*, a perſon no leſs famous for his virtues than for his birth, aſſuming the title of king of *Northumberland*. This proved a powerful kingdom; for it comprehended all *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Northumberland*, with part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh* frith. *Ida* was not, according to *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, ſon to any of thoſe princes, who governed *Northumberland* before it became a kingdom, but an adventurer come lately out of *Germany*, and raiſed to the throne, in regard of his extraordinary merit. He reigned about twelve years with great applauſe, and built a town, which he called, as *Bede* ſeems to inſinuate [h], *Bebanburgh*, now *Bamborough* in *Northumberland*, from his wife *Bebba*. Upon his death, the kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof the one, lying ſouth of the *Tine*, was called *Deira*, and the other, extending from that river to *Edinburgh* frith, *Bernicia*.

The fourth Saxon kingdom. The East Saxons.

Arthur *dies*.

The fifth Saxon kingdom. Northumberland. *Year after Chriſt* 547.

IN the year 561. *Ethelbert* began to reign in *Kent*. As he was young and ambitious when he aſcended the throne, he was the firſt who raiſed civil wars and diſturbances amongſt the

Civil wars among the Saxons.

[g] MALMS. l. i c. 3. [h] BED. l. iii. c 6.

Saxons

Saxons themſelves, claiming, as king of the moſt antient *Saxon* kingdom, a kind of right over the reſt. This claim he attempted to ſupport by dint of arms; but, being twice defeated, he, who at firſt was formidable, became in a ſhort time time, in a manner contemptible; for *Keaulin*, king of the *Weſt Saxons*, and his ſon *Cutha*, having purſued him into his own dominions, ſlew at *Wibbandun*, *Oſlac* and *Cnebba*, two of his chief commanders. By means of theſe civil conteſts, among the *Saxons*, but chiefly by the late victory gained on *Badon-hill*, the *Britons* lived, at leaſt for the ſpace of forty-four years, unmoleſted by their common enemy. But the peace they enjoyed proved more deſtructive to them than any war; for though thoſe who had felt the calamities that had befallen their nation, acknowledged themſelves, by their chriſtian and regular lives, indebted to Heaven for their deliverance; yet the next generation, unacquainted with paſt evils, and only ſenſible of their preſent eaſe, abandoned themſelves to all manner of vice and debauchery to ſuch a degree, that the principles of truth and juſtice being totally ſubverted, ſcarce any footſteps of them remained either in the clergy or laity, in the people or their princes; ſo that they became odious, as *Gildas* informs us, to all the neighbouring nations. But how far injuſtice, irreligion, and immorality, prevailed amongſt all ranks of men, will better appear from that writer's own words. And to begin with the kings, who then reigned in *Britain*, he thus reproves them in the epiſtle, which he wrote while living in *Armorica* out of their reach. *Britain*, ſays he, has kings, but tyrants; judges, but ſuch as prey upon the innocent; the kings have wives, but abandon themſelves to harlots; they ſwear oft, but perjure themſelves; they wage war, but an unjuſt and civil war; they puniſh thieves, yet have the greateſt near them, even at their own tables; they ſit in the ſeat of judgment, but ſeldom obſerve the rules of right judgment; they proudly overlook the modeſt and harmleſs, but countenance the audacious, though guilty of moſt abominable crimes; they fill their priſons, but with men whom they have committed rather out of malice, than for any crime. He then proceeds to each king in particular, beginning with *Conſtantine* then reigning in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, whom he calls *the tyrannical whelp of an impure* Damonian *lioneſs*, and charges with the murder of two innocent youths of the blood royal, whom he aſſaſſinated in their mother's arms at the very altar, and under the cope of the holy abbot. He likewiſe inveighs againſt this prince, as one that was polluted with many adulteries, and had put away his lawful wife. In the next place, he reproaches *Aurelius Conanus* with adulteries, with parricide, and greater cruelties than the former was guilty of. He adds, that this prince, hating the peace of his country, had, for the ſake

A general corruption of manners prevails among the Britons.

The wickedneſs of their kings.

ſake of booty and prey, fomented civil wars. Where *Aurelius Conanus* reigned, is not expreſſed; but his condition was not, it ſeems, very proſperous; for *Gildas* wiſhes, that, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midſt of a barren foreſt, he may call to mind the pride and arrogance of his father and elder brothers, who came all to untimely deaths. In the third place, he applies himſelf to *Vortipore*, whom he calls the wicked ſon of a good father, and the tyrant of *Demetia* or *South Wales*. He upbraids him, though ſtricken in years, with adulteries, with falſhood, and cruelty in governing. In his latter days he put away his wife, and, if we miſtake not the meaning of *Gildas*, was guilty of inceſt with his daughter. In the next place, our author comes to *Cuneglaſus*, ſuppoſed by ſome antiquaries to have reigned in *North Wales*: him he reproves for raiſing civil wars, for divorcing his wife, and marrying her couſin, who had vowed perpetual chaſtity; he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his riches. *Gildas* concludes with a ſharp reproof *Maglocunus*, the greateſt, and likewiſe the moſt wicked, of all the *Britiſh* princes. He had driven out or ſlain many other kings or tyrants, and is called by our author *the iſland dragon*. He was tall in ſtature, a great warrior, and profuſe in his gifts. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle in battle, and drove him from the throne; then, touched with remorſe, he betook himſelf to a monaſtic life, which he ſoon forſook, as he did afterwards his wife, taking the wife of his brother's ſon in her room, who, to prevent her marriage being deemed null or unlawful, found means to diſpatch her own huſband, and *Maglocunus*'s former wife. This is the ſubſtance of *Gildas*'s reproof to the *Britiſh* kings, from which, all we can gather is, that there were, at this time, at leaſt five kings in *Britain*, and all guilty of moſt enormous crimes; but by what means they came to the crown, what great actions they performed during their reigns, who ſucceeded each of them in their reſpective territories, *&c.* we are not told by any authentic writer. From the kings our author paſſes to the clergy, whom he ſharply reproves as paſtors in name, but in reality wolves, intent, on all occaſions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper themſelves; not called to the miniſtry, but ſeizing it as a trade; teaching the people, not by ſound doctrine, but by evil example; haters of truth, broachers of lies; looking on the poor with an eye of contempt, but fawning on the rich, however wicked; great promoters of other people's alms, but themſelves ever contributing leaſt; ſeldom officiating at the altar, and ſcarce ever with pure hearts; ſlightly touching the reigning vices of the age, but highly aggravating their own injuries, as done to Chriſt himſelf; ſeeking preferments in the church,

And of the clergy.

church, more than Heaven; ignorant of the doctrines contained in the holy ſcriptures, but cunning and practiſed in worldly matters; bearing their heads high, but having their thoughts and affections abject and low. He likewiſe taxes them as gluttons, drunkards, and, above all, as guilty of the enormous ſin of ſimony; and then addreſſes the laity thus: What can you expect, unhappy people, from theſe beaſts, all belly? Shall they reclaim you, who weary themſelves in committing iniquity? Shall you ſee with their eyes, which are open only to gain? Leave them rather, leſt you fall both blindfold into perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly; but what did it avail *Eli* to be himſelf blameleſs, while he connived at the wickedneſs of his ſons, *&c.* Our author at the end of his hiſtory, gives a further account of the ſad ſtate of affairs, and general corruption of manners, in thoſe times; and complains, that the cities and towns were not inhabited as formerly, but lay in a ſtate of ruin and deſolation; for foreign wars being ceaſed, civil wars broke out, which brought all things to a moſt deplorable condition. Such was the ſtate of the government and religion among the *Britons* during the peace, which was produced by the victory on *Badon-hill*, and laſted till the time *Gildas* wrote, that is, for the ſpace of about forty-four years.

The ſixth Saxon *kingdom. The* Eaſt Angles.

Not long after, that this, about the year 575, began, as is ſuppoſed, for the year is not ſet down in the *Saxon* annals, or any other hiſtory, the kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*, compriſing the countries we now call *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the iſle of *Ely*. It was founded by *Uffa*, the eighth from *Woden*, though there were, it ſeems, before him, ſeveral petty princes, who had ſettled in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; but *Uffa*, more powerful than they, drove them all out, and reigned alone with ſuch reputation, that, from him, the ſucceeding kings were called *Uffingæ*[i]. *William* of *Malmeſbury*, diſagreeing with all other writers, ſuppoſes this kingdom to have begun before that of the *Weſt Saxons*. And now the *Saxons*, who had been, ever ſince the battle on *Badon-hill*, either inactive, or engaged in civil wars and quarrels among themſelves, began afreſh to harraſs the *Britons*, and, in a few years, drove them out of all the countries they held in that part of the iſland, which is now known by the name of *England*; for *Cuthwulf*, the brother of *Ceaulin*, king of the *Weſt Saxons*, having defeated the *Britons* at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, the head of the adjacent province, ſays *Henry* of *Huntington*, he took from them four towns, *viz.* *Liganburgh*, now *Loughborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*, or, as others will have it, *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*; *Egleſburg*,

The Britons *overcome in ſeveral battles.*

[i] Hunting. l. ii. Malmesb. l i.

now

now *Aileſbury* in *Buckinghamſhire*, with *Bennington* and *Igneſham*, now *Benſon* and *Eveſham* in *Oxfordſhire*. *Cuthwulf* died the ſame year he obtained this victory. For the ſpace of ſix years after, we hear of no action, as if *Ceaulin* had had no commander to place in his brother's room. But, after that time, he renewed the war, and having, with his ſon *Cuthwin*, engaged the *Britons* at a place in *Glouceſterſhire*, called *Deorham*, he ſlew three of their kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of their chief cities, *viz.* *Glewanceſter*, or *Glouceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Bathanceſter*, now *Bath*. Who theſe kings were, we are no-where told; but ſome conjecture the firſt to be *Cuniglaſus*, and the ſecond *Aurelius Conanus*, both mentioned by *Gildas*. We read of no other battle between the *Saxons* and *Britons*, though in all likelihood, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, till ſeven years after the battle of *Deorham*, when *Ceaulin* and his ſon *Cutha* fought againſt the *Britons* at a place called *Frethanleag*. In this battle *Cutha* was ſlain, and the *Saxons* obliged, according to *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, to retire; but freſh ſuccours ſeaſonably arriving, they returned to the charge, routed the *Britons*, and took ſeveral towns [k]. About this time, that is, about the year 585, according to *Henry* of *Huntingdon* and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, was founded by *Crida*, the ſeventh kingdom in this iſland, called the kingdom of *Mercia*. Whence it took that name, is uncertain, ſome deriving it from the river *Merſe*, which, running between *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, was the north-weſt boundary of the *Mercian* kingdom [l]. Others will have it to have been ſo called from the *Saxon* word *meark*, ſignifying *a limit*; becauſe moſt of the other kingdoms bordered upon it [m]. Be that as it will, this kingdom, though the laſt erected, was one of the largeſt of the *Engliſh Saxon* kingdoms, and one of the laſt, that was conquered by the *Weſt Saxons*. It comprehended ſeventeen counties, *viz.* *Glouceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. The *Britons* were now confined within very narrow bounds. However, before they abandoned all on this ſide of the mountains, they once more engaged the *Saxons* at a place called *Woden's Bearth* near the ditch in *Wiltſhire*, which, by the neighbouring people, is called *Wanſdike*, and in the *Saxon* tongue *Wodinſdic*, or the dyke of *Woden*, and, running through the middle of the country, divides it from eaſt to weſt.

The ſeventh Saxon kingdom Mercia.

Year of Chriſt 585.

[k] HUNTING. ibid. [l] LHUYD. fol. 23. [m] CAMD. in Cornaviis.

This battle proved very bloody; but who were the generals on either side, we are no-where told. *Henry* of *Huntington* only writes, that the *Britons* having drawn up their army after the *Roman* manner, the *Saxons* charged them with their usual boldness. Hereupon a sharp engagement ensued, adds that writer, in which God gave the victory to the *Britons*; for the *Saxons* were routed, and almost their whole army cut off[n].

The Britons *gain a complete victory over the* Saxons.

In this battle, the *Britons* were assisted, according to *William* of *Malmesbury*, by the *Angles*, jealous of the overgrown power of *Ceaulin*, king of the *West Saxons*, whose military genius and great exploits had struck terror into the *Angles*, as well as the *Britons*. But, after the loss of this battle, he was driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge in some other kingdom; but whether in this island, or elsewhere, is not recorded in history. From this victory the *Britons* reaped but little advantage; for being daily more confined, and harrassed on one side by the *Scots* and *Picts*, and on the other by the *Saxons*, they were, in the end, obliged to abandon their antient seats, and take shelter among the craggy and mountainous places in the west of the island; whither their cruel enemies could not easily pursue them. There they long continued a warlike nation, defending their liberty, and, though separated from the *Saxons* by a deep ditch, the work of *Offa* king of the *Mercians*, making frequent inroads into the *Saxon*, or, as we may now style them, the *English*, territories, where they put all to fire and sword. They had been attended with far better success, had they not been continually quarrelling among themselves; which was chiefly owing to the ambitious and restless humours of the petty princes, or rather tyrants, by whom they were governed. Some of the unhappy *Britons* took refuge, as we have said just now, in that part of the island, which the *Latins* called *Cambria*, and the *English*, after the *German* custom, *Wales*; for the *Germans*, as the learned antiquary *Humphry Lhuyd* well observes, calling the strangers that lived near them on one side *Gauls* or *Walls*, gave afterwards the same appellation to all strangers; and hence, according to that writer, the *Walloons* in the *Low Countries*, and the *Wallachians* on the *Danube*, received their denominations. The *Britons*, upon their retiring into *Cambria* or *Wales*, divided that country, as we read in the same author, into six regions, *Guynedh*, *Powys*, *Dehenbarth*, *Reynuc*, *Esyluc* or *Sylluc*, and *Morganuc* or *Morgan*. Each of these regions or districts was governed by its own king till the year 843, when *Roderic the Great* became sole monarch of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which, at his death, he

But are, in the end obliged to retire into Wales *and other parts.*

Wales divided into six petty kingdoms.

[n] Huntingd. ubi supra.

divided

divided among his three ſons, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. Some of the *Britons* were driven into *Cornwall*; others, according to the learned antiquary, whom we have quoted above, ſettled in the moſt ſouthern parts of *Scotland*, and in the neighbourhood of *Carliſle*, and continued there till the year 871, when they were driven out by the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, and forced to take ſhelter among their countrymen in that part of *Cambria* or *Wales*, which by the *Latin* writers is ſtyled *Venedotia*, and by us *North Wales*. The *Britons* at firſt poſſeſſed all the countries beyond the *Dee* and the *Severn*, which two rivers, in antient times, divided *Cambria* or *Wales* from *England*, the towns, which ſtand on the eaſtern banks of theſe two rivers, having been moſt of them built to reſtrain the *Cambrians* or *Welſh* from breaking into *England*. But the *Engliſh*, having paſſed the *Severn*, by degrees ſeized on the country lying between that river and the *Wye*; ſo that all *Herefordſhire*, and that tract, which was antiently called the *Daniſh-wood*, with *Glouceſterſhire*, and ſuch parts of *Worceſterſhire* and *Shropſhire*, as lie beyond the *Severn*, are ſtill inhabited by the *Engliſh*; nay, in former times, ſome parts of *Flintſhire* and *Denbighſhire* were ſubject to the kings of *Mercia*; for *Uffa*, the moſt powerful king of that country, cauſed a deep ditch, with a high wall, to be carried on as a barrier between his dominions and the territories of the *Cambrians*, from the mouth of the *Dee*, a little above *Flint-caſtle*, over ſteep mountains, croſs deep valleys, fens, and rivers, to the mouth of the *Wye*. This ditch, called by the *Welſh* to this day *Claudh Uffa*, or the ditch of *Uffa*, is ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral parts; and all the towns, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of it, have names ending in *ton* or *ham*, an evident proof, that they were inhabited by *Saxons*; nay, the inhabitants of them are by the *Welſh* ſtill called *Guyr y Mers*, that is, the men of *Mercia*. Thus far of the places, into which the diſtreſſed *Britons* were driven within the iſland. But *Gildas* tells us, that ſome of them, committing themſelves to the mercy of the waves, ſought for ſhelter beyond the ſea; and it is the general opinion, that they fled to their countrymen in *Armorica*. That ſome *Britons* had ſettled in *Armorica*, now *Bretagne*, before this time, is paſt diſpute, though there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the preciſe time of their firſt ſettling there. The firſt mention we find of the *Britons* in *Armorica* is in the year 461, when *Manſuetus*, biſhop of the *Britons*, ſubſcribed, among the other prelates of *Gaul* and *Armorica*, to the articles eſtabliſhed in the firſt council of *Tours* [a]. It is manifeſt from *Sidonius Apollina-*

Uffa's ditch.

Some of the diſtreſſed Britons *take ſhelter in* Armorica.

[a] Concil. tom. iv

ris, that, in 469, they were already ſettled on the banks of the *Loire* [p]. About the year 470, the *Britons* in *Armorica* had a king of their own, named *Riothamus*, who, at the requeſt of the emperor *Anthemius*, marched at the head of twelve thouſand men againſt *Euric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, but was defeated by that prince in the province of *Berri* [q]. *Sidonius Apollinaris* highly commends the moderation of *Riothamus*; but ſpeaks of his men in ſuch terms, as ſhew, that they were not at all mended by the calamities they had ſuffered at home. *Sidonius*, after he was made biſhop, had often occaſion to complain of them to their prince [r]. An anonymous writer, who was a native of *Armorica*, and wrote the life of St. *Wingalof*, not long after the *Saxons* had made themſelves maſters of *Britain*, tells us, that the *Britons*, embarking on floats, arrived in *Armorica*, being driven out of their native ſoil by the *Saxons*, a fierce and barbarous nation. He adds, that the *Britons*, being worn out with misfortunes and fatigues, continued quiet for a while, without engaging in any wars [s]. The *Britons* are ſaid to have paſſed over to, and ſettled in, *Armorica* at three different times, *viz.* in the reign of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, during the uſurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Saxons* made themſelves maſters of the iſland. No antient hiſtorian makes any mention of their ſettling in that country, either in the reign of *Conſtantius* or of *Maximus*; which gives us room to queſtion the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. All we know for certain is, that the *Britons* were ſettled in that part of *Gaul*, which, from them, was called *Britanny*, before the *Saxons* and *Angles* made themſelves maſters of the whole country now called *England*. *William* of *Malmeſbury* writes, that the *Britons*, who went over with the tyrant *Maximus*, were, for their faithful ſervices, rewarded with lands in *Gaul* on the ſhore of the ocean; but others maintain, that, before the *Saxon* invaſion, no *Britons* had ſettled in *Gaul*; which opinion ſeems to us by far the moſt probable, ſince, by the antient and moſt credible hiſtorians, frequent mention is made of the *Britons* in *Gaul* after, and none before, the coming of the *Saxons*. The *Britons*, who ſettled in *Armorica*, having, by degrees, got the better of the natives, treated them much in the ſame manner, as their countrymen, whom they had left behind in the iſland, were treated by the *Saxons*; for, not to allege other teſtimonies, *Gildas*, biſhop of *Vannes*, ſpeaking of the unhappy condition

About what time they firſt ſettled in that country.

They make themſelves maſters of Armorica.

[p] SIDON. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [q] JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. GREG. TUR. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 8. p. 282. [r] SIDON. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74. [s] Vide CAMD. & USS. in primord. p. 421

of

of the *Armoricans*; *We live*, says he, *in captivity under the* Britons, *and bear a most grievous and heavy yoke.* The *Armoricans*, thus overpowered by the *Britons*, were blended with them under the common appellation of *Britons*, their country being called *Britannia Armorica*, and *Britannia Cismarina*, in the same manner as the *Gauls*, in other parts of *Gaul*, were blended under the common name of *Franks*, and their country called *Francia*. The *Armorican Britons* defended themselves with great bravery against the *Franks*, first under petty kings, and afterwards under counts and dukes, as we shall relate in a more proper place. But to return to our distressed *Britons* at home: those who had taken refuge among the mountains beyond the *Severn*, attempted, from time to time, to recover the countries they had lost; but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the *Anglo-Saxons* to extend their conquests beyond the mountains. Such of the *Britons* as submitted to, and lived among the *Saxons*, were treated by them as slaves, and employed in the most servile offices.

THUS, omitting such accounts as are generally deemed fabulous, we have related the most remarkable events, that happened in *Britain*, from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the retreat of the *Britons* into *Cambria* or *Wales*. The venerable *Bede* takes no notice of what was transacted here from the battle on *Badon-hill* to the conversion of the *Saxons* in the time of pope *Gregory the Great*; which does not a little incline us to question the truth of what we read in the writers, who came after him. These had not better records or memoirs than that venerable author, but less discernment, and more credulity; which perhaps may have prompted them to relate, and even believe, such things, as did not appear to that judicious author so well attested, as to deserve a place in his history. With these, however, we have been forced to take up, for want of better guides, when abandoned by *Gildas* and *Bede*; but as we do not ourselves give intire credit to what they relate, we are far from exacting it of our readers. The unfortunate *Britons* being, in the manner we have related, driven into *Cambria*, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, remained masters of the whole country now called *England*, where they had already founded seven kingdoms, known by the name of the *heptarchy*. But of these kingdoms we shall speak at length in a more proper place, the method, which we have proposed to ourselves, obliging us to leave them at present, and hasten to the history of other more antient nations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The antient ſtate of the ſeveral northern nations, to their breaking into the Roman *empire, and their ſeveral expeditions, and mutual expulſions, till the ſettling of the* Hunns *in* Hungary, *the* Vandals, Viſigoths, *and* Sueves, *in* Spain, *the* Vandals *in* Africa, *the* Franks *in* Gaul, *the* Oſtrogoths *in* Italy.

SECT. I.

The antient ſtate, &c. *of the* Hunns, *till their ſettling in* Hungary.

The antient ſeats of the Hunns.

THE *Hunns*, a fierce and ſavage nation, inhabited that part of *Aſiatic Sarmatia*, which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Tanais*, the antient boundary between *Europe* and *Aſia* [a]. Their country, as deſcribed by *Procopius* [b], lay north of mount *Caucaſus*, which, extending from the *Euxine* to the *Caſpian* ſea, parts *Aſiatic Sarmatia* from *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, lying on the iſthmus between the two above-mentioned ſeas. In this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, were two narrow paſſes leading out of *Aſiatic Sarmatia* into *Iberia*, one of which was antiently called *Porta Caucaſia*, but in *Procopius*'s time *Tzur*, and the other *Porta Caſpia*, which, however, we muſt diſtinguiſh from the famous *Portæ Caſpiæ*, or the narow paſſes in mount *Caſpius*, which, at a great diſtance to the ſouth of mount *Caucaſus*, divided *Media* from *Parthia*. The two paſſes in mount *Caucaſus* let the neighbouring *Hunns*, ſays *Procopius* [c], into the territories of the *Romans* and *Parthians*; whence it is manifeſt, that, according to *Procopius*, the antient ſeats of the *Hunns* lay north of mount *Caucaſus*, and at a ſmall diſtance from it. In thoſe ſeats, called by *Procopius* the *Eulyſian* region, dwelt the *Hunns*, divided into ſeveral tribes, but all compriſed under the general name of *Ugri*, changed afterwards into that of *Hunni* or *Unni*. In the authors, who wrote after the year of the chriſtian æra 376,

Different tribes of Hunns.

[a] AMMIAN MARCEL. l. xxvi. p. 435, 441. AGATH. l. v. p. 154. [b] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 3, 4, 5. [c] Idem ibid.

which

when the *Hunns* firſt broke into *Europe*, mention is made of the *Uturgurian*, *Cuturgurian*, *Onugurian*, *Vultinzurian*, *Burugunian*, *Sabirian* or *Gabrian*, and *Nephthalite* or *Ephthalite*, *Hunns* [d]. *Procopius* tells us, that one of their kings had two ſons, *Uturgur* and *Cuturgur*, who, upon their father's death, divided his territories between them; and that ſuch of the *Hunns* as were ſubject to *Uturgur*, were called *Uturgurian Hunns*; and thoſe, who fell to the lot of *Cuturgur*, *Curturgurian*. Of the other denominations no notice is taken by the hiſtorians. On the ſouth ſide of the *Palus Mæotis*, where it diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea by a narrow chanel, called the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, dwelt the *Uturgurian Hunns*; and north of them, towards the *Tanais*, the *Cuturgurian* [e]. The *Ephthalite*, as *Procopius* tems them, or *Nephthalite Hunns*, as they are ſtyled by *Agathias*, inhabited a rich country, bordering to the north on *Perſia*, and at a great diſtance from the *Sarmatian* or *Scythian Hunns*, with whom they had no intercourſe, nor the leaſt reſemblance either in their perſons or manners. They were a powerful nation, and often ſerved againſt the *Romans* in the *Perſian* armies; but, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, being provoked by *Perozes* king of *Perſia* laying claim to part of their country, they defeated the *Perſians* in two pitched battles, ſlew their king, over-ran all *Perſia*, and held it in ſubjection for the ſpace of two years, obliging *Cabades*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Perozes*, to pay them a yearly tribute. *The Ephthalite or Nephthalite Hunns.*

These *Hunns*, commonly called by the writers of thoſe times the *White Hunns*, did not wander, like the others, from place to place, but, contented with their own country, which ſupplied them with all neceſſaries, they lived under a regular government, ſubject to one prince, and ſeldom made inroads, unleſs provoked, either into the *Perſian* or *Roman* territories. They lived according to their own laws, and dealt uprightly with one another, as well as with the neighbouring people. Each of their great men uſed to chuſe twenty or more companions, to enjoy with him his wealth, and partake of all his diverſions; but, upon his deceaſe, they were all buried with him in the ſame grave [f]. This cuſtom ſavours of barbarity; but, in every other reſpect, the *Nephthalite* were a far more civilized nation, than the *Scythian Hunns*, who, breaking into the empire, filled moſt of the provinces of *Europe* with blood and ſlaughter. The latter were, according to *Ammianus Marcel-*

[d] AGATH. l. ix. p. 154. PROCOP. ibid. PAUL. WARNEFRID. miſcel. l. xii. [e] PROCOP. ibid. PAUL. WARNEFRID. miſcel. l. xii. p 383. [f] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. l. i.

linus,

The Sarmatian *or* Scythian Hunns. *Their customs and manners.*

linns [g], a savage people, exceeding in cruelty the most barbarous nations. They begin to practise their cruelty, says *Jornandes*, upon their own children the very first day they come into the world, cutting and mangling the cheeks of their males, to prevent the growth of hair, which they must have looked upon, contrary to the sentiments of other nations, as unbecoming and unmanly. They had perhaps in this practice another view, which *Jornandes* seems to insinuate elsewhere, *viz.* to strike terror into the enemy, with their countenances thus deformed, and covered with scars [h]. They had no other food but roots and raw meat, being quite unacquainted with the use of fire, and no houses at all, not even huts, but lived constantly exposed to the air in the woods, and on the mountains, where, from their infancy, they were inured to hunger, thirst, and all manner of hardships; nay, they had such an aversion to houses, which they called the sepulchres of the living, that, when they went into other countries, they could hardly be prevailed upon to come within the walls of any house, not thinking themselves safe when shut up and covered. They used even to eat and sleep on horseback, scarce ever dismounting; which, in all likelihood, induced *Zosimus* to write, that the *Hunns* could not walk [i]. They covered their nakedness with goats skins, or the skins of a sort of mice sowed together. Day and night was indifferent to them as to buying, selling, eating, and drinking. They had no law, nor any kind of religion; but complied with their inclinations, whatever they prompted them to, without the least restraint, or distinction between good and evil [k]. St. *Ambrose* writes, that they were greatly addicted to gaming; which occasioned frequent murders among them [l]. But this vice, as well as that of lewdness, with which he charges them, seems quite foreign to the manners of a warlike nation, inured to all sorts of hardships. In war they began the battle with great fury, and a hideous noise; but, if they met with a vigorous opposition, their fury began to abate after the first onset, and, when once put in disorder, they never rallied, but fled in the utmost confusion. They were quite unacquainted with the art of besieging towns; and authors observe, that they never attacked the enemy's camp. They were a faithless nation, and thought themselves no longer bound by the most solemn treaties, than they found their advantage in observing them. Hence we

[g] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. c. 11. [h] JORN. rer. Goth. c 24. p 643. [i] Zos. l. iv. p. 747. [k] AMMIAN l. xxxi. p 435—437—615—618. Zos l. iv. p. 747. ISIDOR. car ii. p. 207. JORN. rer. Goth. c 24 p 643, 644. SALVIAN. l iv. p 89. [l] AMBROS. de Tob c 1, 2 tom. ii p. 599.

often

often find them, upon the leaſt proſpect of obtaining more advantageous conditions, breaking into the *Roman* empire, in defiance of the moſt ſolemn oaths and engagements. Several corps of *Hunns*, after their coming into *Europe*, ſerved in the *Roman* armies againſt the *Goths* and other barbarous nations; nay, they were ready, for hire, to fight againſt one another, being blind to every other regard and conſideration [m]. Of this the emperor *Juſtinian* was appriſed, and, by promiſing a large ſum to the *Uturgurian Hunns*, prevailed upon them to fall upon the *Cuturgurians*, and drive them quite out of the empire [n]. The form of government that prevailed among them was not, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, properly ſpeaking, monarchical; for that author, ſpeaking of the *Scythian Hunns*, tells us, that they had never learnt to ſubmit to the authority of a king, but that they were headed and conducted by ſome of their chief men [o]. Theſe, by ſome hiſtorians, are honoured with the title of kings, but by others ſtyled only generals or leaders. *Jornandes* calls them conſtantly kings; and truly in war they ſeem to have been inveſted with the ſupreme command. The ſame author writes [p], that *Balamir*, whom elſewhere he calls *Balamber* [q], was king of the *Hunns*, when they firſt paſſed the *Palus Mæotis*, and ſubdued the *Goths*, that is, about the year 376. The name of *Uldin*, king or general of the *Hunns*, is famous in the hiſtory of the reign of *Arcadius* [r]. *Olympiodorus* mentions one *Caraton*, whom he calls the firſt king of the *Hunns* [s]. Several of the anceſtors of the famous *Attila* had, according to *Priſcus* the rhetorician [t], been honoured with the command of the *Hunns*. *Mundiuchus*, or, as others call him, *Mundzuchus*, father to that prince, maintained, to uſe the expreſſion of *Jornandes*, the antient ſplendor of his family [u]. He had three brothers, *Octar*, *Roas*, who were both kings or leaders of the *Hunns*, but not of the whole nation, and *Oebarſus*, who outlived the other two, but ſerved under *Attila* [w]. *Octar* and *Uptar*, who made war upon the *Burgundians* in 436, as we ſhall relate anon, ſeem to have been one and the ſame perſon; but we muſt not confound, as ſome have done, *Roas*, whom *Priſcus* calls *Roua* [x], and *Tyro Proſper Regula* [y], with *Rougas*, general of the *Hunns*, who

Their form of government.

Their kings or chiefs.

[m] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 439, 440. PRISC. de legat. p. 65. [n] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 18, 19. AGATH. l v. p. 155. [o] AMMIAN. ibid. p 436. [p] JORNAND. rer. Goth c. 24. p. 64. [q] Idem ibid. c. 48. p. 681. [r] Vide univerſ. hiſt vol. xvi p. 42—55 [s] VALES. rer. Fran. l. iii. p. 154. PRISC. c. 80. [t] PRISC. de legat. p. 48. [u] JORN. ibid. c. 3. p. 66. [w] Idem ibid. PRISC. p 69 [x] Idem, p. 47. [y] Vide SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 43. p. 387. & BUCHER hiſt Belgic. p. 58[9].

was killed with a flash of lightning in 426, while he was making war upon *Theodosius* II [z]. *Roas* was the immediate predecessor of *Attila*. As to the origin of the *Hunns*, *Procopius* seems to insinuate, that they were descended from the *Albanians*, and that they removed from *Albania*, lying on the *Caspian* sea, into *Asiatic Sarmatia*, where they settled. *Jornandes*, an irreconcileable enemy to the *Hunns*, who had driven his countrymen the *Goths* from their antient habitations, gives us the following account of their original, an account intirely owing to the hatred he bore them. *Filimer*, the son of *Gandaric the Great*, and the fifth king of the *Goths* after their going out of the peninsula *Scanzia* or *Scandinavia*, having entered the *Scythian* territories, discovered among his people a great number of witches, called in the language of this country *aliorumnæ*. These he drove into the wilderness far from his army, where the unclean spirits, who haunted those wild and solitary places, being taken with their charms, kept them company, and from their conversation sprung the nation of the *Hunns* [a]. We are almost ashamed to allow a place in our history to such a ridiculous fable, though very gravely related by *Jornandes* [b], and with no less gravity confuted by a modern writer [c]. As for the name of *Hunns*, some authors will have them to have been so called from one of their leaders named *Hunnor*; but of this *Hunnor* no mention is made by any antient writer. They are frequently styled *Ugri* by *Procopius* and other writers; and the word *Ugre*, in the *Sclavonic* language, signifies *aquatic*, that is, living in or near the water, a name well adapted to a nation living in wet or marshy places, and such were the antient seats of the *Hunns* bordering on the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Tanais* [d]. *Ptolemy*, in his *Sarmatia Europæa*, mentions a people, whom he calls *Chuni*, dwelling in his time on the banks of the *Borysthenes*. These the *Hunns* subdued, and settled in their country; whence, from their name *Chuni*, some derive that of *Hunni*. But, to dwell no longer on conjectures, we shall now give a succinct account of the several migrations and expeditions of the *Hunns*, from their first coming into *Europe*, to their settling in *Pannonia*, called afterwards from them *Hungary*, following therein *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the most antient author that speaks of them, at least among such as have reached our times, and other credible writers, who lived in or near those times.

Their origin.

Their names.

[z] Prisc. p. 47. [a] Jorn. ibid c. 24. p 643. [b] Idem ibid. [c] P. Callimach. edit. cum Bonfinio, p. 854 [d] Vide Ludewig. in vit. Justinian. & Theodoræ, p. 529. not. 704.

The

THE *Hunns*, as we have obſerved above, dwelt on the eaſt ſide of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the ſea of *Zabache*, quite unacquainted with the people and countries lying on the oppoſite ſide, till a hind, purſued by ſome hunters, or, as we read in other authors, an ox ſtung by a gad-fly, having paſſed the marſh, ſome *Hunns* followed their guide to the oppoſite ſide, where they diſcovered a country far more agreeable than their own. Hereupon, returning to their own country, they acquainted their countrymen with what they had ſeen, and at the ſame time informed them, that what they had till then looked upon as a deep ſea, was only a marſh, and might be paſſed without the leaſt danger [e]. Encouraged with this account, and deſiring to ſettle in a more kind ſoil, they paſſed the marſh; and entering the country of the *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and were thence called *Tanaites*, they laid it waſte far and near, made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, and obliged ſuch of them as were left alive, and able to bear arms, to join them. Thus reinforced, they fell upon the *Goths*, by *Ammianus* called *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Oſtrogoths*, and ſpread every-where ſuch terror among them, that *Ermenric* their king, though a warlike prince and conqueror of many nations, laid violent hands on himſelf, to avoid ſeeing the calamities, that threatened his people, and to him ſeemed unavoidable [f]. *Jornandes* tells us, that *Ermenric*, whom he calls *Ermanaric*, having puniſhed with death a woman named *Saniolk*, of the nation of the *Roxolani*, for the murder of her huſband, her two brothers, *Sarus* and *Ammius*, conſpiring againſt him, gave him a dangerous wound in the ſide, which, with the concern he was under in ſeeing his country over-run by the *Hunns*, occaſioned his death, in the hundred and tenth year of his age [g]. He was ſucceeded by *Vithimir*, who, having hired a body of *Hunns*, with them and his own troops, made, for ſome time, a vigorous reſiſtance; but was in the end, after many loſſes, ſlain in battle. He left behind him a ſon named *Vitheric* or *Videric*, whom, as he was under age, he committed to the care of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*; but theſe, though men of known valour and experience in war, foreſeeing all their efforts would prove unſucceſsful againſt the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, thought it adviſeable to abandon the country they then held, and retire, with all their people, to the plains between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Danube*; which country is now known by the name of *Podolia*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Viſigoths*, being informed of what had happened

They paſs the Palus Mæotis. *Year of Chriſt* 376.

And ſubdue the Alans.

They fall upon the Oſtrogoths;

And drive them out of their country.

[e] JORN ibid. c 24 p. 644. JORN. rer. Goth p. 645.

[f] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 439, 440.

to the *Ostrogoths*, resolved to stand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence on the banks of the *Danastus*, now the *Nieper*, which parted the *Greuthongi* from the *Thervingi*.

Defeat the Visigoths, and oblige them to abandon their country.

But the *Hunns* falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, he was put to flight after having lost great numbers of his men, and obliged to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he built a wall with incredible expedition for his own defence, extending from the *Gerasus* or the *Pruth* to the *Danube*, in the country now known by the name of *Moldavia* [h]. All the *Gothic* nations being alarmed at this sudden and unexpected irruption of the *Hunns*, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock, which those barbarians made of their people, resolved to abandon their country to an enemy, whom they were no longer able to withstand, and to save themselves within the *Roman* dominions, separated by the *Danube* from the countries over-run by the *Hunns*. Accordingly they retired from their antient seats, and, approaching the banks of the *Danube*, dispatched embassadors to the emperor *Valens* begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*. The *Romans* were struck with terror and amazement, in hearing, that such multitudes of barbarians were hovering about the banks of the *Danube*, driven out of their seats by greater barbarians than themselves. *Valens*, however, complied with their request, allowing them to pass the *Danube*, and enter *Thrace* in such numbers, that *Ammianus* compares them to the sparks, which, at that very time, issued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the sands of the *Libyan* shore [i]. These were, for the most part *Thervingi* or *Visigoths*, the subjects of king *Athanaric*. As for the *Greuthongi* or *Ostrogoths*, they being likewise driven out of their country by the *Hunns*, flocked in swarms to the banks of the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, begged to be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor not thinking it advisable to comply with their request, after they had continued some time on the banks of the *Danube*, they passed it in spite of the *Romans*. *Athanaric*, king of the *Thervingi*, not thinking it safe to take refuge in the territories of the *Romans*, on account of his having assisted the usurper *Procopius*, retired, with part of his people, to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taifali*, whose country lay west of the *Gerasus* or the *Pruth* [k]. Thus the *Hunns*, in this

The Goths are admitted into Thrace.

[h] Ammian. p. 440, 441. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid Jorn. c. 25. p. 616.

year

year 376, not only ſettled in *Europe*, but made themſelves maſters of that vaſt country, which extends from the *Tanais* to the *Danube*, and was, before their arrival, poſſeſſed by the *Alans*, the *Goths*, and ſeveral other barbarous nations, whom they either drove out, or forced to ſubmit to their victorious arms.

The Hunns maſters of the whole country between the Tanais and the Danube.

OF the *Hunns*, who ſettled in *Europe*, we find no further mention made in hiſtory till the year 388, when great numbers of them are ſaid to have liſted themſelves in the *Roman* armies, *Theodoſius* I. who was then emperor, encouraging them with large ſums to ſerve under his banner, both on account of their warlike temper, and to divert them from raiſing diſturbances on the frontiers of the empire [l]. But the *Nephthalite Hunns*, who had continued in *Aſia*, and were neighbours to the *Perſians*, as we have obſerved above, breaking into the *Roman* dominions, over-ran *Meſopotamia* in 383, and even laid ſiege to *Edeſſa*; but were repulſed by the *Roman* gariſon, and obliged by a body of troops, conſiſting chiefly of *Goths*, ſent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterpriſe, and retire [m]. The *European Hunns* firſt paſſed the *Danube* in 391, and being joined by the *Goths* and other barbarians, committed dreadful ravages in *Mœſia* and *Thrace*. But *Stilicho*, marching againſt them, gave them a total overthrow, and purſuing them cloſe, ſhut them up in a narrow valley, where they muſt have periſhed with hunger, or ſurrendered at diſcretion, had not *Theodoſius* choſen to conclude a peace with them, following therein, ſays the poet *Claudian*, the pernicious counſel of the traytor *Ruſinus* [n]. About four years after, that is, in 395, the *Hunns*, breaking unexpectedly into the eaſtern provinces, penetrated as far as *Antioch*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties [o]. St. *Jerom*, ſpeaking of this irruption of the *Hunns*, All the eaſt, ſays he, trembled, when the diſmal news was brought, that ſwarms of *Hunns*, coming from the far-diſtant *Mæotis*, and dwelling between the frozen *Tanais* and the country of the ſavage *Maſſagetes*, flew up and down, and filled all places with blood and ſlaughter. While the *Roman* armies, continues that writer, were employed in civil wars, that is, againſt the uſurper *Eugenius*, the cruel enemy roved, without controul, where they pleaſed, preventing, by their ſpeed, the report of their coming. They had no regard either to religion or dignity; no age they ſpared, nor were they ſoftened by the tears of the crying infant; but put thoſe to death, who

The Nephthalite Hunns over-run Meſopotamia.

The Scythian Hunns invade Thrace, but are defeated by Stilicho.

Year of Chriſt 391.

They ravage the eaſtern provinces.

Year of Chriſt 395.

[l] AMBROS. ep xvii p. 214. PACAT. panegyr. ad Theodoſ. p. 270. [m] SOCRAT. l. v. c. 11. p. 270 ſur 15 Novemb. p. 342. [n] CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i p. 125, 126 [o] SOCRAT. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. SOZ. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753. CHRYS pſal. xcv. p. 897.

had

had ſcarce begun to live, and who, not appriſed of their danger, ſmiled, when in the enemy's hands, at thoſe very weapons, that were immediately to deſtroy them. He adds, that the general terror and conſternation ſpread as far as *Paleſtine*, upon a report, that they propoſed to advance to *Jeruſalem*, and plunder the holy city [p]. The ſame author ſpeaks of this irruption of the *Hunns* in ſeveral other places [q] (A), and likewiſe St. *Chryſoſtom* [r], *Philoſtorgius* [s], *Socrates* [t], and *Sozomen* [u]. St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us in one of his homilies [w], that ſeveral chriſtians, on that occaſion, ſuffered martyrdom; and that others were brought to *Antioch*, to be ſold there or ranſomed. *Philoſtorgius* places this irruption of the *Hunns*, after the death of *Rufinus*, and even after that of the eunuch *Eutropius*, who ſucceeded him in his power and employments. But he was therein certainly miſtaken, ſince not only *Claudian* [x], but *Socrates* [y], *Sozomen* [z], and *Zoſimus* [a], tell us in expreſs terms, that *Rufinus* privately ſtirred up, by his emiſſaries, the *Hunns* to break

[p] Hier. epitaph. Fabiol. [q] Idem epiſt. iii. xxx. &c. p. 26, 200, &c. & in vit. S. Chryſoſt. [r] Chrys. ubi ſupra. [s] Philostorg. l. xi. c. 8. p. 154. [t] Socrat. ubi ſup. [u] Soz. ibid. [w] Chrys. in pſal. xcv. p. 893. [x] Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. [y] Socrat. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. [z] Soz. l viii. c. 1. p. 753. [a] Zos l v. p. 782.

(A) *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Zoſimus*, and the poet *Claudian*, agree in this, that the *Hunns* invaded the eaſtern provinces at the inſtigation of *Rufinus*. On the other hand, it is manifeſt from the ſame authors, as well as from the code, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that *Rufinus* was put to death in the month of *November* 395. In the code are ſeveral laws enacted the following year, and addreſſed to *Cæſarius*, who ſucceeded *Rufinus* in the office of *præfectus prætorio*. *Socrates* writes, that *Rufinus* was put to death on the twenty-ſeventh of *November* 395 (1); which is confirmed both by the *Alexandrian* chronicle, placing his death after the laſt offices paid to the body of *Theodoſius* on the ninth of the ſame month (2), and by the code, where the laws are addreſſed to *Rufinus* till the eleventh of *October*, and, from the thirtieth of *November*, to his ſucceſſor *Cæſarius* (3). However, St *Jerom*, in his third epiſtle (4), which we cannot ſuppoſe to have been written before the year 397, ſays, that this irruption had happened the year before, *Ecce tibi anno præterito*, &c. But St. *Jerom* was either miſtaken, or ſpeaks in that epiſtle only of the ravages and devaſtations, which began in 395, but were continued as appears from *Claudian* (5), in 396.

(1) *Socrat. l.* vi. *c.* 1. *p.* 300. (2) *Chron. Alex p.* 710. (3) *Cod. Theodoſ.* 2 *tit.* 9. *l.* viii. *p.* 133. 10. *tit.* 6. *l.* i. *p.* 410. 16. *tit.* 5. *l.* xxvii. *p.* 144. (4) *Hier. epiſt.* iii *p.* 26. (5) *Claud. in Eutrop. l.* i *p.* 99.

into

into the empire, and likewiſe the *Goths*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*. What he aimed at in thus encouraging the barbarians to invade the empire, we have related elſewhere [b], from the authors we have juſt now quoted. The *Hunns*, having over-run and plundered ſeveral provinces, returned home of their own accord, loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives. They met with no oppoſition, the armies that had been ſent into the weſt, to ſuppreſs the uſurper *Eugenius*, not being yet returned; and this is what St. *Jerom* meant, or ought to have meant, in ſaying, that the *Hunns* broke into the empire, while the *Roman* armies were engaged in a civil war, the diſturbances raiſed in the weſt by *Eugenius* being happily appeaſed, and the author of them diſpatched, before the irruption of thoſe barbarians.

They break into Thrace. *Year of Chriſt* 404.

AFTER this irruption, the *Hunns* ſeem to have continued quiet for the ſpace of nine years, that is, till the year 404, when paſſing in great multitudes the *Danube*, they entered *Thrace*; and having over-run that province, they penetrated into *Eaſt Illyricum*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, and deſtroying with fire and ſword what they could not carry with them [c]. A modern writer quotes a letter written this year by *Honorius*, emperor of the weſt, to his brother *Arcadius*, who reigned in the eaſt, to expreſs his concern for the ravages committed by the *Hunns* in *Thrace*, and for the ruin and loſs of *Illyricum*. Theſe calamities *Honorius* aſcribes to the wrath of Heaven, juſtly provoked at the iniquitous proceedings of the court againſt the holy biſhop *Chryſoſtom* [d]. By the loſs of *Illyricum* is only meant in the above-mentioned letter the ruin of that province; for the *Hunns*, upon advice that the imperial troops were aſſembling with a deſign to cut off their retreat, repaſſed the *Danube* with all the haſte the immenſe booty they carried with them allowed [e].

The Hunns *diſtinguiſh themſelves in the* Roman *ſervice.*

The following year 405, we find great numbers of *Hunns* ſerving in *Stilicho*'s army againſt *Radagaiſus*, who had invaded *Italy*, as we have related at length elſewhere [f]. Theſe *Hunns* were led by *Uldin*, one of their chiefs or kings, and to him was chiefly owing the ſignal victory gained by *Stilicho* in *Hetruria*; for having, with his *Hunns*, ſurrounded one of the three bodies, into which *Radagaiſus* had divided his army, he cut them all in pieces, to the number of an hundred thouſand men [g]. *Oroſius* aſcribes this victory not to the *Hunns*, but to a panic, which, ſpreading all on a ſudden

[b] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 5. [c] Soz l. viii. c. 25. p 793. PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 8. p. 530. [d] Vide BARON. annal. ad ann. 404. [e] Soz. PHILOSTROG. ibid. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 41, & ſeq. 5. [g] Zos p. 8. 3. PROSP. chron. Aug. civ. p. 63.

through

through the camp, obliged *Radagaiſus* to withdraw from before *Florence*, which he had inveſted, to the neighbouring mountains of *Fieſoli*, where moſt of his men periſhed with famine, and the reſt ſubmitted to the *Romans*. Thus the victory, ſays the ſame writer, was owing to the Lord of hoſts, and not to his enemies the *Hunns* [h]. But to them it is aſcribed by St. *Auſtin*, *Zoſimus*, and *Proſper*, whoſe authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Oroſius*. *Uldin* was well known to the *Romans* before this time, from the vigorous oppoſition he had made in the year 400, againſt the famous *Gainas*, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [i]. *Gainas* was commander in chief, not only of his countrymen the *Goths*, but of all the troops of *Arcadius*. However, turning his arms againſt the prince who had thus raiſed him, he formed a deſign of ſurpriſing and plundering the city of *Conſtantinople*; but, failing in that attempt, he ravaged all *Thrace* in an hoſtile manner. Hereupon *Fravitus*, another *Goth* in the *Roman* ſervice, and greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt, falling upon him, cut great numbers of his men in pieces. With the reſt *Gainas* marched thro' *Thrace* to the banks of the *Danube*, which he paſſed, being deſirous to end his days in the antient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldin*, king of the *Hunns* who had driven out the *Goths*, and had been now in the quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe countries for the ſpace of twenty-four years, alarmed at the arrival of ſo renowned a commander, with an army of his own nation, met him on the frontiers, and, after ſeveral conflicts, defeated and killed him in a pitched battle [k]. His body being found on the field of battle, *Uldin* cauſed his head to be cut off, and ſent it to *Arcadius* [l], who received it at *Conſtantinople* on the third of *January* of the enſuing year 401 [m].

Uldin *king of the* Hunns.

Defeats and kills Gainas *the* Goth.

Uldin *ravages* Thrace. *Year of* Chriſt 408.

No prince had hitherto deſerved better of the empire than *Uldin*. But two years after the ſignal victory obtained chiefly by his means over *Radagaiſus*, he became, on what provocation we know not, an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*; and paſſing the *Danube*, entered *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, conſiſting of *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, ſubject, in all likelihood, to the *Hunns*. As this irruption happened during the minority of *Theodoſius* II. *Anthemius*, who had taken upon him the adminiſtration, did all that lay in his power to appeaſe *Uldin*; but he confiding too much in his own ſtrength, and inſiſting upon conditions that could not be honourably granted, *Anthemius* ordered a body of *Roman* troops

[h] Oros. p. 222. [i] Univerſ hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 28, & ſeq. [k] Socrat. p. 309. Chron. Alex. p. 712. [l] Socrat. ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 798, 799. [m] Pasc p. 307. Socrat. Chron. Alex. ibid.

to

to march againſt him, at whoſe approach ſeveral of his officers, offended at his haughty and imperious behaviour, laid hold of that opportunity to abandon him, and ſide with the *Romans*. This alarmed *Uldin*, who thereupon retired with great precipitation, and repaſſed the *Danube*, after having loſt, on his haſty march, many of his men. As for the *Squiri*, the emperor's troops coming up with them before they reached the *Danube*, they were all to a man either killed or taken. The priſoners were ſold, and diſperſed all over *Aſia*, to prevent their ever returning to their own country [n]. By this overthrow, and one they had received in 381, from *Theodoſius the Great*, grandfather to the reigning emperor *Theodoſius* the younger, that nation, once very numerous, was almoſt utterly extirpated [o]. From this time the *Hunns* ſeem to have continued quiet till the year 425, when the emperor *Honorius* dying, and *John* his chief ſecretary aſſuming the purple, they were prevailed upon by the celebrated *Aetius*, who had ſided with the uſurper, to eſpouſe his cauſe. As *Aetius* had been formerly given to them, on what occaſion we know not, as an hoſtage, and was, by that means, become acquainted with their chiefs, the uſurper ſent him, as the moſt proper perſon, with large ſums, to engage them in his cauſe. Accordingly, a few months after his departure, he returned at the head of ſixty thouſand *Hunns*. Upon his entering *Italy*, he was met by *Aſpar*, one of the generals of *Theodoſius*, who, upon the death of his uncle *Honorius*, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor of the weſt. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. But in the mean time *Aetius*, being informed of the death of the uſurper, who had been taken and beheaded in *Ravenna* three days before the battle, ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, and perſuaded the *Hunns*, not without diſtributing conſiderable ſums among them, to return home [p]. However, *Thrace* was this very year pillaged and laid waſte by ſome of that nation, whom *Theodoret* ſtyles *Scythian Nomades*, that is, *Scythian wanderers*. They were led by one *Rougas* or *Roilas*, who, in a boaſting manner, threatened to over-run the whole empire, and to lay ſiege to *Conſtantinople* itſelf, which, he bragged, he would take at the firſt aſſault, and, having plundered it, lay it in aſhes [q]. But *Theodoſius*, not in the leaſt frightened at the menaces of the barbarian, committed the event, according to cuſtom, ſays *Socrates*, to Providence, and ſoon

But is forced to retire.

Th. Hunns, *to the number of* 60,000, *march to the aſſiſtance of the uſurper* John.

They return home.

Rougas *ravages* Thrace.

[n] SOCRAT. l. ix c. 6. p. 806, 807. [o] Idem ibid. Soz. l. iv p. 759. Zos. l. iv. p. 759. [p] PHILOSTORG. l. xii. c. 14. p. 538 PROSP. chron. CASSIODOR. chron. [q] SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 43. p. 387. THEODORET. l. v. c. 36. p. 749.

He is killed with lightning, and his army diſperſed. Year of Chriſt 425.

obtained what he deſired; for *Rougas* was killed with lightning, a plague broke out in his army, and ſwept off the greateſt part of his men, and fire from heaven conſumed moſt of thoſe whom the plague had ſpared. This complication of misfortunes, as we may call it, ſtruck the barbarians with ſuch terror, that they retired of their own accord, dreading, not the arms of the *Romans*, ſays *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently eſpouſed the cauſe of *Theodoſius* [r]. *Socrates* adds, that St. *Proculus*, who preached then at *Conſtantinople*, and was afterwards raiſed to the ſee of that city, made a ſermon to the people on the diſperſion of the *Hunns*, applying to them what we read in the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning *Gog* and *Magog* [s] (B).

Six years after this irruption, that is, in 432, we find the *Hunns* in poſſeſſion of *Pannonia*; for *Aetius*, being that year diſgraced by *Valentinian* III. or rather by his mother *Placidia*, who governed during the minority of her ſon, is ſaid to have retired to the court of *Roas*, king of the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* [t]. *Priſcus* tells us, that they ſettled in *Pannonia* in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Aetius*; but when, or on what occaſion, this treaty was made, we are no-where informed. They were not in poſſeſſion of that country in 427, for in that year *Theodoſius* is ſaid to have tranſplanted the *Goths* from *Pannonia*, which they had held ever ſince the year 377, when they firſt entered it, into *Thrace*, and to have reunited that province to

The Hunns *ſettle in* Pannonia.

[r] Socrat. ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Prosp. chron. Prisc. p. 37.

(B) *Valeſius* is of opinion, that *Rougas*, leader of the *Hunns* in this irruption, and *Rouas*, the immediate predeceſſor of *Attila*, and his uncle, according to *Jornandes* (6), on the father's ſide, are one and the ſame perſon (7). But this opinion is no-ways agreeable to what we read in *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Priſcus* the rhetorician; for the two former writers tell us, that *Rougas* loſt his life in this incurſion, in the manner we have related (8). On the other hand, it is manifeſt from *Priſcus* (9), that there was no war between the *Romans* and *Hunns* when *Rouas* died. Beſides, it is certain, that *Rouas* did not die in 425, the year in which the *Hunns*, under the conduct of *Rougas*, broke into *Thrace*; for *Priſcus* tells us, (10), that *Plintha* and *Dionyſius*, who were ſent with the character of embaſſadors to *Rouas*, had been conſuls; and *Dionyſius* was not conſul till the year 429.

(6) *Jornand. rer. Goth. c.* 35. (7) *Val. rer. Fran. l.* iv. *p.* 154. (8) *Socrat. Theodoret. ubi ſupra.* (9) *Priſc. p.* 47, 48. (10) *Idem ibid.*

the empire [u]. On the other hand, they were maſters of *Pannonia*, or at leaſt held part of that province, in 432; for in that year *Aetius*, as we hinted above, not thinking himſelf ſafe in the *Roman* dominions, is ſaid to have taken refuge among the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* [w]. In 437, *Valentinian* III. yielded, as we read in *Caſſiodorus* [x], *Eaſt Illyricum*, which compriſed *Pannonia*, to *Theodoſius* II. which muſt be underſtood of the towns and fortified places, for theſe the *Romans* ſeem to have kept; and hence it is, that we find *Attila*, ſeveral years after the *Hunns* had been in poſſeſſion of *Pannonia*, obliged to lay ſiege to *Sirmium*, the metropolis of that province [y]. As the *Hunns* were chiefly indebted to *Aetius* for the lands they held in *Pannonia*, *Roas* their king not only received that able commander with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and friendſhip, upon his being diſgraced at the court of *Placidia*, and obliged to quit the *Roman* territories, but ſent him back at the head of a powerful army of *Hunns*; which ſo terrified *Placidia*, that ſhe reſtored *Aetius* to all his employments, and raiſed him to the rank of a patrician [z]. In the year 435, a ſtrong body of *Hunns*, marching through *Germany* into *Gaul*, joined *Aetius* againſt the *Burgundians*, who, having been allowed, in 413, to ſettle in that part of *Gaul*, which bordered on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and ravaged *Belgic Gaul*. *Aetius*, having gained a complete victory over them, obliged *Gondicarius* their king to ſue for peace; which he granted, but neither *Gondicarius* nor his people long enjoyed; for, in the beginning of the following year, he was cut off, with twenty thouſand of his men, by the *Hunns* [a], at the inſtigation of *Aetius*, provoked, as ſome authors write [b], at their revolting anew; while others charge *Aetius* on this occaſion with breach of faith and the blackeſt treachery. *Socrates* writes, that the unhappy *Burgundians*, harraſſed with continual inroads by the *Hunns*, and no longer in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, only three thouſand of them being left alive, had recourſe to Heaven; and repairing to a city in *Gaul*, there declared their deſire of embracing the chriſtian religion. The biſhop of the place injoined them a ſeven days faſt, during which time he inſtructed them in the myſteries of our holy religion, and, having afterwards adminiſtered to them the ſacrament of baptiſm, he ſent them home full of courage and confi-

They join Aetius againſt the Burgundians.

Of whom they cut off 20,000.

[u] THEOPH. p 81. MARCELLIN. chron. [w] PROSP. PRISC. ubi ſupra. [x] CASSIOD. l. xi. epiſt. 1. p. 17. [y] PROSP. p. 57. [z] PROSP. chron. IDAT. p 20. VAL. rer. Franc l. v. p. 140. [a] IDAT. p. 21. SIDON. car. vii. p. 338. PROSP chron. [b] BUCH. Belg. p. 486.

Ten thousand Hunns *cut off by the* Burgundians.

dence. In this condition they marched againſt the *Hunns*; and finding them deſtitute of a leader, *Uptar* their king dying the night before, gorged with immoderate eating and drinking, they fell upon them, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight [c]. Thenceforth the *Burgundians*, adds *Socrates*, continued ſtedfaſt in the chriſtian religion [d]. Notwithſtanding this overthrow, the *Hunns*, either this year 436, or the following, as *Idatius* will have it [e], marched with a conſiderable body to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Goths*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Aquitain*, but, not ſatisfied with the countries allotted them, had made themſelves maſters of ſeveral neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid ſiege to *Narbonne*.

The Hunns *oblige the* Goths *to raiſe the ſiege of* Narbonne.

Againſt them the *Romans* called the *Hunns* to their aſſiſtance; who, being led by count *Litorius*, fell upon the *Goths*, buſied in the ſiege, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply, the inhabitants being reduced to the utmoſt extremity [f]. *Idatius* aſcribes the raiſing of the ſiege to *Aetius* [g], probably becauſe *Litorius* acted by his orders, he being commander in chief of all the armies of the weſtern empire. The *Hunns*, who thus ſignalized themſelves againſt the *Goths*, had, the year before, been employed by the *Romans* againſt the rebellious *Armorici*, whom they reduced. From *Armorica* they marched againſt the *Goths* of *Aquitain*; but, on their march, they plundered the province of *Auvergne*, though belonging to the *Romans*, whom they ſerved as auxiliaries [h]. *Litorius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths*, laid ſiege to *Toulouſe*, their capital; but was in the end overcome in a pitched battle by *Theodoric* their king, and taken priſoner, moſt of his *Hunns* being cut in pieces, as we have related elſewhere [i]. It was probably during this war between the *Romans* and *Goths* in *Gaul*, which laſted four years, that *Gauſeric*, king of the *Hunns*, beſieged the city of *Bazas* belonging to the *Goths*; but was obliged, by a miraculous apparition, to drop the enterprize, and retire, as the reader will find related at length by *Gregory* of *Tours* [k]. About this time two chiefs of the *Hunns*, *Baſic* and *Curſic*, having numerous bodies of their nation under their command, which they had, for ſome time, employed

But are in the end defeated by the Goths.

[c] VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136, 137. [d] SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. [e] IDAT. p. 21. [f] PROSP. chron. VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 140. [g] IDAT. ibid. [h] SIDON. car. vii. p. 331, 338. [i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 101. [k] GREG. TOUR. de glor. martyr. l. i. c. 13. p. 31——34. VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii p. 140.

againſt

againſt the *Perſians*, came to *Rome*, and entered into the ſervice of *Valentinian* III. emperor of the weſt [l].

Rougas, king of the *Hunns*, of whom we have ſpoken above, had been ſucceeded, in 425, by *Rouas* or *Roas*, who concluded Theodoa peace with *Theodoſius* II. whereof one of the conditions was, ſius II. that the emperor ſhould pay him a yearly penſion of three hun- *pays a* dred and fifty pounds weight of gold [m]. But *Rouas*, reſolving, *yearly pen-* a few years after the concluſion of this peace, to ſubdue the *ſion to the* *Boiſchi*, and other nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, Hunns. whom *Theodoſius* had taken under his protection, diſpatched one *Elias* to the court of *Conſtantinople*, threatening to make wat upon *Theodoſius*, if he lent them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Hereupon *Plintha* and *Dionyſius*, two generals of no ſmall renown, were appointed to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if poſſible, from the reſolution he had taken [n]. In the mean time, *Rouas* died, and was ſucceeded by his two nephews *Bleda* Bleda *and* and *Attila* [o]. *Bleda* alone is named by *Tyro Proſper* [p], and the Attila *ſucceed* firſt by count *Marcellinus* [q]; whence authors conclude, that Rouas. he was the elder brother. *Jornandes* thinks, that to his ſhare fell the provinces bordering on the weſtern empire, and to *Attila*'s the more eaſtern [r]. But we cannot help thinking *Jornandes* therein miſtaken, ſince not to *Bleda*, but to *Attila*, the princeſs *Honoria* applied, as we ſhall relate anon, ſtirring him up to make war upon her brother *Valentinian*, emperor of the weſt. News of the death of *Rouas* reaching *Conſtantinople* before the departure of the embaſſadors, they were ordered to treat with the two princes his ſucceſſors, and impowered to conclude with them a laſting peace; but in the room of *Dionyſius* was ſent the quæſtor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations. This change was made at the requeſt of *Plintha*, who could not agree with *Dionyſius* [s]. The embaſſadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia*, at a place where the *Margus* falls into that river, and, according to *Sanſon*, ſtands the preſent city of *Galombea* in *Servia*. The embaſſadors were obliged to confer with them on horſeback, the *Hunns* refuſing to diſmount [t]. The peace formerly concluded Theodowith *Rouas* was confirmed, but upon ſuch conditions as evi- ſius *con-* dently betrayed the deplorable ſituation of the empire, and an *cludes* unaccountable puſillanimity in the *Romans*; for they agreed to *with them* deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda*, ſuch *Hunns* as had taken, or *a ſhameful* *treaty.* *Year of* *Chriſt* 441.

[l] PRISC. legat. p. 64. [m] PRISC. p. 45. [n] Idem, p. 47. [o] Idem ibid. [p] PROSP. chron. [q] MARCELL. chron. ad ann. 442. [r] JORN. c. 43. p. 661. [s] PRISC. legat. p. 47. [t] Idem ibid p. 48.

ſhould

ſhould take, for the future, refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and likewiſe to ſend back all the *Roman* captives, who had made their eſcape, or to pay eight pieces of gold for each of them. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that, inſtead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* ſhould pay annually ſeven hundred; and that they ſhould not lend the leaſt aſſiſtance to any barbarous nation, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns* [u]. In compliance with this ſhameful treaty, ſome princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge among the *Romans*, were delivered up to *Attila* and *Bleda*, who cauſed them immediately to be crucified in a caſtle called *Carſus*, on the *Danube*, in *Thrace* [w]. Hence it is plain, that the *Hunns* had at this time ſome footing in *Thrace*. *Attila* and *Bleda*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at liberty to make what conqueſts they pleaſed, reduced ſeveral northern countries; inſomuch, that their authority was acknowledged by all the barbarous nations from the *Danube* to the moſt diſtant coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea [x]. Among the reſt he ſubdued the *Acatziri*, who dwelt on the north coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, and were divided into ſeveral nations, each of them having a king of their own. But the moſt antient among thoſe princes had, it ſeems, ſome pre-eminence above the reſt; for *Priſcus*, who lived in thoſe times, tells us, that the jealouſy, which *Couridachus*, the eldeſt of the kings, conceived of the reſt, gave *Attila* an opportunity of ſubduing them all. *Theodoſius* II. in order to unite them, and induce them to renounce the friendſhip of *Attila*, and enter into an alliance with the empire, ſent rich preſents to each of them; but the perſon, whom the emperor employed on this occaſion, not applying in the firſt place to *Couridachus*, that prince, thinking himſelf thereby highly injured, acquainted *Attila* with what had paſſed, inviting him at the ſame time to come and revenge the affront, that had been offered him. *Attila* laid hold of the opportunity; and having, without loſs of time, ſent a powerful army againſt the *Acatziri*, he ſoon reduced the other princes, but ſuffered *Couridachus* to enjoy his dominions undiſturbed [y]. Some time after, *Attila* invited him to his court; but *Couridachus*, alledging he could not bear the preſence of ſo great a god, prudently declined complying with his invitation. The *Hunn*, pleaſed with this plea, never offered him the leaſt violence; but gave the countries belonging to the other *Acatzirian* princes to his eldeſt ſon, named *Ellac*, appointing him king over all the nations bordering on the *Euxine* ſea. The young prince, in going to take poſſeſſion of his new

They ſubdue many northern nations.

Among the reſt the Acatziri.

Attila *appoints his ſon* Ellac *king over all the nations bordering on the* Euxine *ſea.*

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. p. 84. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661. [y] Prisc. p. 51—63.

kingdom,

kingdom, had the misfortune to break his right arm by a fall from his horse [z]. *Attila*, having, with the assistance of his brother *Bleda*, brought under subjection all the northern nations, began, as his ambition knew no bounds, and his arms had been hitherto attended with wonderful success, to entertain thoughts of reducing, not only the *Goths* settled in *Thrace*, but the *Romans* themselves, and making himself master of the whole empire. With this view, having drawn together a very numerous and formidable army, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, put all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. At this time perhaps happened what we read in *Priscus*, *viz.* that, during a fair, the *Hunns* fell upon the *Romans*, killed a great many of them, and made themselves masters of a castle. The *Romans* complained of these hostilities; but the *Hunns* pretended, that the *Romans* had been the aggressors, the bishop of *Margum* having plundered, they said, their treasure; on which account they insisted upon his being delivered up to them, with all those of their nation, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions. The bishop denied the charge; but the *Hunns*, who wanted only a pretence to quarrel with *Theodosius*, engaged at this time in two troublesome and expensive wars with the *Persians* and *Vandals*, without offering to prove it, entered the empire in an hostile manner [a]. *Vorburgus* supposes *Attila* to have been stirred up by *Genseric*, king of the *Vandals*, powerfully attacked at this time by *Theodosius* [b]. Be that as it will, *Attila* and his brother *Bleda* took several towns and castles, which the *Romans* had built on the banks of the *Danube*, to awe the barbarians, and restrain them from entering the empire [c]. Among the other towns, they made themselves masters of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœsia*. The *Romans*, alarmed at this sudden inundation of the *Hunns*, advised the emperor to comply with their request, and deliver up to them the bishop of *Margum*; which he no sooner understood, than he repaired to the enemy's camp, and found means to put them in possession of the city [d]. *Attila*, elated with this success, dispatched a messenger to *Theodosius*, requiring him to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* territories, to pay him the arrears of his yearly pension, which had been stopt ever since he took up arms, and to send proper persons to settle what sums should be paid him for the future. He added,

Attila *and* Bleda *break into the eastern empire.*

[z] Idem, p. 63—69. [a] Idem, p. 33. [b] VORB. hist. Rom. German. p. 117. [c] PROCOP. ædif. l. iv. c. 5. p. 79. [d] PRISC. p. 33, 59.

that

that there was no time to lose, since he could no longer restrain or moderate the ardor of his troops, thirsting after blood and spoil. *Theodosius*, though not a little terrified at these menaces, chose rather to try the chance of war, than abandon those whom he had taken under his protection. He therefore only promised to send proper persons to *Attila*, with full powers to conclude a lasting peace [e]. *Attila*, not satisfied with this answer, pursued his ravages with more cruelty than ever, reducing several cities and strong-holds, *viz. Retiarium*, *Singidunum*, *Naissus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum* [f] (C). While *Sirmium* was besieged by the *Hunns*, the bishop of the place delivered to one *Constantius*, by nation a *Gaul*, whom *Aetius* had formerly sent to *Attila* and *Bleda*, to serve them in quality of secretary, some sacred vessels, to be employed in redeeming him, if he outlived the siege, or others, if he perished in it. These vessels *Constantius* kept for himself, and pawned them with one *Sylvanus*, who sold them to the church. Some time after, *Attila* and *Bleda* having caused *Constantius* to be crucified, upon a suspicion that he betrayed them, *Attila*, pretending that *Sylvanus* had stolen the vessels from *Constantius*, insisted

And make themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds.

[e] Idem, p. 34. [f] Idem, p. 34—49. Theoph. p. 88. Marcell. chron.

(C) *Retiarium*, a great and populous city, stood on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœsia*, in the same place, according to *Sanson*, where *Zangona* stands, a city in the present *Servia*. *Singidunum* and *Naissus* were both cities of *Upper Mœsia*. The former stood on the *Danube*, and the latter about five days journey distant from it. *Baudrand* thinks *Singidunum* stood where stands the present city of *Zenderin*, once the capital of *Servia* (11); but *Sanson* places it somewhat higher on the *Danube*, and nearer *Taurunum* or *Belgrade*. *Naissus* gave birth to *Constantine the Great*, as was shewn elsewhere (12). It was intirely ruined by the *Hunns*; insomuch, that in 449, it was still destitute of inhabitants, there being only some sick people in the churches and hospitals. The neighbouring plains were even then covered with the bones of those, who had been killed in war (13). Some think *Naissus* stood where *Nissa*, a city of no small note in *Servia*, stands; but *Sanson* places it at some distance from the present *Nissa*. *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, stood in *Lower Pannonia*, and is famous in history, on account of the many laws enacted by the emperors while residing there, which have been collected by *Jacobus Gothofredus*, in his typography of the cities mentioned in the *Theodosian* code. It is at present a city of *Sclavonia*.

(11) *Baudr.* p. 108. (12) *Univers. hist.* vol. xv. p. 277. (13) *Prisc.* p. 49.

upon

upon his being delivered up to him, though *Sylvanus* offered to pay him the full value of them [g]. The emperor was to such a degree alarmed at the progress of the two brothers made in *Mœsia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, that, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, he withdrew into *Asia*, and continued there till the return of the troops he had sent against *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*, to whom he was forced to grant an advantageous peace [h]. As to the issue of this war, we are left in the dark. All we know is, that a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*, but upon what terms, we are no-where told. During this peace, *Attila*, no longer able to bear a partner in the kingdom, caused his brother *Bleda* to be assassinated, and, upon his death, obliged the whole nation of the *Hunns* to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was obeyed by several other nations besides the *Hunns*. *Jornandes* names among the rest the *Goths*, meaning, without all doubt, those who chose to remain in their antient seats, the *Gepidæ*, the *Suevians*, the *Alans*, the *Heruli*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Semandrians*, the *Squiri*, the *Sattagares*, the *Rugians*, and the *Agatzirians* [i]. He was sole master of all *Scythia* and *Germany*, which no one had ever held before him [k]. *Priscus* observes, that no prince ever subdued so many countries in so short a time, his authority being acknowledged by all the states and princes from the *Rhine* to the most northern borders of the *Persian* empire, which he had once some thoughts of invading, and might, according to *Priscus*, have easily reduced, and, with that addition of strength, made himself master of the whole *Roman* empire [l]. *Priscus* says, that the *Romans* declined giving him the title of king, and only styled him general of their armies, disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary; so great was their vanity, when their power was at the lowest ebb! They treated in the same manner the kings of the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, who, as they were less powerful, thought themselves honoured with the title of general; but *Attila* rejected it with contempt, saying, That the emperors had slaves for their generals; whereas his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves [m]. *Jornandes* writes, that when he entered *Gaul* in 451, he was attended by a troop of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him, without daring to utter a word; but always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost care and submission [n]. They referred

Attila causes his brother Bleda to be assassinated.

His great power.

[g] PRISC. p. 57. [h] PROSP. chron. THEOPH p. 17. MARCELL. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730. [i] JORN. p. 685—688. [k] Idem, c. 49. p. 684. [l] PRISC. p. 64. [m] Idem, p. 65. [n] JORN. c. 38. p. 667.

that there was no time to loſe, ſince he could no longer reſtrain or moderate the ardor of his troops, thirſting after blood and ſpoil. *Theodoſius*, though not a little terrified at theſe menaces, choſe rather to try the chance of war, than abandon thoſe whom he had taken under his protection. He therefore only promiſed to ſend proper perſons to *Attila*, with full powers to conclude a laſting peace [c]. *Attila*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, purſued his ravages with more cruelty than ever, reducing ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds, *viz. Retiarium*, *Singidunum*, *Naiſſus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum* [f] (C). While *Sirmium* was beſieged by the *Hunns*, the biſhop of the place delivered to one *Conſtantius*, by nation a *Gaul*, whom *Aetius* had formerly ſent to *Attila* and *Bleda*, to ſerve them in quality of ſecretary, ſome ſacred veſſels, to be employed in redeeming him, if he outlived the ſiege, or others, if he periſhed in it. Theſe veſſels *Conſtantius* kept for himſelf, and pawned them with one *Sylvanus*, who ſold them to the church. Some time after, *Attila* and *Bleda* having cauſed *Conſtantius* to be crucified, upon a ſuſpicion that he betrayed them, *Attila*, pretending that *Sylvanus* had ſtolen the veſſels from *Conſtantius*, inſiſted

And make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds.

[c] Idem, p. 34. [f] Idem, p. 34—49. Theoph. p. 88. Marcell. chron.

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(11) *Baud.* p. 168. (12) *Cod. Theod.* l. xv. p. 27.
(13) *Ibid.* p. 49.

upon

upon his being delivered up to him, though *Sylvanus* offered to pay him the full value of them [g]. The emperor was to such a degree alarmed at the progress of the two brothers made in *Mœsia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, that, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, he withdrew into *Asia*, and continued there till the return of the troops he had sent against *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*, to whom he was forced to grant an advantageous peace [h]. As to the issue of this war, we are left in the dark. All we know is, that a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*, but upon what terms, we are no-where told. During this peace, *Attila*, no longer able to bear a partner in the kingdom, caused his brother *Bleda* to be assassinated, and, upon his death, obliged the whole nation of the *Hunns* to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was obeyed by several other nations besides the *Hunns*. *Jornandes* names among the rest the *Goths*, meaning, without all doubt, those who chose to remain in their antient seats, the *Gepidæ*, the *Suevians*, the *Alans*, the *Heruli*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Semandrians*, the *Squiri*, the *Sattagares*, the *Rugians*, and the *Agatzirians* [i]. He was sole master of all *Scythia* and *Germany*, which no one had ever held before him [k]. *Priscus* observes, that no prince ever subdued so many countries in so short a time, his authority being acknowledged by all the states and princes from the *Rhine* to the most northern borders of the *Persian* empire, which he had once some thoughts of invading, and might, according to *Priscus*, have easily reduced, and, with that addition of strength, made himself master of the whole *Roman* empire [l]. *Priscus* says, that the *Romans* declined giving him the title of king, and only styled him general of their armies, disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary; so great was their vanity, when their power was at the lowest ebb! They treated in the same manner the kings of the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, who, as they were less powerful, thought themselves honoured with the title of general; but *Attila* rejected it with contempt, saying, That the emperors had slaves for their generals; whereas his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves [m]. *Jornandes* writes, that when he entered *Gaul* in 451, he was attended by a troop of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him, without daring to utter a word; but always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost care and submission [n]. They referred

Attila causes his brother Bleda to be assassinated.

His great power.

[g] PRISC. p. 57. [h] PROCOP. chron. THEOPH. p. 17. MARCELL. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730. [i] JORN. p. 685—688. [k] Idem, c. 49. p. 684. [l] PRISC. p. 64. [m] Idem, p. 65. [n] JORN. c. 38. p. 667.

all their differences to *Attila*, looked upon his decisions as oracles, and in every thing submitted to him as to the king of kings. Among these kings were two, to whom *Attila* paid a particular regard, *viz.* *Valamir* or *Balamir*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, who had remained among the *Hunns*, a man of a frank and open temper, and an enemy to all art and dissimulation; and *Arderic*, king of the *Gepidæ*, a prince of great penetration, and inviolably attached to *Attila* [o]. As to the person of *Attila*, *Jornandes* has left us the following portrait of him: he was black, low in stature, had a ~~broad~~ breast, a large head, a flat nose, and small eyes [p]. He was fond of war; but depended more upon his counsel, than upon his sword, employing not only force and menaces, but often craft and artifice, and sometimes low wiles, and even lies, to obtain his end [q]. He was constantly forming new projects and vast designs, aspiring at nothing less than the monarchy of the universe. He was so elated with his great power and success, as not to hearken to reason, however plain and evident [r]. The pride and haughtiness of his mind appeared in all his actions and motions, in his gait, eyes, and looks; insomuch, that no one could behold him, without concluding, that he was sent into the world to disturb it [s]. His presence, joined to the reputation he had acquired, struck all who beheld him with such awe and terror, that very few ventured to approach him, or speak to him [t]. However, we are told, that an embassador sent to him by *Valentinian* III. appeared quite unconcerned before a man, who made the world tremble. As the embassador had justice on his side, he was not afraid of his wild and menacing looks; but, in spite of the rage to which he abandoned himself, answered all his complaints, without betraying the least fear, leaving him at his departure calm and capable of reason, though he had found him quite outrageous and untractable [u]. In his time was found a sword, thought to be the sword of *Mars*, and, on that account, held in great veneration by the antient kings of *Scythia*. It had been lost for some ages, and was said to have been found in the following manner: a cow-herd, observing one of his cows wounded in the foot, followed her bloody traces to the place where she had received the wound. There he discovered the edge of a sword appearing above ground, which the cow had trod upon. The sword he immediately dug up, and carried it to the king; who knowing it to be the famous sword of the god of war, received it with in-

His personal qualities.

His pride and haughty carriage.

The supposed sword of Mars found in his time.

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 35. p. 661. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 43. p. 674. & c. 36 p. 660, 663. [r] Prisc. p. 64. [s] Jorn c. 35. p. 661. [t] Prisc. p. 54. [u] Cassiodor. l. i. epist. iv. p. 512.

expressible

expreſſible joy, as portending, that he was to extend his conqueſts to the moſt diſtant limits of the world [w]. *Priſcus*, from whom *Jornandes* copied this account, writes, that nothing gained *Attila* ſo much reſpect and veneration among the ſuperſtitious vulgar, as the diſcovery of this ſword in his time [x]. The ſame author adds, that he was ſo blinded with pride, as to forget he was a man, and to ſuffer divine honours to be paid to him [y]. He was not, however, without ſome good qualities; for to thoſe who referred their controverſies to him he adminiſtered juſtice, according to the ſtricteſt rules of equity. He treated his ſubjects with great mildneſs, ſuffering them quietly to enjoy their eſtates, and levying only ſuch ſums as they could eaſily pay [z]. In his dominions, ſays *Sylvianus*, no poor were ſeen oppreſſed with tributes and taxes [a]. He was ever ready to forgive thoſe who ſubmitted to him; and was never known to have abandoned ſuch as he had once taken under his protection [b]. He was ſo far from placing his grandeur in pomp and ſhow, which ſerve only to dazzle the eyes of the ſenſeleſs multitude, that, on the contrary, he affected an air of ſimplicity, and contempt for ſtate and all kind of outward magnificence. His dreſs was proper, but plain. He could not abide any gold, precious ſtones, or the leaſt ornament on his ſword, or the trappings of his horſe, though in great requeſt among the princes who attended him, and thoſe of his court [c]. *Priſcus*, who attended *Maximinus*, ſent by the emperor *Theodoſius* in 449, to the court of *Attila* with the character of embaſſador, tells us, that they found him ſitting in his tent on a wooden chair [d]. The ſame writer followed him ſeveral days journey beyond the *Danube*, till he reached one of his moſt magnificent palaces, which was all of wood, and ſtood in a large village, and in a country where no wood or ſtones were to be found [e]. *Attila*, ſoon after his arrival, invited *Maximinus* and *Priſcus* to a grand entertainment, at which the gueſts were all ſerved in ſilver and gold; but before the king was ſet a diſh of plain meat, of which he ate but very ſparingly, and on a trencher. He drank very little, and out of a wooden cup, while the reſt were regaled with great variety of liquors in cups of gold, enriched with precious ſtones. During the banquet, ſomething happened, which made all the company laugh; but *Attila*, as *Priſcus* obſerved, maintained his uſual gravity amidſt their mirth, without the leaſt ſmile or change of countenance [f]. He had, according

His good qualities.

An enemy to pomp and ſhow.

[w] JORNAND. c. 35. p. 662. [x] PRISC. p. 54. [y] Idem, p. 55.
[z] Idem, p. 60. [a] SALVIAN. MASSIL. de gubern. l. v. p. 112.
[b] JORN. c 35. p. 661. [c] PRISC p. 57. [d] Idem, p. 50,
[e] Idem, p. 53. JORN. c. 34. p. 660. [f] PRISC p. 63.

His wives.

to the cuſtom of his nation, many wives [g], or, as *Jornandes* expreſſes it, troops of wives [h], by whom he had almoſt a numberleſs iſſue. His favourite wife was one *Crecha* or *Recha*, who reſided in his capital, and by whom he had his eldeſt ſon *Ellac*, with two others. *Priſcus*, who carried her ſome preſents, found her ſitting on a bed amidſt the women who attended her ſitting on the ground, and working [i]. The ſame writer mentions two other wives of *Attila* [k]. Among his children are mentioned *Ellac* his eldeſt ſon, *Dengizic*, who periſhed in making war upon the *Romans*, and *Hernac* or *Hernas*, the youngeſt of them all [l]. *Attila* had an extraordinary eſteem and affection for *Ellac*, whom he raiſed above all his brothers, made him in his life-time king of the *Acatzirians*, and appointed him his ſucceſſor after his death; but the ſon did not long outlive the father, being killed in a battle ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown [m]. Next to *Ellac*, *Hernas* was the father's favourite, the ſoothſayers having foretold, that he was to outlive all his brothers, and maintain the ſplendor and glory of his family. The firſt part of this ſuppoſed prediction proved true; but as to the other, *Hernas* was ſo far from maintaining the glory of his family, that, declining to engage in the war, which his brother *Dengizic* undertook againſt the empire, he contented himſelf with ſome lands given him by the emperor *Marcian* in *Little Scythia* [n]. This is all we find in the antient writers concerning the celebrated *Attila* and his numerous iſſue. The modern authors add many things, and among the reſt, that, while *Attila* was in *Gaul*, a holy hermit told him, That he was the ſcourge of God, who had put the ſword of juſtice into his hand, to puniſh the vices of the chriſtians; but would ſnatch it from him as ſoon as they were reclaimed. They add, that *Attila*, after the famous defeat he received in *Champagne*, mindful of the ſaying of the hermit, added to his other titles that of *flagellum Dei*, or *the ſcourge of God* [o]. But what we read in the modern hiſtories of *Hungary* concerning thoſe early times is, for the moſt part, either quite groundleſs, highly improbable, or evidently fabulous.

His children.

He deſpiſes the inſults of the Roman

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: *Attila* being, by the death of his brother *Bleda*, become ſole maſter of ſo many nations, all ready to follow his banners, and execute his commands, he looked upon the *Roman* emperors with ſuch contempt, that he is ſaid to have ſent, out of mere wantonneſs,

[g] Idem, p. 55. [h] JORN. c. 49. p. 684. [i] PRISC. p. 63. [k] Idem, p. 35. [l] Idem, p. 68. JORNAND. c 50. p. 688. [m] Idem ibid. p. 686, 687. [n] PRISC p. 63. JORN. c. 50. p. 688. [o] OLAH. in Attil. p. 869 BONFIN. rer. Ungar p. 18, &c.

two

two *Goths*, with the character of embaſſadors, the one to *Theodoſius*, and the other to *Valentinian*, with this haughty and inſulting meſſage; Attila, *my maſter and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception* [q]. What anſwer they returned, we are no-where told. However, we do not find, that *Attila* openly broke the peace he had concluded with *Theodoſius*, as we have related above, till the year 447. It is true, he often threatened him with war, but only in order to draw from him money, corn, proviſions, and whatever elſe he ſtood in need of, the *Romans*, who trembled at the very name of *Attila*, complying, like ſo many ſlaves, with all his demands, that he might have no pretence to take arms againſt them. The embaſſadors he ſent to *Conſtantinople* returned always loaded with preſents; inſomuch, that when he thought any of his ſubjects worthy of any extraordinary reward, he uſed to ſend them, under ſome pretence or other, with the character of embaſſadors to *Theodoſius* [s]. *Attila* continued thus trampling under foot the majeſty of the empire, and inſulting the weakneſs of *Theodoſius*, till the year 447, when, no longer ſatisfied with the annual penſion paid him by the emperor, and the rich preſents yearly ſent him, he declared war againſt the empire, upon what provocation we know not, probably without any; for *Theodoſius* complied with all his demands, however unjuſt and arrogant. *Thrace* felt the calamities of this war the firſt; for *Attila*, entering it at the head of a formidable army, laid it waſte, ſays *Theophanes* [r], from the *Euxine* ſea to the ſtraights of *Gallipoli* and *Seſtos*. They ravaged, ſays count *Marcellinus*, almoſt all *Europe*, laying every-where the towns and caſtles in aſhes [s]. They advanced as far as the caſtle of *Anthirc* [t], placed by *Baudrand* [u] between *Selymbria* and *Conſtantinople*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Attila*, with an army of *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Goths*, *Alans*, &c. commanded by their reſpective kings, ravaged all *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacias*, *Mæſia*, and *Scythia* [w]. They took and plundered *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* properly ſo called, *Arcadiopolis* in the province of *Europe*, *Conſtantia*, a city mentioned only by *Theophanes*, *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mæſia*, and extended their ravages to the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ*, leading from *Theſſaly* into *Achaia* [x]; ſo that they muſt have croſſed *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*. That they over-ran *Macedon* and *Greece*, is affirmed by a modern writer, who quotes *Procopius* [y]; but we have not been able to find that paſ-

He declares war againſt Theodoſius II. *Year of Chriſt* 447. *and over-runs ſeveral provinces.*

[p] Chron. Alex. p. 734. [q] PRISC. p. 36, 37. [r] THEOPH. p. 88. [s] MARC. chron. [t] THEOPH. ibid. [u] BAUD. p. 83. [w] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 44 p. 573. [x] THEOPH. p. 88. Chron. Alex. p. 734. [y] VOSS. tom. V p. 119.

ſage.

ſage. Seventy towns and upwards, belonging to the eaſtern empire, were taken and ranſacked in this irruption of the *Hunns* and other barbarous nations ſubject to *Attila* [a]. The generals *Theodoſius* employed againſt them were, *Aſpar*, *Arcobindus*, and *Arnegiſceles*, whom *Theophanes* names *Argaliſcles* [a], the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Anargiſcles* [b], and *Jornandes*, *Arnegiſtles* [c]. What the other two did, we are no-where told; but *Arnegiſceles*, who was *magiſter militiæ* in *Mæſia* and *Thrace*, engaged *Attila* in *Lower Dacia*, or rather *Mæſia*, on the banks of the *Utis*, which falls into the *Danube* at a ſmall diſtance from a city of the ſame name [d]. The battle proved very bloody, *Arnegiſceles* having, on this occaſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner, and killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but, falling unluckily from his horſe in the heat of the engagement, he was himſelf killed, and his army put to the rout [e]. *Jornandes* ſuppoſes, that this battle was fought in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*. Another battle was fought in the *Cherſoneſus*, not far from *Gallipoli*, in which no better ſucceſs attended the *Romans* than in the other [f]; ſo that *Theodoſius*, finding he could no longer withſtand the power of the barbarians, diſpatched the patrician *Anatolius* to *Attila*, and with him *Vigilius*, who was well acquainted with the language of the *Hunns*, charging them to conclude a peace upon any terms [g]. A peace was accordingly agreed to on the following conditions: That the *Romans* ſhould pay immediately to *Attila* ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and every year two thouſand; that they ſhould ſend back to him all his deſerters, and receive none for the future; that they ſhould deliver up the *Romans*, who, being taken in war, had made their eſcape without paying their ranſom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold; and finally, that the *Romans* ſhould ſend no embaſſadors to *Attila*, till all the deſerters and fugitives were delivered up. Theſe conditions were highly opprobious to the *Roman* name; but the deſpirited *Romans* choſe rather to ſubmit to any terms, than purſue the war with an enemy, whom they deſpaired of ever being able to conquer. One *Scotta* was ſent by *Attila* to *Conſtantinople*, to haſten the execution of the treaty [h]. Count *Marcellinus* writes, that, in 448, embaſſadors came from *Attila* to *Conſtantinople*, to demand the money, which they had refuſed before [i], in-

He defeats the generals ſent againſt him.

The Romans *conclude a ſhamiful peace with him.*

[a] Tir. Prosp. chron. [a] Theoph. p 88. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 734. [c] Jorn. reg. c. 44. p. 653. [d] Baud. p. 341. [e] Jorn. reg. c. 54. p. 353. Chron Alex. [f] Prisc. p. 34. [g] Idem ibid. & p. 51, 53. [h] Theoph. p. 88. Prisc. p. 44--53. [i] Març. chron.

ſinuating

ſinuating thereby, that *Attila* had rejected the conditions, which he afterwards agreed to. Purſuant to the articles of this treaty, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold were immediately ſent to *Attila*, with the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, among whom were ſome princes, who had never ſubmitted to *Attila*, and now choſe rather to be killed by the *Romans*, than fall into his hands [k]. The inhabitants and gariſon of *Aſemontium*, a caſtle of great ſtrength in *Thrace*, had refuſed to open their gates to *Attila*, and repulſed him with great loſs, when he attempted to ſtorm the place; ſo that he was obliged to withdraw from before it. The barbarian, highly provoked at their gallant behaviour, which a generous enemy would have commended, after the concluſion of the peace, inſiſted upon their delivering up to him all the *Roman* captives, with the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the fortreſs, refuſing to withdraw his troops, till ſuch time as his demand were complied with. The inhabitants anſwered, That there were no *Romans* at all in the place, and only two *Hunns*; and this anſwer they confirmed with a ſolemn oath, not thinking perjury a crime, ſays our hiſtorian, when they could, by no other means, reſcue many unhappy *Romans* from death or ſlavery [l]. In virtue of this peace, *Attila* claimed the quiet poſſeſſion of the countries he had conquered, that is, of the tract extending along the *Danube* from *Pannonia* to the city of *Noves*, placed by *Sanſon* in *Lower Mœſia*; but he afterwards relinquiſhed this claim [m].

SOON after the concluſion of the peace, that is, in the beginning of the year 449, *Attila* ſent one *Edecon* to *Conſtantinople*, with the character of embaſſador, attended by his chief ſecretary *Oreſtes* (D). As *Edecon* ſeemed to be greatly taken with

[k] PRISC. p. 35. [l] Idem, p. 35, 36. [m] Idem, p. 37.

(D) *Oreſtes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a ſubject of the empire. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Hunns* in 430, he liſted himſelf among the troops of *Attila*, who, diſcovering him to be a man of parts, made him his ſecretary. His father, named *Tatula*, bore likewiſe ſome conſiderable employment at the court of *Attila*. *Oreſtes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, ſent by *Valentinian* III. on an embaſſy to *Attila* in 449, and had by her a ſon, by *Malas* called *Romulus Auguſtus*, but, by all other hiſtorians, *Romulus Auguſtulus*. *Oreſtes*, leaving the *Hunns*, ſerved in the *Roman* armies with great reputation, and was raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and appointed by the emperor *Nepos* general of the troops in *Gaul*; when turning his arms againſt the prince, who had entruſted him with them, he drove him from the throne, and cauſed his ſon *Auguſtulus*,

with the ſplendor and magnificence of the court, and deſirous to continue among the *Romans*, the eunuch *Chryſaphus*, the emperor's chief chamberlain, thinking him thereupon capable of committing, without remorſe, the blackeſt crimes, propoſed to him the aſſaſſinating of his prince; which he undertook to do, tempted by the promiſes of the eunuch. To this wicked attempt the emperor not only conſented, but, in order to the more effectual execution of ſo ſcandalous an undertaking, diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, ſtrictly injoining thoſe who attended the embaſſadors, eſpecially their interpreter *Vigilius*, a bold and enterpriſing man, to be aſſiſting to *Edecon* in murdering *Attila*. *Maximinus*, who, in 422, had perſuaded the *Perſians* to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, was at the head of this embaſſy; but, as he was a man of an unblemiſhed character, the emperor did not think fit to truſt him with the ſecret. The embaſſadors no ſooner arrived at the court of *Attila*, than *Edecon*, either apprehenſive of the dangers attending ſuch a deſperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the traytors with more refined treachery, diſcovered the whole to his prince; who immediately cauſed *Vigilius* to be ſeized, and ſent back his ſecretary *Oreſtes* to *Conſtantinople*, with the purſe in which the money had been brought, that was to have been paid to *Edecon* after the aſſaſſination, charging him to aſk *Theodoſius* and *Chryſaphus*, whether they knew it; to reproach the emperor in the ſevereſt terms with ſuch a black piece of treachery, and to inſiſt upon his inſtantly delivering up to him *Chryſaphus*, the author and contriver of the plot [n]. But the emperor, unwilling to ſacrifice the eunuch his chief favourite, inſtead of complying with *Attila*'s demand, diſpatched the patrician *Anatolius* and *Nomus* to the king of the *Hunns*, charging them to do all that lay in their power to appeaſe him. *Anatolius*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*, that is, captain of the guards, had negotiated a peace with *Attila* the year before. As for *Nomus*, he was one of *Chryſaphus*'s particular friends, and generous to ſuch a degree, that no one doubted, but, with his rich preſents,

Theodoſius attempts to get Attila murdered.

The plot is diſcovered.

[n] Prisc. p. 39—48.

guſtulus, in whom ended the weſtern empire, to be proclaimed emperor in his room (14). *Oreſtes* was in the end taken priſoner in *Pavia*, and brought to *Odoacer*, who cauſed him to be put to death at *Placentia* (15).

(14) *Jorn. c.* 45. *p.* 673. *Sidon l.* iii. *epiſt.* 7. *p* 72. *Priſc. p.* 37. & 57. *Onuph p.* 67. *Evagr. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 308. (15) *Evagr. l.* vii. *c.* 1 *p* 333. *Procop p.* 308.

he

he would ſoften *Attila*. It happened accordingly; for *Attila* not only promiſed to live in peace and amity with *Theodoſius*, but relinquiſhed his claim to the countries on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, pardoned *Chryſaphus*, ſet *Vigilius* at liberty, ſent back many *Roman* captives without ranſom, and diſmiſſed the embaſſadors loaded with preſents. Thus *Priſcus*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he relates, having attended *Maximinus* to the court of *Attila* [o]. The ſame author writes, that *Conſtantius*, ſecretary to *Attila*, being ſent embaſſador to the court of *Conſtantinople*, promiſed to befriend the *Romans*, and do all that lay in his power to divert his maſter from breaking anew into the empire, provided *Theodoſius* procured him ſome rich heireſs in marriage. Hereupon the emperor promiſed him the daughter of *Saturninus*, whom *Eudoxia* had cauſed to be put to death in 444, after he had been for ſome years *comes domeſticorum*, or captain of the guards. But *Zeno*, commander in chief of all the emperor's forces, without any regard to the word or honour of his prince, took her by force out of the caſtle, where ſhe was kept, and gave her in marriage to a friend of his, named *Rufus*. Of this *Conſtantius* complained to *Attila*, and *Attila* to *Maximinus*, who was then at his court, telling him, that *Conſtantius* muſt either have the daughter of *Saturninus*, or another of equal wealth; and that it was a ſhameful thing in a prince to fail of his word, charging him at the ſame time to tell his maſter from him, that he was amazed to find he had thus gone back from his word, and forfeited his honour; that, from his not puniſhing *Zeno*, he concluded that general to have been countenanced by him in what he had done; but if he was therein miſtaken, if *Theodoſius* durſt not reſent ſuch inſults from his own ſubjects, he was ready to teach them the reſpect, ſubmiſſion, and obedience they owed their ſovereign. *Theodoſius*, piqued with this reproach, cauſed the eſtate, not of *Zeno*, whom he was afraid to provoke, but of *Saturninus*, to be confiſcated, thinking to cover his weakneſs with this piece of injuſtice [p].

Attila *ſpares the conſpirators.*

He reproaches Theodoſius *as a weak prince.*

THE following year 450, *Theodoſius* II. died, and was ſucceeded by *Marcian*; which *Attila* no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to the new emperor, demanding the annual penſion paid him by the deceaſed prince. *Marcian*, not thinking himſelf bound by the ſhameful treaty, which his predeceſſor had concluded with the barbarians, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with this anſwer, *That* Theodoſius *was no more*; *and as for himſelf, he had gold for his friends, and ſteel for his enemies*. *Attila*, provoked at this anſwer, began to draw toge-

The emperor Marcian refuſes to pay him the uſual penſion.

[o] Idem, p. 70—72. [p] Idem, p. 69. MARC. chron. p. 26.

ther his troops, in order to break into the empire. Hereupon *Marcian*, who had found the affairs of the empire in a moſt deplorable condition, to gain time, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, at the head of which was *Apollonius*, a general of no ſmall renown, perhaps the ſame perſon to whom *Theodoret* wrote his ſeventy-third and three hundred and third letter [q]. But the king of the *Hunns*, underſtanding he had not brought with him the uſual penſion, would neither ſpeak to him nor ſee him. However, he commanded him, on pain of death, to convey to him the preſents, which the emperor had ſent him. To this meſſage *Apollonius* anſwered, That the king needed not demand, with menaces, things which he might have when he pleaſed, either as preſents, if he was determined to live in amity with the *Romans*, or as ſpoils, if, forgetful of the right of nations, he thought fit to uſe violence with an embaſſador. Hereupon *Attila*, chuſing rather to loſe the preſents, than declare himſelf a friend to the *Romans*, or offer the leaſt violence to an embaſſador, ordered him to quit his dominions, and return home [r]. However, not thinking it adviſeable at that juncture to engage in a war with *Marcian*, and, on the other hand, impatient of peace, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the weſtern empire, then governed by *Valentinian* III. a weak and unwarlike prince. *Roua*, uncle to *Attila*, had concluded a peace with *Valentinian* a little before his death, that is, about the year 433, as we have related above. *Attila*, who ſucceeded him, had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the crown, than he was, with repeated letters and meſſages, preſſed by *Juſta Grata Honoria*, *Valentinian*'s own ſiſter, to break the peace, and invade the weſtern empire. *Honoria* had been honoured with the title of *Auguſta* to divert her from marrying, there being, at that time, no man in the whole empire, whoſe rank anſwered her high ſtation; for it was thought proper, that ſhe ſhould continue unmarried, as the ſiſters of *Theodoſius* II. had done. But celibacy had been their choice; whereas *Honoria* had no inclination to lead a ſingle life, but was forced to it, and cloſely watched by *Valentinian*'s orders, or rather by her mother *Placidia*'s [s]. The young princeſs therefore, no longer able to bear this reſtraint, diſpatched privately one of her eunuchs to *Attila*, preſſing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her [t]; nay, ſhe ſent him, either at this time or afterwards, a ring, as a pledge of her fidelity [u]. She was then about ſixteen or ſeventeen, being born before her brother *Valentinian* in 417, or 418. *Attila*, who had then juſt begun to reign, not caring to

Attila reſolves to make war upon Valentinian III.

He is ſtirred up by Honoria.

Her incontinence.

[q] Theodoret. ep. 73. p. 492. [r] Prisc. p. 72, 73. [s] Jorn. reg. c. 44. p. 673. Cange. Byzant. fam p. 67, 73. [t] Jorn. ibid p. 653. [u] Prisc. p. 40.

engage in this enterprize, *Honoria* ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by one of her own domeſtics, named *Eugenius*. *Placidia* no ſooner perceived her with child, than ſhe cauſed her to be ſhut up in a private houſe, and ſoon after ſent her to *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople* [w]. This happened in 434, three years before *Valentinian* married the daughter of *Theodoſius* [x]. *Valeſius* writes, that *Valentinian* cauſed *Eugenius* to be put to death, which is highly probable, but, we may venture to ſay, not affirmed by any of the antients. The ſame author maintains, that *Honoria* was not ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and, what is ſurpriſing, quotes *Jornandes*, who ſays in expreſs terms ſhe was [y]. *Honoria* continued preſſing *Attila* to make war upon her brother; but he, it ſeems, not giving ear to her ſolicitations, prayers, and intreaties, lived in peace with *Valentinian* till the year 449. We have ſeveral proofs of a good underſtanding and friendly correſpondence between him and *Aetius*, commander in chief of *Valentinian*'s armies; for that general ſent to *Attila* and *Bleda* a *Gaul*, by name *Conſtantius*, to ſerve them in quality of ſecretary; but he being ſuſpected of treachery, and thereupon put to death, *Aetius* ſent them for the ſame office another of the ſame name, but by birth an *Italian* [z]. After the year 444, *Attila* ſent as a preſent to *Aetius* a famous mimic and buffoon, named *Zercon*, who was a native of *Mauritania*, and ſtrangely deformed [a]. About the year 448, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between *Attila* and *Valentinian*, on account of the ſacred veſſels, of which we have ſpoken above. To convince *Attila* of the injuſtice of his claim, were ſent to his court count *Romulus*, *Promotus* governor of *Noricum*, and *Romanus*, who had a command in the army. *Romulus* was a native of *Petavium* in *Noricum*, a man of great addreſs and experience in negotiations, and father-in-law to *Oreſtes*, at that time *Attila*'s chief ſecretary [b]. An anonymous writer, publiſhed by *Valeſius* with the works of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, tells, that *Oreſtes* attended *Attila* into *Italy* [c]. If what that author writes be true, *Attila* muſt have made an irruption into *Italy*, which no other hiſtorian has taken notice of, it being certain *Oreſtes* had left the ſervice of *Attila* before that, which we ſhall ſpeak of anon, and which is the only one known to the writers, who have reached our times (E). The embaſſadors

A good underſtanding between Attila *and* Aetius.

[w] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 653. [x] MARCEL. chron. [y] JORN. ubi ſup. [z] PRISC. p. 50, 57, 69. [a] Idem, p. 53. SUID. p. 1122. [b] Idem, p. 37, 57, 68. [c] Anonym. p. 477.

(E) Some authors think, that *Jornandes* mentions this irruption among the other tranſactions of the year 434, in the following words

Attila seeks a pretence to make war on Valentinian.

dors from *Valentinian* met, at the court of *Attila*, *Maximinus*, sent thither by *Theodosius*; but, tho' they had evidently justice on their side, the only answer they could get from *Attila* was, that he must have the vessels, or *Sylvanus* must be delivered up to him, otherwise he was resolved to declare war. However, he paid the embassadors great respect, and entertained them at his table with those of *Theodosius* [d]. He was, without all doubt, himself well apprised of the injustice of his demand; but, being determined to make war, wanted a pretence to begin it. He had received in 448, and entertained at his court, one *Eudoxus*, by profession a physician, a man of great address, but of a restless temper, who, being accused of stirring up the *Bagaudæ* to take up arms against the empire, had made his escape, and found a sanctuary amongst the *Huns* [e]. But as the emperor, dreading above all things a war with *Attila*, took no notice of his thus protecting a traitor and fugitive, recourse was had to a new claim, which the king of the *Huns* was very sure would produce a war. We have observed above, that *Honoria*, the emperor's sister, had maintained a private correspondence with *Attila*, and even sent him a ring. *Attila* therefore dispatched a solemn embassy to *Valentinian*, demanding his sister *Honoria*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and, with her, half the western empire, as belonging of right to her. The embassadors brought with them the ring, which she had sent him, to convince the emperor of their marriage [f]; and at the same time complained, in their master's name, of the ill usage she met with; adding, that he was both able and resolved to revenge it. *Valentinian* answered, That his sister was already married; and that, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the crown, nor to any part of the empire [g]. Of this marriage no mention is made by any other writer, nor indeed of *Honoria*, since the year 434, when she was sent to *Constantinople*. She was probably, upon the death of *Theodosius*, sent back to her brother *Valentinian*, and received from him some harsh treatment; perhaps he obliged her to marry a person she disliked. Be that as it will, *Valentinian*, having dismissed the

He claims Honoria as his wife, and, with her, half the western empire.

[d] PRISC. p. 56, 57, 63, 64, 66. [e] TIRO PROSP. chron.
[f] PRISC. p. 40. [g] Idem ibid.

words: *Cumque veniente Attila votum suum nequiret explere* (16). But these words may equally import, that *Honoria*, of whom *Jornandes* speaks in that passage, could not prevail upon *Attila* to come and marry her; and that she could not marry him, though he was come.

(16) *Jorn. rer. Goth.* c. 44. p. 651.

embassadors

embaſſadors with the anſwer related above, thought it adviſeable to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, in order to convince him, if poſſible, of the injuſtice of his claim. The perſons choſen for this purpoſe were *Caſſiodorus*, father to the writer of that name, the emperor's chief ſecretary, and *Carpilio*, the ſon of *Aetius*. *Caſſiodorus*, who was a man of great eloquence, addreſs, and experience in negotiations, confuted ſo evidently and fully all the frivolous pretences alledged by *Attila* to juſtify his breaking with *Valentinian*, that, in the end, he ſeemed inclined to renew the peace, which it was no-ways his intereſt to grant, ſays *Caſſiodorus* [h], to ſo rich an empire, ready to become his prey. A peace was accordingly concluded, to the great ſurpriſe of *Valentinian*, and the embaſſadors themſelves, by whom it was negotiated. It was, however, but a ſham peace, the better to deceive the unwary *Romans*, and fall upon them unawares. It was likewiſe with this view, that he ſent ſoon after embaſſadors to *Valentinian*, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, aſſuring him, that he had no reaſon to be alarmed at his warlike preparations, ſince they were deſigned againſt *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths* in *Languedoc* (F); that, as to the *Romans*, he ſhould ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not eſpouſe the cauſe of the enemy [i]. At the ſame time, he wrote to *Theodoric*, putting him in mind of the cruel war the *Romans* had made upon him about ten years, and preſſing him to renounce their alliance [k]. Thus, joining craft to force, he endeavoured to ſet the *Goths* and *Romans* at variance, the more eaſily to cruſh them both [l].

He deceives the Romans with a pretended peace.

[h] CASSIODOR. l. i. epiſt. 4. p. 56. [i] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 662, 663. [k] Idem ibid. p. 661. [l] Idem ibid.

(F) *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, having ſent for the daughter of *Theodoric*, and married her to *Hemeric* his eldeſt ſon, treated her ſoon after with his uſual cruelty, cauſing her noſe to be cut off, upon a groundleſs ſuſpicion, that ſhe deſigned to poiſon him, and ſending her back thus diſfigured to her father. As he did not doubt but *Theodoric* would reſent this affront, he reſolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore ſent embaſſadors, with rich preſents, to court the friendſhip of *Attila*, and perſuade him to fall upon *Theodoric*. Hence *Attila*, to deceive the *Romans*, gave out, that the warlike preparations, which were carrying on throughout his dominions, were deſigned againſt *Theodoric* (17). This ſtorm, it ſeems, began to be apprehended in 449, for, in that year, St. *Leo* deſired to be excuſed from aſſiſting at the council of *Epheſus*, alledging the uncertain and wavering ſtate of affairs (18).

(17) *Idem ibid. c.* 36. *p.* 662. (18) *Leo, epiſt.* xxvii. *c.* 433. *p.* 491, 498.

DURING

DURING these negotiations, he assembled one of the most powerful and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. He had, as we have observed above, people of many different nations among his troops, and a great number of kings at his devotion. Among the kings the most powerful were, *Ardaric* king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Valamir* king of the *Ostrogoths* [m]. His army consisted of the following nations, *viz. Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Ostrogoths*, *Rugians*, *Gelonians*, *Squiri*, *Burgundians*, *Bellonotes*, *Neurians*, *Basternæ*, *Turingians*, *Bructerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marcomans*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and, in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others write, seven, hundred thousand men [n]. With this formidable host he set out from *Scythia* in the depth of winter, and, bending his march through *Germany*, never halted till he reached the banks of the *Rhine*. There the *Franks*, who still dwelt in great numbers on the other side of that river, attempted to stop him; but they were, at that time, unluckily divided among themselves, the whole nation being rent into two factions or parties, by the two sons of *Clodion* quarrelling about the succession to their father's dominions. The elder brother had implored the assistance of the *Hunns*; and the younger, probably *Merouée*, was supported by *Aetius*, who had, in a manner, adopted him for his son [o]. Being thus disunited, they were easily overcome; and on this occasion probably happened what we read in *Fredigaire*, *viz.* that *Childeric*, the son of *Merouée*, was taken prisoner by the *Hunns*, with his mother, and carried into captivity, but rescued out of their hands by the courage and fidelity of a *Frank*, named *Wiomaud* [p]. We are no-where told what *Attila* did, after his victory over the *Franks*, in favour of *Clodion*'s eldest son, whose cause he had espoused. The king of the *Hunns*, having now no enemy to oppose him (for the *Romans*, giving credit to his deceitful protestations, looked upon him as a friend) caused whole forests to be cut down, in order to build boats, with which the *Rhine* in a short time was covered [q]. He passed that river without opposition in the beginning, as is supposed, of the year 451 [r], giving out, that his design was to make war upon the *Visigoths*; that he was determined to live in friendship with the *Romans*; and that he only wanted to cross *Gaul*, and pass the *Loire* at *Orleans*, in order to fall upon his enemies the

He enters Gaul at the head of a numerous and formidable army. Year of Christ 541.

[m] PRISC. p. 40. JORN. c. 38. p. 666, 667. [n] JORN. ibid. SIDON. car. vii. p. 54. Hist. miscel. p. 444. [o] PRISC. p. 40. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. [p] DU CHESNE hist. Franc. script. tom. ii. p. 726. [q] SID. car. vii. p. 541. [r] BUCH Belg. p. 511.

Gothi

Goths in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* [s]. Being therefore looked upon as a friend by the credulous and unwary *Romans*, ſeveral cities opened their gates to him; but his men behaving in the cities, that had received them, more like enemies than friends, the other towns refuſed to admit them [t]. Hereupon *Attila*, pulling off the maſk, beſieged, took by ſtorm, and plundered, many places in *Gaul* [u]. The cities that ſuffered moſt on this occaſion, were *Tongres* [w] (G), *Treves*, formerly the metropolis of *Gaul*, which had been four times pillaged before the year 440, and was now laid in aſhes by the *Hunns* [x], *Straſbourg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, *Andernach*, and moſt of the towns in that neighbourhood [y]. *Attila*, advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into ſeveral bodies, took, pillaged, and laid in aſhes, many other cities, and among the reſt *Arras* [z], *Benſançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres* [a]. The barbarians attacked the town of *Laon*; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter [b]. At *Mentz* they arrived the night preceding the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, which, in 451, fell on the eighth of *April*; and having ſoon forced the gates, and entered the city ſword in hand, they made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, maſſacred the prieſts at the altars, and ſet fire to the place, which ſoon reduced all the private and public buildings to aſhes [c], ſparing only the chapel of St. *Stephen*, if *Gregory of Tours* is to be credited, where ſome reliques of that ſaint were lodged [d]. *At-* *He takes and deſtroys ſeveral cities.*

[s] PROSP. DU CHESNE tom. ii. p. 521. [t] PROSP. IDAT. p. 28. [u] IDAT. ibid. [w] COINTII annal. eccleſ. Franc. ad ann. 451. ALLISSIODOR. chron. p. 62. [x] DU CHESNE, p. 694. [y] BUCH. p. 512. [z] ALCUIN. apud Bolland. p. 797. [a] ALLIS. chron. p. 67. [b] RUINERT. hiſt. Vand. perſecut. p. 408. [c] IDAT. DU CHESNE, tom. i. p. 624. [d] GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. i. c. 9. p. 276.

(G) *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, when it was firſt heard in *Gaul*, that *Attila*'s deſign was to paſs through that country, the holy biſhop of *Tongres*, named *Aravacus* or *Arvacus*, went to viſit the holy places at *Rome*, where, with fervent prayers, and many tears, he begged Heaven to avert the calamities, that threatened his flock, and all *Gaul*. But St. *Peter*, appearing to him, told him, that the Almighty had, in his juſtice, immutably decreed, that the *Hunns* ſhould come into *Gaul*, and ravage the whole country; but as for him, he ſhould not live to ſee the miſeries of his diſtreſſed flock. With this anſwer he returned to *Tongres*, and thence repaired to *Maeſtricht*, where he died ſoon after (19). The credulity of this excellent writer is the effect of his great piety, which often gets the better of his good ſenſe and underſtanding.

(19) *Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l.* ii. *c.* 56. *p.* 275, 276.

tila,

He lays siege to Orleans.

tila, thus putting all to fire and ſword, arrived at length before *Orleans*, which he immediately inveſted, the inhabitants refuſing to admit him into the city. In the mean time, *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, took care to encourage, by frequent meſſengers, the inhabitants and gariſon of *Orleans* to make a vigorous defence, aſſuring them, that, in a ſhort time, he would march to their aſſiſtance. He had brought with him but a ſmall number of troops, not doubting but the *Viſigoths* would join the *Romans* in oppoſing the furious torrent, which threatened both nations alike; but finding the *Viſigoths* reſolved to wait for the enemy in their own country, he uſed all kinds of arguments, in order to perſuade them to change that reſolution, ſending to them for that purpoſe *Avitus*, who was raiſed to the imperial dignity a few years after [e]. The epitomizer of *Idatius*, ſuppoſed to have lived in the time of *Charlemagne* [f], tells us, that, on this occaſion, the holy biſhop of *Orleans*, St. *Agnan*, was likewiſe ſent by *Aetius* to *Theodoric* king of the *Viſigoths* [g].

Aetius *is joined by the* Viſigoths, *and ſeveral other nations.*

Be that as it will, *Theodoric* yielded at length to the reaſons alledged by the deputies of *Aetius*, which the reader will find in *Jornandes* [h], promiſing to join the *Romans* with all his forces againſt the common enemy. This change of meaſures in the king was highly acceptable both to the nobility and his people, who received the news of it with loud acclamations of joy, occaſioned by the eager deſire they had to try their ſtrength with the *Hunns* [i] (H). In the mean time, *Aetius* aſſembled what troops he could in *Gaul*, which were reinforced by the powerful ſuccours brought him by *Theodoric*, who commanded them in perſon, attended by his eldeſt and ſecond ſons, *Thoriſmond* and *Theodoric* [k]. Beſides the *Viſigoths*, the following nations are mentioned among the troops, that compoſed the army of *Aetius*, *viz.* the *Franks*, under the conduct of their king, *Merouée*, the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, *Armoricans*, the *Lyſians*, dwelling on the banks of the *Lis* in *Flanders* [l], the

[e] SID. car. vii. p. 341. PROSP. chron. [f] CANIS. tom. ii. p. 640. [g] Idem, p. 645. [h] JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 26. p. 663. [i] SID. p. 341. PROSP. chron. JORN. ibid. p. 656. [k] JORN. p 664. [l] VALES. p. 161.

(H) The epitomizer of *Idatius*, who often adds to his author ſomething of his own, tells us, that *Aetius* offered half *Gaul* to *Theodoric*, on condition he joined him againſt the *Hunns*; and that, having by this means engaged him to ſide with the *Romans*, he made the ſame offer to *Attila*, provided he made war upon *Theodoric* (20). But this ſeems to us altogether incredible.

(20) Canis. tom. ii. p. 645

Reverins

Reverins or *Ripuarians*, inhabiting the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, the *Ibrions*, by *Valesius* called *Brions* and *Breons*, and placed by him in *Vindelicia*, now *Suabia* and *Bavaria*[m], and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, whom the *Romans* had formerly commanded as their subjects, but were now glad to reckon among their auxiliaries and allies[n]. Thus *Aetius* assembled an army not much inferior in number, according to *Prosper*, to that of *Attila*[o].

WHILE *Aetius* was thus busied in assembling his troops, *Attila* pursued the siege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the walls night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines, till at length he became master of the place. *Valesius* is of opinion, that the holy bishop *Agnan* caused the gates to be opened, lest the city should be taken by assault, and plundered[p]. And *Gregory* of *Tours* seems to insinuate, that it was not taken by storm; for he writes, that the enemy entered the place, when the walls were shaken with the battering-rams, and ready to fall[q], no breach being then made, according to that writer. On the other hand, the word *irruptio*, used by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, and signifying a violent breaking or rushing in, imports, that the town was taken by storm[r]. Be that as it will, the *Hunns* were scarce entered, when *Aetius* and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged them to retire with much precipitation out of the town. Many of them threw themselves into the *Loire*, and perished there[s]; a plain proof, that they had passed that river, and invested the town on the south side; which has been denied by some modern writers. *Theophanes* mentions this defeat of *Attila* near the *Loire* and the city of *Orleans*[t]. As for the epitomizer of *Idatius*, he evidently confounds this encounter with the great battle of *Chalons*[u]. For this success, *Aetius* is by *Apollinaris Sidonius* styled *the deliverer of the* Loire[w]. He is supposed to have gained it on the fourteenth of *June*, that day being marked in an antient martyrology of *Orleans* as a day of general thanksgiving, for the happy deliverance of that city out of the hands of its cruel enemies[x]. *Attila*, being obliged to abandon *Orleans*, retired with his army towards the *Rhine*; and having

Attila takes Orleans.

But is driven out with great slaughter by Aetius and Theodoric.

[m] Idem rer. Franc. p. 171. & 162. & notit. Gal p. 259, 260.
[n] JORN. ibid. p. 664. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [o] PROSP. chron. [p] VALLS. rer. Franc. l. vi. p. 160. [q] Vide DU CHESNE, p. 476. [r] SID. l. viii. ep. 11. p. 246. [s] Vide DU CHESNE ubi supra. [t] THEOPH. p. 90. [u] CANIS. tom. ii. p. 645. [w] SID. l. vii. ep. 12. p. 199. [x] Vide FRANC. LE MAIRE, antiq. d'Orleans, p. 158.

paſſed *Troyes*, he halted in the plains of *Chalons* (I), chuſing that place as moſt advantageous for his *Hunns*, who were all horſe, to engage in; for he was well appriſed, that *Aetius*, who followed him cloſe, would come up with him before he could

(I) This memorable battle was fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, ſay ſome, in the plains of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons*, ſay others (21); but, to reconcile them, we are only to ſuppoſe the ſame plain to have been known by theſe two different names; a very natural ſuppoſition, and founded on the authority of *Jornandes*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that the *Catalaunic* were alſo called the *Mauriac* fields; *Convenitur in campos Catalaunicos*, ſays he, *qui & Mauriaci nominantur* (22). However, *Valeſius* diſtinguiſhes theſe two plains; and, to reconcile the authors, ſuppoſes two battles to have been fought, the one, not deciſive, in the plains of *Mauriac*, that is, near *Meri* on the *Seine*, in the dioceſe of *Troyes*, and the other, which proved deciſive, in the neighbourhood of *Catalaunum* or *Chalons* (23). But thoſe who ſpeak of the battle fought in the plains of *Mauriac*, ſuppoſe it to have been deciſive, and to have put an end to the war, in the ſame manner as thoſe do, who deſcribe the battle of *Chalons*. As for the name of *Mauriac*, *Valeſius* ſuppoſes *Meri* upon the *Seine*, in the dioceſe of *Troyes*, to have been ſo called, and quotes *Fredegaire* in favour of this ſuppoſition (24). But *Blondel* takes the ſmall village of *Heiz le Maurou* on the river *Delir*, in the dioceſe of *Chalons*, to be the antient *Mauriac*. *Papirius Maſſon* places the *Mauriac* fields about three leagues from *Chalons*, near a place called *Notre Dame de l' Epine*, or *Our lady of the Thorn* (25). He is therein followed by *Cointius* (26), and by *Sanſon*, in his maps of the dioceſes of *Chalons* and *Rheims*. As for thoſe, who will have this battle to have been fought beyond *Orleans* at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*, in a diſtrict held at this time, as they ſuppoſe, by the *Catalaunians* or *Catalans* of *Spain*, though they agree perhaps therein with *Olaus*, a modern writer, of no authority in himſelf, they diſagree with *Gregory* of *Tours*, and all thoſe who write, that *Aetius* delivered *Orleans*, namely, with *Apollinaris Sidonius*, whom we may call an unqueſtionable author and eye-witneſs. That author tells us in expreſs terms, that *Attila* took *Orleans* by ſtorm; but was driven out by *Aetius*, before he had time to plunder it, and obliged to return back, directing his march towards the *Rhine*. He did not therefore, according to that writer, penetrate ſo far into *Gaul* as *Auvergne* or *Languedoc*; and conſequently the battle could not be fought at *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, or near *Toulouſe* in *Languedoc*. *Jornandes* writes, that *Thorifmund*, upon the death of his father, who was killed in the

(21) *Du Cheſne*, tom. i. p. 276. *Canif. antiquæ lect.* tom ii. p. 625. (22) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 46. *p.* 664 (23) *Vales. notit. Gall. p.* 324. (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Du Chesne*, *p.* 105. (26) *Coint.* tom. i. *p.* 75.

Catalaunic

could repaſs the *Rhine*. The *Roman* general, being informed by his ſcouts, that *Attila* was waiting for him in thoſe vaſt plains, reſolved, notwithſtanding the enemy's advantageous ſituation, to advance, and put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who ſerved under *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who followed *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with ſuch fury, that, on both ſides, above fifteen thouſand men were left dead upon the ſpot [y]. We are told, that *Attila*, deſirous to know before-hand the iſſue of the approaching battle, conſulted his aruſpices, who, after having narrowly examined the entrails of the beaſts offered in ſacrifice, and, according to their cuſtom, ſcraped their bones, returned the following anſwer: That the event would not prove favourable to him; but,

A bloody encounter between the Franks and Gepidæ.

[y] JORN. c. 41. p. 671.

Catalaunic fields, entered *Toulouſe* veſted with royal majeſty; *Theriſmundus ergo, patre mortuo in campis Catalaunicis, ubi & pugnaverat, regia majeſtate ſubvectus Toloſam ingreditur* (27). From theſe words ſome conclude the battle to have been fought in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*. But *Jornandes* does not ſay, that *Thoriſmund* made his entry into *Toulouſe* the ſame day his father was killed, or the day following; nay, he confines it to no certain time, but evidently ſuppoſes it not to have happened immediately after the battle; for he tells us, that, after the battle, *Aetius* adviſed *Thoriſmund* to return home, *ut ad ſedes proprias remearet*. The battle therefore was not fought in the territories of the *Goths*, but at a conſiderable diſtance from *Toulouſe*. The young prince, following the advice of *Aetius*, returned to *Gaul*, *rediit ad Gallias*, ſays *Jornandes*, who, by *Gaul*, could only mean *Celtic Gaul*, called alſo *Gallia Lugdunenſis*; ſo that *Thoriſmund*, in marching to the field of battle, had croſſed *Celtic*, and entered *Belgic Gaul*, to the latter of which belongs the dioceſe of *Chalons*. Hence *Scaliger* thinks thoſe writers, who will have *Attila* to have been defeated near *Toulouſe*, to have been guilty of a miſtake altogether childiſh, how able ſoever they may be in other reſpects. The plains of *Chalons*, where the two armies engaged, were, according to *Jornandes* (28), one hundred leagues in length, and ſeventy in breadth; but that author allows only fifteen hundred paces to each league. His allowing that extent to the plains of *Chalons*, gives us room to believe, that he compriſed, under that name, all the champaign country, whence the province was afterwards called *Champagne*, a name by which it was well known ſo early as the ſixth century (29). On the ſame plain of *Chalons* was fought, in 273, a great battle between the emperor *Aurelian* and the uſurper *Tetricus*.

(27) *Jorn. c.* 41. *p.* 670. (28) *Idem ibid. p.* 664. (29) *Du Cheſne, t.* 1.

on the enemy's side, their chief man would fall in the engagement. This answer greatly encouraged *Attila*, who did not in the least doubt, but by the chief man was meant *Aetius*, whose death he was glad to purchase at any rate, since he looked upon that great commander as the only person in the whole empire capable of defeating his vast designs [z]. He therefore resolved to give battle, but not to engage till the day was far spent, that night coming on might prevent the *Romans* from pursuing the victory [a]. He placed himself in the centre, with the flower of his army around him, as if his chief care had been, says *Jornandes* [b], to preserve himself, and not to conquer. In the wings were posted the *Ostrogoths*, the *Gepidæ*, and the other nations, that followed his banner [c]. On the other hand, *Aetius* placed the *Romans*, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing, the *Visigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric* and his son *Thorismund*, in the right, and the *Alans*, with their king *Sangiban* (K), and probably the *Franks*, and other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. Thus were those spacious plains quite covered with infinite numbers of combatants, the flower of innumerable nations, ready, says *Jornandes*, to destroy each other, without any private pique or quarrel, but merely in compliance with the ambition of one man, which, in them, supplied the room of the most mortal hatred and irreconcileable enmity. What pity, continues our historian, that, by the passion and folly of one man, should perish, in a few hours,

[z] Idem. c. 37. p. 665. Buch. Belg. p. 515. Val. p. 162.
[a] Jorn. ibid. [b] Idem, p. 666. [c] Idem, p. 667.

(K) *Valesius* takes *Sangiban* to be the same person with *Sambida*, chief of the *Alans*, on whom *Aetius* bestowed, about the year 440, as *Tyro Prosper* informs us, some lands that lay uncultivated in the *Valentinois* (30). Others will have him to be the successor of *Eocavic*, chief of another body of *Alans*, whom *Aetius* placed on the banks of the *Loire* in 447, at a small distance from *Armorica*, in order to awe the *Armoricans*, and put a stop to their incursions (31). *Sangiban* was in *Orleans* when *Attila* entered *Gaul*, having obtained leave to reside there; but, as the barbarians drew near that city, he was ordered to quit it, upon a report, that he designed to deliver it up to them (32). All these *Alans* had entered *Gaul* in 406. In the battle *Aetius*, distrusting *Sangiban*, placed him in the centre, that, being surrounded by the *Romans* and *Visigoths*, he might have no opportunity, says *Jornandes* (33), of putting in execution the design of which he was suspected.

(30) *Val. rer. Franc. l.* iv. *p.* 272. (31) *Buch. Belg. p.* 512.
(32) *Jorn. rer. Get. c.* 37. *p.* 665. *Val. rer. Franc. p.* 272.
(33) *Jorn. c.* 36. *p.* 665.

what

what nature has produced in many years[d]! Between the two armies was an eminence of an easy ascent, which both parties strove to seize; but *Aetius* and *Thorismund*, having possessed themselves of it the first, repulsed without much-ado the *Hunns*, who attempted to dislodge them. This advantage, gained by the *Romans* in the very beginning of the engagement, raised their courage, and greatly damped the ardour of the enemy; which *Attila* observing, strove to re-animate his men by a speech, which the reader will find in *Jornandes*[e], who made it for him. The battle began about four in the afternoon, and is by all writers reckoned one of the most bloody and obstinate engagements mentioned in history. A small brook, that crossed the plain, swelled, says *Jornandes*[f], to a torrent, by the great quantity of blood that was shed. *Aetius* pressed the *Hunns* on this side; and *Thorismund* never ceased harrassing them from the eminence he had seized. The *Goths*, leaving the *Alans* behind, charged the enemy with no less vigour than the *Romans* had done. *Theodoric*, notwithstanding his great age, flew from rank to rank, encouraging his men; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own men. Others write, that he was killed with a dart by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who fought under *Attila*, and was descended from the *Anali*, that is, from the royal family of the *Goths*[g]. The *Goths*, though no longer animated by the presence of their king, pressed the *Hunns* so warmly, that *Attila*, no longer able to withstand them, retired in the end, with those who surrounded him, to his camp, which he barricaded with all the carts and waggons of his army. It being night before the battle was ended, *Thorismund*, coming down from his eminence to rejoin his own people, found himself entangled among the carts and waggons of the enemy, who fell upon him with great fury. On this occasion he received a wound on the head, and was thrown from his horse; but other *Goths* flying to his assistance, he was rescued from the danger, and brought back to his camp. As for *Aetius*, he continued the engagement, till night coming on, the enemy withdrew to their camp, when he likewise retired, not daring to pursue them, as not knowing whether the *Goths* were conquerors, or conquered. The new day discovered a dreadful sight, those vast plains almost quite covered with dead bodies; but *Attila*, who, they expected, would renew the engagement at break of day, kept close in his camp, and was resolved, as the *Romans* were afterwards informed, to burn himself alive, if they had forced it, rather than

The battle of Chalons.

Theodoric, *king of the* Visigoths, *killed.*

[d] Idem, p. 664. [e] Idem, c. 39 p. 367, 368. [f] Idem, c. 40. p. 668. [g] Idem ibid. c. 39 p. 688.

suffer

suffer himself to be taken prisoner. He caused a great noise to be made in his camp, and the trumpets every-where to sound, as if he was upon the point of sallying out, and falling upon the *Romans*; but did not, however, stir from his entrenchments. Hence the *Romans* concluded, that he was conquered, and that his loss was great. However, not thinking it advisable to attack him in his camp, as he had but a small quantity of provisions, they resolved to keep him closely blocked up [h].

He declines a second engagement.

IN the mean time, the *Goths*, missing their king, sought him on all sides, and at last found him among the dead. His body was carried, in the sight of the *Hunns*, with the greatest solemnity and all possible marks of honour, from the field of battle to the camp, where the last duties were paid him, in the midst of which his son *Thorismund* was proclaimed king, and, in that quality, he ended the ceremony [i]. Such is the account the antients give us of this famous action, in which near three hundred thousand men were killed, according to *Idatius*, on both sides, and two hundred and fifty-two thousand, according to the *Amsterdam* edition of *Jornandes* in 1655, including those who fell the night before the battle in the encounter between the *Franks* and the *Gepidæ*. Both armies suffered extremely, and the *Romans* challenged the victory, for no other reason, but because *Attila* kept in his camp the next day, and withdrew afterwards to his own country, without daring to venture a second engagement [k]. *Cassiodorus* and *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, owns, that, in this action, *Aetius* had the chief command; but ascribe the victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths* [l]. *Victor Tunniensis* extols the courage of the *Goths*, without so much as mentioning *Aetius*; and *Gregory* of *Tours* will have the success of that day to be owing to the prayers of St. *Agnan*, bishop of *Orleans* [m]. As to the account of this battle given by the continuator of *Idatius* [n], *Valesius* looks upon it as altogether fabulous. *Thorismund*, greatly affected with the death of his father, resolved to revenge it on the *Hunns*, and, at the head of his *Goths*, attack them in their camp; but having first consulted *Aetius*, whose known wisdom and long experience gave great weight to his counsels, that general advised him to return home without delay, and take possession of his father's dominions, lest his brothers, seizing on the deceased king's treasures, should raise disturbances in his absence, and give rise to a civil war. This advice *Aetius* gave with a political view, fearing,

The number of the slain.

Aetius persuades Thorismund to return home with his Goths.

[h] Idem, p. 670. [i] Idem, c. 41. p. 672. [k] PROSP. chron. BUCH. Belg. p. 515. [l] CASSIOD. chron. & l. iii. epist. 1. p. 40. [m] DU CHESNE, p. 272. [n] CANIS tom. ii. p. 645.

that

that if the *Hunns* were utterly extirpated, the *Goths*, no longer awed by so formidable a power, might prove a no less troublesome enemy to the empire, than those barbarians. However, *Thorismund*, not suspecting in the least the zeal and sincerity of *Aetius*, readily embraced his advice, and returned home [o]. Thus, giving way to groundless suspicions, we often let slip the most favourable opportunities, being wholly taken up in guarding against imaginary evils. The continuator of *Idatius* tells us, that *Aetius*, going in the night to the enemy's camp, assured *Attila*, that the *Roman* army had been reinforced with a very considerable number of *Visigoths*, in order to oblige him to retire with more haste, and even to purchase with money a safe retreat. By a like artifice he persuaded *Thorismund*, according to the same writer, to retire, and pay him a considerable sum. He adds, that *Thorismund*, finding afterwards he had been imposed upon by *Aetius*, sent to challenge the promise he had made him, which was to yield to him half *Gaul*, if he drove out *Attila*; but *Aetius*, in lieu of the promised dominions, only sent him a golden dish, weighing five hundred pounds, and enriched with precious stones [p]. But to such accounts we can give no credit, upon the bare testimony of a writer, whose authority is of no great weight with us. *Thorismund* was no sooner gone, than *Aetius*, by the same artifice, persuaded *Merouée*, king of the *Franks*, whose brother aspired at the crown, to withdraw his troops, and return home. Thus he got for himself the spoils that were left in the field of battle [q].

And likewise Merouée *with his* Franks.

WHEN *Attila* was first told, that the *Visigoths* were retired, he imagined it to be only a feint, in order to surprise him, and therefore kept for some time close in his camp; but being afterwards informed of the truth, he resumed courage, says *Jornandes* [r], and began to hope for victory. However, he made no attempt, but retired quietly to the *Rhine*, with a small number of troops, says *Gregory* of *Tours* [s]; and truly his army must have been greatly weakened, since he did not offer to attack *Aetius*, even after the departure of the *Goths* and *Franks*. *Valesius* concludes from hence, that the army he led into *Gaul* did not consist, as *Jornandes* seems to insinuate [t], of five hundred thousand men [u]. *Jornandes* perhaps only meant, that his troops amounted to that number, and not that he marched them all into *Gaul*. He had, no doubt, left a considerable number of his forces in the countries he had conquered, to awe the peo-

[n] JORN. rer. Goth. c 41 p. 671. DU CHESNE, tom. i. p 177. [o] CANIS. p 645, 646. [p] DU CHESNE, p. 277. [q] JORN. c. 41. p. 671, 672. [r] DU CHESNE, p. 277. [s] JORN. c 36. p 665. [t] VAL. rer. Franc. p. 165.

ple,

ple, and garison his forts and strong-holds. Besides, it is certain, that this very year 451, a body of *Hunns* broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged that province; but were in the end driven out by *Ardaburius*, who was thereupon appointed by *Marcian*, emperor of the east, commander in chief of all his forces [w]. The anonymous author of the *Altissiodorensian* chronology tells us, that *Aetius*, after the engagement, returned to *Italy*, leaving *Attila* to commit what ravages he pleased in *Gaul* [x]. This seems highly improbable, the more as that writer supposes the city of *Mentz* to have been destroyed on this occasion; whereas all other authors speak of the ruin of that city as happening before the siege of *Orleans*. Such was the issue of *Attila*'s expedition into *Gaul*, so much spoken of by the writers of those times. The ravages he committed there were, no doubt, very great; but posterity has not a little increased them, charging *Attila* and his *Hunns* with all the devastations, that were afterwards committed by the *Franks*, the *Alemans*, and other barbarous nations [y]. It was a long time before the towns he had ruined were rebuilt, or repeopled; nay, so great was the consternation of the inhabitants, that *Lupus*, the famous bishop of *Troyes*, returning to his see, after he had attended *Attila* to the banks of the *Rhine*, found the city quite abandoned, though *Attila*, out of regard to him, had spared it; insomuch, that he was obliged to retire to a mountain, named *Latisco*, about fifteen leagues from *Troyes*, where he endeavoured to persuade his people, who had taken refuge there, to return to their antient habitations; but, not being able to remove their fears, after he had continued two years among them, he left them, and retired to *Mascon* [z]. *Aetius* pursued *Attila* as far as the *Rhine*; but never offered to attack him, thinking it, as most authors conjecture, impolitic to weaken him too much, lest he should no longer be in a condition to awe the *Franks* and *Goths*, and divert them from raising disturbances in the empire.

Attila *invades* Italy. *Year of Christ* 452.

Attila, rather enraged than disheartened at the disappointment he had met with, and the loss he had sustained in *Gaul*, resolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to find more booty and less opposition, there being no *Goths*, *Franks*, *Alans*, or *Burgundians* there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution, having reinforced his army with powerful supplies sent him out of *Scythia*, he left *Pannonia*; and finding the passes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that side, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the year 451, as

[w] Concil. tom. iv. p. 76. [x] Altiss. chronol. p. 60. [y] Vide Nic. Serar. res Moguntin. l. i. c. 7. p. 27. [z] Surius, p. 347.

Jornandes

Jornandes and *Idatius* ſeem to inſinuate [a], or, what is more probable, in the beginning of the following year 452. It is impoſſible to expreſs the terror and conſternation, which ſo ſudden and unexpected an irruption occaſioned, even in the moſt diſtant provinces. *Aetius*, who had oppoſed the barbarians ſo vigorouſly in *Gaul*, betrayed, on this occaſion, no leſs fear than the reſt; nay, he was at firſt for retiring with the emperor out of *Italy*, and taking refuge in *Gaul*; but ſhame getting the better of his fear, he continued in *Italy*, and began to aſſemble the forces, that were diſperſed up and down the provinces. In the mean time, frequent councils were held at court, in the ſenate, and in the aſſemblies of the *Roman* people; but the only expedient that occurred was, to ſend embaſſadors to *Attila*, and try whether they could, by offering him moſt advantageous terms, induce him to conclude a peace, and retire. In the mean time, he ravaged, without reſtraint or controul, the *Italian* provinces, and took by ſtorm ſeveral cities [b]. He met with no oppoſition till he came to *Aquileia*, the metropolis of the province called *Venetia*. As that city was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the *Roman* troops, all his efforts againſt it proved, for a long time, unſucceſsful; inſomuch, that his men began to mutiny, and declare, they would abandon the ſiege [c]. But *Attila*, having one day obſerved ſome ſtorks carrying their young ones out of the city into the fields, as he was then deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould raiſe or purſue the ſiege, took this for a lucky omen; and turning to his men, *Behold*, he ſaid, *thoſe birds abandoning a city, which, they know, by a natural inſtinct, is near ruin.* The ſoldiers, believing their king well ſkilled in aruſpices, were ſo animated with this obſervation, that, doubling their efforts, they made an incredible number of warlike engines, with which they continued battering the city night and day, and at length took it by ſtorm, plundered it for ſeveral days, and laid it in aſhes, not one houſe being left ſtanding, nor one perſon alive, that fell into their hands [d]. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, without much-ado, they made themſelves maſters of the other cities of that province, *viz. Trevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, and *Bergamo*, which they plundered with the utmoſt cruelty, putting all to fire and ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. It is commonly ſaid and believed, that, on this occaſion, the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Hunns*, retired to the iſlands on their coaſt,

Aquileia, and ſeveral other cities, taken, and deſtroyed.

[a] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 188. THEOPH. p. 94. GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. p. 277.

Venice *founded.*

and there laid the foundation of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called *Venetiæ*, and is known to us by the name of *Venice* [e] (L). From the province of *Venetia*, *Attila* advanced into *Liguria*, where he took and plundered *Milan*, the metropolis of that province, and the usual seat of the emperors of the west. He laid in ashes the city of *Pavia*, and several other places in that neighbourhood, raging every-where with such cruelty, as can hardly be expressed or conceived [f] (M).

Milan *taken, and plundered.*

Attila *designs to march to* Rome.

He was prompted, by his thirst of booty, to march to *Rome*, and plunder that metropolis of the western empire; and the *Romans* expected daily to see him at the gates of their city, which, it seems, they were not in a condition to defend against so powerful an enemy; for *Leo the Great* writes, that Heaven, by granting them peace, had saved *Rome*, and delivered the *Roman* people from slaughter and bondage [g]. However, *Attila*, though he had publicly declared his resolution of marching to *Rome*, was afterwards diverted from putting it in execution by his own men, says *Jornandes*, mindful of the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died soon after he had plundered that metropolis, and dreading the same fate might overtake their leader [h]. But this motive surely could be of no great weight with *Attila*. His army was greatly weakened for want of provisions; a contagious distemper raged amongst his troops to such a degree, that Heaven seemed to fight against him; *Marcian*, emperor of the east, had sent a chosen body of troops to the assistance of *Valentinian*, which, under the conduct of

What diverted him from putting his design in execution.

[e] Por. de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. [f] Jorn. ibid. p. 673. [g] Leo, serm. lxxxi. c. 1. p. 3400. [h] Jorn. ubi sup.

(L) *Cassiodorus* speaking of the *Venetians*, as he styles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles, no other food but fish, no wealth besides their boats, and no merchandize but salt, which they exchanged for other provisions. They were employed, in the time of *Cassiodorus*, in carrying from *Istria* to *Ravenna* the corn and oil, which that province was obliged to furnish (34); so that they were then subject to the *Goths*.

(M) We are told, that *Attila* seeing at *Milan* some pictures, representing the *Roman* emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Huns*, prostrate at their feet, caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet (35).

(34) *Cassiodor. l.* xii. *ep.* 24. *p.* 199. *Val. rer. Franc. l.* iv. *p.* 169.
(35) *Jorn. ibid. p.* 673.

Aetius, had gained ſome advantages over the *Hunns*; ſuch of that nation as had remained at home, were at the ſame time greatly harraſſed by the forces, which *Marcian* had ſent againſt them.

WHILE *Attila*, thus embarraſſed, was in ſuſpence whether or no he ſhould purſue his march to *Rome*, embaſſadors arrived from *Valentinian*, with propoſals for an agreement. The ſending of embaſſadors was the only expedient, as we have hinted above, that occurred to the prince and his council, to deliver *Italy* from the cruel ravages of the barbarians. At the head of this embaſſy was the celebrated *Leo*, biſhop of *Rome*, a perſon famed for his eminent piety and learning. His collegues were *Albienus* or *Avienus*, who had been conſul in 450, and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect [i]. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were received by him with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. He concluded with them, ſoon after their arrival, a kind of treaty, which, it ſeems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and commit there greater ravages than ever, unleſs the princeſs *Honoria* was ſent him, with the ſhare of the imperial treaſures that was due to her [k]. One of the articles of this treaty was, that an annual penſion ſhould be paid to *Attila*, the emperor being glad to redeem the empire at any rate from the calamities it ſuffered [l]. The treaty was no ſooner ſigned, than *Attila* commanded his men to forbear all hoſtilities; and ſoon after leaving *Italy*, he retired, with all his troops, beyond the *Danube* [m]. This peace, or rather truce, was probably concluded in the beginning of *July*; for *Leo* was ſtill at *Rome* on the tenth of *June*, as appears from one of his letters to *Theodorus* of *Frejus* bearing that date [n].

Attila concludes a truce with Valentinian.

He retires out of Italy.

As *Attila* was incapable of living himſelf or ſuffering others to live, in peace, he was no ſooner returned to his own country, than he began to threaten the eaſtern empire with an invaſion, if *Marcian* did not ſend him, without delay, the tribute, which his predeceſſor *Theodoſius* the younger had agreed to pay him yearly [o]. But this was only a feint, ſays *Jornandes*, to conceal his real deſign, which was to return into *Gaul*, and there make war upon the *Viſigoths*. Purſuant to this deſign, having left *Pannonia*, and croſſed *Rhætia*, he followed the courſe of the *Rhone*, entered the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and there fell unexpectedly upon the *Alans*,

He returns into Gaul.

[i] Idem ibid. LEO, tom. ii. p 309. [k] JORN. p. 673. PROSP. chron. [l] JORN. c. 49. p. 685. [m] Idem, p. 673. [n] LEO, ſerm. lxxxi. p. 340. & epiſt. lxxxiii. p. 606. [o] PRISC. p. 40. JORN. c. 45. p. 674.

who had been allowed by *Aetius*, as we have hinted above, to settle in the *Valentinois*. But *Thorismund*, king of the *Visigoths*, whose dominions were parted from those of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well apprised, that *Attila*, in reducing the *Alans*, had no other view but to open himself a way into his territories, joined his neighbours with all his forces, and, meeting *Attila*, gave him a total overthrow; which obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country [p]. *Jornandes* and *Sigebert* are the only writers, who mention this second irruption of the *Hunns* into *Gaul*; and *Valesius*, not without reason, questions the truth of what they write [q]. Perhaps *Thorismund* made war upon the *Alans*, who, finding themselves attacked by so powerful an enemy, called in a body of *Hunns* to their assistance; but were defeated, together with their allies, by the king of the *Visigoths*; for *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Thorismund* subdued the *Alans* [r]. As for *Jornandes*, we have shewn, in several places of the *Roman* history, that he was far from being well acquainted with the affairs of the *Visigoths*. We find no farther mention of *Attila* in the antient historians, till the time of his death, which happened, according to *Idatius*, immediately after he was returned from *Italy* [s]. Count *Marcellinus* places it in 454, but *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Victor Tunniensis*, in 453, or 452. *Jornandes* gives us the following account of his death, which he copied from *Priscus*: *Attila*, not satisfied with the many wives he had already, married a young woman of extraordinary beauty, named *Ildico*. On the day of the nuptials, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, the king, transported with joy, drank to excess, contrary to his custom; and being overcome with sleep, retired with his bride, and slept with his face upwards. In that posture he was seized with an *hæmorrhagia*, or flux of blood, to which he was subject. As the blood had not a free course through the usual passages, it fell into his throat, and stifled him [t]. The next day day, his officers, not seeing him appear, began to apprehend, that some misfortune had happened to him. Having therefore long waited for him in vain, they called him with great noise, and, not hearing him stir nor answer, they at length forced the doors of his apartment, when they found him dead, without any marks of violence, and his bride sitting by him bathed in tears, and covering her face with her vail. At this sight they cut part of their hair, according to the custom of their nation, and tore their faces,

Where he is defeated by the Visigoths.

His death.

[p] Idem, p. 674, 675. [q] VAL. rer. Fran. l. iv. p. 171. [r] GREG. TUR. rer. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 272. [s] IDAT. p. 29. [t] JORN. c. 49. p. 683, 684.

to bewail so great a warrior, not with tears, like women, but, like men, with blood [u]. To this account *Priscus* adds a very remarkable circumstance, which he will not allow us to call into question, *viz.* that the very night *Attila* died, the emperor *Marcian* being very uneasy and restless in reflecting on the menaces and great power of that warlike prince, his bow was shewn him broken in many pieces; which was revealing to him the death of an enemy, whom he so much dreaded, and at the same time informing him, that the vast empire he had founded in the north would be soon divided, and, as it were, broken in pieces. Count *Marcellinus* writes, that the tyrant of *Europe* underwent the fate of *Holophernes*, being killed, as he was, by a woman [x]. But *Cassiodorus* [y] and *Theophanes* [z] agree in their account of his death with *Jornandes*. Thus, he was justly punished, says *Jornandes* [a], with a dishonourable and ignominious death, for the cruel and unnatural murder of his brother, and the streams of blood, which his unbounded ambition had prompted him to shed. His body was conveyed with great solemnity from the place where he died to the fields, and there laid under a silk tent, which some horsemen, chosen out of the whole nation of the *Hunns*, often riding round, sung, in a doleful strain, the noble atchievements of their king. This mournful ceremony was succeeded by a joyful one, a great banquet on the deceased prince's tomb, which lasted till the night was far spent, when his body was secretly interred, being inclosed in three coffins, the first of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron. The latter was to signify, that he had subdued many nations with his sword; and the two former, that he had obliged the *Roman* emperors to share their treasures with him. In the same grave with him were buried the arms and rich spoils, which he had taken in war from other princes, and great commanders. In the end, all those were put to death, who had been employed about his grave, lest their avarice should, some time or other, prompt them to plunder it [b]. This is all we find in the antients concerning *Attila* the renowned king of the *Hunns*. We might have added many things from the chronicles of *Hungary*, from *Callimachus*, and *Olahus*, who have written the life of that prince, and filled whole books with his exploits; but, as their accounts are not vouched by the antients, and their authority is of no weight in itself, we have not thought any thing they relate worthy of notice. With *Attila* ended the empire, which he had, with so much blood

His funeral.

[u] Idem. ibid. [x] MARC. chron. [y] CASSIODOR. chron.
[z] THEOPH. chronograph p. 92, 93. [a] JORN. c. 35. p. 661.
[b] Idem ibid. p. 634.

and

and treaſure, founded in the north; for a civil war being kindled upon his death among his numerous iſſue, the ſeveral nations he had ſubdued laid hold of that opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. Thus the *Hunns* ceaſed to be the terror of both empires, and, for ſeveral ages, performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worthy of mention.

He is ſucceeded by Ellac. Year of Chriſt 453.

Attila had by his laſt will, as we read in *Jornandes* [c], appointed *Ellac*, his eldeſt ſon, to ſucceed him, and to rule over his other children as well as over the many nations he had conquered. *Ellac* was, it ſeems, a man of great boldneſs, intrepidity, and experience in war, and conſequently capable of maintaining, and even extending the conqueſts of his father; but as he had an incredible number of brothers, and they all jointly inſiſted upon an equal diviſion of their father's dominions, a bloody war was kindled, which involved in the utmoſt confuſion, not only the northern provinces, but both *Pannonias*, and the other countries on the *Danube*, where the *Romans* had allowed them to ſettle. But while they all ſtrove to be ſovereigns, they all loſt the ſovereignty for which they ſtrove; for *Ardaric*, king of the *Gepidæ*, hearing that they propoſed to divide among them by lot the nations, which their father had conquered, and not able to bear, that powerful kings, and warlike people, ſhould be thus treated like the meaneſt ſlaves, openly declared, that he would not obey the ſons of *Attila*, but reſcue himſelf and his people from the yoke they ſo ſhamefully groaned under. His example was followed by ſeveral other nations, that haſtened to join him. *Ellac*, leaving for the preſent his brothers, marched againſt him at the head of all his forces. Hereupon a battle enſued on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, in which the *Hunns* were utterly routed, and thirty thouſand of them killed on the ſpot, with their king *Ellac*, who is ſaid on that occaſion to have performed wonders, and to have behaved like a true ſon of the great *Attila* [d]. The *Hunns* were ſo diſheartened with this overthrow, and the general revolt of the nations they had conquered, that, being preſſed by the *Gepidæ*, they retired to the country, which they had taken from the *Goths* in 376, towards the *Euxine* ſea and the mouths of the *Danube*, and the *Gepidæ* remained maſters of all antient *Dacia*, lying north of that river, which the *Hunns* had poſſeſſed ever ſince their firſt irruption into *Europe*. The *Gepidæ* begged the friendſhip of the *Romans*, and a ſmall annual penſion to ſupport them; which was readily granted, and continued to be paid even in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian* [e]. Several other nations, thus delivered from the yoke of the *Hunns*, beg-

Civil wars between him and his brothers.

Ellac *and his army cut off by the* Gepidæ.

[c] Idem ibid. p. 686. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid. & p. 687.

ged

ged and obtained leave of *Marcian*, or his ſucceſſor *Leo*, to ſettle in the *Roman* territories. Among theſe mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax*, their king or leader, ſettled in *Leſſer Scythia* and *Lower Mæſia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Caſtle of Mars*. To the *Oſtrogoths* *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmiſh* in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at preſent *Vienna* in *Auſtria*. Even *Ernac*, *Attila's* youngeſt ſon, and with him ſeveral *Hunns*, ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who granted them lands on the moſt diſtant borders of *Leſſer Scythia* in *Dacia*, and amongſt the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* [h]. The other ſons of *Attila*, uniting their forces, attempted to drive the *Goths* out of *Pannonia*, and recover that province; but *Valemir*, king of the *Goths* meeting them with only a handful of men, ſays *Jornandes*, put them to flight, and purſued them with ſuch ſlaughter, that few of them eſcaped [i]. About eight years after, while the *Goths* were engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dinzio*, one of *Attila's* ſons, and ſtyled by *Jornandes* king of the *Hunns*, having aſſembled what forces he could, entered the territories of the *Goths*, putting all to fire and ſword, and laid ſiege to *Baſiana*, thought to be the preſent city of *Poſega*, the metropolis of a country bearing the ſame name, and lying between the *Save* and the *Drave* [k]. This the *Goths* no ſooner underſtood, than, leaving the *Satagæ*, they marched againſt the *Hunns*, and drove them out with ſuch ſlaughter, that they never after offered to moleſt them [l].

They are utterly routed by the Goths.

THE *Hunns*, thus weakened by their inteſtine wars, and the great loſſes they had ſuſtained in the two above-mentioned irruptions, continued quiet till the year 466, when paſſing the *Danube* in the depth of winter on the ice, they broke into *Dacia*, under the conduct of one *Hormidac*, and committed dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and ſword. But *Anthemius*, who was afterwards emperor, marching againſt them with another general, whom our author does not name, gained ſeveral advantages over them, and at laſt defeated them in a pitched battle, during which the other general went over to the enemy; but his men, probably the cavalry, for *Anthemius* was general of the foot, not following him, *Anthemius*, without betraying the leaſt fear or ſurpriſe, continued the engagement, and in the end gained a complete victory. However, he ſuffered the *Hunns* to retire unmoleſted, upon their putting to death the general who had gone over to them [m]. The *Hunns*

And by the Romans.

[h] Idem, p. 688. [i] Idem, c. 52, 53, p. 690. [k] BAUDR. p. 106. [l] JORN. p. 691. [m] SID. p. 110. & car. ii. p. 296—298.

were

were no sooner returned to their own country, than the children of *Attila* sent deputies to *Leo*, then emperor of the east, to propose a peace, and beg he would appoint a market to be held on the *Danube*, to which the *Hunns* might freely resort, and trade with the *Romans*. To this *Leo* would by no means consent; which *Dengizic*, one of the sons of *Attila*, by *Jornandes* [n] called *Dinzio*, and by others *Dinziric* [o], resented to such a degree, that he was for continuing the war. But his brother *Hernac*, who, as we said above, had been allowed by the emperor *Marcian* to settle in *Lesser Scythia*, and was then engaged in other wars, declared he would by no means enter into this [p]. *Dengizic* however, persisting in his first resolution, drew together a considerable army, and encamped on the banks of the *Danube*. *Arnagastus*, who, at that time, guarded the banks of that river on the side of *Thrace*, sent immediately an officer to the *Hunns*, to inquire upon what provocation they had taken arms. *Dengizic* answered, That he had taken arms with a design to make war upon *Leo*, unless he granted to him and his men lands and money. To this *Arnagastus* replied by the emperor's orders, That *Leo* would readily grant both to such as were willing to submit to him, and serve him in his wars. But *Dengizic*, not satisfied with this answer, began hostilities, and continued the war, of which we know no particulars, till he was killed by *Arnagastus*, styled, on that occasion, general of *Thrace* [q]. His head was sent to *Constantinople* in 468, or 469, and carried into the city with great pomp, while the people were beholding the sports of the circus, which they left for a sight to them far more agreeable. It was borne through the chief streets of the city on the point of a spear, and left for some days exposed to public view [r].

They break into Dacia. *Year after Christ* 464.

Dengizic, *one of* Attila's *sons, killed.*

The *Hunns*, disheartened with the losses they sustained in this war, and the death of their leader, continued, it seems, quiet for the space of near sixty years, without molesting either the *Romans*, or their neighbours; for we find no mention made of them from this time to the year 526, the first of the emperor *Justinian*'s reign, when two of their kings, *Styrax* and *Glones*, stirred up by *Cabades* king of *Persia*, then at war with the *Romans*, broke into the empire at the head of two powerful armies; but *Boarex*, the widow of *Balach* king of the *Sabirite Hunns*, a woman of a warlike genius, and manly temper, espousing the cause of the *Romans* against the *Persians*, led to the assistance of the emperor an army of an hundred thou-

Boarex, *queen of the* Hunns, *fights for the* Romans. *Year after Christ* 526.

[n] Jorn. c. 55. p. 691. [o] Chron. Alex. [p] Prisc. p. 44. Jorn. p. 698. [q] Prisc. ibid. Chron. Alex. p. 744. [r] Marcellin. chron. Chron. Alex. ibid.

sand

ſand ſtrong; and, meeting the two kings, gave them battle, cut moſt of their men in pieces, and took *Styrax* himſelf priſoner, and ſent him in chains to *Conſtantinople* [s]. It is a great pity, that neither *Theophanes*, nor the author of the *miſcellaneous hiſtory*, have named this brave *Amazon*, this warlike heroine, who deſerved ſo well of the empire. The ſame year *Gordas*, king of the *Hunns* dwelling near the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, came in perſon to *Conſtantinople*, to court the friendſhip of *Juſtinian*, and conclude an alliance with that prince; which he did accordingly. As he had an opportunity, during his ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, of ſeeing the ceremonies of the chriſtian religion, he was ſo taken with them, that he deſired to be inſtructed in the myſteries of our holy faith, and, in the end, with great ſolemnity, received the ſacrament of baptiſm in the preſence of the emperor, who was his ſponſor. Upon his departure, *Juſtinian* loaded him with rich preſents, committing to him the defence of the borders of the empire on that ſide, eſpecially of the city of *Boſporus*. *Gordas*, returning home, ordered the idols to be broken, and their temples demoliſhed, throughout his dominions; which enraged the ſuperſtitious populace to ſuch a degree, that, revolting from their prince, they ſeized him, put him to death, and raiſed his brother, named *Mugaris*, to the throne in his room. *Mugaris* was no ſooner proclaimed king, than he marched, with all his forces, againſt the city of *Boſporus*, and, having ſurpriſed it, put all the *Romans* he found there to the ſword. The emperor, being acquainted with what had happened, and greatly grieved for the death of his friend and ally, diſpatched one *John*, who had been conſul, at the head of a numerous army of *Scythians*, to recover the place, and take vengeance of the rebels; but, at his approach, they abandoned the city, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that the *Roman* general could never come up with them [t]. We ſhould more readily give credit to theſe remarkable events, were they vouched either by *Procopius* or *Agathias*; but the ſilence of theſe two writers makes us queſtion the truth of what the others relate. But the irruption, which happened in 539, the thirteenth of the emperor *Juſtinian*'s reign, is atteſted by *Procopius*. The *Hunns*, according to that writer, paſſing the *Danube* that year in great multitudes, laid waſte *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, and all the provinces from the *Ionian* ſea to the very ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*; nay, having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, they extended their ravages to *Aſia*, where they committed unheard-of cruelties; and thence croſ-

Gordas, king of the Hunns, embraces the chriſtian religion, and is put to death by his ſubjects.

The Hunns break into the empire. Year after Chriſt 539.

[s] THEOPH. p. 249. Author. miſcel. l. xvi. p. 461. [t] THEOPH. ibid. Miſcel. ibid. p. 462.

fing again into the *Cherſoneſus*, they returned home, loaded with an immenſe booty. In this irruption they took thirty-two caſtles in *Illyricum*, deſtroyed *Caſſandria*, and carried with them unmoleſted an hundred and twenty thouſand captives [u]. Being thus become anew formidable to the empire, *Juſtinian*, to keep them quiet, allowed them ſome lands in *Thrace*, and agreed to pay them an annual penſion, upon their promiſing to ſerve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Theſe were the *Cuturgurian Hunns*. As for the *Uturgurians*, who had joined them in this irruption, they retired, with their booty, to their own country bordering on the *Euxine* ſea; but, finding that too narrow for them, they drove out the *Goths*, by *Procopius* called *Detraxitæ*, who had ſettled in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their country. As they were at a great diſtance from the empire, they turned their arms againſt their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, endeavouring to enlarge their bounds on that ſide, without giving any further moleſtation to the *Romans*. But the *Cuturgurians*, notwithſtanding the penſion paid them yearly by the emperor, made ſeveral inroads into the neighbouring provinces, behaving like declared enemies, ſays *Procopius*, while they pretended to be friends and allies. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the *Uturgurians*, complaining to them of their countrymen, and offering to pay to them the penſion, which he allowed the *Cuturgurians*, provided they put a ſtop to the ravages of the latter, and engaged to make war upon them as often as they broke into the empire. The *Uturgurians*, encouraged with this offer, paſſing the *Tanais*, beyond which many of them dwelt, haſtened with long marches into the *Roman* territories, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Cuturgurians*, while buſied in plundering the provinces lying on the *Danube*, defeated them with great ſlaughter, obliged them to quit their booty, and drove them quite out of the empire [w]. However, a few years after, that is, in 558, the *Cuturgurian Hunns*, taking advantage of the froſt, paſſed the *Danube*, and, after having laid waſte great part of *Mæſia* and *Thrace*, divided their numerous forces into two bodies, one of them taking their route towards *Greece*, and the other marching for the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. The latter, under the conduct of one of their chiefs, named *Zamerga*, having paſſed the long wall, came, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of *Conſtantinople*, and laid waſte the whole country round it. But *Beliſarius*, though weakened with old age to ſuch a degree, that he was

Some lands allowed them in Thrace.

Juſtinian *ſtirs up the* Uturgurian *againſt the* Cuturgurian Hunns.

The Cuturgurian Hunns *break anew into* Thrace; *but are put to flight by* Beliſarius.

[u] Procop. bell. Perſ. c. 4. [w] Idem bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 4. Joan. Antioch. apud Aleman. p. 52. Agath. l. v p. 155.

ſcarce able to hold a ſhield, or brandiſh a ſword, marching out againſt them with a handful of men, fell upon them unawares, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them; but that brave commander being diſgraced upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, as we have related elſewhere [x], the barbarians, who were haſtening back to their own country, no ſooner heard, that he was no more to be employed againſt them, than they returned before the royal city, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they paſſed. But one *Germanus*, a youth of great expectation, putting himſelf at the head of the imperial troops, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. The victory had proved complete, had not young *Germanus*, by expoſing his perſon more than a prudent general would have done, received a dangerous wound, which prevented him from purſuing the fugitives. Soon after, that party, which had taken their route towards *Greece*, finding the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ* guarded by the natives, returned to *Thrace*, and there joined *Zamerga*, who, being thus reinforced, threatened to renew his ravages, and to put to death all the priſoners he had taken, unleſs a ſufficient ſum was ſent forthwith to redeem them. *Juſtinian*, not caring to provoke the barbarians, and at the ſame time pitying the condition of the unhappy captives, ſent a conſiderable ſum to *Zamerga*; who no ſooner received it, than he ſet the priſoners at liberty, and, putting a ſtop to all hoſtilities and depredations, returned beyond the *Danube*. In the mean time, the emperor privately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Sandilichus*, king of the *Uturgurian Hunns*, to whom he paid an annual penſion, acquainting him with the late inroads of the *Cuturgurians*, to whom, he ſaid, he had paid the ſum that was due to him, and was reſolved to do ſo for the future, unleſs he ſhewed himſelf, by a ſpeedy revenge, worthy of his friendſhip. Upon this meſſage, *Sandilichus*, highly incenſed againſt the *Cuturgurians*, broke into their territories at the head of a powerful army, and, falling upon *Zamerga* as he was returning from *Thrace*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged him to quit the rich booty, with which his army was loaded. This gave riſe to a bloody war between the two nations, which laſted many years, ſays *Agathias* [y], from whom we have borrowed this whole account, and ended at laſt in the ruin of both; for, being greatly weakened by their civil wars, they became a prey, ſays that writer, to other nations, inſomuch, that they loſt their very name, and were blended with the nations they

And by Germanus.

The emperor ſtirs up the Uturgurian Hunns *againſt them.*

[x] Hiſt. univerſ. vol. xvi. p. 186.

[y] Agath. l. v. p. 155.

ſerved. But the utter deſtruction of that people, continues our hiſtorian, happened afterwards, as ſhall be related by us, according to the order of time. With theſe words he cloſes the fifth book of his hiſtory, the laſt of thoſe that have reached us; ſo that for a further account of the affairs of the *Hunns*, we muſt have recourſe to more modern writers. Among theſe, *Venantius Fortunatus* tells us, that, in 560, a great body of *Hunns*, probably driven out of their own country by the neighbouring nations, took their route through *Germany*, with a deſign to paſs the *Rhine*, as *Attila* had formerly done, and ſettle in *Gaul*. In that country then reigned the four ſons of *Clotharius*, viz. *Cherebert* at *Paris*; *Chilperic* at *Soiſſons*; *Guntram* at *Orleans*; and *Sigebert* at *Mentz*. The latter was no ſooner informed of the motions of the *Hunns*, than, paſſing the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, he reſolved to meet them in *Thuringia*, which then belonged to him, and there give them battle. Accordingly the two armies met, and engaged on the banks of the *Elb* with incredible fury. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end *Sigebert*, who was a warlike prince, gained a complete victory over the barbarians, of whom he killed many thouſands, and obliged the reſt to return through by-ways into *Pannonia* [z].

They are defeated by Sigebert, *king of the* Franks. *Year after Chriſt* 560.

No farther mention is made of the *Hunns* by any credible hiſtorian, till the reign of *Charles the Great*, in whoſe time they were maſters of *Dacia*, now *Tranſylvania*, and *Valachia*; of *Upper Mœſia*, now *Servia*; and of the two *Pannonias*, viz. the *Upper*, containing the preſent provinces of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and the greater part of *Auſtria*; and the *Lower*, comprifing *Boſnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* that lies beyond the *Danube*. In the year 776, while *Charles* was in *Saxony*, two princes of the *Hunns*, *Caganus* and *Jugunus*, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring his friendſhip and alliance. *Charles* received them with extraordinary marks of honour, and readily complied with their requeſt. However, they entered, not long after, into an alliance with *Taſſilo* duke of *Bavaria*, who, revolting from *Charles*, raiſed great diſturbances in *Germany*. This *Charles* wiſely diſſembled, till he had utterly reduced *Bavaria*, when a miſunderſtanding ariſing between him and them about the borders of their reſpective territories, he reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity to be revenged on them for their ſending under-hand ſuccours to *Taſſilo*. Accordingly he ordered levies to be made throughout his dominions, and having by that means aſſembled a very numerous army, he divided it into two bodies, whereof one he committed to the

The Hunns maſters of Dacia, Mœſia, *and both* Pannonias.

[z] Venantius Fortunat. l. vii.

conduct

conduct of count *Theodoric*, and *Magnifrid*, his chamberlain, with orders to break into *Dacia*, while he himself, with the other, entered *Pannonia* by the way of *Bavaria*. The two armies laid waste the territories of the *Hunns* far and near, burnt their villages, and took several of their strong-holds, to which they had fled, not being able to keep the field against so powerful an enemy. Thus he continued ravaging the country, putting all to fire and sword, for the space of eight years, till that warlike nation was intirely subdued, and almost utterly extirpated. In one of these expeditions, *Henry* duke of *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, took the royal palace of the *Hunns*, called *Rhing*, in which he found an immense booty, great part whereof was, by *Charles*'s orders, sent to *Rome*, as a present to that see, or, as they term it, to St. *Peter* [a]. The intire reduction of the *Hunns* happened, according to the best chronologers, in the year of the christian æra 794. Some authors write, that, by this long war, the whole race of the antient *Hunns* was cut off; and that the country was afterwards peopled by the neighbouring nations, to whom the present *Hungarians* owe their origin. Of this opinion was the celebrated *Æneas Sylvius*, raised afterwards to the see of *Rome*. But the *Hungarian* writers maintain their nation to be descended from the antient *Hunns*, who, they say, were subdued, but not utterly extirpated, by the *Franks*. To confirm this, *Bonfinius* tells us, that in his time, a nation was, by some merchants, discovered on the banks of the *Tanais*, speaking the same language with that of the present *Hungarians*, and that *Matthias*, then king of *Hungary*, being assured by persons of credit, whom he himself had sent into those parts, that the report of the merchants was true, dispatched embassadors to the chiefs of that nation, intreating them to send a numerous colony into *Hungary*, at that time but thinly inhabited, by reason of the long war, in which great numbers of the natives had perished. The prince's request, says our author, has not yet been, but will be, we hope, one time, or other, complied with [b]. Others write, that, upon the death of *Attila*, the *Hunns* were quite driven out of *Pannonia*, and never returned till the year 744, when, under the conduct of one *Hungar*, a word signifying in their language *courageous* or *valiant*, they entered *Pannonia* anew, and settled in the antient seats of their forefathers, after having driven out those, who, coming from the neighbouring countries, had seized them, and held them for some ages. From *Hungar* they were called *Hungarians*, and the country no longer *Pannonia*,

They are intirely reduced by Charles the Great. Year of Christ 794.

Whether the present Hungarians are descended from the antient Hunns.

[a] AIMOINUS, l. iv. c. 86. [b] BONFIN rer. Ungar. dec. i. iii. p. 39

but

but *Hungary*. Thus *Ranzacus* [c]; but what he writes evidently contradicts all the antient historians, who, as we have seen in the course of this history, speak frequently of the irruptions of the *Hunns*, of their passing the *Danube*, and laying waste the *Roman* provinces, long after the death of *Attila* and his children. Besides, the inhabitants of *Pannonia* are, by the writers of those times, constantly styled *Hunns*, and no mention is made of any other nation dwelling in that country. As for the name of *Hungari*, most writers will have it to be compounded of *Hunni* and *Avares*, two names of one and the same nation [d]. But, on this subject, nothing can be offered, but what is founded on mere conjecture. And this is all we have been able to gather from the antients concerning the origin, migrations, government, manners, and wars, of the *Hunns*. As for the modern writers of the history of *Hungary*, their accounts of those antient times are, for the most part, evidently fabulous, quite groundless, or altogether improbable. We have therefore all along confined ourselves to the antient and original writers, who lived in or near the times, in which the things they relate were transacted, not thinking any thing related by the moderns, and not vouched by them, worthy of a place in our history.

[c] P. RANZAN. c. 6. p. 218. [d] Vide VALES. rer. Franc. l. ix. p. 153.

SECT. II.

The antient state and history of the Goths, *till the settling of the* Visigoths *in* Spain, *and the* Ostrogoths *in* Italy.

Scandinavia *the country of the* Goths.

THE *Goths*, a warlike nation, and, above all others, famous in the *Roman* history, came originally, according to *Jornandes* [a], out of *Scandinavia*, a country rightly styled by him *officina gentium*, and *vagina nationum*, on account of the incredible multitudes of people, that, issuing from thence in swarms, over-ran and stocked with inhabitants other, as well distant as neighbouring, countries. *Scandinavia*, comprising the present *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finmark*, was, by the antients, thought to be an island [b]; but it is now well known to be a peninsula. It is by *Pliny* called *Scandinavia* [c], or, as *Vossius* [d], and after him *Groncovius*, will have it, *Scandinovia*; by *Xenophon Lampsacenus*, *Baltia* [e]; by *Timæus*, *Basilea*;

[a] JORN. rer. Get. p 83. [b] PLIN. l. iv. c 13. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Voss. in c. 3. l. vi. POMP. MEL. [e] PLIN. ibid.

silea; and by *Pytheas*, sometimes *Basilea*, and sometimes *Abalus* [f]. The writers of the middle ages style it *Scanza*, *Scanzia*, *Scantia*, and *Scandia*; which names, as well as that of *Scandinavia*, some derive from the *German* or *Gothic* word *Scanzen*, signifying *castles*; for the first inhabitants, say they, turned the high and steep rocks, with which the country abounds, into castles; and hence came the word *Scandinavia*, that is, *a country filled with castles* [g]. Others will have the names *Scandinavia*, *Scanzia*, &c. to come from the word *Seekanten*, importing the *sea-coast* or *shore* [h]. As for the *Greek* word *Baltia*, it signifies *a breaking in of the sea*. What we call the *Baltic*, was known to *Tacitus* by the name of the *Suevian sea*; and to *Mela* and *Pliny* by that of the *Codan* gulf. The bay into which the *Vistula*, now the *Weissel*, empties itself, is called by *Ptolemy* the *Venedic* bay, no doubt from the neighbouring *Venedi*, the antient inhabitants of *Livonia*, *Lithuania*, and part of *Poland*. In antient times the *Vistula* was the boundary on the east between *Germany* and *Sarmatia*. In *Scandinavia Tacitus* places two different nations, the *Suiones* and the *Sittones*, of whom the former inhabited the present *Sweden*, and the latter *Norway*; for they were separated, according to *Tacitus*, by mount *Sevo*, now *Scagen*; which mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, parts *Norway* from *Sweden*. The *Suiones* were divided, according to *Ptolemy*, into the following tribes, *viz.* the *Chedini*, *Phavoni*, *Phiræsi*, *Dauciones*, *Hilleviones*, *Scritofinni* or *Scritobani*, mentioned also by *Procopius* [i], and the *Gutæ*. But these were either *Gothic* nations, or had settled in the country after the *Goths* were masters of it, it being certain, that, long before *Tacitus*'s time, *Scandinavia* was inhabited by the *Goths*, though not yet known to the *Romans* by that name; nay, the learned *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, and most of the northern writers, maintain with arguments, which have not yet been confuted, that the *Cimbrians*, *Getes*, and *Goths*, were one and the same nation; that *Scandinavia* was first peopled by them; and that from thence they sent colonies into the islands in the *Baltic*, the *Chersonesus*, and the adjacent places, yet destitute of inhabitants. The islands were called by them with one common name *Wetallaheedh*, signifying, in the *Gothic* language, *land surrounded on all sides with water*; but the *Romans*, after they became acquainted with the *Goths* under the name of *Cimbrians*, called them the *Cimbrian* islands; which

placed there by Tacitus *and* Ptolemy.

Scandinavia *first peopled by the* Goths, *and likewise the islands in the* Baltic, *&c.*

[f] Idem, l. xxvii. c. 11. [g] GROT. in præfat. ad script. Goth. p. 13, & seq. [h] PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. l. i. c. 4. p. 34. [i] PROCOP. rer. Goth. l. xi. c. 15.

appellation

appellation they gave likewiſe to the *Cherſoneſus*, now *Jutland*[k]. The time when the *Goths* firſt ſettled in *Scandinavia*, and the time when they firſt peopled with their colonies the iſlands, the *Cherſoneſus*, and the neighbouring places, are equally uncertain, though the *Gothic* annals ſuppoſe the latter to have happened under the conduct of king *Eric*, whom they make contemporary with *Saruch*, the great-grandfather of *Abraham*. But it is not at all probable, as *Sheringham* well obſerves, that *Scandinavia*, a country of no ſmall extent, ſhould, in the time of *Saruch*, who died ſoon after the confuſion of languages, abound with people, ſo as to ſend colonies into other countries[l]. Of this migration of the *Getes* or *Goths* from *Scandinavia* into the above-mentioned places, under the conduct of king *Eric*, mention is made in all the antient *Gothic* chronicles, and it is moreover vouched by the *Daniſh*, as well as the *Swediſh*, writers, who agree all in this, though they diſagree, as it generally happens between neighbouring and rival nations, in moſt other points. The *Danes* ingenuouſly confeſs, and confeſs it they muſt, unleſs they give the lye to their own chronicles, that their country was firſt peopled by the *Goths* of *Scandinavia*; that to them they owe their origin, and that *Dan*, the ſon of *Humelus*, king of the *Goths*, from whom their country was called *Dania*, and they *Dani*, was the founder of their kingdom[m]. This is agreeable to what we read in *Jornandes* and *Freculphus*, who tell us, that the *Danes* were the deſcendants of the *Oſtrogoths* dwelling in *Scanzia*[n]. The peopling of the iſlands in the *Baltic* ſea, of the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places on the continent, is called, by the northern writers, the firſt migration of the *Goths* or *Getes*.

The ſecond migration is related by *Jornandes*, and ſuppoſed to have happened ſeveral ages after the firſt, when the above-mentioned countries being overſtocked with people, *Berig*, at that time king of the *Goths*, went out with a fleet in queſt of new ſettlements, and landing in the country of the *Ulmerugians*, now *Pomerania*, drove out the antient inhabitants, and divided their lands amongſt his followers. He fell next upon the *Vandals*, whoſe country bordered on that of the *Ulmerugians*, overcame them, but, inſtead of forcing them, as he had done the *Ulmerugians*, from their antient ſeats, he only obliged them, probably becauſe they were of *Gothic* extraction, to ſhare their poſſeſſions with the new-comers[o].

They ſend a colony into Germany.

[k] Vide Grot. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. & Sheringh de Arg. gent orig. c. vii. p 143. [l] Idem ibid. p. 146, 147. [m] Vide Sheringh. ibid. p. 145, 146. [n] Freculph. tom. i. l. ii. c. 26. [o] Jorn. rer. Get l. iv.

The

THE *Goths*, who had ſettled in *Pomerania*, and the adjacent parts of *Germany*, being greatly increaſed, inſomuch, that the country could no longer maintain them, they went out in great numbers under *Filimer*, ſurnamed *the Great*, their fifth prince after their leaving *Scandinavia*, and, taking their route eaſtward, entered *Scythia*, advanced to the *Cimmerian Boſporus*, and, driving out the *Cimmerians*, ſettled in the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake. Thence, in proceſs of time, they ſent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæſia*, and laſtly into the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea, forcing everywhere the antient inhabitants to abandon their native ſeats. Thus *Jornandes* [p], and *Ablavius*, a celebrated writer among the *Goths*, who flouriſhed long before him. In the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic* lake, they had *Filimer* for their king, a warlike prince; in *Thrace*, *Mæſia* and *Dacia*, *Xamolxis*, a great philoſopher; and in the countries on the *Euxine* ſea, princes of the illuſtrious families of the *Balthi* and the *Amali*, the *Viſigoths* being ſubject to the former, and the *Oſtrogoths* to the latter [q]. In all theſe countries they were one and the ſame people, though ſubject to different princes, and known by different names. Thus, in *Cimmeria*, *Sarmatia*, *Scythia*, they were called *Cimmerians*, *Sarmatians*, *Scythians*; in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæſia*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, and *Mæſians*; and in the neighbourhood of the *Iſter* and the *Pontus*, *Iſtrians* and *Pontics*. As for the appellations of *Weſtrogoths*, ſoftened by the *Latins* into that of *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths*, they were diſtinguiſhed by theſe names, as *Grotius* ſhews from *Jornandes*, before they left *Scandinavia*, being called *Weſtrogoths* and *Oſtrogoths*, or *Weſtern* and *Eaſtern Goths*, from their ſituation there to the eaſt and weſt, the former inhabiting that part of *Scandinavia*, which borders on *Denmark*, and the latter the more eaſtern parts, lying on the *Baltic* [r]. What *Jornandes* writes of the various migrations and ſettlements of the *Goths*, is intirely agreeable to what we read in the antient *Greek* and *Latin* authors, concerning the various migrations and ſettlements of the *Getes* [s]. And truly, that the *Goths* and *Getes* were one aud the ſame people, is ſuppoſed by all the writers, who flouriſhed in or near the times, in which both empires were over-run by them. Theſe authors, without all doubt, well acquainted with their origin, call them ſometimes *Goths*, ſometimes *Getes*, and ſometimes *Scythians*; nay, ſeveral writers, namely *Oroſius* [t], who flouriſhed in the reign of *Arca-*

And into Scythia, Thrace, Mœſia, &c. &c.

Oſtrogoths *and* Viſigoths.

The Goths *and* Getes *one and the ſame nation.*

[p] Idem ibid. c. 4, & 5. [q] Idem ibid. [r] GROT. in proleg. &c. [s] Vide SHERINGH. c. 8. p. 156, 157. [t] OROS. l. vii. c. 4. p. 29.

dius and *Honorius*, when the *Goths* broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, St. *Jerom* [u], St. *Austin* [w], *Synesius* [x], *Photius* [y], *Capitolinus* [z], *Vopiscus* [a], *Spartian* [b], tell us in expres terms, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same nation; and that they had been long known to the *Romans*, and likewise to the *Greeks*, by the former name, but not by the latter, till their breaking into the empire. That this opinion was not, as some modern authors have been pleased to call it, a vulgar error, may be plainly proved; for in the first place, it is evident from all the antients, that the *Getes* inhabited that part of *Scythia*, which is by *Ptolemy* called *Asiatic Sarmatia*, and comprises the *Taurica Chersonesus*, with the countries lying between the *Tanais*, the *Mæotic* lake, and the *Euxine* sea. On the other hand, it is no less evident from all the writers, who speak of the *Goths*, that, from those very countries, they broke into the empire. Since therefore the *Goths* dwelt in the countries, where all the antients place the *Getes*, we cannot help concluding from thence, that they were one and the same people, though known by different names. *Ptolemy*, who lived in the time of the emperor *Antoninus*, mentions no *Goths* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, or *Pannonia*; and nevertheless, scarce was half a century passed, when the *Goths*, coming in swarms from those very countries, over-ran great part of the empire. These *Goths* therefore, if we will not allow them to have dropt all on a sudden from the clouds, must have been the very people, who are by *Ptolemy* called *Getes*, *Pontics*, *Istrians*, *Trapezites*, *Gelonians*, and *Sauromatæ*, and were soon after known to the *Romans* by the common name of *Goths*. Were all those nations utterly destroyed, and their seats seized by the *Goths*? Of this general slaughter no mention is made by any historian; and we cannot persuade ourselves, that, if it happened, the writers of those times, who speak of the *Goths*, would have passed over in silence such a memorable event. *Cluverius*, who will have the *Getes* and *Goths* to be two different nations, believes, or at least would make us believe, that they dwelt together in the same countries. But is it at all probable, that two nations, obeying different princes, should live peaceably together in the same country, in the same cities, and within the same walls? How came the *Getes* to be so early known to the *Romans*, and the *Goths*, living among them, utterly unknown till their breaking into the empire? It

They inhabited the same country.

[u] HIER. de fide, l. ii. c. 4. & tradit. Hebr. in Gen. [w] AUG. de civit Dei, l. xx. c. 10. [x] SYNES. orat. de regno. [y] PHOT. in epit. Philostor. [z] CAPITOL. in Maximo. [a] VOPISC. in Prob. [b] SPART. in Carac.

seems

ſeems to us a paradox that the *Romans*, who were conſtantly at war with thoſe nations, and had both colonies and gariſons among them, ſhould be well acquainted with the *Getes*, and utterly unacquainted with the *Goths*, a warlike and numerous nation, inhabiting the ſame countries. Beſides, *Mela* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Thrace*, the banks of the *Tanais*, *Sarmatia*, and the countries lying eaſt of the *Mæotic* lake, were inhabited by one and the ſame people, though known by different names [c]; and *Strabo*, that the *Iſtrians*, *Dacians*, *Mæſians*, and *Thracians*, ſpoke the ſame language, and conſequently were the ſame people [d]. To theſe we may add *Procopius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, of whom the former writes, that there were ſeveral nations of the *Goths*, ſome being called by the antients *Sauromatæ*, others *Melanclæni*, and ſome *Getes*; but that theſe nations differed only in name [e]; and the latter, ſpeaking of the *Goths*, ſays, that they inhabited *Thrace*, *Mæſia*, and *Dacia*, and were ſprung from the fierce nations, that dwelt before in thoſe countries, that is, from the *Getes* [f]. That the *Getes* and *Goths* were one people, and not two different nations living in the ſame country, as *Cluverius* would have it, may be further confirmed by the great conformity of their laws, manners, and inſtitutions; for, if we compare the accounts, which the antients give us of the manners of the *Getes*, we ſhall find them intirely agreeable to thoſe of the more modern writers deſcribing the cuſtoms and manners of the *Goths* [g]. Their language was likewiſe the ſame, the *Gothic* being ſpoken by the *Getes* and *Thiſſagetes* in *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Pontus*, &c. as *Grotius* [h], and after him *Sheringham* [i], have ſhewn; nay, *Buſbequius* aſſures us, that, in his time, the *Gothic* language was ſtill ſpoken, though with ſome variation in the dialect, by the *Tartars* of *Precop* [k]; and *Joſaphat Barbarus*, a nobleman of *Venice*, who lived among them, that they not only ſpeak the antient *Gothic* language, but call themſelves *Goths*, and their country *Gothia* [l]. *Scaliger* adds, that the chriſtian *Tartars* of *Precop* ſtill have the ſcripture written with the ſame characters, that were invented by *Wulphilas*, the firſt biſhop of the *Goths*, and that they read it in the very language they ſpoke in the time of *Ovid* [m]. This is agreeable to what we read in *Lucian* and *Procopius*, of whom the former tells us, that the language of the *Alans*, who were, without all doubt, a *Gothic* nation, was common to all the

Agreed in manners, laws, &c.

Same language.

[c] Mel. de cit. orb l. ii. c 2 [d] STRAB l. i. c 20. [e] PROCOP. Vandal. l. i, [f] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. [g] Vide SHERING. c. 10. p. 197. [h] GROT. in præfat. ad PROCOP. [i] SHERING. c. 11. p. 198. [k] BUSBEQ. epiſt. ix. p. 244, 245. [l] GROT. in præfat. ad Procop. [m] SCALIG. Iſagog. l. iii. p 138

Scythians; and the latter, that the *Sauromatæ* and the *Melanclæni*, by moſt writers called *Getes*, were *Gothic* nations, and ſpoke the language of the *Goths* [n]. Of the antient language of the *Getes* only the names of a few kings have reached us, and theſe *Boxhornius* ſhews to be all *Gothic* [o].

The migration of the Goths *under* Woden.

THE *Goths*, being in proceſs of time greatly increaſed in *Scythia*, reſolved to ſeek new ſettlements; and accordingly, taking their route eaſtward, and travelling through ſeveral countries, they returned at length into *Germany*. Their leader, in this migration, was the celebrated *Woden*, called alſo *Voden*, *Oden*, *Othen*, *Godan*, and *Guodan*. Of this *Woden* many ſtrange and wonderful things are related in the *Sueo-Gothic* chronicles. He was king of the *Aſgardians*, whom the northern writers will have to be the ſame people with the *Aſpurgians*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. They were called *Aſpurgians* from the city of *Aſpurgia*, placed by *Strabo* near the *Boſporus Cimmerius* [p]; and in the ſame place ſtood, according to the northern writers, the city of *Aſgardia*: and truly that theſe were but two different names of one and the ſame city, is highly probable, the word *gard* ſignifying, in the *Gothic* language, the ſame thing as *purgos* in the *Greek*, viz. a *fortreſs* or *caſtle*. *Aſpurgia* was the metropolis of a province, which *Strabo* calls *Aſia*; and *Woden* and his followers are ſtyled by the antient *Gothic* writers *Aſæ*, *Aſiani*, and *Aſiotæ*. The kings of *Aſpurgia* were maſters of all that part of *Scythia*, that lay weſt of mount *Imaus*, and was by the *Latins* called *Scythia intra Imaum*, or *Scythia within mount Imaus*. In this large tract of ground are placed by *Ptolemy* three different nations, the *Auſones*, the *Syebi*, and the *Iotæ*; but they are all blended by *Strabo* under the common name of *Aſpurgians*. Of this *Aſpurgia*, or *Aſgardia*, *Woden* was king, who, committing the government of the kingdom to his two brothers, *Ve* and *Velir*, went out, with incredible multitudes of his people, in queſt of new ſettlements, foreſeeing by his magic, ſay ſome antient chronicles, in which art he excelled all men, that he, and his poſterity, ſhould reign for many ages in the northern parts of the world. He firſt entered *Riiſland*, and having, with great ſucceſs and expedition, obliged the inhabitants to ſubmit, he appointed his ſon *Bo* to reign over them. *Riiſland*, called by the *Latins Roxalania* and *Ruſſia*, extended from the mouth of the *Viſtula* to the *Palus Mæotis*, the banks of the *Tanais*, and the *Riphæan* mountains, and compriſed *Pruſſia*, *Livonia*, and great part of *Muſcovy*. From *Riiſland* he went by ſea into the north parts of *Germany*, and, landing in *Saxony*, he reduced that country,

Woden *king of* Aſgardia.

He reduces Roxalania.

Saxony.

[n] Procop hiſt. Vand. l. i. [o] Boxhorn. hiſt. univerſ. ad ann. 201. [p] Strab. l. xi.

and

and divided it amongſt his children, appointing *Vegdegg* king of *Eaſt Saxony*, *Begdegg* of *Weſtphalia*, and *Sigg* of *Francenia*. *Johannes Martinus*, *Wittekindus*, *Cranzius*, and all the *Saxon* writers, aſſure us, that, time out of mind, a tradition has univerſally obtained among the *Saxons*, that their anceſtors came firſt by ſea into thoſe countries. From *Saxony*, *Woden* paſſed into *Reidogothland*, now *Jutland*, which he likewiſe ſubdued, and gave to his ſon *Skiold*, from whom deſcended the kings of *Denmark*, thence called *Skiolldungar*, that is, *the poſterity of* Skiold. Leaving *Jutland*, after he had ſettled his ſon there, he advanced into *Suithiod*, now *Sweden*, where he was kindly received by *Gylfus* or *Gylvo*, king of the country, and, being allowed to ſettle there with his followers, he built the city of *Sigtunum*, where he reigned to his death, and became ſo famous, that his name reached all countries, and he was, by the northern nations, ranked among the gods, and worſhipped with divine honours. He is ſuppoſed to have brought with him out of *Aſia* the *Runic* characters, and to have taught the northern nations the art of poetry; whence he is ſtyled the father of the *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, who were their poets, and deſcribed in verſe the exploits of the great men of their nation, as the bards did thoſe of the *Gauls* and *Britons*. They were called *Scaldi* or *Scaldri*, according to *Loccenius* [q], from the ſound *ſkal*, often heard in their verſes and poems. The dialect, in which they wrote, was called *Aſamal*, that is, the *Aſiatic dialect*, becauſe brought by *Woden* out of *Aſia*. As for the *Runic* letters, the *Goths* uſed them in all their ſpells and inchantments, to which they were greatly addicted; whence after embracing the chriſtian religion, out of a blind and indiſcreet zeal, they deſtroyed ſeveral antient monuments, and burnt a great number of books, becauſe written with thoſe characters. At length, in the year 1001, the *Runic* characters were quite laid aſide in *Sweden*, and the *Roman* letters taken in their room. The *Swedes* being perſuaded thereunto by the pope, and by *Sigfrig*, a *Britiſh* biſhop [r]. In *Spain* they were forbidden in 1136, by *Alphonſo* king of *Caſtile* and *Navar*, and condemned by the council of *Toledo* in 1115 [s]. They were called *Runic* letters, according to ſome, from the *Gothic* word *Ryn* or *Ren*, ſignifying *a furrow*; according to others, from *Ryne*, ſignifying *art*, eſpecially that of magic [t]. One *Fimbul*, *Fimbultyr*, or *Fimbulthular*, is ſuppoſed to have invented theſe characters [u]. *Wulphilas*, the firſt biſhop of the *Goths*, invented other characters, which he made

And Jutland.

Settles in Sweden.

The Runic *characters.*

[q] LOCCEN. antiq. Sueogoth. c. 15. [r] Idem ibid. c. 14. [s] WORMIUS lit. Run. c. 23. [t] Idem ibid c. 1. [u] Vide WORM. ibid. c. 20 & SHERINGH c. 13. p. 286. & c. 8. p. 172.

uſe

uſe of in tranſlating the ſcripture into the *Gothic* tongue. But to return to *Woden*:

That the *Goths*, under his conduct, came out of *Scythia* into the north parts of *Germany*, is a received opinion among the northern writers, and confirmed by an immemorial tradition, by all the antient chronicles of thoſe countries, and by a great many monuments and inſcriptions in *Runic* characters, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *neighbouring iſlands*: and truly that there were ſuch migrations, can hardly be queſtioned, ſince we find the ſame names common to the inhabitants of *Scandia* and *Aſiatic Scythia*, and likewiſe the ſame language, as *Grotius*, and after him *Sheringham*, has ſhewn [w]; nay, the antient language of the *Goths* is ſpoken at this very day by the *Tartars* of *Precop*, as we have obſerved above; ſo that, upon the whole, we may conclude the *Scandian Goths* and the *Aſiatic Scythians* to have had one and the ſame original. As to *Woden*, there was, without all doubt, a famous hero of this name, who became wonderfully revered by all the northern nations; but we will not take upon us to vouch the ſtrange things that are related of him in the *Suegothic* and *Sacogothic* chronicles. Some writers ſuppoſe the migration of the *Scythian Goths* into the north parts of *Germany*, under the conduct of *Woden*, to have happened about twenty-four years before the birth of Chriſt; for at that time, ſay they, *Pompey* laid waſte *Syria* and great part of *Aſia*; and it is not improbable, that the *Scythians*, flying from him, went out in queſt of new ſettlements. But *Sciold*, who was by his father *Woden* appointed king of *Reidogothland*, or *Jutland*, as we have related above, lived, according to the *Daniſh* chronology, about a thouſand years before *Pompey*; ſo that, according to this account, *Woden* muſt have been more antient than *Homer*. On the other hand, how can this be reconciled with the genealogies of our *Saxon* kings, the founders of the heptarchy, who all derived their pedigree from *Woden*. *Hengiſt*, the firſt that came into *Britain*, did not arrive in this iſland till the year 449, of the chriſtian æra, and nevertheleſs he is ſaid to have been the *abnepos* or great-grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cerdic*, the founder of the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the tenth by deſcent from him. To reconcile theſe ſeeming contradictions, ſome authors are of opinion, and their opinion does not at all ſeem to us improbable, that ſeveral perſons or great men bore the name of *Woden*, and what was done by all, was aſcribed to one, in the ſame manner as it happened among the *Greeks* with reſpect to *Hercules*. Be that as it will, the deſcendants

Woden.

[w] Sheringh ubi ſup c. 11. p. 198.

of

of the *Scythians*, or *Asiatic Goths*, who, under the conduct of *Woden*, settled in the north parts of *Germany*, were first known to the *Romans* by the name of *Cimbrians*, derived, according to the opinion, which seems to us the best grounded, from the *Gothic* word *Kimber*, signifying *valiant*. The *Cimbrians* held antiently the islands in the *Baltic* sea, the *Chersonesus*, and the neighbouring countries, and by degrees extended their conquests along the *German* ocean to both the mouths of the *Rhine*. The inland countries in that tract were likewise inhabited by them; but, in the different countries where they dwelt, they were distinguished by different names, some of them being called *Saxons*, others *Suevians*; some *Angles*, *Sicambrians*, *Jutes*, &c. but, by the *Romans*, they were all blended under the common name of *Cimbrians*, till the *Saxons*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the north part of the *Chersonesus*, became known to them by their conquests, and then the name of *Cimbrians* was quite laid aside, and that of *Saxons* used by the *Latin* writers in its room, which they gave likewise to the nations the *Saxons* had subdued, calling *Saxony* that part of *Germany*, which lies between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*, and had been reduced by them. Thus far of the migrations of the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the neighbouring islands and continent, thence into *Germany*, from *Germany* into *Asia*, and from *Asia* back again into *Germany*. These migrations the northern writers endeavour to make out against *Verstegan* and *Cluverius*, who will have *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, not to have been inhabited, till *Germany* so abounded with people, that they were obliged to remove into those countries, which they had not chosen to settle in at first, on account of the greater cold and barrenness of the soil. To confute this opinion, which derives the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, the above-mentioned writers, especially *Grotius*, who outshines all the rest, prove *Scythia* to have been peopled before any other of the northern countries had inhabitants. The antients indeed went farther; for they supposed, as appears from the epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius* [x], that all the other parts of the world, continued quite destitute of inhabitants, till *Scythia*, no longer able to support such multitudes, sent out numerous colonies to people them. To maintain this, would perhaps be overshooting the mark; but that *Scythia* was peopled before any of the northern countries, is highly probable, since, of all the northern countries, it lay the nearest to *Babylon*, and the only way to them by land was through *Scythia*. Several eminent writers, and among the rest *Luther*, *Goropius Becanus*, and sir *Walter Raleigh*, are of opinion, that the ark, on the subsiding

The Cimbrians *descended from the* Asiatic Goths.

And likewise the Saxons.

Scandinavia *peopled before* Germany.

[x] JUSTIN. l 2.

of

of the waters, reſted on the *Imaon* mountains in *Scythia*; others ſay on the *Gordiæan* mountains, at a ſmall diſtance from *Scythia*, and conſequently that *Scythia* muſt have been peopled, when the other northern countries ſtill continued uninhabited. Now, as the way was much ſhorter from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*, than into *Germany*, and lay in a direct line, it is more natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe, who were ſeeking places to ſettle in, went ſtraight into *Scandinavia*, than by much longer and round-about ways through *Sarmatia* into *Germany*; nay, as *Sarmatia* and *Scandinavia* were near *Scythia*, and the ways leading to them not obſtructed, it would not be abſurd to ſuppoſe them to have been overſtocked with people, while not only *Germany*, but all the other countries of *Europe*, were quite deſtitute of inhabitants, as being ſeparated from *Aſia* by the *Mediterranean* ſea, the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and the *Palus Mæotis*, unſurmountable obſtructions, till the art of navigation was found out, which happened many ages after the confuſion of languages. Then, and not till then, the inhabitants of *Scandinavia* paſſed into the neighbouring iſlands and places lying over-againſt them on the continent, till that period uninhabited. From thence, in proceſs of time, they ſent colonies into *Germany*, who, driving out the antient inhabitants, ſettled in their country, as we have related above. To prove the migrations of the *Goths* out of *Scandinavia* into the iſlands in the *Baltic* ſea, the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places in *Germany*, ſeveral antient monuments and inſcriptions in *Runic* characters on ſtones and rocks are alledged by the northern writers, namely by *Zeilerus* [y], *Bureus* [z], *Suaningius* [a], and *Wormius* [b], in whoſe times many of them were ſtill extant, mentioning their leaving *Scandinavia*, and their ſettling in the places we have ſpoken of above, with the names of ſome of their leaders. Beſides theſe antient monuments and inſcriptions, the northern writers endeavour to make it appear by other arguments, that the *Goths* came originally out of *Scandinavia* into *Germany*, and not out of *Germany* into *Scandinavia*, as *Verſtegan* would have it. Their arguments are, 1. That the *Scandian Goths* were not ſubject to the *Germans*; but, on the contrary, the firſt inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places, to the *Scandian Goths*; which proves them to have been a colony. 2. It is hardly credible, ſay they, that the *Germans* ſhould chuſe to ſettle in *Norway* and *Sweden*, when they might have ſettled in a far more friendly climate and fruitful ſoil, by only croſſing

The iſlands in the Baltic, the Cherſoneſus, &c. peopled by Scandian Goths.

[y] Zeil. in deſcript. Sueciæ. [z] Bur. in orb. Arctoi. deſcript. [a] Suan. in chronol. Danicæ, ad ann mund 2264. [b] Worm. in Gothlandicis. l. v.

the

the *Rhine* on one ſide, or the *Danube* on the other. They add, that no mention is made in hiſtory of any colonies ſent out of *Germany* into *Scandinavia*; whereas we read of many coming out of *Scandinavia* to ſettle in *Germany*. Among theſe are reckoned by *Freculphus* [c] the *Franks*, by *Grotius* the *Vandals* and *Lombards* [d], and by *Lazius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* [e] the *Marcomanns*. 3. Polygamy was not allowed among the *Germans*, as appears from *Tacitus* [f]; whereas thoſe among the *Goths*, who had but four or five wives, were thought to live in a ſtate of celibacy. It is therefore far more probable, that the *Goths* ſhould increaſe ſo as to people other countries with their colonies, than the *Germans*; and accordingly all the antients ſpeak of the *Goths* iſſuing in ſwarms out of *Scandinavia*, which is therefore ſtyled by *Jornandes*, as we have obſerved above, *officina gentium*, and *vagina nationum*. We may further add, that all the other *Gothic* nations owned themſelves deſcended from thoſe of *Scandinavia*, as we find atteſted by *Ablavius*, an antient *Gothic* writer, by *Roderichus Toletanus*, and by *Jornandes*. Theſe are the arguments urged by the northern writers againſt *Verſtegan* and *Cluverius*, whoſe opinion, deriving the origin of the *Goths* from *Germany*, ſeemed ſo abſurd to *Grotius*, that he could ſcarce forbear reviling thoſe, who maintained it, eſpecially *Cluverius*, whom he taxes with introducing new opinions, in defiance to the moſt authentic writers, and ſupporting, without the leaſt regard to truth, what he thought would be beſt reliſhed by his countrymen [g]. Thus far of the origin of the *Goths* from the beſt antient as well as modern writers.

The cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the Goths.

As for the manners of the *Goths*, they were famous for their hoſpitality and kindneſs to ſtrangers, even before they embraced the chriſtian religion; nay, from their being eminently good, they were called by the neighbouring nations *Goths*, that name being, according to *Grotius* and moſt other writers, derived from the *German* word *Goten*, ſignifying *good* [h]. They encouraged, ſays *Dion*, the ſtudy of philoſophy, above all other barbarous or foreign nations, and often choſe their kings from among their philoſophers. Polygamy was not only allowed, but countenanced, among them, every one being valued and reſpected, according to the number of their wives [i]. By ſo many wives they had an incredible number of children, of whom they kept but one at home, ſending out the reſt, when come

[c] FRECUL. P. l. ii. c 17. [d] GROT. in proleg. in Procop. [e] Vide GOLDAST. Alan. antiq tom ii. part. 1. [f] TACIT. de morib. German. [g] GROT. in proleg. ad Procop. [h] Idem ibid. [i] ADAM BREMEN. in Sueogoth.

to man's eſtate, in queſt of new ſettlements [k]; and hence thoſe ſwarms of people, that over-ran ſo many countries. With them adultery was a capital crime, and irremiſſibly puniſhed with death [l]. This ſeverity, and likewiſe polygamy, prevailed among them, when they were known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* only by the name of *Getes*, as appears from the poet *Menander*, who was himſelf a *Gete* [m], and from *Horace* [n], who beſtows great encomiums on the virtue and chaſtity of their women. As for their laws, they do not fall much ſhort of thoſe of the antient *Romans*, as will appear when we come to ſpeak of the *Alaric* code, and the laws of the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, and the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*. Their government was monarchical; for, as we have obſerved above out of *Jornandes*, in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, they had *Filimer* for king; in *Dacia*, *Mæſia*, and *Thrace*, *Xamolxes*; and in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the *Euxine* ſea, princes ſprung from the illuſtrious families of the *Amali* and the *Balthi*. Of the latter *Jornandes* gives us the following ſeries, *viz.* *Gaptus*, *Hulmul*, *Auges*, *Amalus*, *Iſarna*, *Oſtrogotha*, *Cniva*, *Araric*, *Auric*, *Giberic*, *Hermanaric*. To theſe princes were ſubject both the *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths*. The former inhabited the country lying between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Tanais*, and were afterwards allowed by the *Roman* emperors to ſettle in *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*. The latter dwelt between the *Danube* and the *Boryſthenes*, and, in the reign of *Honorius*, after having over-run *Italy*, ſettled in *Gaul*, as we ſhall relate anon. Upon the death of *Hermanaric*, the *Viſigoths* were driven out of their native country by the *Hunns*, and were admittted by the emperor *Valens* within the *Roman* dominions. *Theodoſius* allowed them lands in *Thrace*, whence, in the reign of *Honorius*, they broke into *Italy*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*, who took and plundered *Rome*. *Alaric* was ſucceeded by *Ataulphus*, who founded the kingdom of the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, and *Ataulphus* by the following princes of the family of the *Balthi*, viz. *Sigeric* or *Rigeric*, *Wallia*, *Theodoric*, *Thoriſmund*, *Theodoric* II. *Theodoric* III. *Euric*, *Alaric*, *Geſalaich*, *Amalaric*, *Theudis*, *Theudiſelus*, *Athanagild*, *Liuva*, *Leunigild*, *Ermenigild*, *Ricared*, *Liuva* II. *Witteric*, *Gundemar*, *Siſebatus*, *Reccared*, *Sainthila*, *Rechimir*, *Siſenand*, *Chintila*, *Tulga*, *Chindaſuinthus*, *Receſuinthus*, *Wamba*, *Ernigius*, *Egica*, *Witiza*, and *Roderic*. Moſt of theſe princes were not only maſters of *Narbonne* and *Aquitain*, but likewiſe of *Spain*, which they held till they were

Series of their kings.

Kings of the Viſigoths in Gaul and Spain.

[k] Idem ibid. & WALSINGHAM, in hypodig. Neuſtr [l] ADAM. BREMENS. ibid. [m] MENAND. apud Strab. l. vii. [n] HORAT. l. iii. od. 24.

driven

driven out of both, and their nation almoſt utterly extirpated, by the *Arabs*, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place.

THE *Viſigoths*, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, as we have related above, the *Oſtrogoths* continued, after their departure, in the ſame ſeats, but ſubject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheleſs allowed them to be governed by their own kings of the houſe of the *Amali*. Theſe were *Winithar*, *Hunnimund*, *Thoriſmund*, *Wandalar*, nephew to *Hermanaric* by his brother, and the three ſons of *Wandalar*, viz. *Walamir*, *Theodemir*, and *Widemir*, who were all ſubject to *Attila*; but, upon that prince's death, they were allowed by the *Romans* to ſettle in *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*. *Theodemir* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodoric*, who, having overcome *Odoacer*, made himſelf maſter of *Italy*, and was acknowledged king of that country. His ſucceſſors in that kingdom were, *Athalaric*, *Theodotus*, *Vitiges*, *Ildebald*, *Eraric*, *Totila*, and *Teia*, the laſt king of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy* [o]. As to the religion of the *Goths*, it ſeems to have been the ſame with that of the antient inhabitants of *Scandinavia* and *Saxony*, of which we have ſpoken above [p], and ſhall ſpeak more at length in the hiſtory of the northern kingdoms. *Apollinaris Sidonius* deſcribes their dreſs thus: They are ſhod, ſays he, with high ſhoes made of hair, and reaching up to their ankles; their knees, thighs, and legs are without any covering; their garments of various colours, ſcarce reaching to the knee; their ſleeves only cover the tops of their arms; they wear green caſſocks, with a red border, their belts hang on their ſhoulders; their ears are covered with twiſted locks; they uſe hooked lances, and miſſile hatchets [q].

The religion of the Goths.

As to the antient hiſtory of the *Goths*, *Jornandes*, ſuppoſing them to be one and the ſame people with the *Scythians*, *Getes*, *Sarmatians*, and *Sauromatæ*, aſcribes to them all the exploits, that are ſaid by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers to have been performed by thoſe nations, eſpecially by the *Scythians*. But of that warlike nation, and their migrations into *Europe*, under the names of *Cimmerians*, *Celtes*, *Gauls*, &c. we have ſpoken elſewhere, and therefore ſhall confine ourſelves here to the hiſtory of the *Goths*, from the time they became generally known by that appellation. The firſt *Roman* writer, that mentions the *Goths*, is *Spartian*, who, in the life of *Caracalla*, tells us, that he overcame in ſome encounters the *Getes*, who,

[o] Vide JORN. c. 30. AGATH. l. i. & GROT. proleg. in hiſt. Goth.
[p] See before, p. 301.
[q] APOLL. SIDON. l. i. ep. 7 p. 30.

says he, were the same people with the *Goths* [r]. The same author writes elsewhere [s], that *Maximin*, afterwards emperor, upon the death of *Caracalla*, quitted the service, and, retiring into *Thrace*, kept up from thence a friendly correspondence with the *Goths*. His father, named *Micea* or *Micca*, was by nation a *Goth*, and his mother *Ababa* or *Abala*, an *Alan* [t]. Hence *Vorburgus* concludes the *Goths* to have been masters of the countries bordering on *Thrace* before *Maximin* was born, that is, before the year 177 [u]. *Caracalla* was the first *Roman* emperor that quarrelled with the *Goths*, and the advantages he gained over them were, it seems, very inconsiderable; for, according to *Spartian* [w], he overcame them only in a few skirmishes. This must have happened about the year 215, the fifth of *Caracalla*'s reign; for about that time he marched from *Germany* into *Dacia* [x], and the *Goths* held then, according to *Grotius* [y], part of that province. The *Romans* began very early to dread the power of that warlike nation; for even in the reign of *Alexander*, which began in 222, considerable sums were annually sent them from *Rome* to keep them quiet, and prevent them from disturbing the peace of the empire. Thus *Petrus* the patrician, who adds, that the *Carpi*, dwelling in *Sarmatia* towards the present *Poland*, demanded the same sums, that were paid yearly to the *Goths*; but their request was rejected by *Menophilus*, whom that writer styles duke of *Mœsia*, that is, general of the troops quartered in that province [z]. The *Goths*, notwithstanding the large sums sent them yearly by the *Roman* emperors, hearing of the death of the emperor *Maximin*, who was of *Gothic* extraction, as we have hinted above, and had been murdered by his own soldiers, resolved to revenge it; and accordingly, breaking into *Mœsia*, laid waste that province, and utterly destroyed the city of *Istria* or *Istriopolis*, on the most southern mouth of the *Danube* [a]. *Balbinus*, who, with *Maximus*, had succeeded *Maximinus*, resolved to march against them, but was in the mean time murdered, with his collegue, by the mutinous soldiery; so that the *Goths*, loaded with booty, retired beyond the *Danube* unmolested [b]. Not long after, they made themselves masters of *Thrace*; but were driven from thence beyond the *Danube* by the emperor *Gordian* about the year 242, the fifth of that prince's reign [c].

Caracalla the first Roman emperor that quarrels with the Goths. Year after Christ 215

The Goths receive an annual pension from the Romans.

They ravage Mœsia Year after Christ 238.

[r] SPART. in Caracal. p. 89. [s] Idem in Maximin. p. 130. [t] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 15. p. 631. [u] VORBURG. hist. Rom. Germanic. p. 419. [w] SPART. ubi supra. [x] ONUPH. p. 252. CUSP. p. 371. DIO. l. lxxiii. lxxix. p. 838, 910. [y] GROT. rer. Goth. p. 19, 41. [z] PET. PATRIC. legat. excerp. p. 24. [a] CAPITOL. in vit. Maximin. p. 171. BAUDR. p. 392. [b] CAPITOL. ibid. [c] Gord. vit. p. 162. ONUPH. p. 250.

But

But *Gordian* dying, and *Philip*, who ſucceeded him, refuſing to pay them their annual penſion, they paſſed the *Danube*, and, entering *Thrace*, committed dreadful ravages in that province, as well as in *Mæſia*. *Philip* diſpatched againſt them the ſenator *Decius*, who was afterwards emperor; but he, not thinking it adviſeable to engage them, returned to *Rome*, after having diſcharged with diſgrace the troops, that had ſuffered them to paſs the *Danube*. Theſe went over in a body to the enemy, commanded at that time by their king *Oſtrogotha*, the grandſon of *Amalus*, who received them kindly, and, being thus reinforced, laid ſiege to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Mæſia*; but, not being able to reduce it, he abandoned the undertaking for a large ſum ſent him by the inhabitants, who were glad thus to compound with him, and redeem themſelves from the calamities attending long ſieges. *Oſtrogotha* was ſcarce returned to his own country, when *Faſtida*, king of the *Gepidæ*, elated with the ſucceſs, that had attended his arms againſt the *Burgundians*, whom he had almoſt utterly deſtroyed, ſent him the following haughty meſſage, *viz.* That the *Gepidæ*, being ſtraightened for want of room, he muſt either allow them lands, or prepare for war. *Oſtrogotha* anſwered, That he ſhould be ſorry to engage in a war with the *Gepidæ* his kinſmen (for they were a *Gothic* nation); but was determined to part with no lands. Hereupon both nations took the field, and a bloody battle enſued, in which the *Gepidæ* were defeated with great ſlaughter; but *Oſtrogotha*, contenting himſelf with the victory, ſuffered the *Gepidæ* to retire, and live in their own country unmoleſted [c].

Oſtrogotha *ravages* Thrace *and* Mœſia. *Year after* Chriſt 245.

Oſtrogotha was ſucceeded by *Cniva*, who, breaking into *Mæſia*, was defeated with the loſs of thirty thouſand men, by *Decius*, the eldeſt ſon of the emperor of that name, whom, in the end, he overcame, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into the neighbouring provinces. Having now no enemy to oppoſe him, he made himſelf maſter of *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thouſand ſouls, ſays *Ammianus* [d], to the ſword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waſte great part of *Macedon* [e]. Hereupon the emperor *Decius*, ſetting out from *Rome*, haſtened into *Pannonia*; and, putting himſelf at the head of his army, he overcame the *Goths* in ſeveral engagements, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions [f]. But they returned ſoon after with a numerous army, headed by their king *Cniva*; which obliged *Decius* to take the field a ſecond time, when he was attended, at firſt, with the ſame good

He overcomes the Gepidæ.

Cniva, *firſt defeated by the* Romans, *gains great advantages over them.*

[c] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 433—436. [d] AMMIAN. l. xxxi p. 44 [illegible], [e] JORN. ibid. c. 18. p 636, 637. [f] ZOS. l. i. p. 644.

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, as he had been in their former irruption; for he reduced them to ſuch ſtraights, that they offered to ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, provided he would ſuffer them to retire unmoleſted. But the emperor, who had ſent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat, thinking he had it now in his power to rid the empire of ſo troubleſome an enemy, inſtead of hearkening to their propoſals, marched with all his forces againſt them. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at ſtake, received him with great intrepidity, and, fighting like men in deſpair, gained a complete victory. In the battle fell firſt *Decius*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, and then the emperor himſelf, upon whoſe death the *Goths* made a dreadful havock of the diſheartened army [g]. We only touch upon theſe events here, having related them at length elſewhere [h]. *Decius* being killed, *Gallus* was by the ſoldiery proclaimed emperor in his room; but he, inſtead of revenging the death of the late emperor, and the overthrow of the army, concluded a peace with the *Goths*, ſuffering them to retire unmoleſted with all their booty, and the priſoners they had taken at *Philippopolis*, and elſewhere; nay, he engaged to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country [i]. However, three years after, that is in 253, they entered the *Roman* territories in an hoſtile manner, probably becauſe their penſion was not paid them. But *Æmilianus*, who commanded the troops in *Pannonia*, marching againſt them, put them to flight, and drove them quite out of the empire, though his ſoldiers, at firſt, betrayed great unwillingneſs to engage ſo formidable an enemy [k]. This *Zonaras* relates in a manner, which we do not well comprehend; for he ſuppoſes the *Goths*, who were overcome and put to flight by *Æmilianus*, to have lived in friendſhip and amity with the *Romans* [l]. In 256, the *Goths*, with the *Carpi*, the *Burani*, and the *Burgundians*, all nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a new inroad into the empire, laying waſte, according to *Zoſimus* [m], all *Illyricum*, and *Italy* itſelf, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. But this we can hardly believe, ſince no other writer takes notice of any ravages committed by them in *Italy*. They continued all this year in *Illyricum*, laying the country waſte far and wide; but the following year, *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, being ſent to ſucceed *Ulpius Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Thrace*

Defeats and kills the emperor Decius *and his ſon. Year after Chriſt* 250.

[g] Jorn. ibid. c. 18. p. 637. Zonar. p 231. Aur. Vict. in Dec. Zos. l i. p. 614. [h] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 113, & ſeq. [i] Jorn. c. 19 p. 638. Zos. l. i. p. 644. Zonar p. 232. [k] Zos. p. 645. [l] Zonar. p. 232. [m] Zos. l i p. 646, 647

and

and *Illyricum*, drove them out of thoſe provinces, took a great number of them priſoners, and, purſuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waſte their country, and returned to *Thrace* loaded with booty [n]. After this, they continued quiet till the year 262, the ninth of the emperor *Gallienus*, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, they made themſelves maſters of that province, and from thence over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*; but, not being able to reduce it, they attempted to enter *Achaia*, when *Macrianus*, who had aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon them unexpectedly, and obliged them to ſave themſelves by flight into their own country [o]. At the ſame time, another party of the *Goths*, having croſſed the *Helleſpont* under the conduct of one *Raſpa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia*, plundered ſeveral cities, and even the famous temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* [p]. *Jornandes* tells us, that, in this irruption, they deſtroyed the city of *Chalcedon*, which, though afterwards rebuilt, ſays he, by one *Cornelius Avitus*, and enriched by the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, yet, for the ſpace of three hundred years and upwards, ſhewed the dreadful marks of its former ruin [q]. On their return, they laid in aſhes the poor remains of antient *Troy*; and, having repaſſed the *Helleſpont*, they made an attempt upon *Anchialum* in *Thrace*; but, having ſpent ſome days in vain before that place, they abandoned the enterpriſe, and, after having ravaged *Thrace*, returned home, carrying with them an immenſe booty [r]. The following year 263, they made a new irruption into *Aſia*, but were ſoon driven out by the *Roman* troops quartered there [s]. Two years after, that is, in 265, they made themſelves maſters of all *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, extending from that river to the *Carpathian* mountains, which had been reduced by *Trajan* to a *Roman* province, and joined to *Mœſia* by a bridge, the moſt magnificent and wonderful of all that emperor's works [t]. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, the following year, having built an incredible number of veſſels, they embarqued on the *Euxine* ſea, and, landing at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, over-ran *Aſia Minor*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, made themſelves maſters of *Nicomedia*, plundered the *Greek* cities in thoſe countries, and laid waſte the provinces of *Phrygia* and *Troas* [u]. In *Bithynia* they met with ſome

The Goths *lay waſte* Thrace *and* Macedon.

They ravage Aſia, *and plunder the temple of* Diana *at* Epheſus. *Year after Chriſt* 262.

They make themſelves maſters of Dacia *beyond the* Danube.

They over-run Aſia Minor, Lydia, Pontus, *&c. Year after Chriſt* 264.

[n] Aurel. vit. p. 213. Syncell. p. 381. [o] Gallien. vit p. 177. Zonar. p. 233. [p] Gallien. vit. p. 177, 178. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Gallien vit p. 177, 178. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 20. p. 619. [s] Gallien. vit p. 178. [t] Aur. Vict. Eutrop. Oros. l vii. c. 12. p. 214. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p 487. [u] Gallien. vit. p. 179.

ſome

some opposition; for we are told, that a battle was fought there; and, from what happened afterwards, it appears, that the *Goths* carried the day; for on one side the *Romans*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Gallienus*, were for setting up another emperor; and on the other, the *Goths*, pursuing their ravages, advanced as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, laying waste, without restraint, the countries through which they passed [w]. *Eutropius*, and after him St. *Jerom* [x], and *Orosius* [y], mention the ravages committed by the *Goths* in *Pontus* and *Asia*; and *Philostorgius* names several cities ruined by them in *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* [z]. We learn from St. *Basil*, that *Dionysius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 259, and died in 270, wrote a consolatory letter to the church of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, sending at the same time considerable sums to redeem the christian captives [a], among whom were many holy ecclesiastics, who could not be ransomed, says *Philostorgius* [b], because they were destined by Heaven to convert their conquerors. In the mean time, the brave *Odenatus*, of whom we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history [c], pitying the miserable condition, to which *Asia* was reduced by the *Goths*, hastened to the relief of that province. But the *Goths*, unwilling to engage so renowned a commander, reimbarqued at *Heraclea*, and, by the *Euxine* sea, returned home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives [d]. Many of them however were drowned, being attacked on their return by the *Roman* fleet [e]. The following year, they embarqued anew on the *Euxine* sea, and, landing at the mouth of the *Danube*, laid waste great part of *Mœsia*; but were defeated by the troops and generals who guarded *Byzantium*. However, they advanced as far as *Illyricum*; but being informed there, that the *Heruli* had received a dreadful overthrow in *Greece*, they began to retire, when *Marcian* and *Claudius*, whom *Gallienus* had sent against them, pursuing them close, cut great numbers of them in pieces [f]; nay, *Claudius* was for cutting off their retreat, as might have been easily done, and putting them all to the sword; but *Marcian* thought it more adviseable to suffer them to retire [g]. To be revenged on *Claudius*, they no sooner heard, that he was raised to the empire, than, stirring up all the northern nations against him, they assembled on the banks of the *Tyras*, now the *Niester*, and

But retire at the approach of Odenatus.

They receive several overthrows.

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Hier. chron. [y] Oros. l vii. c. 22. p. 214. [z] Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5. p. 270, 271. [a] Basil. ep. ccxx. p. 233. [b] Philostorg. p 471. [c] Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 177, & seq. [d] Gallien. vit. p. 180. Syncell. p. 381. [e] Syncell. p. 382. [f] Gallien. vit. p. 181. Claud. vit. p. 208. Zos. p. 652. [g] Claud. vit. ibid.

there

there built, says *Zosimus* [h], six thousand ships; but *Pollio*, who makes the most of this war, writes, that their vessels amounted only to two thousand [i], and he is therein followed by *Ammianus Marcellinus* [k]. Having employed the whole year 268, in making the necessary preparations, they embarqued, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and, landing in *Lesser Scythia*, laid siege, at the same time, to the city of *Tomi* in that province, and to *Marcianopolis* in *Mœsia*; but being, in several attacks, repulsed at both places, they reimbarqued on the *Euxine* sea, and entered the straights of the *Bosporus*, where, by the rapidity of the current, and the great number of their ships running foul of one another, they suffered a great loss both of men and vessels, and besides, they met with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants of *Byzantium* [l]. Making therefore what haste they could out of the straights, they attacked the city of *Cyzicus* on the *Propontis*; but, not being able to reduce it, they abandoned the enterprise, and, entering the *Ægean* sea, they refitted their shattered vessels at mount *Athos* in *Macedon*, and then laid siege to *Cassandria* and *Thessalonica*, two cities in the same province. But, when they were upon the point of making themselves masters of both, news was brought them, that *Claudius* approached at the head of a powerful army [m]. That prince, upon the first news of their breaking into the empire, had dispatched his brother *Quintillus* against them, but, under him, committed the chief command of the army to *Aurelian*, afterwards emperor, whom he had, on that occasion, appointed general of all the troops in *Thrace*, *Illyricum*, and the other frontier provinces; but, when he was informed of the number of the enemy's forces, he resolved to head the army in person [n]. *Zonaras* writes, that while they were deliberating at *Rome*, whether the emperor should march against the *Goths*, or against *Tetricus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, and was then besieging *Autun*, *Claudius* told them, That the war with *Tetricus* was his: but that with the *Goths* was the war of the *Roman* people, whose interest he preferred to his own [o]. However, he could not set out so soon as he wished, it being no easy matter, as the empire had been quite exhausted by his predecessor *Gallienus*, to make the necessary preparations for an expedition of such importance, and to draw together an army fit to be commanded by him [p]. The *Goths* therefore, abandoning the siege of *Thessalonica* upon

They invade the empire with a formidable fleet and army. Year after Christ 269.

[h] Zos. p. 652 [i] Claud. vit. p. 264. [k] AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 445. [l] Claud. vit. p 265. Zos. l. i. p. 652. [m] Zos. p. 653 AMMIAN. l xxxi. p. 445. [n] Idem, p 213 [o] ZONAR. p. 239 [p] Claud vit. p. 264.

the first report of his approach, advanced into the country lying on the river *Axius*, plundered *Pelagonia*, and committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of *Doberus* in *Pæonia*, where they were vigorously attacked by the *Dalmatian* horse, who signalized themselves on this occasion, and killed near three thousand of the enemy [q]. The rest took their route to *Upper Mœsia*, and were met by *Claudius* in the neighbourhood of *Naissus*, whom they immediately engaged [r]. The victory continued long doubtful; nay, the *Romans* at first gave ground; but, returning through certain narrow passes to the charge, they fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were in the end put to flight, and utterly routed [s]. Such of them as had the good luck to make their escape, returned towards *Macedon*, covering their rear with their waggons; but they found no fence against the famine that raged amongst them, and daily carried off great numbers of men and horses. The *Roman* cavalry, attacking them in front, cut off many thousands of them, and, by guarding the passes of *Macedon*, obliged them to shut themselves up on mount *Hæmus*, where they passed the winter in the greatest hardships imaginable [t].

Their army is utterly routed by Claudius.

Their fleet ravages Thessaly *and* Achaia, *&c.*

As for their fleet, one part of it, separating from the rest, ravaged *Thessaly* and *Achaia*, and took a great many prisoners in the open country, says *Zosimus* [u], not being able to reduce one single city. However, *Zonaras* tells us, that they made themselves masters of *Athens*; and that having laid together in one heap all the books they found there, with a design to set fire to them, they would have deprived the world of that invaluable treasure, had not one among them, more discerning than the rest, told his companions, that, while the *Greeks* amused themselves with those books, they neglected the art of war, and were easily overcome [w]. The same author adds, that *Cleodemus*, a native of *Athens*, having assembled some troops and vessels, attacked them by sea, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight into other countries [x]. From *Athens* they sailed to the islands of *Crete*, *Rhodes*, and *Cyprus*; but no-where performed any thing worth mentioning; nay, they lost great numbers of their men by the plague, that raged among them. They returned therefore to winter in *Macedon*; where the contagious distemper completed their

But is destroyed by the plague.

[q] Zos. l. i p. 653. [r] Idem ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205
[s] Idem ibid. Zos. p. 654. Zos. ibid. Claud. vit. p. 205
Syncel. p. 354. [u] Zos. p. 653. [w] Zonar. p. 239.
[x] Idem ibid.

ruin.

ruin [y]. Thoſe who had taken refuge on mount *Hæmus*, as we have related above, were, before the end of winter, reduced by the plague and famine to a very ſmall number; ſo that *Claudius* might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of attacking them. However, that prince, bent upon their utter deſtruction, marched againſt them early in the ſpring, and, having ſhut them up on all ſides, in different ſkirmiſhes, put ſeveral thouſands of them to the ſword. Nevertheleſs the infantry having one day attacked them without the cavalry, which was employed elſewhere, the *Romans*, after having behaved ſome time with great gallantry, turned their backs, and fled. On this occaſion, the loſs on the ſide of the *Romans* was very conſiderable, and had been much greater, had not the cavalry come ſeaſonably to their relief [z]. *Pollio* perhaps ſpeaks of this encounter, where he owns the *Romans* to have loſt in an attack near two thouſand men [a]. But theſe were, as that writer tells us, *Roman* ſoldiers, who, after having put the enemy to flight, were buſied in plundering their baggage; and *Claudius*, according to him, was not yet arrived in the camp: whereas *Zoſimus* writes, that the infantry attacked the enemy by the emperor's orders: but he may therein be miſtaken. However that be, the *Romans*, not in the leaſt diſheartened with this loſs, continued harraſſing the *Goths* without intermiſſion, and ſtraightening them daily more and more. As the plague at the ſame time made a dreadful havock among them, they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, and beg quarter; which was granted them. Some of them were incorporated among the *Roman* troops; to others lands were given to cultivate; and a ſmall number of them found means to make their eſcape [b]. We have inſerted elſewhere two letters relating to this war, written by the emperor himſelf, the one to the ſenate, while he was upon the point of engaging the enemy, the other, after the battle, to *Junius Brocchus*, governor of *Illyricum* [c]. As the army was compoſed of divers northern nations, and followed by a great number of women, ſervants, and children, all the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, among whom were ſeveral kings and women of diſtinction. The emperor cauſed ſome of their waggons to be burnt, and gave the reſt, with a great number of ſlaves, to the public [d]. For this victory, *Claudius* took the ſurname of *Gothicus* [e] in the ſecond year of his reign, that is, before the

The land-forces ſubmit, and are made priſoners.

[y] AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 445. Claud. vit. p. 206. Zos. l. i. p. 654. [z] Zos. ibid. [a] Claud. vit. p. 206. [b] Ibid. p. 204, 205. [c] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 196. [d] Claud. vit. p. 205. SYNCELL. p. 384. ZONAR. p. 230. Pan. ix. p. 191. DEXIP. legat. p. 15. GOLTZ, p. 118.

twenty-fourth of *March* of the present year 270, but soon after died at *Sirmium* of the plague, which had contributed so much to his victory over the *Goths*. He was succeeded by his brother *Quintillus*, during whose short reign the *Goths*, who had made their escape from mount *Hæmus*, plundered the city of *Anchialum* in *Thrace*, and made an attempt upon *Nicopolis*, in *Lower Mœsia*; but were driven out of that province by the *Roman* troops quartered there [f]. *Ammianus* speaks of their taking both *Anchialum* and *Nicopolis* [g]; but this must have happened in some other irruption. The same year 270, the *Goths*, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained, broke anew into the empire, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province; which *Aurelian*, who had been just raised to the empire, no sooner understood, than he left *Rome*, and, putting himself at the head of the army, marched against them. As the enemy did not retire at his approach, a battle ensued, which lasted till night coming on parted the two armies, without the least advantage on either side. However, the *Goths*, not caring to renew the combat, repassed the *Danube* in the dead of the night, and sent embassadors the next morning to sue for a peace [h]; which was readily granted them, the *Alemanns* being at that time in arms, and ready to invade *Italy*; which they did accordingly, as we have related elsewhere [i]. But this peace was not of long duration; for two years after, that is, in 272, *Aurelian*, on his march into the east against the celebrated *Zenobia*, found them ravaging *Thrace*, and drove them out of that province; nay, he even passed the *Danube*, and having engaged *Cannabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, slew him, and five thousand of his men [k]. It was perhaps on this occasion, that the emperor took a chariot drawn by four stags, which he afterwards made use of in his triumphal entry into *Rome*; for he is said to have taken it from a *Gothic* prince [l]. Among the prisoners were ten women, who had fought in the habit of men, and a great many more were found among the dead. The emperor, in a letter to *Gallonius Avitus*, governor of *Thrace*, mentions some *Gothic* women of distinction, whom he had sent to *Perinthus* to be kept there, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank [m]. Among these was a woman of the blood royal, named *Humila*, whom the emperor gave in marriage to *Bonosus*, one of his generals, who, in the reign of *Probus*, usurped the sovereignty, as we have related elsewhere [n]. Two years after, the *Goths*

They plunder the city of Anchialum.

Make new inroads into the empire; but are driven out by Aurelian.

[f] Claud. vit. p. 266. [g] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 445. [h] Zos. l. i. p 654, 655. [i] Univers. hist. vol. xv. p. 199. [k] Aur. vit. p. 216 [l] Ibid. 220. [m] Bonos. vit. p. 247. [n] Univers. hist. vol. xv p. 227.

settled

settled in *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, abandoned by *Aurelian*, who was well appriſed, that he could not maintain it, without an immenſe charge, in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations [o]. The following year 275, they entered, in ſeparate and numerous bodies, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian*, who died ſome months before, to ſerve as auxiliaries againſt the *Perſians*; but *Tacitus*, who had ſucceeded that prince, not thinking it adviſeable to truſt them, endeavoured, by fair means, and even by offering them conſiderable ſums, to induce them to return home. His offers were accepted by ſome; but others refuſing to retire upon any terms, the emperor and his brother *Florianus* fell upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces and drove the reſt quite out of the empire [p]. Of this victory mention is made on one of *Tacitus*'s medals [q]; and from an antient inſcription may be gathered, that he took the ſurname of *Gothicus* [r]. In 278, the ſecond of the reign of *Probus*, they broke into *Thrace*, and advanced as far as *Illyricum*, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword; but they no ſooner heard that the emperor was marching againſt them, and had already entered *Rhætia*, then they withdrew, leaving their booty behind them. From *Rhætia* the emperor purſued his march into *Illyricum*, and thence into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, either ſuing for peace, ſays *Vopiſcus* [s], or ſubmitting to his power. No further mention is made of the *Goths* till the year 289, the fifth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, who is ſaid to have gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, that is, the *Goths* [t]; nay, *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off, and the province of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, which they had ſeized, re-united to the empire [u]. For this victory *Dioclesian* aſſumed the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from ſeveral antient coins and inſcriptions [w]. But that the advantages he gained over the *Goths* were greatly exaggerated by *Eumenes*, is manifeſt from another panegyriſt [x], who, in a ſpeech he pronounced two years after in the preſence of the emperor, takes notice of the victories lately gained by the *Goths* over the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, whom they had overcome, and were then bent upon utterly extirpating the whole nation, which it would be no eaſy matter for them to effectuate, the *Burgundians* being powerfully ſupported by the *Alans* and *Thervingians*.

They ſettle in Dacia. *Year after Chriſt* 274.

They conclude a peace with Probus.

They are defeated by Dioclesian. *Year after Chriſt* 289.

[o] Aur. vit. p. 222. [p] ZONAR. p. 240. Zos. l i p. 662 Prob. vit. p 228. [q] BIRAG. p. 410. [r] GRUTER. p. 192. [s] Prob. vit. p 239. [t] Paneg. xi p. 132, 133. [u] Paneg. viii p. 105, 107. [w] NORIS. de Dioclef. c. 4. p 23. BIRAG. p. 426. [x] MAMERT. paneg. xi. p. 136, 137.

gians. He adds, that another *Gothic* nation, assisted by the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*. The *Goths* therefore were still a powerful nation, and had not been, as *Eumenes* boasts, utterly extirpated by *Diocletian*; nay, the panegyrist, whom we have quoted above, ascribes their not disturbing the peace of the empire to their being engaged in wars with other barbarous nations, and not to any awe they stood in of *Diocletian*.

They overcome the Burgundians *and* Vandals.

FROM the year 289, the fifth of *Diocletian*'s reign, to the year 321, the fifteenth of *Constantine*'s, the *Goths* gave no disturbance to the empire, being engaged, as we have observed above, in wars with the neighbouring nations. But all we know of these wars is, that they not only overcame the *Burgundians*, but likewise the *Vandals*, with their king *Visumar*, a prince of great renown, and descended from the *Asdingi*, the most illustrious family of that nation. The *Vandals* were, it seems, quite driven out; for we are told, that they begged and obtained *Pannonia* of the emperor *Constantine* [a]. The *Goths* were no sooner disengaged from other wars, than they broke into the empire; but they were overcome by *Constantine* in several battles fought at *Campana* in *Pannonia*, and at *Marga* and *Bononia* in *Upper Mœsia* [b]. *Zosimus* speaks of a city be-

But are overcome by Constantine.

sieged by *Rausimodes* king of the *Sarmatians*, and relieved by *Constantine*, who, having defeated the enemy, and put them to flight, pursued them cross the *Danube*, and forced them to a second battle, in which great numbers of them were slain, and among the rest the king himself. Such as escaped the general slaughter, submitted to *Constantine*, who returned from this expedition with an incredible number of captives [c]. Notwithstanding this defeat, the following year the *Goths* broke anew into the empire, while the emperor was busied in making a port at *Thessalonica*, and, over-running *Thrace* and *Mœsia*, ravaged both provinces, and took a great many prisoners [b]. It was on occasion of this irruption, that *Constantine* enacted the two laws, dated the twenty-eighth of *April* 323, whereof the one commands those to be burnt alive, who shall lend the least assistance to the barbarians, or receive any part of their booty; the other forbids the tribunes of the cohorts, and the other subalterns, to suffer the soldiers to be absent from the camp and their colours, on pain of death, in time of war; and of banishment and confiscation of their estates, in time of peace [c]. *Constantine* marched against the *Goths* with incredible expedition, and, falling upon

[a] JORN. rer. Vandal. l. i. [b] Zos. l. ii. p. 680. OPTAT. c. 23. [b] Idem ibid. [c] AMMIAN. p. 474. [c] Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 272.

them,

them, gave them a total overthrow, and purſued them with great ſlaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly reſenting, a war was kindled between him and *Conſtantine*, of which we have ſpoken at length elſewhere [d]. Some writers are of opinion, that the victory gained at this time over the *Goths* gave riſe to the *Gothic* ſports, which began, according to *Bucherius*'s kalendar, on the fourth, and ended on the ninth, of *February*. The *Goths*, thus overcome, ſued for peace; which was granted them, upon their ſetting at liberty all the priſoners they had taken [e]; nay *Conſtantine* entered, it ſeems, into an alliance with them; for they aſſiſted him againſt *Licinius* with a body of forty thouſand men, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *fœderati*, or allies [f]. Theſe are, without all doubt, the *Goths*, who, as we read in an anonymous writer publiſhed by *Valeſius* [g], fought at the battle of *Chalcedon*, under the conduct of one of their princes named *Aliquaea*. Notwithſtanding the peace and alliance they had made with *Conſtantine*, they began about eight years after, that is in 332, to make new inroads into the empire. *Zoſimus* writes, that the *Taifalæ*, a *Gothic* nation, having broken into the *Roman* territories with five hundred horſe, *Conſtantine*, who was then in *Mœſia*, ſuffered them to lay waſte the the country to the very gates of his camp; and that, inſtead of putting his troops in battle-array to oppoſe them, he betook himſelf to a precipitous flight, after having loſt great part of his army [h]. *Zoſimus* is the only author, who relates this event, altogether incredible. *Socrates* tells us, that the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* over-ran ſome provinces, but were overcome and driven out by *Conſtantine* [i]. The ſame year, a war breaking out between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourſe to *Conſtantine*, who, glad of the opportunity that offered to humble that fierce nation, fell upon them, when they were buſied in plundering the territories of the *Sarmatians*, and gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near an hundred thouſand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or periſhed after the battle with hunger and cold; which obliged *Araric* their king to ſue for peace, and deliver hoſtages to the emperor, among whom was his own ſon [k]. This victory is aſcribed by ſome to *Conſtantine Cæſar*; and the emperor *Julian* tells us, that one of *Conſtantine*'s ſons awed the *Goths* with his victories [l]. But *Eu-*

They aſſiſt Conſtantine againſt Licinius.

They make new inroads into the empire

But receive a dreadful overthrow the year after Chriſt 332

[d] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 313, & ſeq. Ammian. anonym. p. 714. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Jorn. de reb. Goth. c. 21. p. 694. [g] Idem. Ammian per Val. ſubjunct. [h] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 68[illegible]. [i] Socr. l. i. c. 18. p. 38. [k] Anonym Ammian. p. 3[illegible]. [l] Orat. i. p. 14.

propius

tropius [m] and *Eusebius* [n] tell us in expreſs terms, that the *Goths* were overcome by *Conſtantine* in a great battle; nay *Euſebius* writes, that *Conſtantine*, ſcorning to pay tribute to the barbarians, as other emperors had done, marched againſt them, while they were engaged in a war with the *Sarmatians*, and, having ſubdued the whole nation, obliged, what by dint of arms, what by treaties, the innumerable tribes, into which they were divided, to obey his commands [o]. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the victory he gained over them was ſo evidently miraculous, that the *Goths*, acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Conſtantine*, great numbers of them embraced the chriſtian religion, which had been firſt preached among them about the year 270 [p] (A). *Jornandes* takes no notice of the

[m] EUTROP. p. 538. [n] EUSEB. vit Conſt. l. iv. p. 529. [o] Idem ibid. l i. c. 8. p. 409. [p] Soz. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 34. p. 48.

(A) The *Goths*, ſays *Sozomen* (1), and the other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, had embraced the chriſtian religion long before *Conſtantine* was ſole maſter of the empire, providence having made uſe of the very ravages they committed under *Gallienus* and his ſucceſſors, to convert them to the true faith; for, having croſſed over from *Thrace* into *Aſia*, and there taken an incredible number of captives, and amongſt the reſt ſeveral holy eccleſiaſtics, who, by only invoking the name of *Jeſus*, cured their ſick, and delivered ſuch among them as were poſſeſſed with a devil, they began to hearken to their doctrine; and obſerving, on the other hand, that their lives were quite blameleſs, many of them reſolved to follow the example, that was ſet them by ſuch wonderful men, and to acknowledge the God, whom they adored. Accordingly they took them for their teachers, hearkened with reſpect to their inſtructions, received the ſacrament of baptiſm, built churches, and there celebrated, like other chriſtians, the holy myſteries of our religion. Having embraced our faith, they diveſted themſelves of their former fierceneſs, and led thenceforth more regular lives. Thus *Sozomen*; and what he writes is confirmed by *Philoſtorgius*, who, ſpeaking of the ravages they committed in *Aſia*, *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, under *Valerian* and *Gallienus* in 266, tells us, that they carried back with them, among the many other captives, the anceſtors of *Wulphilas*, who, about the latter end of the fourth century, was revered by them as their prophet (2). This gives ſome light to what we read in St. *Baſil. viz.* that from *Cappadocia* were brought to the *Goths* the firſt ſeeds of the chriſtian religion (3). St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, in 347, names the *Goths* and *Sarmatians* among

(1) *Soz. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *p.* 451. (2) *Philoſt. l. ii. c.* 5. *p.* 470, 471. (3) *Baſil. epiſt.* CCCXXXVIII. *p.* 330.

the

the victory gained over the *Goths* by *Constantine*; but only tells us, that they supplied his army with a body of forty thousand men, which was kept always complete [q]. *Eutropius* writes, that *Constantine*, having granted a peace to the *Goths*, left among them a great opinion of his humanity and good nature [r]; and *Eusebius*, that he even preferred to great dignities and employments the most illustrious among them [s]. In the time of *Themistius* was still to be seen at *Constantinople*, behind the hall where the senate used to assemble, a statue, which *Constantine* had caused to be erected in honour of the father of *Athanaric* king of the *Goths*; but this was done, says our author, to soften and gain over that barbarian [t].

THE *Goths* not only continued quiet, but served the *Romans* with great fidelity, during the remaining part of *Constantine*'s reign, and in the reigns of *Constans*, *Julian*, *Jovian*, and *Valentinian* I [u]. But in 364, the first of *Valens*, they broke into *Thrace*, and laid waste that province [w]. The emperor, who was yet scarce well seated on his throne, instead of employing his troops against them, sent them a considerable sum; *They serve in the* Roman *army.*

[q] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640. [r] EUTROP. p. 588. [s] EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 7. p. 530. [t] THEMIST. orat. xv. p. 191. [u] LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 309. [w] AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p 315.

the nations, that had bishops, priests, deacons, monks, virgins, and even martyrs (4); for the whole nation did not at once embrace the christian religion; nay, after it was preached among them, they had some pagan kings, who persecuted the christians (5). *Sozomen* writes, that the barbarians, who inhabited *Gaul* and the banks of the *Rhine*, down to the ocean, embraced the christian religion by the same means, and at the same time, as those who dwelt on the *Danube* (6) However, we find no footsteps of christianity among the *Franks*, whom *Sozomen* seems chiefly to hint at, till the reign of *Clovis*, which began about the year 508. *Eutyches*, who began, according to St. *Basil* (7), the conversion of the *Goths*, and the other illustrious captives, fulfilled in a literal sense what we read in the prophet *Isaiah*: *And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place, and the house of* Israel *shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids; and they shall take them captives whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors* 8. To them may be likewise applied the words of *Tobit*, *In the land of my captivity do I praise him, and declare his might and majesty to a sinful nation* (9).

(4) *Socrat. Hist. eccl.* xvi. p 85. (5) *Idem*, cap x p 92.
(6) *Soz.* l ii. c. 6 p. 450. (7) *Basil. ibid* (8) *Isai.* c iv. ver. 2
(9) *Tobit.* c. xiii. ver. 6.

which they no ſooner received, than they forbore all hoſtilities, and returned home [x]. The following year 365, while the emperor was in *Bithynia*, news was brought him, that the *Goths* were ready to break anew into *Thrace*. Hereupon *Valens* diſpatched a body of troops to reinforce thoſe, that, under the command of count *Julian*, were poſted on the banks of the *Danube*; which prevented their paſſing that river [y]. In the mean time, *Procopius* having revolted, and aſſumed the title of emperor, the *Goths*, eſpouſing his cauſe, ſent a body of three thouſand men to his aſſiſtance; but *Procopius* being defeated, taken, and put to death, before their arrival, they continued in the territories of the empire, committing great ravages in *Thrace* and *Mœſia*. *Valens* diſpatched a ſtrong detachment againſt them, who, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to lay down their arms, and yield themſelves priſoners [z]. *Hermanaric* was then king of the *Goths*, of thoſe at leaſt, who by *Ammianus* are ſtyled *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Oſtrogoths*; but the above-mentioned body of troops had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Procopius* by *Athanaric*, whom *Ammianus* calls ſometimes one of the moſt powerful men among the *Goths* [a], and ſometimes the judge of the *Thervingian Goths* [b], that is, according to *Jornandes*, of the *Viſigoths* [c]. He was a man of great courage, and yet his courage, ſays *Themiſtius* [d], fell ſhort of his penetration, eloquence, and addreſs. He no ſooner received the news of the captivity of his men, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, requiring they might be ſet at liberty, ſince they had been ſent by a friend and ally of the *Romans* to the aſſiſtance of a *Roman* emperor. At the ſame time, the letters were produced, which he had received from *Procopius*. On the other hand, *Valens* ſent *Victor*, general of the horſe, to complain of *Athanaric*, for aſſiſting a rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign. The *Goths* anſwered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinſman of *Conſtantine*; and that it was not their buſineſs to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and therefore, if they were deceived therein, the emperor ought to excuſe them [e]. But *Valens* could not be prevailed upon to ſet the captive *Goths* at liberty, being bent, as he was then engaged in no other ware, upon humbling that powerful nation [f]. With this view, great

They aſſiſt the uſurper Procopius.

[x] Them. orat. viii. p. 119. [y] Ammian. p. 322. [z] Zos. l. iv. p. 740. Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Eunap. excerpt. p 18. [a] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 440. [b] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 341. [c] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. [d] Themist. p. 136. [e] Ammian. l. xxvii p. 349. Eunap. p. 13. Zos. p. 748. [f] Zos p. 740. Eunap. ibid. Ammian. p 338.

preparations

preparations were made throughout the empire; which occasioned no small consternation among the people, who, as they had a mighty opinion of the valour of the *Goths*, dreaded the issue of this war [g]. At the same time, in the dismantling of *Chalcedon*, certain verses were found engraved on a stone, which doubled their fears; for they seemed antient, and foretold a dreadful inundation of barbarians in *Thrace* [h]. The emperor himself seems to have been under no small apprehension of this war; for *Theodoret* tells us, that, *before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order to render Heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the sacrament of baptism* [i]. The *Goths*, on the other hand, finding the emperor bent upon war, began to draw together their forces, with a design to attack him the first; which *Valens* no sooner understood, than he ordered his troops to take the field, though in the depth of winter, and soon after came in person to head them. Upon his arrival, he sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and encamped, with the rest of the army, in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœsia* [k]. *Ammianus* [l] and *Zosimus* [m] tell us, that early in the spring he left *Marcianopolis*, and, having passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, he ravaged the enemy's country far and near, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* having retired at his approach to the neighbouring mountains. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* dominions [n], and passed the winter at *Marcianopolis*, whence, as soon as the season was fit for action, he marched to the banks of the *Danube*, with a design to cross that river, and pursue the ravages he had begun the year before; but the *Danube* continuing swelled beyond measure the whole summer, he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place, till the latter end of autumn, when he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and there took up his winter-quarters [o].

Which gives rise to a war with Valens.

He enters their country, and lays it waste, Year after Christ 367.

THE following year 369, the emperor marched into *Lesser Scythia*, and, having passed the *Danube* at *Noviodunum*, advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. The *Goths*, not daring to keep the field, lay concealed in the woods and morasses, whence they frequently sallied out upon the *Romans*. Against them the emperor employed not the soldiers, but the servants of the army, and those who attended the baggage, promising them a certain sum

[g] AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 320. JORN. c. 9. p. 642, 643. [h] EUNAP. excerpt. p. 18, 19. [i] THEODOR. l. iv. c. 11. p. 674. [k] EUNAP. c. 5. p. 86. PHILOSTOR. l. ix. c. 8. p. 125. [l] AMMIAN. p. 340. [m] Zos. p. 741. [n] Idem ibid. [o] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 341.

for each head they ſhould bring. Hereupon, avarice ſupplying the place of courage, they reſolutely entered the woods and marſhes, and, hunting the *Goths* like wild beaſts, put great numbers of them to the ſword in their very aſylums; which ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace [p]. Thus *Zoſimus*; but *Ammianus* writes, that *Valens*, having attacked and overcome in ſeveral encounters the *Greuthungi*, a warlike nation of the *Goths*, dwelling at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Danube*, at laſt gave a total overthrow to *Athanaric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him [q]. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a deſign to winter there, and renew the war early in the ſpring. But in the mean time, the *Goths* earneſtly ſuing, by repeated embaſſies, for peace, he was at laſt prevailed upon by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* to hearken to their propoſals [r]. What induced the ſenate to become mediators in behalf of a nation by them ſo much dreaded, and now reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, we are no-where told. *Valens*, after returning a favourable anſwer to the embaſſadors, approached the *Danube*, and appointed *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After ſome conferences, a peace was concluded highly honourable for the *Romans*; for, in virtue of this treaty, the *Goths* were not, for the future, to paſs the *Danube*, or ſet foot on the *Roman* territories, on any account whatſoever, barring that of trade, which was now confined to two cities on the *Danube*; whereas they had been formerly allowed to carry it on with what cities of the empire they pleaſed. They were not to expect or claim the penſions which had been paid them annually by other emperors; but *Valens* conſented to continue *Athanaric*'s penſion to him. This peace was ratified and ſigned by *Valens* and *Athanaric*, who met for that purpoſe in boats in the middle of the *Danube*, the latter abſolutely refuſing to paſs that river, by reaſon his father had obliged him, as he pretended, ſolemnly to ſwear never to tread on *Roman* ground [s]. *Valens*, having thus concluded a peace with the *Goths*, ordered the forts on the *Danube* to be repaired, and ſome new ones to be built, and then, leaving ſtrong gariſons in them, as if he diſtruſted the barbarians, he returned to *Marcianopolis*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople* [t]. At this time, *Hermanaric* was king of the *Goths*, as we have hinted above: he was deſcended from the noble family of the *Amali*, and had ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral wars; inſomuch, that he was compared

Hoſtilities with Athanaric.

The Goths ſue for peace, and obtain it. Year of Chriſt 369.

Hermanaric, a great conqueror.

[p] Zos. l. iv. p. 741. [q] Ammian. p. 341. [r] Themist. orat. x. p. 133. [s] Idem, p. 135. Ammian. p. 341, 342. [t] Idem ibid. Themist. p. 133. Zos. p. 742.

to

to *Alexander the Great*. *Jornandes* names the many northern nations he ſubdued; but he might as well have ſpared himſelf that trouble, moſt of them being utterly unknown [u]. Among the reſt he mentions the *Heruli* dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*; the *Venedi* on the *German* ocean; and the *Æſtii* on the borders of the preſent *Pruſſia* and *Poland*; nay, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes* [w], aſſures us, that *Hermanaric* was obeyed by all the nations both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. However, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand the *Hunns*, who, paſſing the *Palus Mæotis* in 376, over-ran his country, he choſe rather to lay violent hands on himſelf, than to behold the calamities that threatened his people [x]. He was ſucceeded by *Vithimir*, who, attempting to make head againſt the *Hunns*, was killed in a battle. His ſon *Vitheric*, driven out by the *Hunns*, retired with his people to the preſent *Podolia*, lying between the *Nieper* and the *Danube*. *Athanaric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi* or *Viſigoths*, alarmed at this ſudden irruption of the *Hunns*, encamped, with all the forces he could aſſemble, on the banks of the *Danaſtus* or *Nieſter*, in order to diſpute with the enemy the paſſage of that river, parting the country of the *Thervingi* from that of the *Greuthongi* or *Oſtrogoths*. But the *Hunns*, falling upon him when leaſt expected, obliged him to abandon his country, and take refuge in the preſent *Moldavia*, where he fortified himſelf with a wall from the *Pruth* to the *Danube* [y].

The Goths are either driven out by, or forced to ſubmit to, the Hunns. Year after Chriſt 376.

A general conſternation being now ſpread among the *Goths*, ſuch of them as had the good luck to eſcape the dreadful havock, which the *Hunns* made of their nation, either ſubmitted to them, or fled for refuge to the *Roman* dominions. Two hundred thouſand of them were admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*, upon their promiſing to live peaceably there, and to ſerve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. But, being juſtly provoked at the cruel treatment they met with from the *Roman* officers, who were to ſupply them with proviſions, they had ſcarce entered *Thrace*, when they began to mutiny, and plunder the country. This gave riſe to a long and bloody war between them and the *Romans*, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [z], to which we refer the reader. At length they ſubmitted to *Theodoſius* I. in the year 382, and were allowed by him to ſettle in *Thrace* and *Mæſia*; which two provinces were almoſt quite diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late deſtructive war [a].

Admitted by Valens into Thrace.

A bloody war between them and the Romans.

[u] JORN. rer. Goth c. 23. p. 643. [w] Idem ibid. [x] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 439. [y] Idem, p. 440. [z] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv p. 576, & ſeq. [a] THEMIST orat. xvi. p. 199.

The

Having submitted to Theodosius, *they receive lands in* Thrace. *Year after Christ* 382.

The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes, that were paid by the other subjects of the empire. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service, but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation; which proved the source of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty, of the *Roman* officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults, as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the *Roman* troops. *Zosimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodosius*, and his want of foresight, in suffering them to continue united, not only in the army, but in the countries that were allotted them [b]; and *Synesius* thinks it was highly impolitic to suffer them to settle upon any terms within the *Roman* dominions; for speaking to *Arcadius*, The *Goths*, says he, after having been punished by the arms of *Theodosius* for the evils they had brought upon the empire, were forced, with their wives and children, to implore the clemency of that prince, who, as he was naturally generous and merciful, suffered himself to be overcome by the prayers of those, whom he had overcome with his arms. He granted them all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens, and distributed lands among them; which was encouraging all the other barbarians to demand, and even to exact, the same favour; and hence flowed the many evils, under which the empire has long groaned [c]. Thus *Synesius*. But *Themistius*, who lived in those very times, in a speech, which he pronounced before the emperor himself, told him, that he had learnt by experience how dangerous a thing it was to reduce the *Goths* to despair [d]. And truly, as the *Hunns* had seized on their country, the emperor must either have allowed them settlements within the *Roman* dominions, or cut them all off; which it was highly dangerous for him to attempt, the *Goths* not being yet weakened to such a degree, as not to be able to make a stand, and even endanger the empire. Besides, people were wanting to inhabit and cultivate *Thrace*, where the lands had long lain fallow and uncultivated. Hence *Zosimus* himself, tho' no great friend to *Theodosius*, owns, that, partly by his victories, and partly by his treaties, he put a stop to the evils, that had almost overwhelmed the empire; that under him trade began to revive, and likewise agriculture, the husbandman cultivating his lands, and attending his flocks, without the least apprehension of seeing himself bereft by the barbarians of the fruits of his

[b] *Zos.* p. 758. [c] SYNES. ad reg. Arcad. [d] THEMIST. orat. xvi p. 211.

labour.

labour [e]. What chiefly induced the *Goths* to lay down their arms, and submit to *Theodosius*, was, if *Orosius* is to be credited, that prince's generous behaviour to *Athanaric*, who being, by a faction at home, driven out of the country, which he had kept, in spite of the *Hunns*, beyond the *Danube*, came to *Constantinople*, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground. The emperor went out to meet him, received him with great marks of friendship, and attended him into the city, which he entered on the eleventh of *January* 381 [f]; but he died soon after, *viz.* on the twenty-fifth of the same month (B). The emperor caused him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the *Goths*, who had attended him in his flight, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, took upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that side [g]; nay, the *Goths*, who had, for several years, maintained a war with the *Romans* in the very heart of the empire, were so taken with the generosity and good nature of *Theodosius*, that they renounced all further thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire. Thus *Orosius* [h], and likewise *Idatius* and count *Marcellinus* [i]. Soon after the submission of the *Goths*, a soldier of that nation having committed some disorder at *Constantinople*, the populace fell upon him, and, having murdered him, threw his body into the sea. The emperor, fearing the *Goths* might, upon this provocation, fly to arms, and re-

Athanaric *takes refuge with* Theodosius, *and dies at* Constantinople.

[e] Zos. p. 759. [f] Idem ibid. AMMIAN. p. 214. SOCRAT. p. 267. THEMIST. orat. XV. p. 190, 191. MARCEL. IDAT. chron. [g] AMMIAN. p. 342. Zos p. 759. OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [h] Idem ibid. [i] IDAT. MARCEL. chron.

(B) *Prosper* writes, that *Athanaric* was killed (10); but he was therein certainly mistaken; for *Ammianus*, who lived in those times, and count *Marcellinus*, tell us in expres terms, that he died a natural death (11); and *Zosimus*, with all the other writers, only that he died, which must be understood of a natural death; for, had it been violent, they would have expressed themselves in a different manner. *Zosimus* especially, a declared enemy to *Theodosius*, would not have let slip this opportunity of upbraiding that prince with treachery and perfidiousness, had he only suspected him to have been any ways accessory to the death of *Athanaric*, who had put himself under his protection. The manner he speaks of this death plainly shews, that no one entertained the least suspicion of any violence. Hence *De Pontac* thinks we ought to read in St. *Prosper*, *occiditur*, instead of *occiditur*.

(10) *Prosp.* p. 765. (11) *Ammian* l. xxvii. p. 342.

new

new the war, resented his death to such a degree, that he deprived the people of the bread, which, by his orders, was daily distributed among them. The emperor, however, was appeased after a few hours, and the order he had given revoked[k].

THE *Goths*, who were allowed by *Theodosius* to settle in *Thrace*, were, for the most part, *Thervingians*, or *Visigoths*. As for the *Greuthongians*, or *Ostrogoths*, they continued in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who, as we have hinted above, suffered them to be governed by their own kings. However, great numbers of them, not able to brook that subjection, in the year 386, broke into the empire under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king[l]. Their design was to settle, as their countrymen the *Visigoths* had done, in some of the *Roman* provinces; but *Theodosius*, fearing the empire might be thus over-run by the barbarians, marched against them in person, with his son *Arcadius*, gave them a total overthrow, and returned, with an incredible number of captives, to *Constantinople*, which he entered in triumph on the twelfth of *October* of the present year[m]. This victory is likewise mentioned by count *Marcellinus*, who tells us, that *Theodosius* delivered *Thrace* from the barbarians, who had invaded that province; and that he afterwards returned, with his son, in triumph, to *Constantinople*[n]. *Claudian* too speaks of a victory gained in the fourth consulship of *Honorius*, that is, in the present year 386, over the *Greuthongians* and their king *Odotheus*[o]. This is, without all doubt, the victory which *Zosimus* describes in two places; but, to rob *Theodosius* of the glory that was due to him, he would make us believe, that it was intirely owing to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot[p]. According to that writer's account, *Odotheus* having assembled an incredible number of barbarians, among whom were several nations never before heard of, *Promotus* fell upon them, as they were attempting to pass the *Danube*, and, having utterly defeated them, invited *Theodosius*, who was encamped at a small distance, to come and see the great number of prisoners, and the immense booty he had taken[q]. This, according to *Zosimus*, is all the share *Theodosius* had in that victory. But all other authors suppose the emperor to have commanded his troops in person; nay *Claudian* tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himself, who was killed in the battle[r]. The far greater part of this numerous army

The Ostrogoths *break into the empire.*

But are defeated by Theodosius. *Year after Christ* 386.

[k] LIBAN. orat. xiv. xv. p. 301, 410. [l] CLAUD. conf Honor. iv. p. 55. [m] Idat. p 61. [n] Marcellin. chron. p. 6. [o] CLAUD. ubi supra. [p] Zos. l. iv. p 759, & 760—764. [q] Idem, p 759. [r] CLAUD. ibid.

being

being either cut in pieces, taken priſoners, or drowned in the *Danube*, the emperor ordered *Majoranus*, who commanded under him, to croſs the *Danube*, and lay waſte the enemy's country; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition [s]. *Theodoſius* ordered all the priſoners to be ſet at liberty, and even made them rich preſents, in order to entice them into his ſervice, ſays *Zoſimus* [t], and employ them againſt *Maximus*, of whom we have ſpoken at length elſewhere [u].

THE *Goths* continued quiet from this time to the year 395, the firſt of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when they were ſtirred up by the famous *Rufinus* to invade the empire. *Rufinus* governed with an abſolute ſway in the eaſt under *Arcadius*; and *Stilicho*, with the ſame arbitrary ſway, ruled in the weſt under *Honorius*; but as the latter pretended to have been appointed by *Theodoſius* guardian to both his children, he was preparing to march into the eaſt to diſpoſſeſs his rival of the authority he had uſurped. *Rufinus* therefore, to divert this ſtorm, reſolved to ſet all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmoſt confuſion. With this view, he privately ſtirred up the *Hunns*, who advanced as far as *Antioch*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, as we have related above. At the ſame time, he encouraged the celebrated *Alaric* to put himſelf at the head of his countrymen the *Viſigoths*, and to break into *Greece*. *Alaric* was deſcended from the family of the *Balthi*, the moſt illuſtrious of the *Gothic* nation, after that of the *Amali*. He paſſed the *Danube* in 376, with his countrymen driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, and ſerved, with great reputation, in the war between the *Romans* and *Goths*, which laſted from that time to the year 382, when they all ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, and were allowed to ſettle in *Thrace*, upon condition of their ſerving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Purſuant to this agreement, they attended *Theodoſius* in his expedition againſt the uſurper *Eugenius*; on which occaſion *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen. As *Theodoſius* had preferred him to no higher rank, he was highly diſſatisfied, and even threatened to revolt. *Rufinus* therefore, finding him thus diſpoſed, encouraged him by his emiſſaries, and even by privately conveying to him conſiderable ſums, to aſſemble as many barbarians as he could, and with them lay waſte the *Roman* provinces, aſſuring him, that he might penetrate as far as *Greece*, without the leaſt oppoſition [w]. *Alaric*, thus animated, aſſembled a numerous army,

The Goths ſtirred up by Rufinus *to invade the empire.*

[s] SIDON. car. v p 310. [t] Zos. p. 264. [u] Univerſ hiſt. vol. xv. p. 397, & ſeq. [w] CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 10. p. 340. Zos. p. 783. MAR ad ann. 395.

consisting chiefly of his countrymen, among whom served a body of *Hunns*, who, that winter, had passed the *Danube* on the ice, and, entering *Pannonia*, laid waste that province, as he did afterwards *Macedon* and *Thessaly*. When he drew near the famous straights of *Thermopylæ*, *Gerontius*, one of *Rufinus*'s creatures, who guarded them, withdrew, pursuant to the orders he had received from his patron, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after, *Antiochus*, at that time proconsul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus*'s creatures, never offering to oppose them [x]. Thus was the whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulf, and the *Euxine* sea, laid waste, and the city of *Constantinople* itself, in a manner, besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing, with great boldness, to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery [y]. News of these ravages were no sooner brought to *Stilicho*, than he resolved to march to the relief of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped it would afford him an opportunity of ruining his rival *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul*, where he then was, he set forward with all the western troops, and those likewise of the east, that had been left in the west after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He passed with incredible expedition the *Julian Alps*, crossed *Dalmatia*, and, entering *Thessaly*, was but at a small distance from the enemy's army, when an officer arrived in the camp, with a peremptory order from *Arcadius* to send him forthwith the oriental troops, and return with the rest into the west. This order *Rufinus* had procured, concluding, that if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head. However, *Stilicho*, not daring to disobey it, sent back the troops belonging to the eastern empire, under the conduct of one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, and returned with the rest to *Italy*, leaving the *Goths* to pursue their ravages without controul [z]. *Zosimus* writes, that they spared the city of *Athens*, defended, says he, by *Minerva* and *Achilles*, whose power *Alaric* dreaded, and

Dreadful ravages committed by them, under the conduct of Alaric.

Stilicho *marches against them.*

But is ordered by Arcadius *to return into the east.*

[x] Claud. ubi sup. Zos. ibid. Pacat. paneg. p. 293. Oros. l. vii. p. 221. [y] Claud. ibid. p. 10, 12. [z] Zos. p. 751. Claud. ibid. p. 24. Zos. l. vii. p. 751.

therefore

therefore entered the city as a friend, and would not suffer his men to commit any ravages in *Attica*. But St. *Jerom*, who wrote at that very time, tells us, that the *Athenians*, and all the other *Greeks*, submitted to the barbarians [a]. *Claudian* names the *Athenians* among those, who were carried into captivity [b]; and *Eunapius* ascribes to the ravages committed by *Alaric* the intire suppression of the ceremonies, religion, and sacrifices, of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, which had continued at *Athens* till that time [c]. Thus the remains of idolatry, which the christian princes had never been able to abolish with their laws, were at length utterly extirpated by *Alaric* and his *Goths*. During these ravages, several philosophers, over-zealous for the worship of their gods, were either put to the sword by the *Goths*, or died of grief in seeing their mysteries despised, their gods trod under foot, and their altars pulled down. Among the former were *Proterus*, *Hilarius*, and *Priscus*, a celebrated magician, who had been one of the emperor *Julian*'s chief favourites [d]. Thus the *Goths* continued in *Greece*, and the other *Roman* provinces, all the year 395, and part of 396, destroying all with fire and sword, and sending into their own country an incredible number of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged provinces.

Stilicho returns to the relief of Greece.

As *Arcadius*, to whom these provinces belonged, seemed intirely to neglect them, *Stilicho*, pitying the condition to which they were reduced, set out anew with the western troops to relieve them. He embarqued on the *Adriatic* sea, and, landing in *Peloponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the barbarians in several encounters, and obliged the rest to take refuge on a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a small distance from *Pisa*. But, after he had shut them up on all sides, and even turned the course of a river, that supplied them with water, he suffered them, by his misconduct, says *Zosimus*, to escape, to withdraw out of *Peloponnesus* unmolested, and to ravage *Epirus* in their retreat [e]. After this, he returned to *Italy*, suffering his soldiers to destroy and carry off whatever had escaped the avarice and fury of the *Goths* [f]. *Orosius* thinks that *Stilicho*'s design was to deliver *Greece*, without destroying the barbarians, whom he might, some time or other, have occasion to employ; and therefore he often overcame them, often shut them up on all sides, but always suffered them in the end to escape [g]. But the poet *Claudian* tells us, that *Stilicho* would have put *Alaric* and all his men to the sword, as he had already killed great

But suffers Alaric to escape.

[a] HIER. ep iii p. 26. [b] CLAUD. ibid. [c] EUNAP. c. 7, p. 74, 75. [d] Idem, c. 6. p. 63. 91. [e] ZOS. l. v. c. 5. p. 301. [f] Idem ibid. [g] OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 554.

numbers of them on the mountains of *Arcadia*, had not *Arcadius* taken them under his protection, and ordered *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops out of *Greece*, a province belonging to the eastern empire [h]. *Arcadius* had, without all doubt, been induced to conclude a peace with the barbarians by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had succeeded *Rufinus*, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities. He was no less jealous of *Stilicho*'s great power, than his predecessor had been; and, therefore, to rob him of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians, he persuaded the emperor to conclude a peace with them, and order *Stilicho*, to whom he must otherwise have been highly indebted, to leave the barbarians, and return with his forces into the west. Soon after, *Alaric* was appointed, no doubt in virtue of this treaty, commander of the troops in *East Illyricum*, which comprised *Greece*, and the other provinces he had laid waste [i]. *Claudian* complains, and indeed with a great deal of reason, that the barbarian, who, in defiance to the most sacred ties, had turned his arms against the empire, should be preferred and enriched, and the person, to whom the empire owed its safety, stripped of all his honours, and reduced to poverty [k]; for *Stilicho*, though he immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, pursuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet that prince caused him to be declared a public enemy by the senate of *Constantinople*, and the lands he had in the east to be seized and confiscated [l]. It was, without all doubt, after *Alaric* had been raised to this dignity, and not during the war, that, coming to *Athens* with a small attendance, he was received by the inhabitants, as we read in *Zosimus* [m], with all possible marks of honour.

Alaric preferred by Arcadius.

And Stilicho declared a public enemy.

ABOUT three years after, new disturbances were raised in the east by two *Goths*, subjects of the empire, and in the *Roman* service, *viz. Gainas* and *Tribigild*. The former had, under *Theodosius*, the chief command of all the *Goths* and other barbarians in the *Roman* armies, to which post he had been raised, by degrees, from a common soldier. He reconducted, as we have hinted above, the eastern army to *Arcadius*, and, on that occasion, caused *Rufinus* to be cut in pieces by the soldiery, in the manner we have related elsewhere [n]. For this eminent piece of service, he was preferred by *Eutropius*, who succeeded *Rufinus* in all his employments, to the post of general of the *Roman* horse and foot; but, not yet satisfied, he resolved to dispatch *Eutropius*, as he had done *Rufinus*, hoping, if he was once re-

[h] Claudian. in Eutrop. l. ii p. 113. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem, p. 130. [m] Zos. p. 784 [n] Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 8.

moved

moved to ſucceed him in his power and authority. With this view he perſuaded *Tribigild* to revolt, who, at the head of a numerous body of his countrymen under his command, at *Nicolia* in *Phrygia*, over-ran that province, and likewiſe *Piſidia*, pillaging the cities, and putting to the ſword ſuch of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. *Eutropius* diſpatched a body of troops againſt him, under the conduct of one *Lea*, who was greatly attached to his intereſt; but, as he was a perſon in every reſpect unfit for that command, *Tribigild*, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces. *Leo* himſelf, attempting to make his eſcape, periſhed among the marſhes. At length *Gainas*, who pretended to be highly provoked againſt *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was ſent againſt him; but he, keeping the whole time a private correſpondence with the rebels, inſtead of oppoſing them, encouraged them to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, the conduct of *Tribigild*, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and ſuggeſting, that the only means to ſave the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of the preſent calamities, ſhould be delivered up into his hands. A report being ſpread at the ſame time, that the king of *Perſia* was preparing to invade *Syria*, the emperor, to put an end to the domeſtic diſturbances, reſolved at laſt to ſacrifice the miniſter to the welfare of the ſtate; and accordingly, having ſent for him, cauſed him to be ſtripped of the conſular enſigns, and diſcharged him. He was afterwards baniſhed to the iſland of *Cyprus*; but *Gainas* having cauſed ſeveral charges to be brought againſt him, he was conducted from thence under a ſtrong guard to *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, and there tried, condemned, and beheaded [o]. We only hint at theſe events here, having related them at length elſewhere [p]. *Eutropius* being thus diſpatched, *Gainas*, joining *Tribigild* with all the forces under his command, laid waſte ſeveral provinces, and approaching *Conſtantinople*, obliged the emperor to come to an agreement with him, upon terms highly diſhonourable to the imperial dignity [q]. Soon after, he formed a deſign of plundering the city of *Conſtantinople*, and enriching himſelf, and his *Goths*, with the ſpoils of that wealthy metropolis; but, failing in his attempt, he pulled off the maſk, and, making open war upon the empire, ravaged the neighbouring country, and thence

Tribigild revolts at the inſtigation of Gainas. *Year after Chriſt* 399.

Defeats the troops ſent againſt him.

The emperor, at his requeſt, diſcharges Eutropius, *who is put to death.*

Gainas *openly revolts, and forces the emperor to comply with his demands.*

[o] Zos. l. v. p. 797. CLAUDIAN. in Eutrop. l. ii p. 110 PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. CHRYS. tom. iii. p. 671—673.
[p] Univerſ hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 23, & ſeq. [q] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. ibid. p. 28.

marched

marched into the *Cherſoneſus*, with a deſign to croſs over into *Aſia*. But being attacked in his paſſage by *Fravitus*, who was likewiſe a *Goth*, but greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt, he was obliged to return to the coaſt whence he had ſailed. From the *Cherſoneſus* he marched back to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates* [r] and *Sozomen* [s], cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, who purſued him. *Zoſimus* writes, that, being deſirous to end his days in the antient country of the *Goths*, he paſſed the *Danube*, but was met on the frontiers by *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, then maſters of thoſe countries, and, after a ſharp diſpute, cut in pieces, with all his men [t]. As for *Tribigild*, all we know of him is, that he periſhed in *Thrace*, before *Gainas* paſſed the *Danube* [u]; but, in what manner, we are no-where told.

Gainas oppoſed by Fravitus.

His death.

Alaric breaks into Italy.

DURING the above-mentioned diſturbances raiſed by the *Goths* in the eaſt, the weſtern provinces were alarmed with a ſudden irruption of the ſame barbarians, under the conduct of *Alaric*. *Arcadius*, as we have related above, entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces quartered in *Eaſt Illyricum*. The *Goths*, who were ſubject to the empire, created him, according to *Jornandes* [w], about the ſame time their chief and general, with the title of king of the *Viſigoths*. He was, in this very year 400, when he firſt broke into *Italy*, general of the *Illyrian* troops; whence ſome have thought he made that irruption by order of *Arcadius*, and as his general; for *Arcadius* never well agreed with his brother *Honorius*. But it is not at all probable, that *Arcadius* ſhould chuſe to make war upon his brother, while moſt of his forces were employed againſt *Tribigild* and *Gainas*. What *Jornandes* writes ſeems to us far more probable, *viz.* that the *Goths*, deſpiſing both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and diſcontented becauſe they had not ſent them the uſual preſents, reſolved to make war on the empire, in order to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces; and with this view it was that they choſe *Alaric* for their chief, and even gave him the title of king [x]. However that be, it is certain, that, in the year 400, the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, entered *Italy*, and committed there dreadful ravages, laying the country waſte far and near, and carrying off with them an incredible number of captives, as we have related elſewhere [y]. Two years after, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew, and ravaged, with-

He enters Italy anew. Year after Chriſt 400.

[r] SOCRAT. p. 303. [s] Soz. p. 763. [t] Zos. p. 798, 799. [u] PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. [w] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 650 & reg. c. 43. p. 653. [x] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 651. [y] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 34.

out

out controul, the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguria*, there being then no army in *Italy* to oppose him. The emperor *Honorius*, who then resided at *Milan*, not thinking himself safe there, retired to *Ravenna*; which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence. In the mean time, *Stilicho*, having assembled what forces he could, marched against the enemy, whom he found encamped at *Pollentia* on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont*. There the two armies engaged; but, as to the issue of the battle, there is a great disagreement among authors, as we have observed in our *Roman* history [z]. The wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, fell into the hands of the *Romans*; which he no sooner understood, than he sent deputies to *Stilicho* to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, and the captives sent back, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy*. Pursuant to this agre ment, he repassed the *Po*; but, having plundered the country in his retreat, *Stilicho* detached a strong body of barbarians against him, by whom he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge among the mountains, where they kept him blocked up, till most of his men forsaking him, and join- ing the *Romans*, he privately withdrew in the night-time, and returned through by-ways into *Thrace* [a]. Three years after, *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* with an army of two hundred thousand *Goths*, and other barbarians dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths*; but this numerous army was defeated and cut in pieces, and *Radagaisus* himself taken prisoner by *Stilicho*, with the assistance of a body of *Huns* and *Goths*, who served the *Romans* as auxiliaries, under the conduct of *Uldin* and *Sarus* [b]. Of this invasion we have given a particular and distinct account in our *Roman* history, to which we refer the reader [c].

Rut is driven out by Stilicho.

THIS storm was scarce blown over, when another was raised by *Stilicho*, who, in order to kindle a war between *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, persuaded the latter, that not only *West-Illyricum*, but the whole province, belonged to the western empire; nay, he even prevailed upon the weak prince to appoint *Alaric* general of all the *Roman* troops in *West Illyricum*, in order to recover, with them and his own *Goths*, that part of the province, which he pretended to be unjustly with-held from him by his brother *Arcadius*. *Stilicho*, in thus setting the two brothers at variance, had nothing less in view than the raising of himself to the empire; for, while the *Goths* invaded the east-

[z] Ibid. p. 450. [a] OROS. l. vii c. 37. p. 221. CLAUD. p. 160. 161. & consul. Honor. vi. p. 178—183. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. [b] Zos p 323 OROS. ibid. [c] Univers. hist vol xv. p. 41, & seq.

em

ern empire, his countrymen the *Vandals* and their allies were to break into the western provinces, and there second his treacherous and wicked design [d]. At the same time that he acquainted *Alaric* with his promotion, he caused a considerable sum to be transmitted to him, to defray the charges of the war; which he no sooner received, than leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, he entered *Epirus*, then belonging to the eastern empire, and there waited for orders from *Stilicho* to begin hostilities. But while that general was upon the point of setting out from *Ravenna* to join him with the *Roman* forces, he was stopped by letters from *Arcadius*, acquainting him with the revolt of *Constantine* in *Britain*, and, by a false report, with the death of *Alaric* [e]. Hereupon *Alaric*, after having long continued inactive in *Epirus*, left at length that country, and, bending his march to-towards *Italy*, arrived at *Æmona*, now *Lanbach*, between *Upper Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Thence he continued his route, and, passing the river *Aquila* and the straights of the mountains that bound *Pannonia* on that side, where a handful of men might have stopped his whole army, he entered *Noricum* [f]. From thence he dispatched a messenger to *Honorius*, demanding a sum of money for the time he had spent in *Epirus*, and the trouble of marching his troops into *Noricum*. Upon this demand the senate being assembled, (for *Honorius* was then at *Rome*) *Stilicho* pleaded so warmly in his favour, that it was agreed four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him [g]. But the emperor putting off from time to time the payment of this sum, *Alaric* entered *Italy*, and marching strait to *Rome*, laid siege to that metropolis, and, in a short time, reduced it to such straights, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged to redeem themselves with an immense sum; which *Alaric* no sooner received, than he raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria* [h]. But soon after, he returned anew before *Rome*, the emperor shewing great backwardness to execute the articles of the treaty between *Alaric* and the *Romans*, which he himself had ratified. On this occasion, the *Romans*, after a few days siege, opened their gates to *Alaric*, who entered the city attended by a small guard, obliged the *Romans* to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of *Rome*, for emperor. But *Honorius* having, in the mean time, declared,

Alaric advances into Noricum.

He besieges Rome.

Which is redeemed with an immense sum.

Year after Christ 408.

[d] Zos. l. v. p. 802. Soz. p. 792. PHOT. c. 80. p. 180. [e] Soz. ibid. Zos. p. 802, 803. [f] Soz. Zos. ibid. PHILOSTORG. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. RUTIL. l. ii. p. 141. [g] Zos. p. 805, 806. [h] Soz. p. 808 Zos. p. 817. SOCR. p. 88. Univers. hist. ibid. p. 51, & seq.

that

that he was ready to comply with the terms propoſed by the *Goths*, *Alaric* depoſed *Attalus*, and, leaving *Rome*, approached *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, in order to put the laſt hand to the treaty of accommodation. But the emperor refuſing to comply with the terms propoſed to him, *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and, returning before *Rome*, took and plundered that wealthy metropolis, as we have related at length elſewhere [i]. From *Rome Alaric* marched into *Campania*, and, having ravaged that and the neighbouring provinces of *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, he approached the ſtraights of *Sicily* with a deſign to paſs over into that iſland, and thence into *Africa*; but he was ſeized in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* with a fit of ſickneſs, which carried him off in a few days. The *Goths* choſe *Ataulphus*, whoſe ſiſter the deceaſed prince had married, king in his room; for to *Alaric*, as we have obſerved above, the *Goths* had given the title of king of the *Viſigoths*. *Ataulphus*, leaving *Italy*, after he had quite drained it of its wealth, marched into *Gaul*, and there reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouſe* [k]. Soon after, he married with great ſolemnity *Placidia*, the ſiſter of *Honorius*, who had been taken with many other captives at *Rome*, and treated, both by *Alaric* and him, with all the reſpect due to her rank and ſex. After this marriage, *Ataulphus* ſeemed mighty deſirous of concluding a peace with *Honorius*, and turning his arms againſt the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Burgundians*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, that had broken into *Gaul*; but all the meaſures that were taken by him and his wife *Placidia*, to bring about an accommodation, being defeated by *Conſtantius* and his party, who bore a great ſway at court, the war was renewed, and *Ataulphus* in the end obliged to retire with his *Goths* into *Spain*, where he was ſoon after murdered in the manner we have related in our *Roman* hiſtory [l]. Before his death he charged his brother, not named by any hiſtorian, to ſend back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and live in friendſhip with them; but the *Goths*, inſtead of his brother, choſe for their king *Sigeric*, or *Sergeric*, brother to *Sarus*, whom *Ataulphus* had put to death. *Sigeric* was no ſooner proclaimed king of the *Viſigoths*, than, to revenge the death of his brother, he cauſed the ſix children *Ataulphus* had by a former wife to be inhumanly murdered [m]. He ſeemed inclined to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*, and deſirous of being

Alaric *takes and plunders* Rome. *Year after Chriſt* 410.

Ataulphus, *his ſucceſſor, invades* Gaul.

Is driven out of Gaul, *he retires to* Spain, *where he is murdered. Year after Chriſt* 415.

[i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 63. [k] OROS. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. SOCR. l. vii c. 10. p. 347. PHILOSTORG. l xii c. 3. p. 534. [l] Univerſ. hiſt. vol xvi. p. 75. [m] JORN. p. 655. PROC. p. 183. OROS p 224. SOZ. l. ix. c. 9. p 411.

ern empire, his countrymen the *Vandals* and their allies were to break into the western provinces, and there second his treacherous and wicked design [d]. At the same time that he acquainted *Alaric* with his promotion, he caused a considerable sum to be transmitted to him, to defray the charges of the war; which he no sooner received, than leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, he entered *Epirus*, then belonging to the eastern empire, and there waited for orders from *Stilicho* to begin hostilities. But while that general was upon the point of setting out from *Ravenna* to join him with the *Roman* forces, he was stopped by letters from *Arcadius*, acquainting him with the revolt of *Constantine* in *Britain*, and, by a false report, with the death of *Alaric* [e]. Hereupon *Alaric*, after having long continued inactive in *Epirus*, left at length that country, and, bending his march towards *Italy*, arrived at *Æmona*, now *Lanbach*, between *Upper Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Thence he continued his route, and, passing the river *Aquila* and the straights of the mountains that bound *Pannonia* on that side, where a handful of men might have stopped his whole army, he entered *Noricum* [f]. From thence he dispatched a messenger to *Honorius*, demanding a sum of money for the time he had spent in *Epirus*, and the trouble of marching his troops into *Noricum*. Upon this demand the senate being assembled, (for *Honorius* was then at *Rome*) *Stilicho* pleaded so warmly in his favour, that it was agreed four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him [g]. But the emperor putting off from time to time the payment of this sum, *Alaric* entered *Italy*, and marching strait to *Rome*, laid siege to that metropolis, and, in a short time, reduced it to such straights, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged to redeem themselves with an immense sum; which *Alaric* no sooner received, than he raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria* [h]. But soon after, he returned anew before *Rome*, the emperor shewing great backwardness to execute the articles of the treaty between *Alaric* and the *Romans*, which he himself had ratified. On this occasion, the *Romans*, after a few days siege, opened their gates to *Alaric*, who entered the city attended by a small guard, obliged the *Romans* to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge *Attalus*, then prefect of *Rome*, for emperor. But *Honorius* having, in the mean time, declared,

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[d] Zos. l. v. p. 802. Soz. p. 792. PHOT. c. 80. p. 180. [e] Soz. ibid. Zos. p. 802, 803. [f] Soz. Zos. ibid. PHILOSTORG. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. RUTIL. l. ii. p. 141. [g] Zos. p. 805, 806. [h] Soz. p. 808 Zos. p. 817. SOCR. p. 88. Univers. hist. ibid. p. 51, & seq.

that

that he was ready to comply with the terms propoſed by the *Goths*, *Alaric* depoſed *Attalus*, and, leaving *Rome*, approached *Ravenna*, where the emperor then was, in order to put the laſt hand to the treaty of accommodation. But the emperor refuſing to comply with the terms propoſed to him, *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and, returning before *Rome*, took and plundered that wealthy metropolis, as we have related at length elſewhere [i]. From *Rome Alaric* marched into *Campania*, and, having ravaged that and the neighbouring provinces of *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, he approached the ſtraights of *Sicily* with a deſign to paſs over into that iſland, and thence into *Africa*; but he was ſeized in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* with a fit of ſickneſs, which carried him off in a few days. The *Goths* choſe *Ataulphus*, whoſe ſiſter the deceaſed prince had married, king in his room; for to *Alaric*, as we have obſerved above, the *Goths* had given the title of king of the *Viſigoths*. *Ataulphus*, leaving *Italy*, after he had quite drained it of its wealth, marched into *Gaul*, and there reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Touloufe* [k]. Soon after, he married with great ſolemnity *Placidia*, the ſiſter of *Honorius*, who had been taken with many other captives at *Rome*, and treated, both by *Alaric* and him, with all the reſpect due to her rank and ſex. After this marriage, *Ataulphus* ſeemed mighty deſirous of concluding a peace with *Honorius*, and turning his arms againſt the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Burgundians*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, that had broken into *Gaul*; but all the meaſures that were taken by him and his wife *Placidia*, to bring about an accommodation, being defeated by *Conſtantius* and his party, who bore a great ſway at court, the war was renewed, and *Ataulphus* in the end obliged to retire with his *Goths* into *Spain*, where he was ſoon after murdered in the manner we have related in our *Roman* hiſtory [l]. Before his death he charged his brother, not named by any hiſtorian, to ſend back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and live in friendſhip with them; but the *Goths*, inſtead of his brother, choſe for their king *Sigeric*, or *Sergeric*, brother to *Sarus*, whom *Ataulphus* had put to death. *Sigeric* was no ſooner proclaimed king of the *Viſigoths*, than, to revenge the death of his brother, he cauſed the ſix children *Ataulphus* had by a former wife to be inhumanly murdered [m]. He ſeemed inclined to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*, and deſirous of being

Alaric *takes and plunders* Rome. *Year after Chriſt* 410.

Ataulphus, *his ſucceſſor, invades* Gaul.

Being driven out of Gaul, *he retires to* Spain, *where he is murdered. Year after Chriſt* 415.

[i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 63. [k] OROS. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. SOCR. l. vii c. 10. p. 347. PHILOSTORG. l xii c. 3. p. 534.
[l] Univerſ. hiſt. vol xvi. p. 75. [m] JORN. p. 655. PHOT. p. 188. OROS p 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p 811.

employed by them in driving out the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, who had entered *Spain* in 409, and in the space of two years reduced almost the whole country, and divided it among them; but he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, perhaps on account of his cruelty to the children of his predecessor *Ataulphus* [n]. In his room was chosen *Vallia*, after he had caused all those to be assassinated, who stood in competition with him for the crown [o]. As the chief provinces of *Spain* were already possessed by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, he resolved to pass over into *Africa*, and attempt the reduction of that country, which still continued subject to the *Romans*; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked, and a great number of *Goths* on board of it drowned, he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, upon the following terms; *viz.* that *Placidia*, whom the emperor had promised to *Constantius*, should be sent back; that the *Goths* should make war upon the barbarians, who had settled in *Spain*, restoring to the *Romans* the places and territories they should recover out of their hands; that, on the other hand, the *Romans* should reward the *Goths* with lands within the empire, and send them forthwith six hundred thousand measures of corn. Pursuant to this agreement, the promised corn was immediately sent to the *Goths*, who were then in the utmost distress; and they no sooner received it, than *Vallia* sent back *Placidia* to her brother, and began to make the necessary preparations for the intended war with the barbarians in *Spain* [p]. *Jornandes* writes, that *Constantius* advanced at the head of a powerful army to the frontiers of *Spain*, with a design to make war upon *Vallia*, in case he refused to send him *Placidia*, who had been promised to him in marriage; that *Vallia* came to meet him, on the *Pyrenean* mountains, with an army no-ways inferior to his; and that the above-mentioned peace and alliance was there concluded [q]. But *Jornandes* is so little acquainted with the history of those times, even that of his own nation, that we cannot give intire credit to any thing he writes.

Sigeric *his successor murdered.*

Vallia concludes a peace with the Romans.

History of the war with the Silingians *and Alans in* Spain.

AN alliance being thus concluded between the *Romans* and the *Goths* in *Catalonia*, in 416. *Vallia*, without loss of time, fell first on the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who had settled in *Baetica* or *Andalusia*, and having, in several successful encounters, cut off great numbers of them, he obliged the rest to abandon their country, and take refuge among the *Alans* in *Celtiberia*, now the kingdom of *Arragon*. Against these he marched

[n] OROS. PHOT ibid. [o] OROS p. 224. [p] OROS. ibid PHI LOSTORG. l. XII. c. 4. p. 534. [q] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 32. p. 650.

marched next, and made such a dreadful havock of that nation, that their king *Ata* being killed, the few who remained, instead of chusing him a successor, fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, who had settled in *Galicia*, and submitted to him [q]. To reward these eminent services of *Vallia* and his *Goths*, *Honorius* bestowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, comprising the present archbishopric of *Bourdeaux*, and some neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from *Toulouse* to the sea; to which was added, soon after, *Novempopulania*, or *Aquitania Tertia*, that is, the provinces of *Auch* and *Gascony* [r]. *Vallia*, on the other hand, yielded to the *Romans*, not only the country he had taken from the *Vandals* and *Alans*, but likewise *Catalonia*, which the *Goths* had held ever since their entering *Spain*, under the conduct of *Ataulphus* their second king. *Vallia* fixed his residence at *Toulouse*, which by that means became, and continued to be, for the space of eighty-eight years, the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Visigoths*. *Vallia* died soon after he had brought his *Goths* back into *Gaul*, that is, in the year 418, according to the chronicle of *Idatius* [s], having reigned only three years [t]. He left behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom she had the famous *Ricimer* of whom we have made frequent mention in our *Roman* history [u].

Holds all Goths, joined to Aquitain.

Year after Christ 418.

Vallia was succeeded by *Theodoric*, who, breaking the alliance which his predecessor had concluded with the *Romans*, made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to them, and even laid siege to *Arles*; but, at the approach of *Aetius*, he abandoned the enterprise, and returned to *Toulouse* [w]. He made peace soon after with the *Romans*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that after the siege of *Arles*, which the *Goths* had attempted in vain to reduce, several *Gauls* were delivered up to them as hostages, and among the rest one *Theodorus*, who was nearly related to *Avitus*, afterwards emperor: he adds, that *Avitus* went to visit his kinsman at the court of *Theodoric*; on which occasion he rejected the great offers, with which *Theodoric* endeavoured to entice him into his service [x]. After this, the *Goths* continued quiet in the countries, that had been allotted them in *Gaul*, for the space of ten years, that is, to the year 436, when the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Burgundians*, *Theodoric* laid hold of that opportunity to inlarge his dominions. Having, therefore made himself master of several cities, he laid siege in the end to *Narbonne*. But the *Re-*

Theodoric *first makes war, and then concludes a peace with the Romans.*

[q] IDAT. chron. SID. car. ii. p. 300. [r] VALES. l iii p. 115. [s] IDAT. chron. p. 15 [t] ISIDOR. chron [u] Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 138. 146, 152. [w] PROSP. chron. [x] SID. car. vii p. 337.

He breaks through the Romans.

mans having, in the mean time, concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, count *Litorius* haſtened to the relief of the place at the head of a body of auxiliary *Huns*, and, falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a ſeaſonable relief to the inhabitants, reduced, by the long ſiege, to the utmoſt extremity [y]. *Idatius* aſcribes the raiſing of the ſiege to *Aetius* [z]; probably, becauſe *Litorius* commanded under him, and acted by his orders. The *Romans* purſued the war againſt the *Goths* with great vigour and equal ſucceſs. In 438, a battle was fought, in which *Aetius*, who commanded the *Roman* forces, cut eight thouſand of them in pieces [a]. The following year, *Litorius*, who commanded the auxiliary *Huns*, gained great advantages over them, and even laid ſiege to *Touloufe*, their capital. *Theodoric*, who was in the place, ſent ſeveral biſhops to *Litorius*, hoping, by their mediation, to prevail upon the *Roman* general to accept the advantageous terms, which he offered; but *Litorius*, who thought the *Goths* reduced to the laſt extremity, openly declaring, that he would hearken to no propoſals, *Theodoric* marched out at the head of his men, and offered him battle; which he not declining, as a more prudent commander would have done, both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury. Victory continued a long time doubtful, the loſs being equal on both ſides; but *Litorius* having in the end advanced too far at the head of his *Huns*, in whoſe valour he chiefly confided, the *Goths*, making a laſt effort, cut moſt of them in pieces, put the reſt to flight, and, having ſurrounded *Litorius*, who had received a dangerous wound, took him alive, and carried him, with his hands tied behind his back, into the city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* cauſed him to be expoſed for ſome time to the inſults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public priſon; where, after he had undergone inexpreſſible hardſhips, he was by the king's orders put to death. After this victory the *Goths* might have extended their conqueſts to the *Rhone*; and this reſolution they had taken, according to *Sidonius*, *Actius*, who at that time had neither men nor money [c], being no-ways in a condition to oppoſe them. However, *Theodoric*, at the requeſt of *Avitus*, then prefect of *Gaul*, and by him had in great eſteem, readily hearkened to the propoſals that were made to him, and

He besieges Toulouſe.

The Romans defeated, and he taken prisoner by Theodoric.

[y] PROSP. chron. VALES. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136. [z] IDAT. p. 21. [a] PROSP. chron. [b] GREG. TURO. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 47. p. 81. SALVIAN. gub. l. vii p. 164. IDAT. p. 18. SID. p. 341. [c] SID. car. vii. p 341.

concluded

concluded a peace with the *Romans* on the same terms he had offered them before the battle [d]. *Who concludes a peace with the* Romans.

SOME years after, that is in 453, *Theodoric*, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, assisted them powerfully against the *Hunns*, who had entered *Gaul*, and, heading his own troops in person, distinguished himself in the famous battle of *Chalons*; but, falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some, trod to death by his own people, who did not know him; according to others, killed by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who served under *Attila*, and was descended from the royal family of the *Amali* [e]. He was succeeded by his son *Thorismund*, who had fought under his father, and had been wounded in the same battle. The young prince was for revenging the death of his father on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila* in his camp; but *Aetius*, fearing the *Hunns*, whom he considered as a check upon the *Goths* and *Franks*, might be thus intirely cut off, craftily advised him to return home, lest his brothers should raise disturbances during his absence, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. *Thorismund* followed his advice, and, returning with his troops to *Toulouse*, was there received as king, with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable [f]. Being soon after apprised of the deceitful advice given him by *Aetius*, he broke the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, and laid siege to *Arles*; but was prevailed upon by *Ferreolus*, prefect of *Gaul*, to drop that enterprise, and retire [g]. *Sidonius* writes, that *Ferreolus* did more by an entertainment, than *Aetius* could have done with an army; that, by his obliging manner and agreeable conversation, he gained *Thorismund*, and saved *Arles* [h]. The same year *Thorismund* had a favourable opportunity of revenging, on the *Hunns*, the death of his father; for *Attila* having invaded *Gaul* anew, with a design to make war upon the *Alans*, next neighbours to the *Visigoths*, and, by reducing them, get footing in *Gaul*, *Thorismund* joined the *Alans* with all his forces, engaged *Attila*, and, having gained a complete victory over him, obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country [i]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that he overcame and subdued the *Alemanns* and the *Alans* [k]. It appears from *Sidonius*, that his dominions extended to the *Rhone* [l]: that writer styles him the haughty and untractable king of *Gothia* [m]; for in his whole *He is killed in the battle of* Chalons. Thorismund *his successor breaks with the* Romans. *Defeats* Attila.

[d] PROSP. IDAT. chron. [e] Vide BUCH. hist. Belg. c. 37—39. [f] JORN. rer Goth. c. 41. p. 671. [g] ISIDOR. chron. p. 718. PROSP p. 54. [h] SID. l. vii. epist. 12. p. 200. [i] JORN ibid. c. 43. p. 674—676. [k] GREG. TUR. rer Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [l] SID. l. vii epist. 22. p. 199. [m] Idem ibid.

conduct

conduct he betrayed great pride and arrogance, was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, and seemed to delight in nothing but wars and slaughter. On the the other hand, his brothers *Theodoric*, *Frederic*, *Turic*, or rather *Euric*, *Rotemer*, and *Himnarit*, were inclined to peace; which occasioned daily quarrels between them and the king. At length, his brothers, especially *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, finding they could by no other means divert him from engaging in new wars, resolved to dispatch him. Being therefore one day let blood on account of some slight indisposition, while his vein was still open, one of his officers, named *Ascaleru*, having first removed privately his arms, cried out aloud, that assassins were coming in to murder the king, and at the same time threw himself upon him with several others. *Thorismund*, missing his weapons, with the only arm he had free, laid hold of a foot-stool, and with it dispatched some of the conspirators; but was in the end overpowered and slain [n]. This *Idatius* supposes to have happened in 452, and he is followed therein by *Isidore*, who will have *Thorismund* to have reigned only one year; but *Prosper* places the death of that prince in 453, and the year must have been near ended, since *Thorismund* was then, according to *Jornandes* [o], in the third year of his reign.

He is murdered.

Year after Christ 453.

Theodoric II.

Thorismund was succeeded by his brother *Theodoric*, a prince, according to *Sidonius* [p], whom he honoured with his intimacy, of uncommon parts and great accomplishments, but in point of religion a mere hypocrite. The same writer calls him elsewhere a martial prince, who even surpassed his illustrious parent, the glory of the *Gothic* nation, and the support of the *Roman* empire, not able to maintain itself without the assistance of the barbarians, whom the *Romans* had so often overcome [q]. He was, it seems, a man of some learning, and well versed in the *Latin* poets [r]. In the beginning of his reign he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans*, sending his brother *Frederic* with a chosen body of troops into *Spain*, to make war upon the *Bagaudæ*, who, driving out the *Romans*, had sized on great part of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. *Frederic* recovered several places out of their hands, which he restored to the *Romans* [s]. However, in the year 455, the emperor *Maximus*, apprehending that *Theodoric* designed to break with the empire, sent *Avitus*, who was greatly esteemed and respected by the *Goths*, to the court of *Toulouse*, to divert that storm. *Avitus* was received by the king with the greatest marks

A friend to the Romans.

[n] Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 36. p. 664, 665. [o] Idem ibid. p. 675. [p] Sid. ep. vii. p. 2—6. [q] Idem, car. xxiii. p. 400. [r] Idem, car. vii. p. 346. [s] Idat. p. 30.

of

of friendſhip and eſteem, and the peace between the two nations confirmed. But, in the mean time, *Maximus* dying, *Theodoric* preſſed *Avitus* to aſſume the ſovereignty, promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. *Avitus*, encouraged with this promiſe, ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* at *Toulouſe*, on the tenth of *July*; and was, on the eighth of *Auguſt*, acknowledged and proclaimed anew at *Arles* by the *Roman* ſoldiery, and all the perſons of diſtinction in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his acceſſion to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed [t]. The following year, the *Suevians*, taking advantage of the confuſion which the aſſaſſination of *Valentinian* III. and *Maximus* had bred in the empire, over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a deſign to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*. Hereupon *Avitus* diſpatched count *Fronto* to *Requiarius* their king, putting him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the *Romans*: *Theodoric* likewiſe interpoſed his good offices, conjuring *Requiarius*, who had married his ſiſter, not to diſturb the public tranquility; and at the ſame time acquainting him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus* [u]. What anſwer *Requiarius* returned to the embaſſadors our hiſtorian does not tell us; but he had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than, aſſembling his forces, he entered the province of *Tarraco*, which then belonged to the *Romans*, and there committed unheard-of ravages, without any regard to the faith of treaties, or the laws of juſtice. Upon this, *Theodoric* ſent him a ſecond embaſſy, to which he anſwered with great haughtineſs, that he did not underſtand, why the king of the *Goths* ſhould concern himſelf with his affairs; that if he found fault with his conduct, he would ſoon give him an account of it at *Toulouſe*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this anſwer, began to prepare for war; but in the mean time *Requiarius*, entering anew the province of *Tarraco*, laid it waſte far and near, carrying with him into *Galicia* a great number of captives [w]. Soon after, *Theodoric*, having concluded a peace with all his neighbours, left his own dominions, and, with the conſent and approbation of *Avitus*, entered *Spain* at the head of a numerous army, conſiſting of *Goths* and *Burgundians*; the latter, whom he had called to his aſſiſtance, being commanded by their king *Hilperic* or *Chilperic*. *Requiarius* met him about twelve miles from *Aſtorga* on the *Urbicus*, now the *Orbigua*: hereupon a battle enſued, in which

Cauſes Avitus *to be proclaimed emperor at* Toulouſe.

Battles the Suevians in Spain

[t] Sid. p. 349. Isat. chron. Buch. Belg. p. 523. [u] Jorn. c. 44. p. 675. [w] Idem, p. 676.

the

Takes their king prisoner, and puts him to death.

the *Suevians* were utterly defeated, and their king, who was dangerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to the most distant corner of *Galicia* [x]. This battle was fought on the fifth of *October*, and *Theodoric*, pursuing the fugitives, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who abstained from slaughter, and spared the sacred virgins, but committed all other disorders [y]; *Requiarius* had retired to a place called *Portucal*, thought to be the present city of *Porto* on the *Douro*; and from thence attempted to make his escape by sea; but, being driven back by a storm, he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who kept him under close confinement till *December*, and then ordered him to be put to death [z]. The *Suevians*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, and destitute of a leader, were most of them either taken prisoners, or put to the sword; tho' *Theodoric* had strictly injoined his men to spare all, who laid down their arms, and submitted [a]. Thus was the power of the *Suevians* reduced by the *Goths* to the lowest ebb. Some authors think, that *Avitus*, who owned himself indebted to *Theodoric* for the imperial dignity, had yielded to him all the countries in *Spain* he should recover out of the hands of the *Suevians*: others are of opinion, that, *Avitus* being in the mean time deposed, *Theodoric* thought he might retain for himself the countries he had conquered in the name of that prince. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the king of the *Visigoths*, appropriating to himself the countries he had taken from the *Suevians*, appointed one *Aquiulphus* to govern them. *Aquiulphus*, or, as others call him, *Acliulphus*, was not a *Goth*, as *Jornandes* takes care to tell us, but born in the country of the *Warni*, who are thought to have passed about this time from *Lower Saxony* into *Frisia* and *Holland* [b]. He therefore, without any regard to the most sacred ties, abandoned the *Goths*, and, retiring into *Galicia*, endeavoured to persuade the *Suevians* dwelling there to acknowledge him for their king [c]; but a powerful army being sent against him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded [d]. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died in the month of *June* of the following year 456 at *Porto* [e]. The *Suevians*, who, refusing to submit to *Theodoric*, had retired into *Galicia*, upon the news of the death of their king, chose one of their own nation, named *Maldra*, in his room.

Recovers several provinces from the Suevians.

Which he retains.

[x] Idem, p. 676. [y] Idat. p. 33. [z] Jorn. p. [illegible] p. 31. [a] Jorn. [illegible] [b] Beda p. 525. [c] Jorn. ibid. [d] Idem, p. [illegible] [e] Idat. p. [illegible]

The

THE following year 457, *Theodoric*, having almoſt intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, paſſed from thence into *Luſitania*, and there, after having laid in aſhes ſeveral cities and villages, beſieged and took *Merida* the metropolis of that province; but was, as we are told, deterred from plundering it by ſome prodigies that happened [f]. He continued at *Merida* till *Eaſter*, which this year 457 fell on the thirty-firſt of *March*, when receiving ſome diſagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not ſpecified in hiſtory, he returned in great haſte to *Toulouſe*. However, he left in *Spain* a body of troops, compoſed of different nations, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet ſubmitted to the *Goths*. Theſe forces, being on their march admitted as friends into the city of *Aſtorga* held by the *Romans*, or rather by ſome banditti, who called themſelves *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put great numbers of them to the ſword, ſet fire to the city after they had plundered it, and, having ravaged the neighbouring country, purſued their march, carrying with them an immenſe booty, and a great many captives, among whom were ſeveral eccleſiaſtics and two biſhops. We are told, that they had expreſs orders from *Theodoric* to act in this manner [g]. The city of *Palentia* met with the ſame treatment; but the caſtle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Aſtorga*, making a vigorous reſiſtance, the *Goths*, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, in which they loſt great numbers of their men, abandoned the enterpriſe, and returned to *Gaul* [h]. In their room *Theodoric* ſent another army into *Spain*, commanded by one *Cyrila*; but we read of no other exploits performed by them, beſides the ravaging of the province of *Bætica*, now *Andaluſia* [i]. *Idatius* writes, that embaſſadors were ſent at this time by the *Goths* and *Vandals* to the *Suevians*; but he does not tell us what was the ſubject of their embaſſy [k]. Perhaps the *Goths* and *Vandals* had entered into an alliance with the emperor *Majorianus*, and were endeavouring to draw the *Suevians* into the ſame league; but they did not therein ſucceed; for the following year *Theodoric* recalled *Cyrila*, and ſent another general, named *Sunieric*, in his room, with orders to purſue the war with the *Suevians* [l], who nevertheleſs ravaged the province of *Luſitania* under the conduct of *Maldra* their king, and *Galicia* under that of his ſon *Remiſmund*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Richimund* [m]. *Theodoric*, though thus engaged in war with the *Suevians*, broke at the ſame time, upon what provocation we know not, with the *Ro-*

Enters Luſitania, *and reduces ſeveral places there.*

[f] IDAT. p. 35. [g] Idem, p. 36. [h] CUSPINIAN. p. 451. [i] Idem ibid. [k] IDAT. p. 36 [l] Idem, p. 37 [m] CUSP. p. 451. IDAT. p. 38. JORN. p. 679

Takes their king prisoner, and puts him to death.

the *Suevians* were utterly defeated, and their king, who was dangerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to the most distant corner of *Galicia* [x]. This battle was fought on the fifth of *October*, and *Theodoric*, pursuing the fugitives, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who abstained from slaughter, and spared the sacred virgins, but committed all other disorders [y]; *Requiarius* had retired to a place called *Portucal*, thought to be the present city of *Porto* on the *Douro*; and from thence attempted to make his escape by sea; but, being driven back by a storm, he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who kept him under close confinement till *December*, and then ordered him to be put to death [z]. The *Suevians*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, and destitute of a leader, were most of them either taken prisoners, or put to the sword; tho' *Theodoric* had strictly injoined his men to spare all, who laid down their arms, and submitted [a]. Thus was the power of the *Suevians* reduced by the *Goths* to the lowest ebb. Some authors think, that *Avitus*, who owned himself indebted to *Theodoric* for the imperial dignity, had yielded to him all the countries in *Spain* he should recover out of the hands of the *Suevians*: others are of opinion, that, *Avitus* being in the mean time deposed, *Theodoric* thought he might retain for himself the countries he had conquered in the name of that prince. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the king of the *Visigoths*, appropriating to himself the countries he had taken from the *Suevians*, appointed one *Aquiulphus* to govern them. *Aquiulphus*, or, as others call him, *Acliulphus*, was not a *Goth*, as *Jornandes* takes care to tell us, but born in the country of the *Warni*, who are thought to have passed about this time from *Lower Saxony* into *Frisia* and *Holland* [b]. He therefore, without any regard to the most sacred ties, abandoned the *Goths*, and, retiring into *Galicia*, endeavoured to persuade the *Suevians* dwelling there to acknowledge him for their king [c]; but a powerful army being sent against him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded [d]. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died in the month of *June* of the following year 456 at *Porto* [e]. The *Suevians*, who, refusing to submit to *Theodoric*, had retired into *Galicia*, upon the news of the death of their king, chose one of their own nation, named *Maldra*, in his room.

Recovers several provinces from the Suevians.

Which he retains.

[x] Idem, p. 676. [y] Idat. p. 33. [z] Jorn. p. 676. Idat. p. 34. [a] Jorn. Idat. ibid. [b] Bucu p. 525. [c] Jorn ibid. [d] Idem, p. 677. [e] Idat. p. 37.

The

THE following year 457, *Theodoric*, having almoſt intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, paſſed from thence into *Luſitania*, and there, after having laid in aſhes ſeveral cities and villages, beſieged and took *Merida* the metropolis of that province; but was, as we are told, deterred from plundering it by ſome prodigies that happened [f]. He continued at *Merida* till *Eaſter*, which this year 457 fell on the thirty-firſt of *March*, when receiving ſome diſagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not ſpecified in hiſtory, he returned in great haſte to *Toulouſe*. However, he left in *Spain* a body of troops, compoſed of different nations, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet ſubmitted to the *Goths*. Theſe forces, being on their march admitted as friends into the city of *Aſtorga* held by the *Romans*, or rather by ſome banditti, who called themſelves *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put great numbers of them to the ſword, ſet fire to the city after they had plundered it, and, having ravaged the neighbouring country, purſued their march, carrying with them an immenſe booty, and a great many captives, among whom were ſeveral eccleſiaſtics and two biſhops. We are told, that they had expreſs orders from *Theodoric* to act in this manner [g]. The city of *Palentia* met with the ſame treatment; but the caſtle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Aſtorga*, making a vigorous reſiſtance, the *Goths*, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, in which they loſt great numbers of their men, abandoned the enterpriſe, and returned to *Gaul* [h]. In their room *Theodoric* ſent another army into *Spain*, commanded by one *Cyrila*; but we read of no other exploits performed by them, beſides the ravaging of the province of *Bætica*, now *Andaluſia* [i]. *Idatius* writes, that embaſſadors were ſent at this time by the *Goths* and *Vandals* to the *Suevians*; but he does not tell us what was the ſubject of their embaſſy [k]. Perhaps the *Goths* and *Vandals* had entered into an alliance with the emperor *Majorianus*, and were endeavouring to draw the *Suevians* into the ſame league; but they did not therein ſucceed; for the following year *Theodoric* recalled *Cyrila*, and ſent another general, named *Sunieric*, in his room, with orders to purſue the war with the *Suevians* [l], who nevertheleſs ravaged the province of *Luſitania* under the conduct of *Maldra* their king, and *Galicia* under that of his ſon *Remiſmund*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Richmund* [m]. *Theodoric*, though thus engaged in war with the *Suevians*, broke at the ſame time, upon what provocation we know not, with the *Ro-*

Enters Luſitania, *and reduces ſeveral places there.*

[f] IDAT. p. 35. [g] Idem, p. 36. [h] CUSPINIAN. p. 451. [i] Idem ibid. [k] IDAT. p. 36 [l] Idem, p. 37. [m] CUSP. p 451. IDAT. p. 38. JORN. p. 679.

mans, and, taking unexpectedly the field, made himself master of several cities in *Gaul* belonging to him. But *Majorianus*, who was then at *Arles*, marching against him with what troops he could assemble, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace, which was readily granted him, upon his promising to assist the *Romans* against the *Suevians* and *Vandals* [n].

Is defeated by Majorianus.

But *Majorianus* dying soon after, *Theodoric* thought himself no longer obliged to maintain the peace he had concluded with him; and therefore made himself master of several places in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*, and among the rest of *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to him by one *Agrippina*. From *Narbonne* he marched to *Arles*, which he invested, but was obliged to raise the siege by *Ægidius*, a native of *Gaul*, whom *Severus*, the successor of *Majorianus*, had appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there [o]. The following year 463, *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Goths* in the neighbourhood of *Orleans*. In this battle great numbers of the *Goths* were slain, and, among the rest, *Frederic*, the king's brother, who commanded in chief [p]. The *Goths* being overcome and dispersed, *Ægidius* laid siege to *Chinon* in *Touraine*; but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprise, and retire [q].

He takes Narbonne.

But is defeated by Ægidius.

The Goths *masters of the greater part of* Spain.

The *Goths* were attended with better success in *Spain* than in *Gaul*; for *Idatius* speaks of them as now masters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was still held by the *Suevians*; and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*, and were governed by a duke; for in 465, a *Roman*, named *Vincentius*, resided at *Tarraco* with that title [r]. The provinces subject to the *Goths* were governed by the generals *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, the former a *Goth*, and the latter a native of *Languedoc*, which was subject to the *Goths*.

In the year 464, died *Ægidius*, and upon his death the *Goths*, says *Idatius* [s], made themselves masters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for *Berri*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne*, still belonged to the *Romans* in 472 [t]; *Syagrius*, the son of *Ægidius*, held *Soissons* and its territory [u]; *Childeric* king of the *Burgundians* reduced the city of *Paris* after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten, years [w]. The *Franks* were masters of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, the *Saxons* of *Nants* and *Bayeux*, and the

[n] Idat. ibid. Cusp. p. 451. [o] Prisc. p. 42 Idat. p. 41. Cusp. p. 452. [p] Idat. ibid. [q] Greg. Tur c. 22. p. 387, 388. [r] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1062. Idat. p. 41. [s] Idem, p. 43. [t] Greg. Tur. p. 282. [u] Idem, p. 285. Sid. epist. viii p. 260. [w] Bolland. 3. Januar p. 140.

Britons

Britons driven out by the *Angles* of *Vennes* and *Trequier* [x]. The following year 465, *Theodoric*, more bent on making acquisitions in *Gaul* than in *Spain*, came to an agreement with *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*; but before he could put his vast designs in execution, he was taken off by the same crime that had raised him to the throne, being murdered by his brother *Euric*, after he had reigned thirteen years [y]. *Jornandes*, ever favourable to the *Goths*, only writes, that the joy *Euric* had betrayed on this occasion induced some to imagine, that he had been accessory to the death of his brother [z]. *Euric*, called also *Eoric*, *Evarix*, and *Euthoric*, had no sooner ascended the throne, than he dispatched embassadors to *Leo* emperor of the east, to *Remismund* king of the *Suevians*, and to *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*. *Remismund* no sooner heard the embassadors, than he sent others to *Euric*, to the emperor, and to the king of the *Vandals* [a]; but, what was the subject of so many embassies, our historian has not thought fit to acquaint us. All we know is, that the embassadors, sent by *Euric* to the king of the *Vandals*, hearing that the *Romans* were making great preparations to attack that people, returned in great haste to *Tolouse*; and that *Remismund*, upon the departure of *Euric*'s embassadors, recalled, and assembled into one body, the troops he had sent out in small parties to ravage the country [b]. These people were perhaps negotiating an alliance among themselves against the common enemy the *Romans*. Be that as it will, *Euric*, this very year 466, committed great ravages in *Lusitania*, and, having reduced the cities of *Pampelona* and *Saragosa*, made himself master of *Upper Spain* [c]. The following year, *Remismund*, having entered *Lusitania*, took *Coimbra*, made himself master of several other places, and ravaged the country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Hereupon the natives, recurring not to the *Romans*, which shews that their power in *Spain* was now reduced to a very low ebb, but to the *Visigoths*, sent a solemn embassy, at the head of which was one *Opilio*, to implore the protection of *Euric*, who readily interposed his good offices, but, it seems, to no effect; for *Remismund*, upon the departure of the embassadors sent to him by *Euric*, plundered the city of *Coimbra*, destroyed several houses, with part of the walls, and carried such of the inhabitants, as had not the good luck to make their escape, into captivity [d]. *Idatius* adds, that the embassadors sent by the *Lusitanians* re-

Euric. *Year after Christ* 466.

Takes Pampelona *and* Saragosa.

[x] VAL. rer. Franc p 236, 237. SID. ep. vii p. 165. [y] Jorn. ISIDOR. MARC. chron. [z] JORN. c. 44. p. 677. [a] Jorn. p 44, 45. [b] Idem ibid [c] Idem, chron p 719. [d] Jorn. p. 45.

ported, upon their return, that several prodigies had happened in *Gaul*, and, among the rest, that a fountain of blood had sprung up in the midst of *Tolouse*, and flowed a whole day [e]. *Euric* having made himself master of *Pampelona* and *Cæsaraugusta*, or *Saragosa*, as we have related above, *Tarraco* with its territory was the only place held now in *Spain* by the *Romans*; and that city *Euric* besieged in 461, the second of the emperor *Anthemius*'s reign, and having, after a long siege, reduced it, levelled it with the ground. Thus were the *Romans* driven quite out of *Spain*, and a period put to their empire there, after they had been at least seven hundred years masters of that country. All those provinces, except *Galicia* and part of *Lusitania*, which were subject to the *Suevians*, acknowledged *Euric* for their king, who, residing at *Tolouse*, governed them by his lieutenants.

Drives the Romans *quite out of* Spain.

Euric, not satisfied with the conquests he had made in *Spain*, resolved to extend his dominions likewise in *Gaul*. With this view he began to draw together his forces, and make other military preparations; which the emperor *Anthemius* no sooner understood, than he wrote to *Riotham* king of the *Britons*, who had settled on the *Loire*, pressing him to join the *Romans* against the common enemy; for the *Britons* were greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. *Riotham* readily complied with the emperor's request, and, having assembled a body of twelve thousand men, marched at the head of them to *Bourges*, and from thence to *Bourgdeols* on the *Indre*, in the province of *Berri*; but, being there met by *Euric*, he was overcome by the *Goths* with great loss, and obliged to abandon that province, and take refuge among the *Burgundians*, the friends and allies of the *Romans* [f]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, after the defeat of the *Britons*, one *Paul*, whom he distinguishes with the title of count, having assembled a body of troops, consisting of *Romans* and *Franks*, made war upon the *Goths*, and gained considerable advantages over them [g]. However, *Sidonius* tells us, that the *Goths* overcame the *Franks*, and afterwards entered into an alliance with them [h]. He writes elsewhere, that *Euric* gave his daughter in marriage to *Sigimer* a barbarian prince [i], whom *Valesius* conjectures to have been by nation a *Frank* [k]. The war between the *Romans* and *Goths* continued all this and the following year 471, but the authors, who speak of that war without descending to particulars, only tell us, that the *Goths*

Defeats the Britons.

[e] Idem ibid. & p 46. [f] Jorn. rer Goth. c. 45. p 678. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282 [g] Greg. Tur. ibid. [h] Sid. l. viii. ep 3 [illegible]. 215. [i] Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p 251. [k] Vales. rer. Franc. p 21[illegible]. 22[illegible].

gained

gained great advantages over the *Romans*, and in the end made themſelves maſters of the provinces of *Berri* and *Gevaudan* [l], the inhabitants, who were greatly oppreſſed by the *Roman* officers, eſpecially by *Seronatus*, governor of *Gaul*, chuſing rather to live under the *Goths* than the *Romans* [m], or, as *Salvianus* expreſſes it, chuſing rather to live free, under the appearance of ſlavery, than be treated like ſlaves under the appearance of liberty [n]. In 473, a peace was concluded [o]; but *Anthemius* being murdered the ſame year by *Ricimer*, and *Olybrius* proclaimed emperor in his room, as we have related in our *Roman* hiſtory [p], *Euric*, taking advantage of the weak and diſtracted ſtate of the empire, renewed the war, hoping to drive the *Romans* quite out of *Gaul*, as he had done five years before out of *Spain*. *Auvergne* was the only province they ſtill held in *Aquitania Prima*, lying between the ocean, the *Rhone* and the *Loire*; and into this province *Euric* broke at the head of a powerful army in the beginning of the year 474, but met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the inhabitants, who, without the aſſiſtance of any regular troops, gained ſome conſiderable advantages over the enemy. But in the end they laid ſiege to *Clermont*, and continued before that place, without being able to reduce it, till the rigour of the ſeaſon obliged them to retire [q]. As they ſeemed reſolved to renew the ſiege early in the ſpring, *Nepos*, who had ſucceeded *Olybrius* in the empire, thinking he could better ſecure by treaty, than by arms, what he ſtill poſſeſſed in *Gaul*, diſpatched the quæſtor *Licinianus* with the character of embaſſador to *Euric*, in order to enter into a negotiation with that prince. *Euric* received him in a very obliging manner, and ſeveral conferences were held, at which ſome biſhops of *Provence* were allowed to aſſiſt; *viz. Leontius* biſhop of *Arles*, *Fauſtus* of *Riez*, *Grecus* of *Marſeilles*, and *Baſilius* of *Aix* [r]. To *Baſilius*, *Sidonius*, then biſhop of *Clermont*, wrote a letter, recommending to him the intereſt of the *Catholic* religion, and begging he would take care, that by the treaty the *Catholics* ſhould be allowed to ordain biſhops for the vacant churches in the countries ſubject to the *Goths*. For the *Goths* held the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Euric*, a profeſſed enemy to the catholics, would not allow them to appoint new biſhops in the room of thoſe who died; inſomuch, that nine epiſcopal ſees were at that time vacant [s]. A report being ſpread,

Makes himſelf maſter of Berri *and* Gevaudan.

Beſieges Clermont *in vain.*

[l] SID. l. iii. ep. 1, 4. p. 63, 68. & l. vii. ep. 5. p. 180. [m] OROS. l. vii. c. 28. ISIDOR. chron. SID l. ii ep. 1 p. 33, & ep. 13 p. 143. [n] SALVIAN. l. v. de guber. Dei. [o] SID. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 183. [p] Univerſ. hiſt vol xvi p. 153. [q] SID. l. vi. ep 6. p. 162. [r] SID. l. vii. ep. 6, 7. p. 194, 163. [s] SID. l. iv. ep. 15. p 109.

which

which proved afterwards true, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded between the *Romans* and *Goths*, in virtue of which *Auvergne* was to be delivered up to the *Goths*, *Sidonius*, who was bishop of *Clermont* in that province, and a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, wrote a letter to *Grecus* bishop of *Marseilles*, conjuring him not to agree to so shameful an article, and assuring him, that the inhabitants were ready to undergo the greatest hardships, rather than submit to the *Goths*, who, mindful of the vigorous resistance they had often met with from them, would treat them more like criminals than slaves. He concludes by earnestly begging, that if the country was to be yielded to the *Goths*, the inhabitants might be allowed to retire, and some place allotted to them within the bounds of the empire [t]. However, the treaty was concluded, and *Auvergne* delivered up to *Euric*, tho' he would not by any means consent to the ordaining of catholic bishops for the vacant churches within his dominions [u].

Auvergne yielded to him by treaty. Year after Christ 475.

FIVE years after, that is in 480, the few places in *Gaul*, that were still held by the *Romans*, having submitted to *Odoacer*, who, after putting to death *Orestes*, and deposing his son *Augustulus* the last emperor of the west, had assumed the title of king of *Italy*, that prince yielded them to the *Goths*, whose dominions, by that addition, extended from the *Loire* to the *Alps* [w]. However, the cities of *Arles* and *Marseilles* held out, it seems, some time against the *Goths* [x]. We leave *Bucherius* to inquire why *Odoacer* abandoned these countries, and, in abandoning them, chose rather to bestow them on the *Goths*, than the *Burgundians*, the friends and allies of the empire [y]. That writer supposes the *Burgundians*, jealous of the too great power of the *Goths*, to have made war upon them; and that this is the year of which *Jornandes* speaks, where he tells us, that a war was kindled between two nations in *Gaul* [z]; for he speaks soon after of the war between the *Burgundians* and *Goths*. The *Burgundians*, sprung originally from the *Vandals*, had entered *Gaul* in 406, with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, and having some years after made themselves masters of the country, now known by the name of *Alsace*, they were allowed to settle there as friends and allies of the *Roman* people. They were removed from thence in 431, by *Aetius* to the present duchy of *Savoy*. In 456, they seized on part of *Spain*, and made themselves masters of the city of *Lyons*, and in 478, reduced the whole

The Goths masters of all the countries held by the Romans in Gaul. Year after Christ 480.

[t] Idem, l. vii. ep. 7. p. 185. [u] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45 p. 675 [w] PROCOP. bell Goth. l. ii. c 12. p. 341. [x] JORN. rer. Goth c. 47. p. 680. [y] BUCHER. p. 526. [z] JORN p. 691.

province

province called *Lugdunenſis Prima*. *Jornandes* writes, that in the preſent year 482, the *Goths* gained great advantages over them [a]. However, it appears from the acts of the council of *Agde* held in 526, and of the council of *Epaune* in 527, that no fewer than twenty-eight cities or dioceſes belonged to the *Burgundians*, in which number were *Lyons*, *Vienne*, *Beſançon*, and *Embrun* [b]; ſo that the *Goths* were not, as *Jornandes* ſuppoſes them to have been, maſters of all the ſouth parts of *Gaul* [c]. *Euric*, having thus made himſelf maſter of the beſt part of *Gaul*, that is, of the whole tract between the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, and of all *Spain*, except a ſmall corner of *Galicia*, and part of *Luſitania* held by the *Suevians*, was ſtill bent on making new conqueſts, and reducing the remaining part both of *Spain* and *Gaul*, when death put an end to his vaſt deſigns. He died at *Arles* in 484, the nineteenth year of his reign [d], after the eleventh, and before the end of *September* [e]. He had made himſelf way to the throne by the murder of his brother, and governed his ſubjects with a rod of iron [f]. He paſſed the greater part of his life in the field, was conſtantly quarrelling with his neighbours, and never pleaſed, but when he had an opportunity of ſtaining his hands in the blood of his enemies [g]. He was a prince of great penetration, formidable in war, and attended with ſucceſs in moſt of his undertakings [h]; whence he was dreaded by all nations, and his friendſhip courted by the neighbouring as well as the diſtant people [i]. *Sidonius*, ſpeaking in 476, of the court of this prince then at *Bourdeaux*, deſcribes the *Saxons*, the *Franks*, the *Heruli*, the *Burgundians*, and even the *Romans* and *Perſians*, falling down before him in the poſture of ſuppliants and conquered people [k]. Upon this *Bucherius* makes a long deſcant [l], to which we refer the reader. *Apollinaris Sidonius* makes ſeveral excellent reflections on the ſucceſs that attended *Euric* in moſt of his undertakings [m], though he was not only ſeparated from, but an irreconcileable enemy to, the catholic church, being a zealous *Arian*, and firmly perſuaded, ſays *Sidonius*, that the ſucceſs of his arms was owing to the purity of his faith. His averſion to the catholic church was ſo great, that he could not even endure the name of catholic [n]. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that having raiſed a perſecution againſt the catholics, he cauſed

Euric *dies.* *Year after Chriſt* 484.

His character.

An enemy to the catholic church.

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Notit. Gall. per ADRIAN. VALES. p. 105. [c] JORN. p. 680. [d] ISID. chron. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 680. LABB chron. [e] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1394. [f] ENNOD. in vit. Epiph. p. 385. [g] Idem, p. 384. [h] SID. l. vii. ep. 5. p. 183. & l. viii. ep. 3. p. 215. ENNOD. ibid. p. 385. [i] Idem ibid. [k] SID. l. viii. ep. 9. p. 229, 230. [l] BUCH. p. 552, 562. [m] SID. l. vii. ep. 6. p. 182, 183. [n] Idem ibid.

their

their churches to be ſhut up, and either baniſhed, impriſoned, or put to death, their biſhops, their clergy, and all who dared to oppoſe or impugn the *Arian* impiety [o]. But if that writer had no other voucher for that perſecution but *Sidonius*, whom he quotes, his account is greatly exaggerated; for *Sidonius* only ſays, that *Euric* baniſhed two biſhops, and would not ſuffer any to be named to the vacant ſees [p]. Moſt churches, continues *Sidonius*, in the countries held by the *Goths*, are without paſtors, and the biſhoprics end there with the lives of the biſhops. Of theſe vacant biſhoprics he names nine, *viz. Bourdeaux*, *Peregueux*, *Rhodes*, *Limoges*, *Mande*, *Eauſe*, *Bazas*, *Cominges*, and *Auch*. He adds, that the vacancy of the ſees was attended with the ruin of religion, ſince it was the province of the biſhops to provide the churches with inferior miniſters, and bring back to the fold the ſheep gone aſtray; that chriſtianity was almoſt extinct in thoſe dioceſes; that the churches were ready to fall both in the towns and villages; that ſome of them were ſhut up by the thorns and briars that grew in the entry, and others lay open only for the ſheep, that came to graze at the very foot of the holy altar. If ſuch was the ſtate of affairs in 474, when *Sidonius* wrote, we leave the reader to judge to what a deplorable condition they muſt have been reduced before the end of *Euric*'s reign, which laſted ten years longer; for that prince never ſuffered the vacant ſees to be filled. The two biſhops he baniſhed in 474, were *Crocus*, ſuppoſed to have been biſhop of *Niſmes*, and *Simplicius*, whoſe ſee is quite unknown [q].

The firſt who gave written laws to the Goths.

Euric was the firſt who gave written laws to the *Goths*, governed, till his reign, by cuſtoms only [r]. The laws he publiſhed were called the *Theodorician* laws; which appellation has occaſioned great diſputes among authors. *Baronius* ſuppoſes them to have been ſo called, becauſe the two *Theodorics*, predeceſſors of *Euric*, were the authors of them [s]. But *Iſidore* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Euric* was the firſt who gave written laws to the *Goths*. *Cujacius* will have them to have been called *Theodorician* laws from *Theodoric* the *Oſtrogoth* king of *Italy* [t], not reflecting, that they are ſtyled *Theodorician* by *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who died, as is plain from *Gregory* of *Tours* [u], before *Theodoric* was maſter of *Italy*. Beſides, it is certain, that *Theodoric* king of *Italy* paid the greateſt reſpect to the *Roman* laws, and governed by them. *Sirmund* and *Alteſerra* are of opinion, that they were, by *paronomaſia*, called *Theodoricianæ*, in oppoſition to the *Theodoſianæ*; but this *paronomaſia*, ſays the learned *Sa-*

[o] GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 25. p. 284. [p] SID. ep. vi. p. 184. [q] Idem ibid. p. 484. [r] ISIDOR. chron. [s] BARON. annal. tom v. ann. 468 [t] CIRON. obſ. jur. can. l. v. c. 1. [u] GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 23.

varon,

varon [w], would have been but very inſipid, had not *Evaric*, the author of theſe laws, been likewiſe called *Theodoric*; and that this was his true name, is plainly ſhewn, both by him, and by *Grotius* in his *nomenclature*. As for the name of *Evaric* or *Euric*, which *Grotius* explains by *legibus pollens*, it was given him on account of the laws he publiſhed. Theſe laws were by *Euric* obtruded upon the people of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had been long accuſtomed to the *Roman* laws; but *Alaric*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, reſtored the *Roman* laws to their former ſplendor, cauſing them to be obſerved throughout his dominions, as we ſhall ſee in the reign of that prince, where we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the *Alaric* code. The perſon *Euric* chiefly employed in compiling his laws was *Leo*, his prime miniſter, and one of the moſt learned men and beſt civilians of his time [x] (C). Some *Spaniſh* writers tell us, that, beſides *Leo*, he employed ſeventy biſhops, among whom was one *Severus*, biſhop of *Barcelona*, whom he afterwards put to death, with a country-

[w] SAVAR. in l. ii. SID. ep. 1. [x] SID. l. viii. ep. 13. p. 215.

(C) *Leo* was, according to *Sidonius*, a man of uncommon parts, the beſt civilian of his time, and well verſed in every branch of literature (2). Hence he was highly eſteemed by *Euric*, and raiſed to the firſt honours in his court. By him were penned all the letters that prince wrote to foreign kings and ſtates (3). His advice was of ſuch weight with *Euric*, that he ſuffered himſelf to be intirely guided by him in affairs of the greateſt importance (4). He was deſcended from *Cornelius Fronto*, who was preceptor to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, and one of the greateſt orators of antiquity (5). He profeſſed the catholic faith in the court of an *Arian* prince, and led a life without blemiſh or reproach (6). *Sidonius*, in ſending him the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, beſtows great encomiums upon him, and returns him thanks for the many favours he had received at his hands (7). *Leo* had adviſed him to apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory; and *Sidonius* exhorts him to undertake that taſk himſelf, telling him, that no one was better qualified for it (8). St. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Alaric* the ſon of *Euric* having once complained in the preſence of *Leo*, that a fine view from his palace was obſtructed by the church of *Narbonne*, he adviſed him to lower the church; which was done accordingly. *Gregory* of *Tours* adds, that *Leo* paid dear for this advice, having ſoon after intirely loſt his eyeſight (9).

(2) *Sid. l.* iv. *ep.* 22. *p.* 119. & *l.* viii. *ep.* 3. *p* 215. (3) *Sid. car.* xxi. *p.* 412. (4) *Idem. l.* iv. *ep.* 22. *p.* 119. (5) *Idem*, *l.* iii. *ep* 3. *p.* 215. (6) *Idem ibid. p.* 216. (7) *Idem*, *l.* viii *ep* 3. *p.* 214—216. (8) *Idem*, *l.* iv. *ep.* 22 *p* 118, 120. (9) *G. T. Tur. de glor. martyr. c.* 92, *p* 208, 209.

man named *Emeterius*, on account of their zeal for the catholic faith. But what these authors write is founded on an antient tradition, which *Bollandus* thinks quite groundless *. *Euric* married one *Ragnahild* or *Ragnachild*, the daughter of a king, for whose use in bathing *Evodius* caused a silver vessel to be made, on which were engraved some verses composed by *Sidonius* [y]. By her he had a son named *Alaric*, by whom he was succeeded, and a daughter, who was married to a barbarian prince named *Sigismer* [z]. From the description which *Sidonius*, who saw that prince, gives of him, *Valesius* concludes him to have been by nation a *Frank*; and that *Euric* gave him his daughter in marriage, hoping, by that means, to gain the nation of the *Franks*, which began to be very powerful in *Gaul*. But by that very nation the son he had by her was killed in battle, and a period put to the kingdom of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, who, being driven from thence, fixed their royal seat at *Toledo* in *Spain*. But, as in *Euric*'s reign they firmly established their dominion in the latter of these countries, we shall, in compliance with our plan, leave them for the present, and reserving for modern history an account of their affairs from the time they settled in *Spain* to the loss of that country to the *Arabs*, return to the *Ostrogoths*, who, as we have observed above, upon the departure of their countrymen the *Visigoths* admitted by *Valens* in 376, into the empire, continued in their antient seats, but subject to the *Hunns*, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own kings of the illustrious family of the *Amali*.

The history of the Ostrogoths. Their kings.

THE *Ostrogoths*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ermenric* or *Hermanaric* their king, chose *Vithimir*, by some called *Winithar*, in his room. The new king gained at first some small advantages over the *Hunns*, but was in the end overcome, and killed in battle by *Balamir* or *Balamber*, king of the *Hunns* [a]. His son *Vitheric* withdrew, attended by great numbers of his subjects, into the plains between the *Borysthenes* and the *Danube*, that is, into the present *Podolia*. Of him no further mention is made in history. He was succeeded by *Hunimund*, the son of *Ermenric*, who submitted to the *Hunns*, and is said to have made war upon, and gained a signal victory over, the *Suevians*. His son *Thorismund* reigned next, who defeated with great slaughter the *Gepidæ*; but was soon after killed in the flower of his age by a fall from his horse. The *Goths* so lamented the loss of this prince, that, for the space of forty years, they chose no king in his room. After

* BOLLAND. 8 Mar. p. 244, 245. [y] SID. l. iv. ep. 8. p. 97, 98. [z] Idem, ep. 20. p. 115. [a] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 644.

so

so long an inter-regnum, *Wandalar*, son to the brother of *Ermenric*, was raised to the throne; but of him no further mention is made in history. He was succeeded by his three sons *Valemir*, *Theodomir*, and *Videmir*, who reigned jointly, and attended *Attila* in most of his expeditions. Upon that prince's death, several nations, by him formerly subdued, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave from *Marcian*, then emperor, to settle in the *Roman* territories, almost quite dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the *Hunns* and other barbarians. Among these mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who settled in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mœsia*. To the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum*, near a place called the *Castle of Mars*. To the *Ostrogoths Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, now *Vienna* in *Austria* [b]. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time governed by their own princes, to whom the emperors agreed to pay an annual pension, upon their promising to guard the frontiers of the empire, and serve, when wanted in the *Roman* armies [c]. *Pannonia* being granted to the *Ostrogoths*, the three brothers divided that country among them, *Valemir* settling in the eastern part of it, *Theodomir* in the western, and *Videmir* between the other two [d]. They were scarce warm in their new seats, when the sons of *Attila*, pursuing them even into *Pannonia*, fell upon *Valemir* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*; but that prince with a handful of men, overthrew them with great slaughter, and obliged them to take refuge in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the *Danube* [e]. About eight years after, the *Goths* being engaged in a war with the *Satagæ*, *Dintzio*, one of *Attila*'s sons, laying hold of that opportunity, entered *Pannonia* at the head of a considerable army; and, having ravaged the country, laid siege to *Bassiana*, thought to be the present city of *Posega*, which gives name to a county in *Hungary* between the *Save* and the *Draw*. But the *Goths* leaving the *Satagæ*, marched with all their forces against the *Hunns*, who readily engaged them, but received such an overthrow, that they ever after stood in awe of the *Goths*, and never offered to molest them [f]. In the year 455, the emperor *Leo* refusing, under several pretences, to pay to the *Ostrogoths* their usual pension, they entered *Illyricum*, and there committed

They are allowed to settle in Pannonia. *Year after Christ* 453.

They gain two victories over the Hunns.

[b] Idem, c. 48. p. 683. PHOT. l. i. c. 212. p. 1041. THEOPH. p. 112. [c] JORN. c. 57. p. 695. [d] Idem, c. 50—52. p. 686, 689. [e] Idem ibid. p. 695. [f] Idem ibid. p. 691.

They ravage Illyricum.

dreadful ravages; but *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, having assembled the troops quartered in that province, obliged them to retire with no small loss [g]. Soon after, *Leo* sent deputies to *Valemir*, to upbraid him with his late conduct, and renew the antient treaties [h]. The treaties were accordingly renewed, and the peace re-established, upon the emperor's promising to pay to the *Goths* what was due to them at that time, and for the future three hundred pounds weight of gold a year. On the other hand, *Valemir* sent to *Constantinople* by way of hostage the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, but then only eight years old [i]. *Males* the historian, and *Damascus*, who wrote the life of *Isidore*, and was contemporary with *Theodoric* himself, suppose him to have been the son of *Valemir* [k]. But *Jornandes*, who lived some time after, but was perhaps better acquainted with the history of the *Ostrogoths*, being himself one of that nation, assures us, that *Theodoric* was the son of *Theodomir* by a concubine named *Erelieva*, and consequently only nephew to *Valemir* [l]. *Leo* received him with the greatest marks of esteem and affection, maintained him for the space of ten years at his court, in a manner suitable to his rank, and took care to have him instructed by the best masters in every branch of polite literature [m].

They conclude a peace with Leo, *and send him* Theodoric *as an hostage.*

In the year 466, the tenth of *Leo*'s reign, a war breaking out between the *Goths* in *Pannonia* and the *Squiri*, whom the emperor *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Lesser Scythia* and *Lower Mœsia*, both nations had recourse to *Leo*, whose subjects they were, imploring his assistance. *Aspar*, *Leo*'s chief favourite, was for aiding neither, but suffering them to destroy each other. However, the emperor wrote to the governor of *Illyricum*, injoining him to march with all the troops under his command to the assistance of the *Squiri*, who nevertheless were utterly defeated, and most of them cut in pieces either in the fight or the pursuit. But the *Goths* lost on this occasion *Valemir* their king, who, falling from his horse as he was riding full-speed through the ranks to animate his men, was surrounded, and, with many wounds, dispatched by the enemy [n]. Such of the *Squiri* as escaped the general slaughter, had recourse to the *Sarmatians*, the *Rugians*, and the *Gepidæ*, who, readily joining them, renewed the war, and, entering the territories

They defeat the Squiri.

Valemir slain.

[g] Idem, p. 690. Sid. car ii. p 296. Prisc. p. 74 [h] Prisc. p. 74, 75. [i] Jorn. Prisc. ibid. [k] Phot. c. 78. p. 172. [l] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 52. p. 689. [m] Idem, c. 55. p. 693, 694. Theoph. p. 612. [n] Prisc. p. 44. Jorn. c. 50. p. 687 & c. 53. p. 691, 692.

of

of the *Goths*, laid them waſte far and near. Hereupon the *Goths*, putting themſelves under the conduct of the two remaining brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir*, took the field, and, engaging the enemy on the banks of the *Danube*, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire with great precipitation beyond that river, which *Theodomir* paſſed ſoon after on the ice, and, having laid waſte the enemy's country, returned loaded with booty into *Pannonia* [o]. In this war *Theodomir* not only defeated the *Sarmatians*, *Rugians*, and *Gepidæ*, but gained a ſignal victory over the *Suevians* and *Alemanns*, who had joined the above-mentioned nations [p]. Upon his return, he received with great joy his ſon *Theodoric*, whom *Leo* had ſent back loaded with rich preſents, after having kept him at his court as a hoſtage for the ſpace of ten years [q]. He was ſcarce returned, when news was brought, that *Babai*, king of the *Sarmatians*, having defeated a *Roman* general named *Camundus*, had made himſelf maſter of *Singidunum* in *Upper Mæſia*. Hereupon *Theodoric*, having aſſembled, without his father's knowledge, a ſmall body of troops, paſſed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Sarmatian* territories, fell upon *Babai*, put him and moſt of his men to the ſword, and, on his return home, retook *Singidunum*; but did not reſtore it to the *Romans* [r].

Theodomir *and* Videmir *defeat the* Squiri, Suevians, Alemans, *&c.*

Theodoric *overcomes and kills the king of the* Sarmatians.

IN the year 473, during the ſhort reign of *Glycerius*, the *Goths* in *Pannonia*, without the leaſt provocation, ſays *Jornandes*, and only becauſe they were incapable of living in peace, reſolved to make war on the empire. Purſuant to this reſolution, the two brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir* met, when it fell to the lot (for they caſt lots) of the latter to invade *Italy*, where *Glycerius* then acted as emperor, and to that of *Theodomir* to attack the eaſtern empire, governed at that time by *Leo* I. *Videmir* immediately ſet out on his march; but had ſcarce entered *Italy*, when he died, leaving the command of his troops to his ſon, who bore the ſame name. *Jornandes* adds, that the young prince being prevailed upon by the rich preſents, which *Glycerius* ſent him, to retire out of *Italy*, he marched into *Gaul*, and, joining the *Viſigoths*, ſettled there, aſſiſted them in the conqueſt of that country, and in the reduction of *Spain*, becoming one people with them [s]. As for *Theodomir*, he entered *Illyricum*, and, having made himſelf maſter of *Naiſſus*, he divided his army into ſeveral ſmall bodies, under the command of his ſon *Theodoric* and other generals, who reduced,

Theodomir *defeat the* Squiri, Suevians, Alemans, *&c.*

Theodoric *overcomes and kills the king of the* Sarmatians.

Part of the Oſtrogoths *join the* Viſigoths *in* Gaul.

[o] JORN. ibid. [p] Idem, c 53. p. 693. [q] Idem ibid. [r] JORN. p. 694. [s] Idem, rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 694, 695 & reg. c. 47. p. 654, 655.

duced, without any conſiderable oppoſition, the cities of *Ulprana*, *Heraclea*, and *Lariſſa*. Having afterwards re-united their forces, and left a ſtrong garriſon in *Naiſſus*, they laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*. But *Clarianus*, governor of the place, prevailed upon *Theodomir*, with rich preſents, to abandon the enterpriſe, and retire. Soon after a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, during which *Theodomir* died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodoric*, called *Amalus*, being deſcended from the *Amali*, the moſt illuſtrious family among the *Goths* [t]. The emperor *Zeno*, overjoyed at the news of the young prince's acceſſion to the crown, immediately invited him to court, received him with the greateſt marks of friendſhip and eſteem, raiſed him to the rank of a patrician, and even adopted him, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, for his ſon [u]. *Theodoric* was ſcarce returned to *Pannonia*, when news was brought him, that *Baſiliſcus*, of whom we have made frequent mention in our *Roman* hiſtory [w], revolting from *Zeno*, had been proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*. The uſurper was chiefly ſupported by a *Goth* in the *Roman* ſervice, named likewiſe *Theodoric*, who had been raiſed to the firſt poſts in the army, and the command of his countrymen, who, following the example of their leader, had all declared for *Baſiliſcus*. However, king *Theodoric*, eſpouſing the cauſe of *Zeno*, marched againſt them; but as his troops were far inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, *Zeno* aſſured him, that he ſhould be joined at the ſtraights of mount *Hæmus* by the general of *Thrace*, with ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; and that, after paſſing the mountains, he ſhould find twenty thouſand horſe on the banks of the *Hebrus* ready to join him; but at neither place did he find any troops, and the guides, who had been ſent him by the *Romans*, leaving the known road and beaten ways, led him through deſerts, where his men ſuffered greatly for want of proviſions, and over ſteep mountains, till they brought his army, quite ſpent with ſuch long and fatiguing marches, in ſight of the enemy, encamped in a moſt advantageous poſt. But though they might, with great eaſe, have cut the king and his whole army in pieces, yet *Theodoric* their leader ſent only ſome perſons to upbraid the king with making war on his countrymen in favour of the *Romans*, who had thus betrayed him with fair promiſes, and only ſought to ſet *Goths* againſt *Goths*, that they might have the cruel ſatisfaction of ſeeing them deſtroy each other. Theſe remonſtrances occaſioned a mutiny in the king's army, who,

Theodomir *dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon* Theodoric. *Year after Chriſt* 476.

Theodoric *declares for the emperor* Zeno *againſt* Baſiliſcus.

He is abandoned by Zeno.

[t] Idem ibid. p. 696. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 485, 486, & ſeq.

finding

finding himself reduced to the alternative of being abandoned by his own men, or coming to an agreement with *Theodoric*, chose the latter. The two generals conferred, having a river between them, and, in the end, agreed not to make war upon each other. They both dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople*, *Theodoric* to demand the arrears that were due to him and his army, and the king to acquaint the emperor with the treaty he had made, and at the same time to let him know, that, unless provisions were sent to the army, it was not in his power to restrain his men from plundering *Thrace* [x]. What answer *Zeno* returned to the former, we are no-where told; but to the latter he made a long apology for not sending, as he had promised, the *Roman* troops to join him. But the author of *Zeno*'s life, though not a little biassed in favour of that prince, cannot help owning, that he was therein greatly to blame [y]. The emperor did all that lay in his power to persuade the king to break the treaty he had lately concluded with *Theodoric*, sending to him for that purpose two solemn embassies, and promising not only to reward him with large sums and great revenues, if he should defeat the rebels, but to give him in marriage *Juliana*, the daughter of *Olybrius*, and grand-daughter of *Valentinian* III. But the king could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to make the least breach in the treaty with *Theodoric*; which obliged the emperor to conclude a peace with him upon the following terms, highly dishonourable to the imperial dignity; *viz.* that *Theodoric* should have the command of the emperor's guards; that he should retain all the honours conferred upon him by the usurper *Basiliscus*; that his estate, which had been confiscated, should be restored to him; and lastly, that he should be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* cavalry, which post was then held by king *Theodoric*, but, in virtue of this treaty, taken from him, and bestowed on the other [z].

He breaks with Zeno, and ravages Thrace and Macedon.

IN the mean time, king *Theodoric*, who was still with his army among the mountains of *Thrace*, not receiving from the *Romans* either money or provisions to support them, marched down into the province of *Rhodope* on the *Ægean* sea, and, being highly provoked at the emperor's conduct, laid waste the most fertile places of *Thrace*, destroying with fire and sword what he could not carry off. The emperor sent several generals to oppose him; but though he lost, as we are told, a great many men in skirmishes, yet the loss on the side of the *Romans* must have been far more considerable, since, in the end, all the emperor's generals declined the command of the army in

[x] MALCH. d. 83—96. [y] Idem, p. 83, 84. [z] Idem, p. 78.

Thrace.

Thrace [a]. From *Thrace Theodoric* marched into *Macedon*, and, having pillaged the open country, made himself master of *Stopi* on the river *Axius*. From thence he marched into the neighbourhood of *Thessalonica*; which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that, thinking themselves abandoned by the emperor, they pulled down and broke in pieces all his statues, and were ready to fall upon their governor, named *John*; but, in the end, contented themselves with taking from him the keys of the city, and delivering them to the bishop [b]. *Theodoric*, without making the least attempt on *Thessalonica*, led his army from thence to *Heraclea*, where he was met by embassadors from *Zeno*, with proposals for an accommodation; which he being willing to conclude, sent others to *Constantinople*, and, in the mean time, ordered his men to forbear all hostilities. The person employed by *Zeno* to treat with *Theodoric* was the patrician *Adamancus*, who, as appears from some laws, had been governor of *Constantinople*, and was, on this occasion, honoured with the consular ornaments, but not with the consulship. During the negotiations, *Theodoric* found means of making himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that he might have some place of strength to retire to, in case the negotiations should not have the desired effect. Hereupon the conferences were broken off, *Adamancus* declaring, that he could not treat with the *Goths*, till they had restored the city of *Duras* to the empire. *Theodoric* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to part with that important place during the winter; but promised to abandon it early in the spring, to march against the other *Theodoric*, who had raised new disturbances in the empire, and, that the emperor might not question the sincerity of his intentions, to deliver up to him his mother and sisters as hostages. He likewise offered, with the emperor's approbation, to march into *Italy*, and restore *Nepos*, who was nearly related to the empress *Verina*, *Zeno*'s mother-in-law, and had been lately driven from the throne by *Glycerius*. To these proposals *Adamancus* answered, That he had no power to grant him any terms, till *Duras* was restored [c]; but that he would write to the emperor, and acquaint him with his answer. The *Romans*, in the mean time, became more intractable, being elated with some advantages they gained at that very time over the *Goths*. *Theodoric* had marched before with a strong detachment to surprise *Duras*, while the main body, with the baggage, followed by slow marches, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimund*. This *Sabinianus*, general of *Illyricum*, and at that time the best commander in the whole empire, no

Proposals for an accommodation.

Which are rejected by Zeno.

[a] Idem, p. 79. [b] Idem, p. 95. [c] Idem, p. 84

sooner

ſooner underſtood, than he ordered all the troops quartered in that province to aſſemble at *Lychnidus* in *Macedon*, and, marching from thence with incredible expedition, overtook the *Goths*, as they were deſcending from the mountains of *Candavia*, between *Lychnidus* and *Duras*. *Theudimund*, and his mother, who followed the army, had juſt time to paſs a torrent, and cauſe the bridge to be broken down, by which means they ſaved themſelves, but ſtopped the march of the army; ſo that the *Romans*, falling upon them, cut moſt of them in pieces, took five thouſand priſoners, two thouſand waggons, and an immenſe booty [d]. *Zeno*, elated with this victory, and not doubting but he ſhould either take *Theodoric* himſelf priſoner, or oblige him to ſubmit to what terms he pleaſed, wrote to *Subinianus*, and to *Gento*, a *Goth* of great reputation in the *Roman* ſervice, to purſue the war, and not ſuffer *Theodoric*, with the troops he had with him, to retire, but to keep him ſhut up on all ſides, ordering at the ſame time *Adamancus* to break off the conferences, and return to *Conſtantinople* [e]. But of this war all we know is, that the following year 480, *Theodoric* ravaged *Greece*, and that *Sabinianus*, as count *Marcellinus* writes, put, in the end, a ſtop to his ravages, more by addreſs than by dint of arms [f]; which plainly ſhews, that the *Romans* had not been attended with the ſucceſs they expected.

Moſt of Theodoric's *army cut in pieces by the* Romans. *Year after Chriſt* 479.

No further mention is made of *Theodoric* till the year 482, when, *Sabinianus* being dead, he ravaged without controul both *Macedons* with *Theſſaly*, and even took and plundered *Lariſſa*, the metropolis of the latter province [g]; inſomuch, that the emperor, to appeaſe him, was at length obliged to yield to him part of *Lower Mœſia* and *Lower Dacia*, to give him the command of the troops of the houſhold, and to name him conſul for the enſuing year 484, which was the greateſt honour he could confer upon him. Hereupon *Theodoric*, diſbanding his troops, ſet out for *Conſtantinople* with a ſmall retinue, and, being received there by the emperor with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and eſteem, diſcharged the following year the office of conſul [h]. During his conſulſhip, *Leontius*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Againſt him *Zeno* diſpatched *Illus*, captain of his guards; but he, inſtead of oppoſing *Leontius*, joined him, and both together defeated and took priſoner *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, who, at the head of a conſiderable army, had ventured to engage

Theodoric *grows powerful, and ravages* Macedon *and* Theſſaly; *but is appeaſed by the emperor.*

[d] Idem, p. 85. [e] Idem ibid. [f] MARCELL. chron. [g] Idem ibid ad ann. 482. [h] MARCELL. chron. THEOPH. p. 222 JORN. de reb. Goth c. 57 p. 686 MALAL. p. 84.

them in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; which city, after his defeat, submitted to the usurper. *Zeno*, upon the news of the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched one *John*, an officer of great valour and experience in war, into *Syria*, and prevailed upon *Theodoric* to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. These two commanders, meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to fly for refuge to the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia* [i]. *Evagrius* and others ascribe this victory to the *Valamerians*, that is, the *Goths*; for so we find them styled by several writers, from their king *Valemir* [k]. As the rebels were no more in a condition to give the least apprehension or uneasiness, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his forces with the other commander to pursue the war, returned with the rest to *Constantinople*; but finding that *Zeno* began to mistrust him, and even to seek under-hand his destruction, he withdrew from court, and retired into *Thrace*, the emperor having, some time before, appointed him general of the troops quartered in that country. Thus *Evagrius* [l]. But *Marcellinus*, accusing *Theodoric* of ingratitude towards his benefactor *Zeno*, tells us, that, not satisfied with the innumerable favours he had received at the emperor's hands, he retired from court, and began to seek some plausible pretence of making war on the empire [m]. *Jornandes*, ever favourable to that prince, but not well acquainted with his history, supposes him to have retired into *Pannonia*, chusing rather to live in poverty amongst his *Goths*, than in affluence among the *Romans* [n]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, soon after his leaving *Constantinople*, he fell upon the *Bulgarians*, who, under the conduct of their king or leader named *Libertem*, had broken into *Thrace*, and gained a complete victory over them, *Libertem* himself being dangerously wounded, and most of his men cut in pieces [o]. The following year 486, *Theodoric* spent in raising forces, and in 487, broke into *Thrace* at the head of a powerful army, putting all to fire and sword. Upon what provocation he thus turned his arms against the empire, we are nowhere told; but, without all doubt, the same motives that, some time before, had induced him to withdraw from court, prompted him now to act as an enemy. Having ravaged *Thrace*, he approached *Constantinople*, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Melantiades*, a city placed by *Sanson* about fifteen miles west of *Constantinople*, with a design, as was believed,

He defeats the usurper Leontius.

He falls out with Zeno, and retires from Constantinople.

He defeats the Bulgarians.

He ravages Thrace.

[i] Theoph. p. 111, 118. Evagr. l. iii. c. 35: p. 366. [k] Evagr. ibid. [l] Idem, l. iii c. 27. p. 356. [m] Marcel. ad ann. 485. [n] Jorn c 57. p. 696. [o] Ennod. p. 292, 296.

of

of laying ſiege to the imperial city. But, while the inhabitants were under the utmoſt conſternation, *Theodoric*, decamping all on a ſudden, marched back to *Novæ* in *Mœſia*, whence he was come [p]. Some writers aſcribe his ſudden retreat to the regard he had for that metropolis; others to a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, who, putting him in mind of the kindneſs he had ever ſhewn him, and of the many honours he had heaped upon him, and repreſenting to him at the ſame time the danger to which he expoſed himſelf in making war on the empire, perſuaded him to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, and turn his arms againſt *Odoacer*, who, having put *Oreſtes* to death, and depoſed his ſon *Auguſtulus*, had taken upon him the title of king of *Italy* [q]. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had ſent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himſelf, but for the emperor of the eaſt, to whom of right it belonged [r]. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded *Italy* to *Theodoric* and his poſterity [s]. Of this opinion was not only *Jornandes* [t], by nation a *Goth*, but *Procopius*, a *Roman* writer [u], who tells us, that *Zeno* encouraged *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, which he was to keep for himſelf. *Ammianus* writes, that, in virtue of this treaty with *Zeno*, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his life; but that, upon his death, it was to be reunited to the empire [w]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Theodoric* received with joy the propoſal made him by the emperor of driving *Odoacer* out of *Italy*, and returned, as we have hinted above, to *Novæ* in *Mœſia*, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for that expedition.

Is adviſed by Zeno *to turn his arms againſt* Odoacer.

THE following year 488, *Theodoric*, having aſſembled, ſays *Ennodius* [x], an infinite number of people, carrying with them on waggons their wives, children, and all their effects, ſet out from *Novæ*, bending his march towards *Italy*. His mother, and ſiſter named *Amafrides*, attended him in this expedition [y]. Several *Romans* of great diſtinction flocked to him from all parts to ſerve as voluntiers in this war, and among the reſt *Artemidorus*, who was nearly related to, and in great favour with, the emperor; but joyfully abandoned his country, and the grandeur he lived in at *Conſtantinople*, to ſhare with *Theodoric* in his good and bad fortune, who afterwards created him a patrician, and made him governor of *Rome* [z]. On the other

He ſets out for Italy. *Year after Chriſt* 488.

[p] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii. c 6. p. 461. MARCEL. THEOPH. p. 113. [q] JORN. p 697 EVAGR. l. ii c. 27. p. 356. [r] MAL. p. 84. [s] PROCOP. bell Goth. l. ii. c. 6. p. 402. [t] JORN. c. 57. p 696, 697. [u] PROCOP. p. 655. [w] AMMIAN. p. 479. [x] ENNOD vit. Theodor. p. 298, 299. [y] Idem ibid. p. 303. [z] CASSIODOR l. i. epiſt 43.

hand, a great many *Goths* declined following *Theodoric* into *Italy*, and, ſettling on the ſea-coaſt in *Thrace*, formed there a ſeparate nation, which lived in amity with the *Romans*, and is highly commended by *Procopius* [a]. From *Novæ* in *Mæſia* *Theodoric* marched ſtraight to the *Adriatic* ſea; but, for want of ſhips, was obliged to go round, and traverſe the ſeveral nations dwelling on the coaſt. This march he performed in the depth of winter, a violent plague and famine, ſays *Ennodius* [b], raging the whole time in his army, and carrying off great numbers of his people. He found the *Gepidæ* encamped on the banks of a certain river, with a deſign to oppoſe his paſſage; but *Theodoric*, paſſing at the head of a choice body of men, charged them ſo briſkly, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. At another place he was met by the *Sarmatians*, whom he likewiſe overcame, and put to flight [c]. Thus, after a long and fatiguing march, he entered at length *Italy*, and, advancing to the river *Sontius*, now *Zonzo*, in the neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, halted there, in order to reſt his men, being informed, that *Odoacer* was in full mareh to meet him with a very numerous army, conſiſting of various nations, commanded by their reſpective kings or chiefs [d]. Soon after *Odoacer* appeared, and was met by *Theodoric* with his men in battle-array. Hereupon an engagement enſued, in which *Odoacer* was, after a faint reſiſtance, put to flight, and great numbers of his men cut in pieces. *Theodoric* purſued the fugitives, and, on the 28th of *Auguſt* 489, entered their camp, though defended by a river and a great many works [e]. *Odoacer* retired to the plains of *Verona*, and encamped there at a ſmall diſtance from the city. But *Theodoric*, purſuing him cloſe, forced him to a ſecond engagement, when he met with a far more vigorous oppoſition than in the former, for great numbers were killed on both ſides; but, in the end, *Odoacer* was again put to flight, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Ravenna*; ſo that *Theodoric*, having now no enemy in the field to oppoſe him, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important places, and among the reſt of *Milan* and *Pavia* [f]. At the ſame time, *Tufa*, commander in chief of *Odoacer*'s forces, came over to *Theodoric*, with moſt of his troops under his command, and was immediately by him diſpatched, with one of his own officers, in purſuit of *Odoacer* to *Ravenna*. *Odoacer* had left that city, and was advanced as far as *Faenza*, in which place he was cloſely be-

He defeats the Gepidæ *and the* Sarmatians *on his march.*

He puts Odoacer *to flight.*

And makes himſelf maſter of Milan *and* Pavia.

[a] Procop. adif. c. 7. p. 63. [b] Ennod vit. Theod. p. 299 [c] Idem, p 301. [d] Jorn. p 697. Ennod. ibid. [e] Idem ibid. Theoph. p. 361. [f] Ammian. anonym. p. 479. Jorn. p. 697. Ennod. p. 303, 304.

ſieged

ſieged by *Tufa*; but that treacherous commander, declaring for his former maſter, joined him anew with all his troops, delivering up to him, at the ſame time, ſeveral officers, who had been appointed by *Theodoric* to command under him, and were, by *Odoacer*'s orders, ſent in irons to *Ravenna* [g]. *Ennodius* writes, that *Theodoric* did not ſend againſt *Odoacer* all the troops that came over to him with *Tufa*, but placed ſeveral detachments of them, together with his own forces, in the towns that had ſubmitted to him. He adds, that, when *Theodoric* was informed of *Tufa*'s treachery, he cauſed them all, by a private order, to be cut in pieces, leſt they ſhould follow the example of their general [h]. About the ſame time, *Frideric*, the ſon of *Fava* king of the *Rugians*, who had joined *Theodoric* with a conſiderable body of his countrymen, fled over to *Odoacer*; who, being thus reinforced, left *Faenza*, and advanced as far as *Milan*; which city he is ſuppoſed to have taken, ſince he is ſaid to have recovered all *Liguria* [i]. *Theodoric*, in the mean time, finding himſelf abandoned both by *Tufa* and *Frideric*, kept himſelf ſhut up in *Pavia*, a place in thoſe days of great ſtrength, while *Odoacer*, without controul, ravaged the country that had ſubmitted to him, and beſieged him at laſt in *Pavia*, where the *Goths*, who had brought along with them their families and all their effects, were greatly ſtraightened for want of room. But Heaven, ſays *Ennodius* [k], openly declared in favour of *Theodoric*, the enemy's men quarrelling daily among themſelves, and every thing contributing to their ruin. However, *Theodoric*, fearing he ſhould in the end be overpowered with numbers, had recourſe to *Alaric* king of the *Viſigoths*, who had ſettled in *Gaul*. As the *Viſigoths* and *Oſtrogoths* were originally one and the ſame nation, and the *Viſigoths* had received among them, about ſixteen years before, a great number of *Oſtrogoths*, under the conduct of their king *Videmir*, couſin-german to *Theodoric*, they readily granted him the deſired ſupplies; which he no ſooner received, than, leaving *Pavia*, he marched to the river *Addua*, where the enemy lay encamped, engaged them the third time, and gave them a total overthrow. *Odoacer* took refuge anew in *Ravenna*; but left numerous garriſons in all the ſtrong places [l]. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of *Auguſt*, *Odoacer* loſt ſeveral officers of diſtinction, and among the reſt *Pierius*, his *comes domeſticorum*, or captain of the guards [m]. *Theodoric*, after the battle, marched

He is obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Pavia.

He receives a powerful ſupply from the Viſigoths.

[g] ENNOD. vit. Epiph. p. 300. CASSIODOR. l. ii. ep. 16. p. 38.
[h] ENNOD. panegyr. Theodor. p. 306. [i] Idem de Laurent. p. 465.
[k] Idem vit. Epiph. p. 397. [l] AMMIAN. anonym. p. 470. CASSIODOR. p. 68. PROCOP. bell. Goth. p. 309. [m] AMMIAN. anonym. p. 479.

in

He besieges Odoacer *in* Ravenna. *Year after Christ* 490

in pursuit of *Odoacer*, and, approaching *Ravenna*, encamped at a place called *Pinaia*, about three miles from the city. On the other hand, *Odoacer*, with many new works, fortified himself in the town, and, with frequent sallies, especially in the night, greatly harrassed the *Goths*. The siege lasted three years, during which time, great numbers were killed on both sides in the frequent sallies and attacks. Authors speak in particular of a sally made, according to some, on the tenth, according to others, on the fifteenth of *July* 491, in which *Odoacer* commanded in person, and, at the head of the *Heruli*, entered the camp of *Theodoric* at *Pinaia*, and made a dreadful havock of his men; but he was, after a long and sharp dispute, obliged to retire. The *Goths* pursued him to the very gates of the city, killing many of his men, and among the rest *Libila* or *Levila*, who commanded the *Heruli* under the king, and had eminently distinguished himself on that occasion [n]. After this, *Theodoric*, leaving part of his army before *Ravenna*, marched with the rest against the strong-holds, in which *Odoacer* had left garisons, and was every-where received with great joy, except at *Cesena* in *Romagna*, where he met with some opposition [o].

He reduces all Italy.

Thus he made himself master of *Italy* [p], not at once, but by degrees; for he laid siege to *Ravenna* in 490, and pope *Gelasius*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in 492, speaking of *Odoacer*, still gives him the title of king of *Italy* [q]. The sally we have spoken of above was made on the tenth or fifteenth of *July*, and *Theodoric* was, on the thirty-first of the following *August*, at *Pavia*, and returned to the siege of *Ravenna* on the twenty-ninth of *August* 492, pitching his camp at a place called the *Little Palace*. He was then master of *Italy*, no one place remaining to *Odoacer*, except *Ravenna*, in which he had been shut up three years with his foreign and some *Roman* troops, now reduced to great straights by the enemy without, and the famine within [r], wheat being sold at six pieces of gold a bushel [s]. On the other hand, the *Goths* were quite worn out with the fatigues of a three years siege; so that both parties being willing to put an end to the war, *Odoacer* sent *John* bishop of *Ravenna* to *Theodoric*, with proposals for an accommodation. This prelate died in 494, and there is still extant the original act of a donation made to him in *January* 491 [t]. *Jornandes* writes, that *Odoacer* only begged his life; which *Theodoric*

The besieged reduced to great straights.

Odoacer *submits, and is put to death by* Theodoric. *Year after Christ* 493.

[n] JORN. c 57. p. 697. ONUPH. p. 17. ENNOD. pan. Theodor. p. 306. [o] ENNOD. ibid. p. 309. [p] JORN. ibid. [q] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1208. [r] JORN. p. 698. PROCOP p. 309. [s] Anonym. p. 490. [t] UCH. tom. ii. p. 333. MABIL. it. Ital. p 201

bound

bound himself by a solemn oath to grant him [u]. *Procopius* tells us, that they agreed to live together on equal terms in *Ravenna* [w]; which expression we do not well comprehend, it being altogether incredible, that *Theodoric*, who was already master of all *Italy*, and had reduced *Odoacer* to the last extremity, should suffer him to reign jointly, and have an equal share of power, with himself. The agreement was concluded on the twenty-seventh of *February*, *Odoacer* delivering up his son named *Thelan* to *Theodoric* as an hostage, who thereupon entered *Ravenna* in triumph by the *Fleetgate*, on the fifth of *March* [x]. *Theodoric* did not long stand to the agreement he had made; for having, a few days after, invited *Odoacer* to a banquet, unmindful of his oath, he dispatched him with his own hand, according to some, in the palace, according to others, in a grove of laurels adjoining perhaps to the palace [y]. Some authors pretend, that *Odoacer* had formed a design upon the life of *Theodoric*, which he being acquainted with, resolved to be before-hand with him [z]. But the dead are always found guilty. *Jornandes*, though himself a *Goth*, seems to insinuate, that *Odoacer* was murdered upon a bare suspicion, and that, as was then believed, quite groundless [a]. All his servants and relations were massacred at the same time, except his brother *Onulphus*, and a few more, who, having had the good luck to make their escape, retired beyond the *Danube* [b]. *Theodoric* had sent, some months before, *Faustus Niger*, a leading man in the senate of *Rome*, to obtain of the emperor *Zeno* the ensigns of royalty. But *Odoacer* having submitted before the return of the embassador, *Theodoric*, without waiting for the emperor's permission, caused himself to be proclaimed by his *Goths* king of *Italy* [c]. However, he dispatched soon after *Festus* or *Faustus*, his *magister officiorum*, and *Irenæus*, both distinguished with the title of *illustrious*, to *Constantinople*, to excuse the liberty he had taken [d]. The embassadors were received in a very obliging manner by *Anastasius*, the successor of *Zeno*, who readily confirmed the peace, which his predecessor had made with *Theodoric*, approved of what he had done, and sent him the ensigns of royalty [e]. Hence it is manifest, that *Theodoric* himself owned he held the kingdom of *Italy* of the emperors of the east, by whom he suffered even the *Roman* consuls to be named [f]. There is still extant a letter from *Theodoric* to

Theodoric proclaimed by the Goths, and acknowledged by the emperor, king of Italy.

[u] JORN. p. 698. [w] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 310. [x] Idem ibid. p. 310. ONUPH. p. 57. Anonym. p. 488. [y] PROCOP. Anonym. ibid. [z] Vide VALES. rer. Franc. p. 344. [a] JORN. de reg. c. 47. p. 655. [b] Anonym. ibid. ISIDOR. chron. p. 721. [c] Anonym. p. 408. [d] Concil. tom iv. p 1181. [e] PROCOP. l ii. c. 6 p. 402. [f] Idem ibid.

Anastasius,

Anastasius, concerning one *Felix*, who was consul in 511, wherein he acquaints the emperor, that he had named *Felix* for the consulship, and at the same time intreats him to confirm, by his suffrage, that dignity to so deserving a person [g].

Sicily submits to him.

Theodoric, now master of all *Italy*, began to make the necessary preparations for reducing the island of *Sicily*, which refused to acknowledge him; but the inhabitants were persuaded by *Cassiodore* to submit to their new lord without bloodshed. After this, *Theodoric*, sheathing his sword, endeavoured in the first place, to establish himself in his new kingdom, by alliances with the neighbouring princes. With this view, he sent *Festus* to *Constantinople*, to confirm the peace he had made with *Anastasius*, marrying at the same time *Andefleda*, the daughter of *Chlodoveus* king of the *Franks*, and bestowing his own two daughters, whom he had by a concubine, on *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, and on *Sigismund*, the son of *Gundobald* king of the *Burgundians*. Having thus secured his new kingdom, he made it his chief study to govern it with salutary laws, following therein the advice of *Cassiodore*, a man of great learning and integrity, whom he had created a patrician, and raised to the dignities of count, of consul, and even to that of *præfectus prætorio*. He first placed all his *Goths* in the castles and strong-holds, with their officers who were to command them in time of war, and govern them in time of peace. The *Roman* laws he retained, and commanded them to be inviolably observed, and to have the same force, which they had had under the emperors of the west [h]. In the first five books of *Cassiodore*, consisting of the letters and edicts of *Theodoric*, nothing is so much recommended to the judges and magistrates as the due observance of, and respect for, the *Roman* laws. In these books are quoted many constitutions of the *Theodosian* code, and many *novellæ* of *Theodosius*, *Valentinian*, and *Majorianus* [i], *Theodoric* declaring, that he did not intend to introduce any new laws into *Italy*, the *Roman* laws, by which it had been so long governed, being the most equitable that could be enacted; nay, so great was the respect he bore to the *Roman* laws, that he ordered them to be observed, not only by the *Romans*, but likewise by the *Goths*, who lived among the *Romans*. To his *Goths* he left some of their own laws, or rather customs; but in all matters of moment, such as successions, testaments, adoptions, contracts, penalties, crimes, and in whatever belonged to public or private property, the *Roman* laws were common to all. All law-suits and disputes between a *Roman* and a *Goth*,

He secures his new kingdom by alliances.

He retains the Roman *laws.*

[g] CASSIODOR. l. ii. ep. 1. [h] CASSIODOR. l. iii. c. 43. & l. i. c. 27. [i] Vide GROT. in proleg. c. 3.

or

or a *Goth* and a *Roman*, were to be decided by the *Roman* laws, as appears from one of *Theodoric*'s reſcripts to *Januarius*, preſident of *Samnium* [k]. But when the diſpute aroſe between *Goth* and *Goth*, they were to have recourſe to their own judge, who decided it according to *Theodoric*'s own edicts, which did not much differ from the *Roman* laws, and were given to thoſe, who were ſent into the provinces as judges of the *Goths* [l]. *Theodoric* not only retained the ſame laws, but the ſame form of government, the ſame diſtribution of provinces, the ſame magiſtrates and dignities. As the emperors had, before his time, tranſlated the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, to be near at hand, and ready to put a ſtop to the irruptions of the barbarians, who, on that ſide, broke into *Italy*, he likewiſe choſe that city for the uſual place of his reſidence, governing from thence the provinces by the ſame magiſtrates, that had preſided over them in the times of the emperors, *viz.* by the *conſulares*; the *correctores*, and the *præſides*. But, beſides theſe, he ſent, according to the cuſtom of the *Goths*, to each city inferior judges, diſtinguiſhed with the title of *counts*, who were to adminiſter juſtice, and decide all controverſies and diſputes; and herein the polity of the *Goths*, far excelled, as *Grotius* obſerves, that of the *Romans*; for, in the *Roman* times, a whole province was governed by a *conſularis*, a *corrector*, or a *præſes*, who reſided in the chief city, and to whom recourſe was to be had at a great charge from the moſt remote parts; but *Theodoric*, beſides the *conſularis*, the *corrector*, or the *præſes*, appointed, not only in the principal cities, but in each ſmall town and village, inferior magiſtrates of known integrity, who were to adminiſter juſtice, and, by that means, ſave thoſe who had law-ſuits the trouble and expence of recurring to the governor of the whole province [m], no appeals to diſtant tribunals being allowed, but in matters of the greateſt importance, or in caſe of manifeſt injuſtice [n]. Thus *Italy*, from the dominion of the *Romans*, came under that of the *Goths*, almoſt without perceiving the change. But of the eminent virtues of *Theodoric*, of his glorious reign, and the reigns of the *Gothic* kings of *Italy* his ſucceſſors, to the expulſion of the *Goths* by *Narſes*, we ſhall, purſuant to our plan, ſpeak at length in a more proper place, and, in the mean time, proceed to the hiſtory of other antient nations.

And the ſame magiſtrates.

[k] Edict. Theodor. apud CASSIODOR. [l] CASSIODOR. l. ii. var. ep. 13. & l. vii c. 2. [m] GROT. in proleg hiſt Goth CASSIODOR. l. vi. c. 7. [n] GROT. ibid.

SECT. III.

The antient ſtate of the Vandals, *till their ſettling in* Spain *and* Africa.

The origin of the Vandals.

THE *Vandals* were originally a *Gothic* nation; for *Procopius*, who could not be a ſtranger to their deſcent, being well acquainted with *Gelomir* their king, and the other *Vandals*, who were brought priſoners to *Conſtantinople* in the reign of *Juſtinian*, tells us in expreſs terms, that the *Goths* and *Vandals* were one and the ſame people, diſtinguiſhed in names, but agreeing in original and manners [o]. He adds, that they ſpoke the *Gothic* language, as did likewiſe the *Gepidæ*, *Lombards*, *Burgundians*, and *Alans*.

Their name.

They were called *Vandals* from the *Gothic* word *Vandelen*, which ſignifies *to wander*, becauſe they often changed their ſeats, wandering from one country to another [p]. They are ſuppoſed to have come originally out of *Scandinavia* with the other *Goths*, under the conduct of king *Euric*, of whom we have ſpoken in the foregoing ſection, and to have ſettled in the countries now known by the names of *Mecklenburgh* and *Brandenburgh*. Several ages after, another colony of the *Goths*, leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berig*, ſettled in *Pomerania*, after having driven out the *Rugians*, by *Jornandes* called *Ulmerugians*. At the ſame time *Berig* ſubdued the *Vandals* inhabiting the above-mentioned countries; but inſtead of driving them from their antient ſeats, he only obliged them, as they were a *Gothic* nation, to ſhare their territories with the new-comers [q]. In the reign of *Auguſtus*, part of the *Vandals*, ſtraightened in their own country for want of room, ſettled on the banks of the *Rhine*; but were driven from thence by *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, and obliged to return home. As their country

Their different ſeats.

was overſtocked with people, great numbers of them ſoon left it anew, and, taking their route eaſtward, entered the country lying between the *Boſporus Cimmerius* and the *Tanais*, inhabited at that time by the *Sclavi*, whom they drove out, and, ſeizing on their country, took the name of the antient inhabitants, calling themſelves *Sclavi*. Some of theſe, ſeveral ages after, that is, in the reign of *Mauritius*, which began in 586, ſettled in *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, which from them were called *Sclavonia* [r]. Others ſeated themſelves in the eaſtern parts of

[o] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. [p] Vide MATTH. PRÆTOR. in orbe Goth. [q] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 4. [r] Vide OLAUM RUDBECK. Atalantica. part. i. c. 24. & JOANN. MARIAN l. v. c. 1.

Dacia

Dacia beyond the *Danube*, which province comprehended the preſent countries of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and the eaſtern parts of *Upper Hungary*. From thoſe who remained in *Germany*, the preſent *Poles* and *Bohemians* are ſaid by moſt writers to derive their origin [s]. But the *Vandals* who, under *Godegeſilus* their king, broke into *Gaul*, and afterwards ſettled in *Spain* and *Africa*, came according to *Procopius* [t], from *Dacia*, and the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*. As the *Vandals* were a *Gothic* nation, the ſame cuſtoms, manners, religion, form of government, &c. obtained among them as among the *Goths*. They had, without doubt, their own kings long before they were known to the *Romans*; but *Godegeſilus*, under whoſe conduct they entered *Gaul* in 406, is the firſt of their princes, whom we find mentioned in hiſtory. He was ſucceeded by *Gunderic*, who, in 409, from *Gaul* paſſed into *Spain*, and ſettled in *Galicia*. *Genſeric* reigned next, who, abandoning *Spain* in 428, paſſed with his *Vandals* over into *Africa*, which the *Vandals* held under the following kings, *Hunneric*, *Gundamund*, *Thraſamund*, *Genſeric* II. and *Gelimer*, till the year 533, when an end was put to their dominion by *Beliſarius*, and *Africa* re-united to the empire. *Salvianus*, ſpeaking of the *Vandals*, ſays, that they were excelled by all the other barbarous nations both in power and courage; but nevertheleſs made themſelves maſters of the beſt and moſt fertile provinces of the empire. Providence ſo diſpoſing to convince the world, that their conqueſts were not owing to their valour, but to the Lord of hoſts, who made uſe of ſo weak and contemptible an enemy to puniſh the ſins of the *Romans* [u]. They embraced the chriſtian religion at the ſame time that the *Goths* were converted, but held, like the other *Gothic* nations, the tenets of *Arius*, and were irreconcilable enemies to the catholic church. *Salvian* however extols their continence and chaſtity [w]. *Their kings.*

As to their irruptions into the empire, for we know nothing of their wars with other nations, they firſt began to be troubleſome to the *Romans* in the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, about the year 166, when, entering into an alliance with other barbarous nations, *viz.* the *Marcomanns*, the *Nariſchians*, the *Hermundurians*, *Quadians*, *Suevians*, *Sarmatians*, *Victovalians*, *Roxolanians*, *Baſtarnians*, *Caſtobochians*, *Alans*, *Iazygians*, &c. they broke into the empire, took and plundered ſeveral cities, and, having put to flight the *Roman*

[s] MATTH. PRATOR. in orbe Goth. l. iii. c. 1. § 2. [t] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. [u] SALVIAN. l. vii. p. 161. [w] Idem, p. 160, 166.

armies sent against them, committed every-where unheard-of ravages. Of this war, which is compared by the antients to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have spoken in our *Roman* history [x]. On this occasion the *Marcomanns* and *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*, after having defeated and killed *Furius Victorinus* the *præfectus prætorio*, who, with a considerable army, attempted to put a stop to their inroads [y]. They continued in *Pannonia* till the year 170, when they were driven out by *M. Aurelius*, who pursued them to the *Danube*, and cut great numbers of them in pieces as they were passing that river [z]. They entered, it seems, afterwards into an alliance with the *Romans*; for one of the articles of the peace concluded in 180, between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemanns* was, that they should not make war upon the *Vandals* [a]. In the year 215, a war was kindled between them and the *Marcomanns*; for *Caracalla*, as we read in *Dion* [b], used to glory in his having set at variance these two nations, which, till then, lived in peace and amity with each other. By this war both nations were greatly weakened; and this is all we know of it.

The Vandals *make themselves masters of* Pannonia.

Year after Christ 476.

Are driven out by M. Aurelius.

In 271, the second of *Aurelian*'s reign, while the emperor was engaged in a war with several *German* nations, who had broken into *Italy*, the *Vandals*, having passed the *Danube* under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Aurelian*, having gained a complete victory over the *Germans*, led his army against the *Vandals*, who, upon the news of his approach, retired with great precipitation. The emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him, as hostages, the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men amongst his own troops, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube*. Five hundred of them, who had separated from the rest to plunder the country, were cut in pieces by the general of the foreign troops, and their leader put to death by their king's order [c]. They continued quiet the remaining part of *Aurelian*'s reign; but they no sooner received the news of his death, which happened in 275, than entering into an alliance with the *Lygians*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*, they advanced as far as the *Rhine*, and having, with-

They break into the empire; but are driven out with great slaughter by Aurelian.

Year after Christ 276.

[x] Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 591, & seq. [y] M. Aur. vit. p. 29. [z] Idem ibid. p. 31. [a] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 817. [b] Dio. p. 754, 755. [c] Aur. vit. p. 215 Dexip. legat. p. 12.

out

out oppoſition, croſſed that river, entered *Gaul*, and made themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole country, which they held for the ſpace of two years, that is till the year 277, when *Probus*, who had ſucceeded *Tacitus*, marching againſt them, overcame them in ſeveral battles. Moſt of the *Lygians*, a *German* nation, were cut off, and their king *Semno* taken priſoner; but he was ſoon after ſet at liberty, in virtue of a treaty, by which the *Lygians*, after having reſtored the booty, and diſmiſſed the priſoners, they had taken, ſolemnly promiſed not only to live in amity with the *Romans*, but to guard the confines of the empire againſt the other barbarians, who ſhould attempt to break into it [d]. The *Vandals* and *Burgundians* retired at the approach of the *Roman* army, and, having croſſed the *Rhine* before *Probus* could overtake them, encamped on the banks of that river. However, being provoked by the inſults and raillery of the *Roman* ſoldiers encamped on the oppoſite bank, they attempted to paſs the river, with a deſign to give them battle; but the *Romans*, falling upon the firſt that landed, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took many priſoners, and drove the reſt, who were haſtening to the aſſiſtance of their companions, back into the river, where moſt of them periſhed. The emperor was preparing to paſs the *Rhine*, in order to purſue the ſhattered remains of their army; but, upon their ſuing for peace, and promiſing to ſend back all the priſoners and booty they had taken, he agreed to let them retire unmoleſted. This promiſe they did not perform with due fidelity; which ſo provoked the emperor, that, croſſing the *Rhine*, he fell upon them as they were retiring, put many of them to the ſword, and took a great number of priſoners, among whom was *Igillus* their king, with other perſons of great diſtinction [e]. Theſe were afterwards ſent by *Probus* into *Britain*, and are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, where, according to *Bucherius*, they gave name to the village of *Vandelſburg* [f]. Two years after, *Probus* finding, on his return from *Perſia*, the province of *Thrace* almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, allowed a great number of *Baſtarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, ſome ſay an hundred thouſand, to ſettle there. He likewiſe granted lands in the ſame province to the *Gepidæ*, the *Juthungians*, and the *Vandals*. The *Baſtarnæ* continued faithful to the empire, and by degrees brought themſelves to live after the *Roman* manner; but the other nations revolting, while the emperor's troops were employed againſt *Saturninus* and *Proculus*, of whom the former had aſſumed the purple in *Egypt*, and the

The Vandals receive a great overthrow from Probus. Year of Chriſt 277.

Some of them allowed to ſettle in Thrace. They revolt, and are reduced by Probus.

[d] Prob. vit. p. 238, 239. Zos. l. i. p. 664. [e] Idem, p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 663. [f] Bucher. Belg. l. vii. c. 1. p. 218.

latter

latter in *Gaul*, over-ran, ſays our hiſtorian, the whole empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages, to the great diſhonour of the *Roman* name [g]. But *Probus*, having with great ſucceſs overcome the two uſurpers, marched all his forces againſt the barbarians, and, in ſeveral battles, the particulars of which are unknown to us, made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that few of thoſe, who had entered the *Roman* dominions, had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter [h]. No further mention is made of the *Vandals* till the year 291, the eighth of *Dioclefian*'s reign, when we find them engaged in a war with the *Goths*. The *Taifalæ* aſſiſted the *Goths*, and the *Gepidæ* the *Vandals*; but as the *Romans* were no-ways concerned in this war, authors only tell us in general terms, that it was carried on with great vigour; and that the barbarians were ſo weakened by it, that, for a conſiderable time, they ſuffered the *Romans* to live in peace, not being in a condition to moleſt them [i]. As for the *Vandals*, they ſeem to have continued quiet till the year 406, the twelfth of *Honorius*'s reign, when, ſtirred up by *Stilicho*, who hoped, by their means, to raiſe his ſon *Eucherius* to the empire, they broke into *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Suevians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to croſs the *Rhine*, were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiſcles*; and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the *Alans* and *Suevians* come ſeaſonably to their relief. Theſe, joining the *Vandals*, obliged the *Franks* to retire; and, croſſing without oppoſition the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*, on the laſt day of the preſent year 406 [k]. *Procopius* writes, that the *Vandals*, who entered *Gaul*, had been obliged by a famine, that raged among them at home, to abandon their own country, and ſeek new ſettlements; but that the greater part of the nation continued in their antient ſeats beyond the *Danube* [l]. Having paſſed the *Rhine*, they firſt ravaged *Germania Prima*, took by ſtorm, and levelled with the ground, the city of *Mentz*, the metropolis of that province. From *Germania Prima* they paſſed into *Gallia Belgica*, and from thence into *Aquitain*, the moſt fertile and opulent province of all *Gaul*. Having advanced to the *Pyrenean* mountains, which they did not at firſt venture to paſs, they over-ran all the neighbouring provinces, committing every-where unheard-of ravages. The *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, were ſoon joined by the *Burgundians* and other barbarous nations,

They break into Gaul. *Year after Chriſt* 406.

[g] Prob. vit. p. 240. Zoſ. l. i. p. 666. [h] Prob. vit. p. 240—245. [i] Paneg. xi. p. 135—138. [k] GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. OROS. c. 40. p. 223. VALES. p. 93. [l] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 22. p. 227.

ſtirred

ſtirred up partly by *Stilicho*, and partly by the deſire of booty, and hopes of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces [m]. An incredible number of barbarians, ſays St. *Jerom*, writing about this time, have ſpread themſelves all over *Gaul*: the whole country between the *Alps*, the *Pyrenean* mountains, the ocean, and the *Rhine*, is held by them [n]. In the mean time, *Conſtantine* being proclaimed emperor by the *Britiſh* legions, from *Britain* paſſed over into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the iſland, and the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, who were joined, ſoon after his landing at *Bologne*, by the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*. With theſe he overcame the *Vandals* and other barbarians in ſeveral battles, and, in the end, reduced them to ſuch ſtraights, that they were obliged to ſue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit *Gaul*, probably becauſe he hoped to maintain himſelf, by their means, in the power he had uſurped [o]. Soon after, *Geroncius*, to whom *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, revolting upon ſome diſguſt, and ſetting up one *Maximus* for emperor, the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevians*, flew to arms, probably at the inſtigation of the uſurper, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities in *Gaul*. Hereupon the natives, expecting no relief either from *Honorius* or *Conſtantine*, reſolved to defend themſelves; and accordingly, uniting their forces, they fell upon the barbarians, and defeated them in ſeveral encounters. The barbarians, meeting with greater oppoſition than they expected, and at the ſame time acquainted with the diſtracted ſtate of *Spain*, which was repreſented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, reſolved to try whether they could ſettle there. With this deſign, they bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they paſſed without oppoſition, the guards, who had been placed there, either abandoning their poſts at the approach of ſuch multitudes, or joining them, in order to avoid the puniſhment due to the ravages they had committed in thoſe provinces before their arrival [p]. Thus the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, firſt entered *Spain* in 409, according to ſome, on the twenty-eighth of *September* [q]; according to others, on the thirteenth of *October* [r]. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds, defeated the troops, which *Conſtantine* had ſent, under the conduct of his ſon *Conſtans*, to ſuppreſs the

The Vandals, Suevians, and Alans, enter Spain. Year of Chriſt 409.

[m] Zos. l. vi. p. 825. SALVIAN. l. vii. p. 167. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. [n] HIER. ep. xi. p. 93. [o] OROS. ibid. [p] GREG. TUR. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. SOZOM. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. [q] PROSP. chron. [r] IDAT. faſt. & chron.

rebellion

rebellion of *Geroncius*, and before the end of the year 410, obliged *Conſtans* himſelf to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* [s]. As for *Geroncius*, he entered into a kind of alliance with them againſt their common enemy *Conſtantine* [t]. And now the barbarians, having no enemy to oppoſe them, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of cruelties; which they themſelves afterwards repented [u]. St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaking of the duty of biſhops on ſuch occaſions, alledges the example of the biſhops of *Spain*, when over-run by the barbarians: Many holy biſhops, ſays he, fled, after having ſeen their flocks diſperſed by the barbarians, put to the ſword, deſtroyed by long ſieges, or carried into captivity; but many more remained among the barbarians, becauſe thoſe who were committed to their care, choſe to remain, being willing to endure all ſorts of hardſhips, rather than be wanting to their duty [w]. The barbarians allowed ſuch of the natives, as deſired to abandon the country, to retire unmoleſted; nay, for a ſmall ſum, they conducted them to ſuch places of ſafety, as they thought proper to chuſe [x].

The unhappy condition of thoſe provinces.

Idatius, who was about this time biſhop of a city in *Spain*, deſcribes at length the calamities ſuffered on this occaſion by that unhappy people. He tells us, that, in 409, the country was ravaged on one ſide by the barbarians, and on the other by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off great numbers [y]; that, beſides theſe two evils, ſo great a famine raged in 410, that many were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of feeding upon human fleſh; that ſeveral parents, preſſed by hunger, devoured their own children; and that the wild beaſts, accuſtomed to live upon the dead bodies of thoſe who were killed by the barbarians, or died of the plague, being deprived of that food, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country-people in the fields and villages. To theſe calamities was added, ſays our author, the cruelty of the ſoldiers and officers, who, being employed by *Conſtantine* to levy the taxes, ſeized and carried off the effects and wealth of the inhabitants, who had conveyed them into the towns, as places of ſafety [z]. *Olympiodorus* tells us, that the *Romans*, who, upon the breaking in of the barbarians, had taken refuge in the fortified cities and ſtrong-holds, were in the end obliged to feed upon one another. He adds, that a woman, who had no fewer than forty children, killed and devoured them one after the other; which the people

[s] OROS. ibid. SOZ. l. ix. c. 12 p. 814. SALV. l. vii p. 108.
[t] PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. [u] OROS. ibid. [w] AUG. ep clxxx. p 306. [x] OROS. c. 41. p. 223. [y] IDAT. chron. p. 10.
[z] Idem, p. 11.

na

no ſooner knew, than they fell upon her, and ſtoned her to death [a]. Such was the deplorable condition, to which the provinces of *Spain* were reduced by the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, and *Alans*, upon their firſt entering that country; and in this ſtate they continued from the year 406 to 411, when Heaven, ſays *Idatius* [b], inſpiring the barbarians with thoughts of peace, they began to prefer agriculture to war. Having therefore divided among themſelves by lot the provinces of *Spain*, they applied themſelves to the tilling of the ground, and to other works of agriculture. In that diviſion, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, the former having *Gonderic*, who had ſucceeded *Godigiſcles*, for their king, and the latter *Ermeric*; *Luſitania* and the province of *Cartagena* to the *Alans*; *Bætica* to the *Vandals*, called *Silingians*, who are ſuppoſed to have given to their lot the name of *Vandaluſia*, changed afterwards into that of *Andaluſia* [c]. Such of the natives as had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and taken refuge in the fortified places, ſubmitted in the end to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the goſpels, ſwore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they obſerved ſo religiouſly, that many *Romans* choſe to live in poverty under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire [d]. However, the inhabitants of *Galicia* maintained their liberty, and formed a ſeparate ſtate in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked by *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, who, in the end, ſuffered them to live in peace, being ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he languiſhed the ſeven laſt years of the fourteen he reigned [e]. Pope *Leo* obſerves, that the catholic church ſuffered greatly by this irruption of the barbarians, who would not ſuffer the civil and eccleſiaſtical laws enacted againſt heretics, eſpecially the *Priſcillianiſts*, to be put in execution. On the other hand, the biſhops not meeting and holding councils as uſual, the followers of *Priſcillian*, who, till that time, had been obliged to keep themſelves concealed, began publicly to own their tenets, and gained over a great many proſelytes [f].

The Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, divide the provinces of Spain among them.

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[a] PHOT. c 80. p 189. [b] IDAT. ibid. [c] OROS. c. 41. p 223. [d] Idem, l. iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223. [e] ISIDOR chron. [f] LEO, ep. xv [illegible] 49. [g] OROS. ibid.

rebellion of *Geroncius*, and before the end of the year 410, obliged *Conſtans* himſelf to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles* [s]. As for *Geroncius*, he entered into a kind of alliance with them againſt their common enemy *Conſtantine* [t]. And now the barbarians, having no enemy to oppoſe them, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of cruelties; which they themſelves afterwards repented [u]. St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaking of the duty of biſhops on ſuch occaſions, alledges the example of the biſhops of *Spain*, when over-run by the barbarians: Many holy biſhops, ſays he, fled, after having ſeen their flocks diſperſed by the barbarians, put to the ſword, deſtroyed by long ſieges, or carried into captivity; but many more remained among the barbarians, becauſe thoſe who were committed to their care, choſe to remain, being willing to endure all ſorts of hardſhips, rather than be wanting to their duty [w]. The barbarians allowed ſuch of the natives, as deſired to abandon the country, to retire unmoleſted; nay, for a ſmall ſum, they conducted them to ſuch places of ſafety, as they thought proper to chuſe [x].

The unhappy condition of thoſe provinces.

Idatius, who was about this time biſhop of a city in *Spain*, deſcribes at length the calamities ſuffered on this occaſion by that unhappy people. He tells us, that, in 409, the country was ravaged on one ſide by the barbarians, and on the other by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off great numbers [y]; that, beſides theſe two evils, ſo great a famine raged in 410, that many were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of feeding upon human fleſh; that ſeveral parents, preſſed by hunger, devoured their own children; and that the wild beaſts, accuſtomed to live upon the dead bodies of thoſe who were killed by the barbarians, or died of the plague, being deprived of that food, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country-people in the fields and villages. To theſe calamities was added, ſays our author, the cruelty of the ſoldiers and officers, who, being employed by *Conſtantine* to levy the taxes, ſeized and carried off the effects and wealth of the inhabitants, who had conveyed them into the towns, as places of ſafety [z]. *Olympiodorus* tells us, that the *Romans*, who, upon the breaking in of the barbarians, had taken refuge in the fortified cities and ſtrongholds, were in the end obliged to feed upon one another. He adds, that a woman, who had no fewer than forty children, killed and devoured them one after the other; which the people

[s] OROS. ibid. Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. SALV. l. vii. p. 168.
[t] PROT. c. 80. p. 154. [u] OROS. ibid. [w] AUG. ep. clxxx. p. 396. [x] OROS. c. 41. p. 223. [y] IDAT. chron. p. 16.
[z] Idem, p. 11.

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[a] Prosp. chron. p. 680. [b] Idat. ibid. [c] Oros. l. vii. c. 41 p. 223. [d] Idem, l. iii. c. 23 p. 163. & l. vii. c. 41 p. 563. [e] Isidor chron. [f] Leo, ep. xv. c. 19. [g] Oros. ibid.

Alans and *Vandals*, masters of *Lusitania* and *Bætica*, and gained great advantages over them [h]. This is all we know of the present war. In 422, the emperor *Honorius*, acquainted with the low condition to which the *Vandals* had been reduced by the *Goths* under the command of *Vallia*, resolved to attempt the recovery of the provinces held by them in *Spain*. With this view, he ordered *Castinus*, general of the foot, and captain of the guards, to march against them at the head of a considerable army, in which served a great number of *Goths*. *Castinus* defeated them in several encounters, and reduced them to such straights, that they began to think of abandoning the country, which they had seized; but the *Roman* general having in the mean time unseasonably ventured an engagement, twenty thousand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged, with the poor remains of his shattered army, to take refuge in the city of *Tarraco* [i]. *Idatius* ascribes this defeat to the treachery of the *Goths*, who served as auxiliaries in the *Roman* army; but *Gregory* of *Tours*, and *Salvian*, suppose it to be intirely owing to the rashness of *Castinus*. After this victory, the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Seville*; and, having firmly established their dominion in *Andalusia*, they ravaged the neighbouring provinces, almost utterly destroyed the city of *Cartagena*, and, passing over into the *Balearic* islands, committed unheard-of ravages there, carrying back with them into *Spain* an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives [k]. Not long after, the *Vandals* and *Suevians* falling out, *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, gained great advantages over *Ermeric* king of the *Suevians*, whom, in the end, he obliged to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biscay*, and there kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Mauroscelus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon *Biscay* and *Galicia*, and retire into *Andalusia* [l]. *Gonderic*, on his return to *Seville*, took the church of that city from the catholics, and gave it to the *Arians*; upon which, being immediately possessed, says *Idatius*, and tormented with an evil spirit, he perished soon after, that is, in 428, in a miserable manner [m]. The *Vandals* gave out, that he had been taken prisoner by the *Suevians*, and by them put to death, hoping by that means, say some modern writers, to conceal his shameful end; which was a manifest condemnation of the tenets of *Arius* held by them. *Gonderic* left several sons

They gain a great victory over the Romans.

Gonderic *dies.*

[h] IDAT. chron. [i] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63, 64. SALVIAN. l. vii p. 165—168. [k] IDAT. chron. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem, p. 27.

behind

behind him; but was nevertheleſs ſucceeded by his brother, named by the antients *Gaiſeric*, *Geiſeric*, and *Gizeric*, but now commonly known by the name of *Genſeric*. *Procopius* tells us, that he was the natural ſon of *Gondigiſcles*, killed by the *Franks* in 406, and *Sidonius*, that he was the ſon of a king; but that his mother was a ſlave [p]. He renounced the catholic faith, which he firſt profeſſed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius* held by the *Vandals* his countrymen [o]. He was remarkably brave and courageous, well ſkilled in the art of war, and, from his infancy, inured to the hardſhips and toils attending a military life [p]. But, as we have elſewhere drawn his character [q], we ſhall only add here from *Idatius*, that, before his acceſſion to the crown, he was well known to the *Romans* by the many advantages he had gained over them in *Spain*; that the victory over *Caſtinus* in 422, was no leſs owing to his bravery, than to the raſh conduct of the *Roman* general; and that chiefly by his means the *Suevians* in *Spain* were reduced to to the loweſt ebb of power [r]. Upon his arrival in *Africa*, he cauſed the wife of the deceaſed king to be drowned in the river *Amſachus*, and ſoon after put all her children to death, to prevent the diſturbances they might have raiſed, as they had an undoubted right to the crown [s]. *Genſeric* had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when he was invited over into *Africa* by count *Bonifacius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in that province. *Bonifacius* had ſerved the empire with the utmoſt fidelity, and, on that account, had been raiſed by the empreſs *Placidia* to the higheſt honours, and ſent with an unlimited power into *Africa*; which province he had defended with great bravery againſt the repeated attempts of the uſurper *John*. His riſe gave no ſmall jealouſy to his rival *Aetius*, who thereupon found means to perſuade *Placidia*, that *Bonifacius* had preſerved *Africa* for himſelf, and only waited an opportunity of pulling off the maſk, and eſtabliſhing there an independent ſovereignty. *Placidia*, giving intire credit to the inſinuations of *Aetius*, whom ſhe did not in the leaſt miſtruſt, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, as we have related more at length elſewhere [t], and diſpatched a ſtrong body of troops againſt him. *Bonifacius*, finding the empreſs bent upon his ruin, and himſelf not in a condition to contend with the whole ſtrength of the empire, had recourſe to *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, who, at this time, peaceably enjoyed the province of *Andaluſia*. *Procopius* writes,

He is invited by Bonifacius *into* Africa.

[n] Sid. car. ii. & v. p. 300, 310. [o] Idat. p. 17. [p] Procop. p. p. 184. [q] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 95 [r] Idem ibid. [s] Victor Vitens. de perſecut. Vandal. l. ii. p. 21. Malch. leg. p. 97. [t] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 95.

that, in virtue of the treaty concluded between them and *Bonifacius*, *Gonderic*, whom he ſuppoſes to be ſtill living, againſt the teſtimony of *Idatius*, and *Genſeric*, were to have two-thirds of *Africa*, and he the other; and that they were to aſſiſt each other to the utmoſt of their power [u]. The treaty being agreed to, *Genſeric* began to make the neceſſary preparations for ſo important an expedition. The barbarians, ſays *Proſper* [w], had no veſſels, neither did they know how to make uſe of them; but thoſe who employed them, took care to ſupply them with every thing they wanted. When neceſſary veſſels were got ready, and the *Vandals* upon the point of going on board, *Genſeric* was informed, that *Hermigarius*, a celebrated commander of the *Suevians*, was laying waſte the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Genſeric*, putting himſelf at the head of a choſen body of troops, went in queſt of the enemy; and, coming up with them in *Luſitania*, gave them a total overthrow. *Hermigarius* their leader attempted to make his eſcape; but was drowned in croſſing on horſeback the river *Guadiana* near *Merida* [x]. *Idatius* looks upon his death as a puniſhment inflicted upon him for ſpeaking contemptuouſly of St. *Eulalia*, and pillaging the city of *Merida*, where the body of that ſaint was kept and revered [y].

He defeats the Suevians.

FROM this expedition *Genſeric* returned to the place where the veſſels were kept in readineſs for his embarkation. There he had ordered, before his departure, all the *Vandals* to aſſemble, with their wives, children, and effects; and having, upon his return, commanded them to go on board, he put to ſea in the month of *May* of the year 428, and, abandoning *Spain*, croſſed the ſtraights of *Gibralter*, and landed in *Africa* [z]. The *Romans* took poſſeſſion anew of the provinces, which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the *Suevians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, as we have related above. *Genſeric* gave out, that his army was eighty thouſand ſtrong; but in that number he muſt have compriſed the old men, the children, and even the ſlaves [a]. The author of St. *Auſtin*'s life deſcribes at length the dreadful ravages committed by them in that wealthy province. According to that writer, they were, in the month of *May* of the year 430, already maſters of all the cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Cirtha*, and *Hippo*. *Caſſiodore* writes, perhaps to curry favour with thoſe under whom he lived, that the *Vandals* were driven out of *Spain* by the *Goths* [b]. But *Salvian* aſſures us, that they abandoned

The Vandals abandon Spain *and paſs over into* Africa. *Year after Chriſt* 428.

[u] Procop p. 15 [w] Prosp. chron. [x] Idat. p. 27. [y] Idem, p. 28. [z] Prosp. chron. Idat. p. 17, 18. Vict. Vitens. de perſecut. Vandal. l. i. p. 3. [a] Vict. Vitens ibid. [b] Cassiodor. chron.

thoſe

thoſe countries of their own accord, when they were in a condition to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of what they had acquired with their valour, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of their enemies, Heaven, that had made uſe of them to puniſh the ſins of the *Spaniards*, employing them for the ſame purpoſe againſt the *Africans*. The ſame writer adds, that they themſelves could not help owning, that they were animated to this enterpriſe more by a ſecret impulſe from Heaven, than by their own inclination [c]. In the mean time, *Placidia*, having diſcovered the true cauſe of the revolt of *Bonifacius*, wrote a moſt kind and obliging letter to him, aſſuring him of her favour and protection for the future, and exhorting him to return to his duty, and exert his uſual zeal for the welfare of the empire, by driving out the barbarians, whom the malice of his enemies had obliged him to call in for his own ſafety and preſervation. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them conſiderable ſums, provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*. But the *Vandals*, already maſters of the far greater part of *Africa*, firſt returned him a ſcoffing anſwer, and then, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himſelf to take refuge in *Hippo*; which place they inveſted in the month of *May* 430, about three months before the death of St. *Auſtin* biſhop of that city. The ſiege laſted about fourteen months, that is, till the month of *July* of the following year 431, when the *Vandals* were forced, by a famine that began to rage in their camp, to drop the enterpriſe, and retire [d]. Soon after, *Bonifacius* having received two reinforcements, the one from *Rome* and the other from *Conſtantinople*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Aſpar*, a reſolution was taken by the *Roman* generals to offer the enemy battle. The *Vandals* readily accepting the challenge, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the *Romans* were utterly defeated by the barbarians, who took an incredible number of captives, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter among the rocks and mountains. Among the priſoners was *Marcian*, then aſſeſſor to *Aſpar*, and afterwards emperor. *Aſpar*, who commanded the eaſtern troops, eſcaped with much-ado out of *Africa*, and returned to *Conſtantinople* [e]. As for *Bonifacius*, he repaired with all ſpeed to *Italy*, being called thither by the empreſs *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians over-ran all *Africa*, committing every-where, without controul, unheard-of ravages; which ſtruck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with ſuch terror, that they abandoned their

They gain ſeveral victories over the Romans.

[c] SALVIAN. gub. l. vii. p. 168.
[d] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185. Vit. S. Aug.
[e] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.

city,

city, which was first plundered, and then set on fire, by the victorious enemy; so that *Cirtha* and *Carthage* were the only two strong places in *Africa* still held by the *Romans* [f]. About the same time, *Genseric* made several attempts upon *Sicily*; but was constantly repulsed by *Cassiodore*, great-grandfather to the celebrated senator of the same name [g]. At length a peace was concluded on the eleventh of *February* of the year 435, between *Valentinian* and *Genseric* [h], whose moderation is greatly extolled by *Procopius* [i]. But other writers ascribe his making peace with the *Romans*, not to his moderation, but to the apprehension he was under of being attacked anew by the united forces of both empires. Be that as it will, the *Romans* yielded to him part of *Numidia*, the province of *Proconsularis*, and likewise *Byzacene* [k]. *Prosper* writes, that, for these provinces, *Genseric* was to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of the east [l]. He delivered up to the *Romans* his son *Hunneric* by way of hostage; but so great was the confidence they placed in *Genseric*, that, some time after, they sent him back his son; of which they had soon occasion to repent, being convinced by experience, that he had either brought with him into *Africa*, or learnt there, the treachery peculiar to the inhabitants of that country; for four years after, that is, in 439, the *Romans* being engaged in a war with the *Goths* in *Gaul*, *Genseric*, laying hold of that opportunity, surprised the city of *Carthage* on the twenty-third of *October*; by the taking of which place, the *Vandals* remained masters of the *Proconsularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Gætulia*, and part of *Numidia* [m]. However, *Valentinian* maintained, so long as he lived, the other provinces of *Africa*, though reduced to a most deplorable condition. These were the two *Mauritanias*, viz. *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia*, in which *Cirtha* stood. Thus *Carthage* fell under the power of the *Vandals*, after it had belonged to the *Romans* for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years [n]. When news of the taking of *Carthage* by the *Vandals* was brought to *Rome*, *Valentinian*, not doubting but they would soon make some attempt upon *Italy* itself, ordered the walls, towers, and gates of all the cities on the coast to be repaired. The governor of *Rome* was strictly injoined to put that city in a state of defence against any sudden attack, and impowered to oblige all the inhabitants, without distinction, to concur in the

Genseric, king of the Vandals, *concludes a peace with the* Romans, *who yield to him part of* Africa. *Year after Christ* 435.

He takes Carthage.

[f] SALVIAN. gub. p. 141, 142. [g] CASSIODOR. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. [h] PROSP. chron. [i] PROCOP. ibid. c. 1. p. 386. [k] VICT. VITENS. l. i. p. 5. [l] PROSP. chron. [m] IDAT. p. 22. PROSP. chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730. VICT. VITENS. l. v. p. 5. [n] PROSP. chron.

work.

work. Levies were made, and guards placed on the walls, and at the gates, as appears from a law enacted on the second of *March*, and addressed to the people of *Rome* [p]. From another law dated the twenty-fourth of *June* 440, we learn, that the *Roman* people had already received intelligence of *Genseric*'s being sailed from *Carthage* with a powerful fleet, but were still unacquainted with his design. Hereupon *Valentinian* published a law, granting to all ranks of people the liberty of taking arms, to defend themselves against the common enemy. By the same law he yields to them whatever they shall take from the *Vandals*, and exhorts them to act on this occasion with the courage of true *Romans*, and with that moderation and justice, that become men of honour. He adds, that an army, destined by *Theodosius* for the defence of *Italy*, was in full march; and that *Aetius* would soon arrive from *Gaul* at the head of another army. Several bodies of troops were placed, at proper distances, along the coast, under the conduct of *Sigisvult*, by nation a *Goth*; and the people ordered to be in readiness to take arms upon the first alarm [q]. But, notwithstanding all these precautions, *Genseric*, in the month of *June*, made a descent upon *Sicily*, and, meeting with little or no resistance, ravaged the open country, and even laid siege to *Palermo*; but, not being able to reduce the place, he returned to *Africa* with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives [r]. It was, without all doubt, on this occasion, that *Pascasinus*, bishop of *Lilybæum*, was carried into captivity, as pope *Leo* informs us, and kept in a most miserable servitude for the space of three years, *viz.* to the year 433, when he returned back to his see [s].

He ravages Sicily.

Genseric being now become formidable to both empires, *Theodosius* resolved to assist *Valentinian* his cousin and son-in-law against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted out a fleet consisting of eleven hundred large ships, and, putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of *Aspacuras*, *Ansilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and, joining the western forces there, to drive *Genseric* out of the countries he had usurped. But *Genseric* pretending in the mean time to be desirous of concluding a peace with both empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coast of *Sicily* the result of the negotiations, till the season proper for action was over. The following year 442, the *Huns* breaking into *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and committing dreadful ravages, *Theodosius* was obliged to recal his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genseric*, which he could not obtain, but

Valentinian yields to Genseric and the countries he had usurped.

[p] Novell. xl. p. 17. & xli. p. 18. [q] Novell. xx. p. 102.
[r] Prosp. Tiro. chron. [s] Leo, tom. i. p. 412.

In the year 442.

by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa* which he had seized [t]. Some years after, that is, in 455, *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian* III. being forced, by the usurper *Maximus*, who had murdered her husband, to marry him, in order to revenge this affront, dispatched a trusty messenger to *Genseric*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of her husband [u].

Genseric *takes and plunders* Rome. *Year after Christ* 455.

As the empress assured him, that he would meet with little or no resistance in *Italy*, and at the same time promised to assist him to the utmost of her power, he embraced, with great joy, so favourable an opportunity of enriching himself with the spoils of so wealthy a country; and, putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course straight to *Rome*, which he took and plundered, as we have related at length in our *Roman* history [w]. Amongst other persons of great distinction, *Genseric* carried with him over into *Africa* the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Aetius*. *Marcian*, who succeeded *Maximus*, dispatched embassadors to *Genseric*, earnestly intreating him to suffer the empress and the two princesses her daughters to return to *Rome*; but he, despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462, when he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the successor of *Marcian*; but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Hunneric* his eldest son, who had by her *Hilderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* [x]. *Victor Tununensis* tells us, that *Leo*, then bishop of *Rome*, went out to meet *Genseric*, and, with his affecting eloquence, persuaded him to forbear shedding the blood of the innocent citizens, and setting fire to the city [y]; but, according to *Evagrius*, the *Vandals* not only pillaged the city, but set it on fire; so that several public as well as private buildings were intirely consumed [z]. *Baronius* writes, upon what authority we know not, that *Genseric* spared, as *Alaric* had done, the churches of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and the *Lateran* [a].

Genseric, upon his return to *Africa*, made himself master of the countries that were still held there by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had succeeded *Valentinian* III. dispatched embassadors to him, putting him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the empire in 442, and threatening, if he did not

[t] Chron. ALEX p. 703. PROSP. chron. [u] EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298. [w] Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 133. [x] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 9. p. 255. THEOPH. p. 93. EVAGR. p. 98. [y] VICT. TUN. chron. [z] EVAGR. ibid. [a] BARON. ad ann. 455.

observe

obſerve the articles of that convention, to make war upon him, not only with his own forces, but with thoſe likewiſe of his allies, meaning the *Viſigoths*, that were ready to embarque and paſs over into *Africa*. Accordingly, he ſent a numerous fleet to *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occaſion to mention in our *Roman* hiſtory, with orders to keep themſelves in readineſs to put to ſea upon the firſt notice [b]. But *Genſeric*, without the leaſt regard to the emperor's remonſtrances or threats, ſailed from *Carthage* with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, having on board a great number of land-forces, and ſhaped his courſe towards *Corſica*, it being yet a ſecret whether he deſigned to make a deſcent upon *Italy* or *Gaul*. But *Ricimer* no ſooner heard he had put to ſea, than he too weighed anchor, and, coming unexpectedly upon him near *Corſica*, utterly defeated him [c]. However, he returned ſoon after with a more numerous fleet, and, making a deſcent on the coaſt of *Italy*, carried off unmoleſted an immenſe booty and a great number of captives; which *Marcian*, emperor of the eaſt, hearing, and at the ſame time pitying the condition to which *Eudoxia* and her two daughters were reduced, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Genſeric*, earneſtly intreating him to ſend back the three princeſſes, and to forbear ravaging the lands of the empire, purſuant to the treaties he had concluded with the emperor of the weſt. *Genſeric* heard the embaſſadors; but diſmiſſed them without any anſwer. Upon their return, *Marcian*, imagining, that an *Arian* might ſpeak with more liberty to, and be more favourably received by, a prince of that perſuaſion, wrote a letter to him with his own hand, and charged *Bleda*, a biſhop of that ſect, to deliver it to him. *Bleda*, finding he could obtain nothing by prayers and intreaties, told him boldly, that he ought not to let himſelf be ſo blinded by the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended him, as not to reflect on the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, by provoking ſuch a warlike prince as *Marcian*. *Genſeric* heard him with patience; but refuſed to comply with either of the emperor's requeſts [d]. Some writers tell us, that *Marcian*, finding he could obtain nothing of *Genſeric* by fair means, reſolved to make war upon him, but died before he could put his deſign in execution [e]. *Jornandes*, as quoted by other writers, ſuppoſes him to have concluded a peace with the *Vandals* [f]. *Procopius*, who greatly extols *Marcian* in other reſpects, blames him for neglecting the affairs of *Africa*, and ſcrupling to make war upon *Genſeric*, by reaſon of the oath

He is defeated at ſea by Ricimer.

[b] PRISC. legat. p. 63. [c] IDAT. p. 34. VICT. VITENS. p. 34.
[d] EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 398. [e] PHOTIOS. cod. 79. p. 77.
[f] PRISC. p. 41. not. 208.

he had been obliged to take, when prisoner in *Africa*, that he would never molest the *Vandals* [g]. *Evagrius* supposes *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to have been sent back to *Marcian* [h]; but he was therein certainly mistaken; for *Genseric* set those two princesses at liberty several years after, at the request of the emperor *Leo*. *Priscus* writes, that *Genseric* obtained of the emperor of the east, *Marcian*, or his successor *Leo*, part of the effects of the deceased emperor *Valentinian*, as the portion of *Eudocia* that prince's daughter married to *Hunneric* the son of *Genseric* [i]. But we do not well comprehend what right the emperor of the east had to dispose of what belonged to the emperor of the west. In the year 457, *Avitus*, emperor of the west, who had succeeded *Valentinian* III. being deposed, after a short reign, *Majorianus* was chosen in his room. In the beginning of that prince's reign, the *Vandals* made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but the *Romans*, falling upon them while they were busied in plundering the country, put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genseric*, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves on board their fleet [k]. *Majorianus*, not satisfied with this small advantage, resolved to pass over into *Africa*, and attempt the recovery of those wealthy provinces. With this view he assembled a fleet consisting of three hundred vessels, hired a great number of troops of the barbarians, who lived in amity with the empire, and are named by *Sidonius* [l], and made other necessary preparations for so great an undertaking; the *Gauls*, though greatly exhausted by heavy imposts, contributing with joy their share towards them [m]. Of these military preparations mention is made by *Procopius* [n], and likewise by *Cassiodore* [o], who tells us, that *Majorianus* spent the whole year 457, and the three following, in making the necessary preparations for driving the *Vandals* out of *Africa*. At length, in the year 460, *Majorianus* leaving *Arles*, where he then resided, soon after *Easter*, which that year fell on the twenty-seventh of *March*, bent his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *May*, with a design to cross over from thence into *Africa* [p]. *Procopius* writes, that *Majorianus*, the better to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, went in disguise to the court of *Genseric*, pretending to be an ambassador sent by the *Roman* emperor with proposals

The Vandals *defeated by the* Romans.

Majorianus *resolves to pass over into* Africa

Year after Christ 460.

[g] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 4. p. 186. [h] EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 65. [i] PRISC. p. 42. [k] SID. car. v. p. 321. [l] Idem ibid. p. 322. [m] Idem ibid. [n] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. vii. p. 362. [o] CASSIODOR. ad an. 457. [p] MARC. IDAT. chron. Pasch. p. 42.

for

for an accommodation: he adds, that, while *Genseric* was shewing him his arsenal, all the arms moved of their own accord with a dreadful noise [p]. The *Romans* did not in the least doubt of success, having *Majorianus* for leader; and the *Vandals*, dreading the issue of a war under the conduct of so renowned a commander, did all that lay in their power to avoid it. *Genseric* sent embassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire, which he promised to observe with the utmost fidelity; but these being rejected by the emperor, he laid waste all *Mauritania*, and even poisoned the waters, being informed, that *Majorianus* designed to land there, and thence march to *Carthage* [r]. In the mean time, the *Roman* fleet being assembled in the bay of *Alicant*, and *Majorianus* ready to embarque, a squadron of *Genseric*'s best ships appeared unexpectedly, and, falling upon the *Roman* vessels at anchor, sunk a great number of them, disabled others, and returned with some in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which, we are told, was owing to the treachery of some on board the *Roman* fleet, disconcerted all the emperor's measures, and put a stop to the enterprise. However, *Majorianus*, persisting in his resolution of invading *Africa*, ordered the ships to be repaired, and in the mean time returned to *Arles*, to pass the winter there. *Genseric*, finding the late misfortune had not diverted *Majorianus* from his former resolution, and dreading the arms and valour of so great a general, dispatched embassadors to him with new proposals, which he in the end accepted [s]. Thus a peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genseric*; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to us. Whatever they were, *Genseric* did not long observe them; for he was no sooner informed of the death of *Majorianus*, which happened the following year 461, than he sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and even made himself master of *Sardinia* [t].

His fleet surprized by the Vandals.

Concludes a peace with Genseric.

THE following year 462, the inhabitants of *Italy*, being informed, that *Genseric* was making great preparations with a design to renew his ravages on their coasts, had recourse to *Leo* emperor of the east, *Severus*, whom *Ricimer* had raised to the empire of the west, being no-ways qualified for that high station, and altogether incapable of protecting them against so powerful an enemy as *Genseric*. They earnestly intreated *Leo* either to supply them with ships of war, or to procure for them, by his mediation, some kind of agreement with the king of the *Vandals*. *Leo* declined sending them any supplies, which, he said,

[p] Procop. ibid. [r] Procop. ibid. [s] Idat. p. 90. Chron. Alex. p. 632. [t] Procop. ibid. Idat. p. 92. Chron. Alex. p. 632.

would be an open breach of the treaties subsisting between *Genseric* and the emperors of the east; but dispatched embassadors into *Africa*, with proposals for a peace with the western empire, earnestly pressing *Genseric* at the same time, to send back *Eudoxia* and her daughter *Placidia*. *Genseric* answered, that he would hearken to no terms till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him, which he claimed as the portion of *Eudocia*, that prince's eldest daughter, whom his son *Hunneric* had married. However, he sent back to *Leo* the two princesses, declaring, that he was willing to live in peace with the emperor of the east; but under the above-mentioned pretences he never failed, for some years, to make descents early in the spring on the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, pillaging the country; but ever avoiding to engage the *Romans*, and retiring as soon as their forces appeared [u]. *Olybrius*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere [w], having soon after married *Placidia*, *Genseric* took from thence a new pretence to ravage *Italy* more than ever, declaring, that he would wage an eternal war with the western empire, unless *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity [x]. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy* had recourse anew to the emperor *Leo*, who dispatched the patrician *Tatian* to *Genseric*, injoining him to conclude a peace with that prince upon any terms; but *Genseric* would hearken to none [y]. In the mean time, the emperor *Severus* dying, the *Romans* sent deputies to *Constantinople*, intreating *Leo* to send *Anthemius* into *Italy*, whom they designed to chuse emperor. *Anthemius* was a native of *Constantinople*, descended of an antient and illustrious family, had married the daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, and was at that time count of the east. *Leo* readily complied with the request of the *Romans*; so that *Anthemius*, arriving in *Italy*, was with one consent chosen emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by *Genseric* in favour of *Olybrius*. Hereupon *Genseric*, highly provoked against *Leo* for contributing to the promotion of *Anthemius*, sent a powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus* and the *Greek* islands, which they did accordingly, committing unheard-of cruelties, and carrying off a great number of captives [z]. *Leo* was no sooner informed of these ravages, than he dispatched one *Philarchus* to acquaint *Genseric*, that, if he did not forbear such acts of hostility, he should be obliged to make war upon him, and repel force with force. But *Genseric*, despising his menaces, answered, that, if *Leo* thought fit to make war upon him, he

Genseric ravages the coasts of Italy and Sicily.

And likewise Peloponnesus and the Greek islands.

[u] IDAT. p. 41. PRISC. p. 42. SID. car. ii. v. 349 [w] Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p 153. [x] PRISC. p. 43. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Chron. Alex. p. 475. PROCOP. ibid. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.

should

ſhould not find him unprepared; and ſoon after, to bid him, in a manner, defiance, he ſent his fleet to ravage anew the coaſts of *Greece* and the other maritime provinces of the eaſtern empire; nay, a report was ſpread in *Conſtantinople*, that his fleet had appeared before the city of *Alexandria*, which greatly alarmed the emperor and the whole court. But we are told, that the famous anchoret *Daniel Stylita*, to whom the emperor had recourſe, removed their fears, by aſſuring them, that the deſign of the barbarians would prove abortive; and that they would ſoon return to *Africa*, without being able to make themſelves maſters of *Alexandria*, or any other place. As he foretold, ſo it happened; for the barbarians, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts on *Alexandria* and ſome other places, returned home, without either captives or booty [a].

THE following year 468, *Leo*, reſolving, at all events, to revenge the affront offered by *Genſeric* to the eaſtern empire, made vaſt preparations for carrying the war over into *Africa*. *Procopius* writes, that on this occaſion he ſpent an hundred and thirty thouſand pounds weight of gold [b]. *Candidus*, as quoted by *Suidas*, tells us, that the prefects contributed forty-ſeven thouſand pounds weight of gold towards defraying the charges of this war; the prince ſeventeen thouſand of gold, and ſeventy thouſand of ſilver, out of his privy purſe; that the money ariſing from the ſale of confiſcated eſtates was employed in buying up proviſions, purchaſing ſhips, hiring troops, &c. and that *Anthemius*, emperor of the weſt, aſſiſted *Leo* to the utmoſt of his power both with men and money [c]. *Cedrenus* computes the charges of this war in a manner, that to us ſeems quite intelligible [d]. *Leo*, ſays *Procopius*, aſſembled all the ſhips that were found in the ſeas and ports of his empire [e], which, according to *Theophanes*, amounted to one hundred thouſand [f]. But that writer confounded perhaps the number of the ſhips with that of the men, who, according to *Procopius* [g], did not exceed that number. *Nicephorus* ſuppoſes, with *Theophanes*, the fleet to have conſiſted of an hundred thouſand ſail; but, ſpeaking of the rowers, he makes them to amount to no more than ſeven thouſand [h]; a miſtake altogether unpardonable. *Procopius* only ſays, that *Leo* fitted out the greateſt fleet the *Romans* had ever had [i]; and *Cedrenus*, that the number of the ſhips amounted to one thouſand one hundred and thirteen, each ſhip having an hundred men on board [k]. In this enterpriſe were employed the beſt

Leo *makes vaſt preparations, with a deſign to invade* Africa.

[a] THEOPH. p. 99. [b] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.
[c] SUID. p. 1126. [d] CEDREN. p. 350. [e] PROCOP. ibid.
[f] THEOPH. p. 96. [g] PROCOP ibid. [h] NICEPH. p. 631.
[i] PROCOP. ibid. p. 192. [k] CEDREN. p. 350.

beſt troops of both empires; for not only *Anthemius* ſent very conſiderable ſupplies both of men and ſhips [l], but likewiſe *Marcellinus*, who had eſtabliſhed a new ſovereignty in *Dalmatia*, as we have related elſewhere [m]; nay, that prince commanded in perſon, not only his own troops, but thoſe likewiſe that were ſent by *Anthemius* emperor of the weſt [n]. The fame of theſe warlike preparations ſtruck the whole world, ſays *Conſtantine Manaſſes* [o], with terror and amazement: nothing, continued he, ſeemed capable of defeating ſo numerous an army, ſo powerful a fleet, except gold, which no power can reſiſt. But as the time appointed by Providence for puniſhing the *Vandals* was not yet come, Heaven ſuffered *Leo* to commit the whole management of this war to *Baſiliſcus*, brother to his wife *Verina*. *Baſiliſcus* had gained great advantages over the barbarians in *Thrace*, where he had commanded as general of that province; ſo that, as to his military capacity, he ſeemed ſufficiently qualified for ſo great a command, the more as he had under him one *John*, a perſon of extraordinary courage and experience in war [p]. But, on the other hand, *Baſiliſcus* was actuated by two very dangerous paſſions, *viz.* avarice and ambition. The latter even prompted him to aſpire at the ſovereignty, which he hoped to attain by means of *Aſpar*, who governed under *Leo* with almoſt an abſolute ſway; but, as he profeſſed the doctrine of *Arius*, he was himſelf, on account of his religion, excluded from the imperial dignity. He had lately quarrelled with *Leo*, and therefore fearing, leſt that prince, if he got the better of the *Vandals*, ſhould, by his victory, be enabled to reduce his power, and puniſh him, as he well deſerved, for his arrogance, he is ſuppoſed to have entered into a private treaty with *Baſiliſcus*, promiſing to raiſe him to the throne, provided he ſpared *Genſeric*, for whom he might likewiſe have ſome regard, as for one who profeſſed the ſame tenets with himſelf [q]. The iſland of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous [r]. From thence *Marcellinus* was to ſail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately ſeized; *Heraclius* of *Edeſſa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Baſiliſcus*, with the greateſt part of the fleet and the flower of the troops, to ſteer his courſe ſtrait to *Carthage* [s]. Purſuant to this plan, *Marcellinus* landed in *Sardinia*, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland, while *Heraclius*, with the troops quartered in

Sardinia and Tripolis recovered from the Vandals

[l] Sid. car. ii. ver. 510. [m] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 145. [n] Sid. ibid. [o] Const. Manass. in breviar. p. 59, &c. [p] Procop. de bell. Vand. l. i. p. 191 & 193. Theoph. p. 99. [q] Procop. ibid. Theoph. p. 100. Theodoret. lect. p. 555. [r] Procop. c. 24. p. 194. [s] Theoph. p. 101.

L 111

Egypt, in *Thebais*, and *Cyrenaica*, landing unexpectedly in the province *Tripolitana*, reduced *Tripolis*, and the other cities in that country. From thence he began his march by land, with a design to join *Basiliscus* at *Carthage* [t]. That commander, sailing from *Sicily*, arrived with his fleet at cape *Mercury*, but fourteen leagues from *Carthage*, soon after *Genseric* had received the disagreeable news of the loss of *Sardinia* and *Libya*. The arrival of so formidable a fleet, and the losses he had already sustained, struck him, tho' a man of great intrepidity, with such terror, that, looking upon himself as irretrievably lost, he is said to have had some thoughts of evacuating *Africa*, and retiring elsewhere: and truly, if *Basiliscus* had marched directly to *Carthage*, during the panic which had seized the barbarians, he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once, by an intire reduction of the country [u]. Some authors write, that he had already gained considerable advantages over the fleet of *Genseric* [w]; and *Jornandes*, that he attacked *Carthage* several times by sea; but either for want of skill, or because he was willing to favour *Genseric*, his attacks were not so vigorous as the barbarians expected [x]. Hereupon *Genseric*, recovering from his late consternation, sent deputies to the *Roman* admiral, begging a truce of five days, to settle with him the conditions, on which he was to submit to *Leo* [y]. Some writers tell us, that, with the embassadors, *Genseric* sent privately a considerable sum to *Basiliscus*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to grant him his request; which he did accordingly, continuing in the mean time inactive in his camp [z]. *Genseric* demanded the above-mentioned truce, hoping a favourable wind might spring up during that time for falling upon the *Roman* fleet; for his men were all on board the ships of war, which were to tow other light and empty vessels. The wind proving as favourable as the *Vandals* could wish, before the truce was expired, they weighed anchor, and, drawing near to the *Roman* fleet, set fire to the empty ships, which being, by the wind, driven upon the *Roman* fleet, spread to many of their ships, and threw their whole navy into the utmost confusion. While the *Romans* were thus in disorder, and busied either in keeping off the fire-ships, or extinguishing the flames on board their own, the *Vandals*, falling upon them, overwhelmed them with showers of darts, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save

The Roman fleet in Africa intirely defeated. Year after Christ 468.

[t] PROCOP. p. 192. THEOPH. ibid. [u] PROCOP. ibid.
[w] THEOPH. p. 100. PHOT. c. 79. p. 174. CANDID. Isaur. p. 18. [x] JORN. p. 654. [y] PROCOP. ibid. [z] JORN. reg. p. 654. PROCOP. ibid.

themselves

themſelves in the beſt manner they could [a]. Several *Romans* diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner; but above all *John*, whom we have mentioned above, who, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, attacked them one after another, and killed a great number of them on board their veſſels; but, not being able to prevent their boarding his, when he ſaw himſelf overpowered, he threw himſelf, armed as he was, on a plank into the ſea. *Genſon*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, admiring his courage and gallant behaviour, begged he would not abandon himſelf to deſpair, offering him at the ſame time his life and liberty; but the brave commander anſwering, John *ſhall never fall into the hands of ſuch dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned [b]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Genſeric* fell upon the *Romans* in the night, and that finding them not upon their guard, but aſleep, as they depended upon the truce, he eaſily overcame them [c]. *Baſiliſcus*, ſays *Conſtantine Manaſſes*, was glad to be overcome [d]; and *Zonaras* writes, that, inſtead of encouraging his men with his example, he betook himſelf the firſt to flight; which gave new vigour to the enemy, and quite diſheartened the *Romans* [e]. *Heraclius*, who was in full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of *Baſiliſcus*, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire. *Marcellinus* returned to *Sicily*, where he was aſſaſſinated by an officer who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no ſmall umbrage [f]. As for *Baſiliſcus*, he returned to *Sicily* with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where, upon his arrival, he took refuge in the church of St. *Sophia*. But though his treachery was publicly known, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, the empreſs *Verina*, his ſiſter, having employed the great intereſt ſhe had with the emperor in his behalf [g]. But *Aſpar*, who had promiſed him the ſovereignty, as the reward of his treachery, was ſo far from being able to perform his promiſe, that he could not ſave his own life, being, by *Leo*'s orders, put to death ſoon after, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [h]. Such was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have drained both empires of their wealth, and to have coſt them the lives of above fifty thouſand men [i]. *Genſeric*, finding the *Romans* quite diſheartened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, re-

[a] PROCOP p. 192—194. [b] PROCOP. p. 192 [c] THEOPH. p. 100. [d] CONST. MANASS. p. 60. [e] ZONAR. p. 43 [f] MARC. chron. PROCOP. l. i. c. 6. p. 193. [g] PROCOP. ibid [h] Univerſ. hiſt vol xvi p. 151. [i] THEOPH. p. 100.

ſolved

solved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his conquests. Accordingly, without loss of time, he put to sea, and, landing in *Sardinia*, recovered that island from the *Romans*. Thence he sailed to *Sicily*, which he likewise reduced, as he did the three following years all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa* [k], the *Romans* being no-ways in a condition to put a stop to his conquests, and trembling at the very name of *Genseric* [l]. From these islands he sent yearly fleets to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, of *Peloponnesus*, and the *Greek* islands, equally despising both emperors, and bidding defiance to their power. At length, in the year 476, he concluded a peace with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, to whom he yielded the island of *Sicily*, but upon condition he should hold it of him, and pay him a yearly tribute, for the securing of which he kept the strong castle of *Lilybæum* [m]. The year before, he had concluded a peace with the emperor *Zeno*, the successor of *Leo*, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of *Africa*, yielded them for ever to *Genseric* and his descendants. The person employed by *Zeno* on this occasion was one *Severus*, a senator of an unblemished character, and highly esteemed on account of his disinterestedness, candor, and integrity. He was received by *Genseric* with all possible marks of honour and esteem, that prince, who was stricken in years, being desirous to put an end to the war by a lasting peace, that his son *Hunneric* might quietly enjoy the kingdom he had founded. After the conclusion of the peace upon the terms we have mentioned above, *Genseric*, greatly taken with the frugal life and modesty of the *Roman* embassador, sent him a considerable sum of money, and very rich presents; which he refused, saying, That the only present worthy of a *Roman* embassador, would be the delivery of the many *Romans*, who were held in captivity. *Genseric* was so pleased with this answer, that he immediately sent for *Severus*, and told him, that all the *Roman* captives, who had fallen to his share, and to the share of his children, were free, and at his disposal, and gave him at the same time leave to ransom such as had been divided among the soldiers and officers of his army, provided he could prevail upon them to part with them, it not being in his power to force them to it. *Severus*, having thus obtained without ransom the liberty of all the *Roman* captives belonging to the king and the royal family, sold publicly by auction all his plate and furniture, and, with the money accruing from thence, redeemed many others [n]. *Seve-*

Genseric reduces Sicily, Sardinia, *&c.*

Concludes a peace with Zeno, *who renounces all claim to* Africa. *Year after Christ* 475.

[k] PROCOP. l. ii. c. 5. p. 341. [l] VICT. VIT. l. i. p. 5.
[m] VICT. VIT. & PROCOP. ibid. [n] MALC. p. 87. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195.

themſelves in the beſt manner they could [a]. Several *Romans* diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner; but above all *John*, whom we have mentioned above, who, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, attacked them one after another, and killed a great number of them on board their veſſels; but, not being able to prevent their boarding his, when he ſaw himſelf overpowered, he threw himſelf, armed as he was, on a plank into the ſea. *Genſon*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, admiring his courage and gallant behaviour, begged he would not abandon himſelf to deſpair, offering him at the ſame time his life and liberty; but the brave commander anſwering, John *ſhall never fall into the hands of ſuch dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned [b]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Genſeric* fell upon the *Romans* in the night, and that finding them not upon their guard, but aſleep, as they depended upon the truce, he eaſily overcame them [c]. *Baſiliſcus*, ſays *Conſtantine Manaſſes*, was glad to be overcome [d]; and *Zonaras* writes, that, inſtead of encouraging his men with his example, he betook himſelf the firſt to flight; which gave new vigour to the enemy, and quite diſheartened the *Romans* [e]. *Heraclius*, who was in full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of *Baſiliſcus*, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire. *Marcellinus* returned to *Sicily*, where he was aſſaſſinated by an officer who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no ſmall umbrage [f]. As for *Baſiliſcus*, he returned to *Sicily* with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, where, upon his arrival, he took refuge in the church of St. *Sophia*. But though his treachery was publicly known, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, the empreſs *Verina*, his ſiſter, having employed the great intereſt ſhe had with the emperor in his behalf [g]. But *Aſpar*, who had promiſed him the ſovereignty, as the reward of his treachery, was ſo far from being able to perform his promiſe, that he could not ſave his own life, being, by *Leo*'s orders, put to death ſoon after, as we have related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [h]. Such was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have drained both empires of their wealth, and to have coſt them the lives of above fifty thouſand men [i]. *Genſeric*, finding the *Romans* quite diſheartened by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, re-

[a] PROCOP. p. 192—194. [b] PROCOP. p. 192. [c] THEOPH. p. 100. [d] CONST. MANASS. p. 60. [e] ZONAR. p. 42. [f] MARC. chron. PROCOP. l. i. c. 6. p. 193. [g] PROCOP. ibid. [h] Univerſ. hiſt. vol xvi p. 151. [i] THEOPH. p. 100.

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solved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his conquests. Accordingly, without loss of time, he put to sea, and, landing in *Sardinia*, recovered that island from the *Romans*. Thence he sailed to *Sicily*, which he likewise reduced, as he did the three following years all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa* [k], the *Romans* being no-ways in a condition to put a stop to his conquests, and trembling at the very name of *Genseric* [l]. From these islands he sent yearly fleets to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, of *Peloponnesus*, and the *Greek* islands, equally despising both emperors, and bidding defiance to their power. At length, in the year 476, he concluded a peace with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, to whom he yielded the island of *Sicily*, but upon condition he should hold it of him, and pay him a yearly tribute, for the securing of which he kept the strong castle of *Lilybæum* [m]. The year before, he had concluded a peace with the emperor *Zeno*, the successor of *Leo*, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of *Africa*, yielded them for ever to *Genseric* and his descendants. The person employed by *Zeno* on this occasion was one *Severus*, a senator of an unblemished character, and highly esteemed on account of his disinterestedness, candor, and integrity. He was received by *Genseric* with all possible marks of honour and esteem, that prince, who was stricken in years, being desirous to put an end to the war by a lasting peace, that his son *Hunneric* might quietly enjoy the kingdom he had founded. After the conclusion of the peace upon the terms we have mentioned above, *Genseric*, greatly taken with the frugal life and modesty of the *Roman* embassador, sent him a considerable sum of money, and very rich presents; which he refused, saying, That the only present worthy of a *Roman* embassador, would be the delivery of the many *Romans*, who were held in captivity. *Genseric* was so pleased with this answer, that he immediately sent for *Severus*, and told him, that all the *Roman* captives, who had fallen to his share, and to the share of his children, were free, and at his disposal, and gave him at the same time leave to ransom such as had been divided among the soldiers and officers of his army, provided he could prevail upon them to part with them, it not being in his power to force them to it. *Severus*, having thus obtained without ransom the liberty of all the *Roman* captives belonging to the king and the royal family, sold publicly by auction all his plate and furniture, and, with the money accruing from thence, redeemed many others [n]. *Seve-*

Genseric reduces Sicily, Sardinia, &c.

Concludes a peace with Zeno, *who renounces all claim to* Africa.

Year after Christ 475.

[k] PROCOP l. ii. c. 5 p. 341.
[l] VICT. VIT. l. i p. 5
[m] VICT. VIT. & PROCOP. ibid.
[n] MALC p. 87 PROCOP bell. Vand l i. c. 7 p. 195

rus prevailed likewiſe on *Genſeric* to ſuffer the church of the catholics at *Carthage* to be opened, and to recal the eccleſiaſtics belonging to it, whom he had baniſhed ſome time before [o]. *Genſeric* died ſoon after; but the peace was religiouſly obſerved by his ſucceſſors till the reign of *Juſtinian*, who, eſpouſing the cauſe of *Hilderic* againſt his brother *Gilimer*, who had uſurped the crown, drove the *Vandals* out of *Africa*, and reunited thoſe provinces to the empire. But as by this peace the dominion of the *Vandals* was firmly eſtabliſhed in *Africa*, the *Romans* renouncing all claim to that province, we ſhall, purſuant to our plan, reſerve a farther account of their affairs to a more proper place, and in the mean time deliver what we have found in the antients concerning the *Sueves*, from the earlieſt account of time till their ſettling in *Spain*.

[o] VICT. VITENS. l. i. p. 16.

SECT. IV.

The antient ſtate, &c. *of the* Sueves, *till their ſettling in* Spain.

The name, ſeats, origin, &c. of the Sueves.

THE *Sueves* were, in *Cæſar*'s time, the greateſt and moſt warlike nation of all *Germany* [p]. *Tacitus* divides them into ſeveral tribes or nations, known by different names, comprehending, under the common name of *Sueves*, the following people, *viz.* the *Longobardi*, the *Semnones*, the *Rheudingi*, the *Aviones*, the *Angli* [q]. *Ptolemy* mentions only three nations of the *Sueves*, *viz.* the *Suevi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Samnones*, and the *Suevi Angili*, whom *Tacitus*, and other writers, call *Angli*. Some writers will have the *Vandals* and *Sueves* to be one and the ſame people, called *Vandals* from the word *Wandrende*, and *Sueves* from the word *Schwachende*, both which ſignify *wanderers*; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Sueves* often changed their ſeats, wandering from place to place [r]. In the time of the emperor *Nero*, they dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; for *Strabo*, who flouriſhed under that prince, ſpeaks of them thus: The *Sueves* are a great and powerful people; for their country extends from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*; nay, ſome of that nation dwell beyond the *Elbe*. Some years after, that is, in the time of *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, they were ſeated between the *Elbe* and the *Viſtula* or *Weiſſer*; for there they are placed by that writer [s]. From them the *Surus*, now the

[p] CÆSAR bell. Gall. l. i. [q] TACIT. de mor Ger. c. 38.
[r] STRABO, l. vii. [s] TACIT. ibid.

Oder,

Oder, took its name; and the *Baltic* was called the *Suevian* ſea. *Solinus* is of opinion, that they were called *Suevi* from mount *Suevio*, parting *Germany* from *Sarmatia*. As to their origin, nothing has been alledged by authors but what is very uncertain, and no-ways to be depended upon, ſome deriving their origin from *Scandinavia*, ſome from *Sarmatia*, ſome from *Hungary*, and ſome endeavouring, with ſeveral arguments and monuments of antiquity, to convince us, that they were originally a *German* nation [t]. Some writers tell us, that they came out of *Scandinavia*, and ſettled on the banks of the *Albis* or the *Elbe*; that they were there ſubdued by the *Saxons*, and thence blended under their name, as were all the other nations conquered by that people. However, the *Sueves* retained at the ſame time their own name; and hence the *Angli*, who were, as we have hinted above, a *Suevian* nation, are ſometimes called *Saxones Angli*, and ſometimes *Suevi Angli*. *Ciſnerus* ſuppoſes theſe to be two different nations [u]; but his opinion is plainly confuted by the learned *Sheringham* [w]. The *Sueves* were a warlike nation, and, as ſuch, are commended both by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, of whom the former often confounds them with the *Catti*, as after him does *Strabo* [x], and likewiſe *Seneca* the tragic writer [y]; for, by theſe writers, they are placed in the *Hercynian* foreſt, which was, beyond diſpute, inhabited by the *Catti* or *Chatti*. The *Sueves* had kings of their own, and ſeem to have agreed in cuſtoms and manners with the other *German* nations. But of their affairs we know very little till the *Romans* became acquainted with them, which happened in the year of *Rome* 742, the twenty-ſecond of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and about eight years before the birth of our Saviour, when *Druſus*, the ſon of *Livia* and brother to *Tiberius*, paſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, in three campaigns, reduced all the nations between that river and the *Elbe* [z], and among the reſt the *Sueves*. But that young prince dying on his return to *Rome*, the nations he had ſubdued threw off the yoke; which obliged *Auguſtus* to diſpatch *Tiberius* againſt them, who over-ran great part of *Germany*, and forced the barbarians to ſend deputies to *Auguſtus*, ſuing for peace; but the emperor would not even hear them, becauſe the *Sicambrians*, one of the moſt warlike nations among them, had not ſent their deputies

[t] Vide RUDBECK Atlant. par. i. c. 24. GROT. in proleg. PRÆTORIUM in orb. Goth. l. iii. c. 1. PASTORIUM in hiſt. Polon. c. 7. [u] CISNER. in præfat. ad Krantz. p. 3. [w] SHERING. de Anglor. gent, orig. c. 2. [x] STRABO, l. iv. p. 134. [y] SENEC. in Medea, v. 713. [z] TACIT: annal. ii. c. 41. p. 53. SUET. l. iii. c. 50. p. 386. VELL. l. ii. DIO, l. lv. p. 548.

The Sicambrians *and* Sueves *submit to* Tiberius. *Year before Christ* 8.

with those of the other barbarians. The war was therefore continued, till the *Sicambrians*, no longer able to hold out, submitted to such conditions as *Augustus* thought fit to impose upon them, as did likewise the *Sueves*, the allies and confederates of the *Sicambrians* [a]. The *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* having thus submitted, *Tiberius*, pursuant to the instructions he had received from *Augustus*, obliged forty thousand of them to pass the *Rhine*, and settle in *Gaul* [b]. *Suetonius* tells us, that seats were allotted to them on the banks of that river [c]; but *Suetonius*, says *Bucherius*, was therein perhaps mistaken, it being probable, that they were placed at a considerable distance from the *Rhine*, to prevent their passing that river, and joining the other *German* nations; nay, that author endeavours to prove from several antient monuments, which are still extant, that the country about *Courtray* was antiently inhabited by the *Sueves* [d]. Some are of opinion, that from these *Sueves* sprung the *Burgundians*, so called from the *boroughs*, in *Latin burgi*, in which they were placed by the *Romans*; but this opinion is generally exploded. There are no traces remaining, whence we can conjecture what country was allotted to the *Sicambrians* [e]. Tho' some of that people remained beyond the *Rhine*, yet, in the space of about sixty years, the whole nation was extinct [f]. Of them therefore is to be understood what we read in *Dion*, *viz.* that *Augustus* having distributed into several villages the *Germans* he had taken in war, they were so grieved thereat, that they destroyed themselves with their own hands, especially the persons of distinction among them, who were very numerous [g]. Mention is made of the *Sicambrians* after this time; but it is commonly thought, that the name of *Sicambrians* was given to the neighbouring nations, who settled in their country [h], that is, in the southern parts of *Westphalia*. *Augustus* thus obliged part of the *Sicambrians* and *Sueves* to quit their own country, in order to weaken them, having found by experience, that he could neither depend upon their word nor their hostages [i].

Part of them transplanted into Gaul.

They drive out their king Marobodes.

In the reign of *Tiberius*, the *Sueves*, quarrelling among themselves, which was chiefly owing to his intrigues, drove out *Marobodes* their king, a prince greatly dreaded by the *Romans*, and chose *Catualdes* in his room, who, at the instigation of *Tiberius*, had stirred up the *Sueves* against him. *Marobodes* took refuge in the *Roman* dominions, and was allowed by *Tibe-*

[a] SUET. l. ii. c. 21. p. 178. [b] SUET. p. 178. STRABO, l vii. p. 290. [c] SUET. l. iii. c. 9. p. 336. [d] BUCH. l i c 20. p. 49, 50. [e] Idem, p 49. [f] TACIT. ann. xii. c. 39 p. 181. [g] DIO. l. lv. p. 552. [h] BUCH. ibid. [i] STRABO, l. vii. p. 91.

rius

rius to ſettle at *Ravenna*, where he paſſed the laſt eighteen years of his life. *Catualdes* himſelf was ſoon after driven from the throne, and obliged to take refuge in the city of *Frejus*. As both princes came attended by great numbers of *Sueves*, their friends and adherents, *Tiberius*, apprehending they might diſturb the peace of the empire, allotted them lands beyond the *Danube*, and appointed a *Quadian*, by name *Vannius*, to reign over them. *Vannius* governed them for the ſpace of thirty years, that is to the year 50, of the chriſtian æra, the tenth of the emperor *Claudius*, when being in the end become obnoxious to the nation, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, he was by them, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours, the *Hermundurians* and *Lygians*, depoſed and baniſhed [k]. *Claudius* refuſed to aſſiſt him; but nevertheleſs allowed him to retire into *Pannonia*, and even gave him and his followers lands in that province [l]. *Vangio* and *Sido*, nephews to *Vannius* by his ſiſter, but his declared enemies, divided his dominions between them, and continued ever faithful to the *Romans* [m]. *Sido*, and *Italicus*, who had ſucceeded *Vangio*, joined *Veſpaſian* with all their forces againſt *Vitellius*, and on that occaſion commanded their troops in perſon [n]. In the year 83, a colony of *Sueves* was ſettled in *Friſia*; for *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*, tells us, that ſome *Germans* in the *Roman* ſervice, and quartered in *Britain*, having killed their officers, and made their eſcape, were driven aſhore on the coaſt of *Germany*, and there taken and ſold for ſlaves by the *Sueves* and *Friſians*, who believed them pirates [o]. How, or on what occaſion, the *Sueves* came to ſettle there, we are no-where told. In the year 85, the *Sueves*, and their allies the *Lygians*, being greatly harraſſed by the neighbouring nations, ſent deputies to *Domitian*, earneſtly intreating him to aſſiſt them in their diſtreſs. *Domitian* diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with a favourable anſwer, but ſent them only one hundred horſemen; which ſo provoked the *Sueves*, that, joining the *Iazyges*, a *Sarmatic* nation, they reſolved to paſs the *Danube*, and, by laying waſte the *Roman* territories, revenge the affront that had been offered them; for they thought themſelves affronted and derided by the emperor [p]. What happened after, our hiſtorian has not thought fit to tell us; but *Tacitus*, in one place [q], writes, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* roſe in arms againſt the empire: and in another [r], that, ſoon after *Agricola*

Year after Chriſt 19. *Some* Sueves *allowed to ſettle beyond the* Danube.

[k] TACIT. annal ii. c 62, 63. p. 61, 62. & annal. xii. c. 30. p. 180. [l] Idem, ann. xii. c. 29, 30. p. 180. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem, l iii. c. 7, 21. p. 63, 67. [o] TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 28. p 147. [p] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 760. [q] TACIT. l. i. c. 2. p. 4. [r] Idem, vit Agric. c. 41. p. 151

was

was returned to *Rome*, that is, in 85, the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia*. The *Sueves*, of whom *Dion* ſpeaks here, were, without all doubt, thoſe to whom *Tiberius* had allotted lands beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above. That writer places them, and likewiſe the *Lygians*, in *Mœſia*, giving to that province a far greater extent than other hiſtorians and geographers have done; for, even according to him, theſe people dwelt beyond the *Danube*, which was, according to all other writers, the boundary of *Mœſia* to the north, that province extending along the ſouth ſide of the *Danube*, from the confluence of that river and the *Saw* or *Savo*, at *Belgrade*, to the *Euxine* ſea [s]. We find no farther mention of the *Sueves* till the year 168, when, joining the *Marcomanns* and other *German* nations, they laid waſte ſeveral provinces, defeated great armies, and threatened the empire with utter deſtruction. But of this war, which is compared, by the antients, to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [t], to which we refer the reader. In 268, the firſt of *Claudius*'s reign, the *Sueves*, entering into an alliance with other *German* nations, broke into *Italy*, and advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *lago di Garda*, in the neighbourhood of *Verona*; but were there utterly defeated by the emperor, and moſt of them cut in pieces [u]. This, perhaps, is the victory of which *Vopiſcus* ſpeaks, where he tells us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, *Aurelian* fought a great battle with the *Sueves*, and gained a ſignal victory over them [w]. In 357, the twenty-firſt of *Conſtantius*'s reign, the *Sueves* broke into *Rhætia*, the *Quadians* into *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians* into *Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mœſia*, which obliged the emperor, who was then at *Rome*, to quit that metropolis, and march againſt them [x]. But as he returned ſoon after to *Italy*, and no mention is made of any engagement, we may conclude from thence, that at his approach the barbarians withdrew, and retired to their reſpective countries. The poet *Claudian*, in his poem againſt *Eutropius*, tells us, that when news was brought to *Honorius* of that miniſter's promotion to the conſulſhip, the prince was then buſied, with *Stilicho*, in receiving the ſubmiſſions of the *Alemanns*, the *Sicambrians*, and the *Sueves*; in giving them kings, and ſettling the number of troops which they were to furniſh [y]. This is ſuppoſed to have happened about the year 398, but as theſe nations are not ſaid, by any hiſtorian, to have ſubmitted

They defeat the Romans *in* Pannonia. *Year after Chriſt* 85.

[s] Vide PLIN. l. iii. c. 26. [t] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 587, & ſeq. [u] AUR. vit. p. 213. & GOLTZ. p. 118 [w] Vit. Aur. ibid. [x] AMMIAN. l. xvi 3. 72. [y] CLAUD. in Eutrop. l ii. p. 111. & l. i. p. 102.

to *Honorius*, we are inclined to believe these pretended submissions to be only a poetical fiction. In the year 406, they entered *Gaul* with the *Alans* and *Vandals*, and from thence passed into *Spain* in 409, as we have related above. They continued ravaging that country, putting all to fire and sword, till the year 411, when, the *Romans* being quite driven out, they made peace with the natives, and divided the *Spanish* provinces by lot among them. In this division, *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Sueves*; but the inhabitants of that province, refusing to submit to the barbarians, stood up in defence of their liberties, and formed a separate state in a corner of their antient country, where they were often attacked by the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, their king. But that prince, being seized with a lingering distemper, suffered them to live in peace the seven last years of his reign [z]. About three years after the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans*, had divided the *Spanish* provinces among them, *Ataulphus*, king of the *Visigoths*, quitting *Gaul*, settled in *Catalonia*, where he was murdered the same year, as was likewise his successor *Sigeric*, after a short reign of seven days, as we have related above. But *Vallia*, who succeeded *Sigeric*, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, fell upon the *Sueves*, *Vandals*, and *Alans* in *Spain*, gained several advantages over them, and cut off such numbers of the *Alans*, that the few who escaped the general slaughter, were obliged to submit to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*. The *Sueves* likewise sustained great losses in this war; but nevertheless maintained, against the utmost efforts of the *Goths*, that part of *Galicia*, which, in the division of the provinces, had fallen to their share. The *Goths* returning soon after, that is in 418, to *Gaul*, where *Constans* had bestowed on them *Aquitania Secunda*, the *Vandals* and *Sueves* began to quarrel among themselves; for, the year after the departure of the *Goths*, we find the *Sueves*, with their king *Emeric*, shut up by *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, among the mountains of *Biscay*. But *Asterius*, count of *Spain*, and *Mauroctelus*, vicar to the *præfectus prætorio*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Vandals*, obliged them to leave the *Sueves*, and retire out of *Galicia* into *Bætica* [a]. Upon their retreat, the *Sueves* made themselves masters of that part of *Galicia* which had been held by them. In the year 430, a body of *Sueves* attempted to cross the *Rhine*, with a design to enter *Gaul*, and from thence to pass into *Spain*, and join their countrymen settled in *Galicia*; but *Aetius*, who was then in *Gaul*, falling upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces,

They enter Gaul, *and thence pass into* Spain.

Which they divide with the Vandals *and* Alans. *Year after Christ* 411.

The Sueves *in* Germany *defeated by* Aetius. *Year after Christ* 430.

[z] OROS. l. iii c. 23. p. 163 & l. vii. c. 41. p. 223: IDAT. chron.
[a] IDAT. chron. GREG. TUR. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 9 p. 63.

and

and obliged the reſt to return to their own country, between the *Elbe* and *Weiſſel* [b]. Of this victory *Jornandes* ſpeaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius* overcame the *Sueves*, made a dreadful havock of that nation, and ſubjected them to the empire [c]. At the ſame time, he defeated with great ſlaughter the *Juthongians*, whoſe country bordered on *Rhætia*, and the *Norici*, who were ſubjects of the empire, but had revolted, and joined the *Sueves* and *Juthongians* [d].

The Sueves *in* Spain *make war upon the natives of* Galicia.

IN *Spain* the *Sueves* made their utmoſt efforts to reduce the inhabitants of *Galicia*; but that brave people ſtill maintained themſelves free, defending their ſtrong-holds, againſt the repeated attacks of the barbarians, with ſuch reſolution, that *Emeric* thought it adviſeable to conclude a peace with them, that his people, who began to be greatly diſtreſſed for want of corn, might apply themſelves to the tilling of the land, and other works of agriculture. This peace, however, was but ſhort-lived; for, the following year 431, the *Sueves* began hoſtilities anew, and, breaking into the territories of the natives, committed there dreadful ravages, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Hereupon the unhappy *Galicians* diſpatched *Idatius* the chronologer, their biſhop, into *Gaul*, to acquaint *Aetius* with the deplorable condition to which they were reduced; and to intreat him to ſend what troops he could ſpare to their aſſiſtance. *Aetius*, who was then at war with the *Franks*, not being able to afford them the leaſt aid, ſent count *Cenſorius* into *Spain*, with the character of embaſſador, to *Emeric*, hoping to induce him, by that means, to conclude a peace with the natives. *Emeric* received the *Roman* embaſſador with the greateſt marks of honour, and, at his requeſt, began to treat with the *Galicians*; but the treaty was ſoon broken off, and hoſtilities renewed, which continued till the year 437, when *Cenſorius* was ſent again to the court of *Emeric*, with one *Fretimund*, to bring about an accommodation between that prince and the *Galicians*; which they did in the end, *Emeric* being ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, and thereby rendered incapable of bearing the toils of war [e]. A peace being thus concluded, *Emeric* reſigned the crown to his ſon *Rechila*, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, reckoning from the year 409, when the *Sueves* firſt entered *Spain* under his conduct. He lived four years after his reſignation quite retired, without ever concerning himſelf with public affairs [f]. *Rechila* ſignalized the beginning of his reign, ſays *Idatius*, with a victory gained in *Bætica* over one *Andevotus*, whoſe rich treaſures he pillaged [g]

[b] SID. p. 131. [c] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. [d] TIRO. PROSP. chron. [e] IDAT. p. 21. [f] Idem, p. 25. [g] Idem ibid.

but

but who this *Andevotus* was, we are no-where told. In the year 439, *Rechila*, entering *Lusitania*, made himself master of *Merida*, the capital of that province [h]; and, pursuing his conquests, reduced, the two following years, the city of *Seville*, and the two provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*. Hereupon the *Romans*, who had anew taken possession of *Bætica*, upon the departure of the *Vandals*, dispatched into *Spain* one *Astierus*, to drive them out of the provinces they had seized. *Astierus* fell upon the *Bagaudæ*, who had lately settled in the province of *Turraco*, and, cutting most of them in pieces, recovered that country [i]; but we do not find, that he attempted any thing against the *Sueves*. Not long after, *Vitus*, who commanded a considerable body of *Roman* troops in *Spain*, with the title of *magister militiæ*, entering the provinces of *Bætica* and *Cartagena*, committed there great ravages; but a body of *Goths*, who came to his assistance, being defeated by *Rechila*, both he and his army were seized with such a panic, that, betaking themselves to a shameful flight, they left the *Sueves* at full liberty to pillage the country at their pleasure, and reduce several strongholds, that, till then, had been held by the *Romans* [k]. Two years after, that is, in 447, died *Rechila*, and was succeeded by his son *Rechiarius*, who took the royal ensigns at *Merida*, in the month of *August* of the present year, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from some of his own nation [l]. He professed the catholic faith; but began his reign by plundering his neighbours lands [m]. The following year, he married the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, and, immediately after his marriage, entering the territories of the *Gascons*, who were still in *Spain*, says father *Labbé* in his chronology, laid them waste far and near [n]. From thence he went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at *Tolouse*, and, on his return to *Spain*, surprised the city of *Lerida*, whence he carried with him a great number of captives. He afterwards pillaged the territory of *Saragosa* [o], which, according to *Isidorus*, in his chronology of the *Sueves*, belonged to the *Romans* [p]. The same writer adds, that in this expedition *Rechiarius* had with him a body of *Goths*; and that he likewise laid waste the province of *Cartagena*, which *Rechila*, says he, had restored to the *Romans* [q]. In the year 452, the twenty-seventh of the reign of *Valentinian* III. *Mansuetus*, count of *Spain*, and count *Fronto* were sent, by the emperor, to *Rechiarius*, with proposals for an accommodation between him and the natives of *Spain*,

Rechila, *king of the* Sueves, *makes himself master of* Merida, Seville, *and the provinces of* Bœtica *and* Cartagena. *Year after Christ* 441.

Rechila *succeeded by his son* Rechiarius. *Year after Christ* 447.

[h] Idem, p. 22. [i] Idem, p. 23. [k] IDAT. p. 24. [l] Idem, p. 25. [m] Idem, p. 26. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] ISIDOR. chron. [q] Idem ibid.

Rechiarius *concludes a peace with the* Romans.

who ſtill continued ſubject to the *Romans*. *Rechiarius* not only received the *Roman* embaſſadors with the greateſt marks of eſteem, but concluded a peace upon the terms which the emperor had injoined them to propoſe. What theſe terms were, we are no-where told; but they are ſaid, by *Idatius*, to have been very advantageous to the empire [r]. The peace, thus concluded, was religiouſly obſerved by *Rechiarius* till the death of *Valentinian* in 455, when, taking advantage of the general confuſion occaſioned by the murder of that prince, and likewiſe of his ſucceſſor *Maximus*, he over-ran and pillaged the province of *Cartagena*, with a deſign, ſays *Jornandes*, to make himſelf maſter of all the countries that were ſtill held in *Spain* by the *Romans* [s]. Hereupon *Avitus*, who had ſucceeded *Maximus*, diſpatched count *Fronto* into *Spain* to put the king of the *Sueves* in mind of the treaty he had concluded with *Valentinian*. At the ſame time, *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, who had eſpouſed the intereſt of *Avitus*, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rechiarius* his ſon-in-law, earneſtly intreating him not to ſeize on the countries belonging to the empire, leſt he too ſhould be obliged to treat him as an enemy, and join the emperor, whom he was bound to ſupport againſt him [t]. What anſwer *Rechiarius* returned to the embaſſadors, our hiſtorian does not inform us: he only tells us, that he had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than, breaking into the province of *Tarraco*, which belonged to the *Romans*, he laid it waſte, without the leaſt regard either to treaties or juſtice [u]. Hereupon *Theodoric* ſent him a ſecond embaſſy, to which he anſwered, with great haughtineſs, that if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he was ready to give him an account of it at *Toloufe*. *Theodoric*, piqued at this anſwer, began to prepare for war; and, having firſt concluded a peace with the neighbouring nations, he ſet out, with the conſent and approbation of *Avitus*, for *Spain*, leading with him a very numerous army, conſiſting of his own people, and a body of auxiliary *Burgundians*, commanded by *Gondiac* and *Hilperic*, or *Chilperic*, the ſon, as is ſuppoſed, of *Gundicarius*, king of that people, who was killed about the year 436 [w]. *Rechiarius* was in the mean time buſied in ravaging anew the province of *Tarraco*, whence he carried with him into *Galicia* a conſiderable booty and a great number of captives [x]. But hearing that *Theoderic* was marching againſt him, he went to meet him at the head of a powerful army. Hereupon an engagement enſued on the banks of the *Urbicus*, now *Orbegua*, at a place

Theodoric *king of the* Viſigoths, *eſpouſes the cauſe of the* Romans *againſt him.*

[r] IDAT. p. 29. [s] JORN. p. 675. IDAT. p 30. [t] JORN. ibid. [u] IDAT. p 32. [w] Idem ibid. ISIDOR. chron. JORN. p. 676. [x] IDAT. p. 33.

about

about twelve miles from *Astorga*. Both armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity; but in the end the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and put to flight. *Rechiarius*, who was dangerously wounded, with much ado made his escape, and took refuge in a distant corner of *Galicia*. The battle was fought on a *Friday*, the fifth of *October*; and *Theodoric*, pursuing the enemy, entered *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers[y]. From *Braga* he advanced to a place called *Portucal*, whither the fugitive king had retired. *Jornandes* writes, that *Rechiarius* attempted to make his escape by sea, but was driven back by a storm [z]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken and delivered up to *Theodoric*, by whose orders he was put to death, after he had been kept some time in prison [a]. The *Sueves*, disheartened by the captivity of their king, submitted to the *Goths*, by whom great numbers of them were put to the sword, though *Theodoric* had ordered their lives to be spared [b]. *Theodoric* appointed one of his officers, named *Aquiulphus*, to govern the *Sueves* who had submitted to him. But he, revolting from *Theodoric*, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the *Sueves*; which obliged *Theodoric* to send a powerful army against him, by whom he was defeated, taken prisoner, and, by *Theodoric*'s orders, soon after beheaded [c]. Thus *Jornandes*; but *Idatius* only says, that he died the following year at *Porto* [d]. The *Sueves*, who, refusing to submit to the *Goths*, had retired to the most distant corner of *Galicia*, no sooner heard, that *Rechiarius* was dead, than scorning to live in subjection either to the *Goths*, or the treacherous *Aquiulphus*, they chose one *Maldra*, the son of *Massilel*, in his room [e].

Rechiarius *utterly defeated, taken, and put to death by* Theodoric.

Maldra *chosen king in his room. Year after Christ* 456.

Theodoric king of the *Visigoths*, after the above-mentioned victory over the *Sueves*, had marched from *Galicia* into *Lusitania*, and there, after reducing several other cities, had laid siege to *Merida*, the metropolis of the province, which, in the end, was obliged to surrender. The king designed at first to give up the city to be plundered by his soldiers; but St. *Eulalia*, a famous martyr of that place, is said to have deterred him, by some prodigies, from putting his design in execution [f]. Being soon after obliged to return to *Gaul*, he left behind him part of his troops, consisting of different nations, and commanded by several generals, with orders to march into *Galicia*, and there reduce such of the *Sueves*, as had not yet submitted to him.

[y] JORN. ibid ISIDOR. chron. IDAT. ibid. [z] JORN. ibid. [a] ISIDOR. chron. IDAT. p. 34. [b] JORN. ibid [c] JORN. p. 677. [d] IDAT. p. 37. [e] Idem, p 31. [f] Idem, p. 35. CUSP p 451

But these troops, after having committed dreadful ravages in the countries belonging to the *Romans*, were recalled by *Theodoric*, who had occasion to employ them elsewhere, before they began to act against the *Sueves*. That people, having now nothing to apprehend from so formidable an enemy, began to quarrel among themselves, some of them continuing faithful to *Maldra*, whom they had lately chosen, and others setting up against him one named *Franton*. Being thus divided among themselves, they made peace with the *Galicians*, or the natives of that province, who still held several strong-holds, and maintained themselves a free people among the mountains, and in some of the fortified towns [g]. These are, by most authors, styled *Romans*, because they still acknowledged the *Roman* emperor, and looked upon themselves as subjects of the empire. Notwithstanding the peace concluded between them and the *Sueves*, the partisans of *Maldra*, breaking unexpectedly into *Lusitania*, pillaged the country, and put to the sword a great number of *Romans*, under pretence of making war on the *Goths*. Being received into *Lisbon* as friends, they made themselves masters of the city, and kept it [h]. Soon after, that is, in 458, *Franton* dying, the whole nation of the *Sueves* acknowledged *Maldra* for their king, by whose orders they laid waste that part of *Galicia*, which lay on the *Douro*, without the least regard to the treaty of peace concluded the year before [i]. About this time, *Theodoric* sent an army into *Spain* against the *Sueves*, under the conduct of *Cyrila*, who, entering *Bætica*, which belonged to the *Romans*, committed there the same disorders, as the *Sueves* did in *Galicia*, without offering to molest those against whom they were said to have been sent. At the same time, embassadors were sent to the *Sueves*, both by *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, and by *Genseric* king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, probably to conclude, not only a peace, but an alliance with them against the emperor *Majorianus*, whose great parts and military genius gave them no small umbrage. The peace however was not concluded; for the following year 459, *Theodoric*, having recalled *Cyrila*, and the army commanded by him, sent one *Sunieric* with another army in his room; which did not prevent the *Sueves* from pillaging *Lusitania* under the conduct of *Maldra*, and *Galicia* under that of his son *Remismund* [k], by *Jornandes* called *Richmund*. Some writers speak of a battle fought this year between the *Sueves* and *Galicians*, in which the latter lost many persons of distinction [l]. The same year, 459, *Maldra* killed, upon what

The Sueves *quarrel among themselves.*

They make themselves masters of Lisbon.

[g] IDAT. chron. [h] IDAT. p. 37. [i] Idem ibid. ISIDOR. chron. p. 5. [k] IDAT. p. 37. [l] IDAT. p 38. CUSP. p. 451. ISIDOR. chron.

provocation

provocation we are not told, his brother, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. Soon after this murder, he ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of *Portucal*, which was held by the natives. But he was ſoon overtaken by the doom his treachery and barbarity well deſerved, being killed, by whom our hiſtorian does not tell us, in the end of *February* of the following year 460 [m]. Upon his death his ſon *Remiſmund* and *Frumarius* divided his troops between them. *Frumarius* was likewiſe, as we may ſuppoſe, the ſon of *Maldra*, and brother of *Remiſmund*; for he not only had part of the troops, but ſhared with *Remiſmund* the dominions of the deceaſed prince. In the firſt year of their reign, the *Sueves* of *Lugo* in *Galicia*, falling treacherouſly upon the *Romans*, who lived in that city, on *Eaſter day*, which in 460, fell on the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, as they were not upon their guard, thinking themſelves ſufficiently protected by the ſolemnity of a day held by all chriſtians in the greateſt veneration [n]. *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, who commanded the troops of *Theodoric* in *Spain*, no ſooner heard of this outrage, than they detached part of their forces to take vengeance on the traytors. The *Goths*, entering *Galicia*, laid waſte the territory of *Lugo*; but a falſe report being ſpread among them by *Dictines*, *Spinio*, and *Aſcanius*, who were natives of the country, but held a private correſpondence with the *Sueves*, they returned into their own territories, without daring to advance farther into the enemy's country [o]. The ſame year, the three above-mentioned perſons led a party of *Sueves* through by-ways to ſurpriſe the city of *Aquæ Flaviæ*, where they took *Idatius*, biſhop of the place, priſoner, on the twenty-ſixth of *July*, and carried him into captivity, as he himſelf relates [p]. After this, *Frumarius* laid waſte the territory of *Braga*, and *Remiſmund*, at the ſame time, that of *Orenſo*, on the *Minho* in *Galicia*. But the two princes, growing jealous of each other's power, began to quarrel, which gave the natives ſome reſpite; for with them they concluded a peace, that they might be more at leiſure to watch each other's motions. This peace was obſerved for the ſpace of four years, that is, till the year 464, when *Frumarius* dying, the *Sueves* were again all reunited under *Remiſmund*, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Theodoric*, acquainting him with the death of *Frumarius*, and ſoliciting him to conclude a peace with the *Sueves*, which he did accordingly, ſending embaſſadors to *Remiſmund* with rich preſents, and likewiſe arms, in token of his ſincere friendſhip and the confidence he

Maldra *killed and ſucceeded by* Remiſmund *and* Frumarius. *Year after Chriſt* 460.

They lay waſte great part of Spain.

Remiſmund *joins kings of the* Sueves.

[m] IDAT. & ISIDOR chron. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] IDAT p. 39. [p] Idem ibid.

repoſed

repoſed in him. At the ſame time he ſent him a young woman of extraordinary beauty, whom he married [q]; but who ſhe was, our hiſtorian does not inform us. *Jornandes* writes, that *Remiſmund* ſent the biſhops of *Galicia* to *Theodoric*, hoping, by their mediation, to obtain a peace; that *Theodoric* received them with all the reſpect that was due to their rank and dignity; that he ſoon after recalled the general and troops he had in *Spain*; and that *Remiſmund*, by a ſecond embaſſy, returned him thanks for the peace he had granted him. This peace, however, did not hinder *Remiſmund* from ſurpriſing, this very year, the city of *Coimbra*, which was held by the natives, and carrying with him from thence ſeveral captives. He did not, it ſeems, keep this city; for, three years after, that is, in 467, he ſurpriſed it anew [r]. The following year 465, *Remiſmund* was prevailed upon by *Theodoric* to ſet at liberty the priſoners he had taken at *Coimbra*, and make peace with the natives [s]. But this peace, ſays *Idatius*, was attended with a greater and far more dangerous evil than the war itſelf. *Rechiarius*, king of the *Sueves* from the year 447, to 456, renouncing paganiſm, had embraced the catholic faith, and his example had been followed by the whole nation of the *Sueves*; but at this time they ſuffered themſelves to be infected with the hereſy of *Arius* by one *Ajax*, a native of *Galatia*, who, abandoning the catholic faith, had been ordained by the *Arians*. Coming into *Gaul*, he had ſtaid ſome time at the court of *Theodoric*, and had been treated by that prince, who held the tenets of *Arius*, with great reſpect. From *Gaul* he paſſed into *Spain*, where he was well received by the *Sueves*, upon the recommendation of *Theodoric*. The kind reception he met with encouraged him to propagate his errors among the *Sueves*, and impugn the doctrine of the trinity [t]. *Iſidore* writes, that he infected the whole nation with the peſtiferous tenets of *Arius*, and that they continued in their errors during the reigns of ſeveral princes, till the time of king *Theodomir*, who, about an hundred years after, brought them back to the true faith [u].

He ſurpriſes Coimbra.

The Sueves *embrace the tenets of* Arius *Year after Chriſt* 465.

IN the mean time, *Theodoric* being murdered by his brother *Euric*, *Remiſmund*, thinking himſelf no longer bound by the treaty of peace, which he had concluded by his mediation with the natives, broke into *Luſitania*, and, having ſurpriſed the city of *Coimbra*, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He likewiſe ravaged and laid waſte the territory of *Aunona* belonging to the *Galicians*; who thereupon ſent deputies to *Euric* king of the

They ſurprize a ſecond time, and plunder Coimbra.

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. ISID. chron. [s] IDAT. p. 43, 44
[t] Idem ibid. [u] ISIDOR. chron.

Viſigoths,

Viſigoths, begging his mediation and good offices with the king of the *Sueves*. Accordingly *Euric* prevailed upon *Remiſmund* to grant a peace or truce to the people of *Aunona*; but in the mean time, he himſelf committed dreadful ravages in *Luſitania*, made himſelf maſter of *Pampelona* and *Saragoſa*, and, having overcome and put to flight the nobility of the province of *Tarraco*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*, made himſelf maſter of all *Upper Spain* [w]. Thus were the inhabitants of *Spain*, who could not prevail upon themſelves to withdraw their obedience to the *Romans*, and ſubmit to the barbarians, in a moſt cruel manner plundered and harraſſed on one ſide by the *Goths*, and on the other by the *Sueves*, while the *Romans* were no-ways in a condition to relieve them. Of the calamities they ſuffered, the reader will find a full and pathetic account in *Idatius*, who tells us, that the *Sueves*, when they ſurpriſed *Coimbra*, plundered the houſes, laid moſt part of the city in aſhes, and carried with them into captivity ſuch of the inhabitants as had not the good luck to make their eſcape [x]. The following year 688, they made themſelves maſters of *Liſbon*, which was betrayed to them by one *Luſides*, who was a native of the place, and commanded in the town. As *Liſbon* was at that time held by the *Goths*, the troops of that nation, entering *Luſitania*, committed dreadful ravages on the territories belonging to the *Sueves*, as did the *Sueves* on thoſe of the *Goths*. However, *Euric*, being wholly bent upon driving the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*, with a deſign to fall afterwards upon the *Sueves*, concluded, for the preſent, a peace with *Remiſmund*, and then, turning his arms againſt the *Romans*, made himſelf maſter of all the places, that had been hitherto held by them, as we have related above, in the hiſtory of the *Viſigoths*; but he died before he could put in execution the deſign he had formed againſt the *Sueves*. *Remiſmund*, finding he could no longer cope with the *Viſigoths*, who were now maſters of almoſt all *Spain*, retired into *Galicia*, and there, giving over all thoughts of new conqueſts, ended his days. His ſucceſſors followed his example, contenting themſelves with the kingdom of *Galicia*, and obſerving a ſtrict neutrality in the diſputes, that aroſe between the *Viſigoths* and the *Romans*. By this means they maintained themſelves in the quiet poſſeſſion of *Galicia* till the year 585, when they were ſubdued by *Leunigild* or *Leovigild* king of the *Viſigoths*, and their kingdom reduced to a province of the *Gothic* monarchy, after it had laſted an hundred and ſeventy-four, or, as ſome will have it, an hundred and

The greater part of Spain reduced by the Vitigoths.

[w] Idem ibid. p. 719. [x] IDAT. p. 45.

ſeventy-

seventy-seven years. But of the successors of *Remismund*, to which prince the emperor *Anthemius* is said to have yielded *Galicia* in 468, and of the downfal of their kingdom, we shall speak at length in a more proper place.

Galicia *yielded to* Remismund.

SECT. V.

The antient state of the Franks, *till their settling in* Gaul.

AS the antients, by whom mention is first made of the *Franks*, have given us no account of their origin, and *Valesius*, a most diligent and curious inquirer into the antiquities of his nation, has prudently waved this subject, it cannot be expected we should say any thing relating thereto, that may be depended upon. Of the various opinions, or rather conjectures, that have been offered on this head by the modern writers, and which it would be too tedious to relate, that of *Bucherius* seems to us the most probable, *viz.* that the *Franks* were originally a motly multitude of several antient nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who, uniting against the *Romans* in defence of their common liberty, styled themselves *Franks*, that word signifying, in their language, as it still does in ours, *free* [y]. It is certain, that under the name of *Franks* are comprised in history several nations, whose names were known long before theirs, *viz.* the *Attuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Ansivarii*, and *Catti*. The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambrians*, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, of which the far greater part was cut off by *Augustus*, and the rest transplanted into *Gaul*, as we have related above. As for the opinion of those writers, who derive the name and origin of the *Franks* from one *Francio*, the son of *Hector*, it is too fabulous to be seriously confuted. No less ridiculous, if we may be allowed to use that term, is the opinion of the abbot *Urspurgensis* and several others, who suppose the name of *Franks* to have been first given them by the emperor *Valentinian*. The original of the *Franks*, says *Urspurgensis*, is to be fetched from the antient stock of the *Trojans*; for at the time that *Æneas*, after the destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, other *Trojan* exiles arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and, settling there, inlarged their bounds as far as *Pannonia*, and built the city of *Sicambria*, from which they took the name of *Sicambrians*. Being in process of time be-

The origin and name of the Franks.

Derived by some from the Trojans.

[y] Bucher. l vi c. 13. p. 110.

come

come a powerful and mighty nation, they drove out the *Alans* their neighbours. *Valentinian*, admiring their courage and intrepidity in war, gave them the name of *Franks*, and, for the ſpace of ten years, exempted them from all tributes and taxes. That time being expired, the emperor ſent an officer to raiſe the uſual tribute; but they, ſhaking off all ſubjection, ſlew the officer, and openly declared they would no longer obey the *Roman* emperors. At that time reigned amongſt them *two*, who bore the antient names of *Priamus* and *Antenor*. The emperor, highly incenſed againſt them, ordered all the *Roman* forces, and a great many auxiliaries, to march into their country. The *Franks* met them; but, in the battle that enſued, they were overpowered with numbers, and put to flight, their king *Priam* being killed in the engagement. Scorning to live in ſubjection to the *Romans*, they abandoned their country, and, retiring into *Germany*, ſettled in *Thuringia*, where they were governed by *Marcomicus* the ſon of *Priam*, and *Sunno* the ſon of *Antenor*. Thus *Urſpurgenſis*. And the ſame account of the origin and name of the *Franks* is given by *Aimonius*, *Ado* archbiſhop of *Vienna*, *Gaguinus*, and *Æneas Sylvius*; only the latter writer ſuppoſes *Francio* to have been their leader from *Troy* to the *Palus Mæotis*; and *Ado* brings them from thence, not into *Thuringia*, but to the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. This account, of all others the moſt akin to the idle romances of our *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, is ſo far from being vouched by any antient hiſtorian, that, on the contrary, it evidently contradicts all antient hiſtory, in ſuppoſing the *Franks* to have been ſo called from *Valentinian*; whereas it is certain, that their name occurs in hiſtory at leaſt an hundred years before that emperor's time. *Goropius Becanus* explodes the opinion of thoſe, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*; but at the ſame time ſuppoſes them to have come from the *Palus Mæotis* into *Germany*, without being able to alledge any thing to ſupport his opinion, but a few groundleſs, not to ſay childiſh, conjectures. *Bodin* will have the *Franks* to have been deſcended from the *Gauls*, who, being increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the country was too narrow for them, ſent colonies beyond the *Rhine* into *Germany*. Some of theſe colonies ſettled on the banks of that river, and, in proceſs of time, conquered their antient country. *Cæſar* indeed tells us, that the *Gauls* ſent colonies into *Germany*; but upon what authority can we ſuppoſe the *Franks* to have been deſcended from thoſe *Gauls*, rather than from ſome other of the many nations ſettled in *Germany*? Upon the whole, we think the opinion of *Bucherius*, which we have mentioned above, to be by far the moſt probable; for, as we have hinted before, we find ſeveral *German*

From the Gauls

seventy-seven years. But of the successors of *Remismund*, to which prince the emperor *Anthemius* is said to have yielded *Galicia* in 468, and of the downfal of their kingdom, we shall speak at length in a more proper place.

Galicia *yielded to* Remismund.

SECT. V.

The antient state of the Franks, *till their settling in* Gaul.

AS the antients, by whom mention is first made of the *Franks*, have given us no account of their origin, and *Valesius*, a most diligent and curious inquirer into the antiquities of his nation, has prudently waved this subject, it cannot be expected we should say any thing relating thereto, that may be depended upon. Of the various opinions, or rather conjectures, that have been offered on this head by the modern writers, and which it would be too tedious to relate, that of *Bucherius* seems to us the most probable, *viz.* that the *Franks* were originally a motly multitude of several antient nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*, who, uniting against the *Romans* in defence of their common liberty, styled themselves *Franks*, that word signifying, in their language, as it still does in ours, *free*[y]. It is certain, that under the name of *Franks* are comprised in history several nations, whose names were known long before theirs, *viz.* the *Attuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Frisii*, *Chauci*, *Ansivarii*, and *Catti*. The *Franks* are sometimes called *Sicambrians*, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, of which the far greater part was cut off by *Augustus*, and the rest transplanted into *Gaul*, as we have related above. As for the opinion of those writers, who derive the name and origin of the *Franks* from one *Francio*, the son of *Hector*, it is too fabulous to be seriously confuted. No less ridiculous, if we may be allowed to use that term, is the opinion of the abbot *Urspurgensis* and several others, who suppose the name of *Franks* to have been first given them by the emperor *Valentinian*. The original of the *Franks*, says *Urspurgensis*, is to be fetched from the antient stock of the *Trojans*; for at the time that *Æneas*, after the destruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, other *Trojan* exiles arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and, settling there, inlarged their bounds as far as *Pannonia*, and built the city of *Sicambria*, from which they took the name of *Sicambrians*. Being in process of time be-

The origin and name of the Franks.

Derived by some from the Trojans

[y] Bucher. l. vi. c. 13. p. 100.

come

come a powerful and mighty nation, they drove out the *Alans* their neighbours. *Valentinian*, admiring their courage and intrepidity in war, gave them the name of *Franks*, and, for the ſpace of ten years, exempted them from all tributes and taxes. That time being expired, the emperor ſent an officer to raiſe the uſual tribute; but they, ſhaking off all ſubjection, ſlew the officer, and openly declared they would no longer obey the *Roman* emperors. At that time reigned amongſt them two, who bore the antient names of *Priamus* and *Antenor*. The emperor, highly incenſed againſt them, ordered all the *Roman* forces, and a great many auxiliaries, to march into their country. The *Franks* met them; but, in the battle that enſued, they were overpowered with numbers, and put to flight, their king *Priam* being killed in the engagement. Scorning to live in ſubjection to the *Romans*, they abandoned their country, and, retiring into *Germany*, ſettled in *Thuringia*, where they were governed by *Marcomicus* the ſon of *Priam*, and *Sunno* the ſon of *Antenor*. Thus *Urſpurgenſis*. And the ſame account of the origin and name of the *Franks* is given by *Aimonius*, *Ado* archbiſhop of *Vienna*, *Gaguinus*, and *Æneas Sylvius*; only the latter writer ſuppoſes *Francio* to have been their leader from *Troy* to the *Palus Mæotis*; and *Ado* brings them from thence, not into *Thuringia*, but to the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. This account, of all others the moſt akin to the idle romances of our *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, is ſo far from being vouched by any antient hiſtorian, that, on the contrary, it evidently contradicts all antient hiſtory, in ſuppoſing the *Franks* to have been ſo called from *Valentinian*; whereas it is certain, that their name occurs in hiſtory at leaſt an hundred years before that emperor's time. *Goropius Becanus* explodes the opinion of thoſe, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*; but at the ſame time ſuppoſes them to have come from the *Palus Mæotis* into *Germany*, without being able to alledge any thing to ſupport his opinion, but a few groundleſs, not to ſay childiſh, conjectures. *Bodin* will have the *Franks* to have been deſcended from the *Gauls*, who, being increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the country was too narrow for them, ſent colonies beyond the *Rhine* into *Germany*. Some of theſe colonies ſettled on the banks of that river, and, in proceſs of time, conquered their antient country. *Cæſar* indeed tells us, that the *Gauls* ſent colonies into *Germany*; but upon what authority can we ſuppoſe the *Franks* to have been deſcended from thoſe *Gauls*, rather than from ſome other of the many nations ſettled in *Germany*? Upon the whole, we think the opinion of *Buchanan*, which we have mentioned above, to be by far the moſt probable; for, as we have hinted before, we find ſeveral *German*

nations, whoſe names occur in hiſtory many ages before that of the *Franks* was known, compriſed under the general name of *Franks*; a ſtrong proof, that the *Franks* were not a new nation come from the *Palus Mæotis*, or any other country, to ſettle in *Germany*, but conſiſted of ſeveral *German* nations united, as *Bucherius* conjectures, againſt the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty.

Their ſeats As for the ſeats of the *Franks*, it appears from their conſtant incurſions into *Gaul*, that they dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*, in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. All hiſtorians ſpeak of them as placed there, till their ſettling in *Gaul* [z]. The orator *Eumenes*, who flouriſhed at *Autun*, in the end of the third century, diſtinguiſhes the country, which the *Franks* held originally, and he places on the coaſt of the ocean, from the country which was conquered by the *Romans* beyond the *Rhine*, and afterwards ſeized by the *Franks* [a]. Their country, according to the beſt modern geographers and hiſtorians, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the weſt by the ocean and the *Rhine*; on the ſouth by the *Rhone* or the *Mein*; and on the eaſt by the *Weſer* [b]: according to which deſcription, they poſſeſſed the preſent countries of *Weſtphalia*, *Heſſe*, and ſome adjacent ſtates. St. *Jerom* calls them a nation not ſo great as powerful, and places them between the *Saxons* and *Alemanns* [c], *viz.* the *Saxons* to the eaſt, and the *Alemanns* to the ſouth; for thoſe were properly called *Alemanns*, who dwelt between the *Rhine*, the *Mein*, and the *Danube*. The ſame writer tells us, that the *Saxons* received a great overthrow at *Deuſon*, in the country of the *Franks* [d]; which place *Pontanus*, and moſt other writers, ſuppoſe to be the ſame, that, by later hiſtorians, is called *Duitſium*, and now *Dutys*, over-againſt *Cologne*. *Pontanus* adds, that, in his time, a ſtone was diſcovered in a monaſtery there, with an inſcription, importing that fortreſs to have been placed there in the country of the *Franks* by the emperor *Conſtantine*. *Beatus Rhenanus* aſſures us, that he ſaw at *Augſburg*, in the cuſtody of *Peutinger*, a map drawn in the time of the later emperors, wherein the country, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, is marked in capital letters with the word *Francia*. *Aimoinius* likewiſe writes, that *Clodio*, who ſucceeded *Pharamond*, reſided at *Dyſpargum*, now *Duiſburg*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Rhine*. Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the *Franks* poſſeſſed the countries we

[z] Vide Vales. p. 2. & Coint. p. 235. [a] Eumen. pan. ix p. 193. [b] Vales. not. Gall. p. 200. & rer Franc. p. 209 Buch. p. 306. [c] Hier. vit. Hil. p. 246. [d] Hier. chron. ad ann. 380

have

have mentioned above, and that, in proceſs of time, they extended their borders along the *Rhine*, as far as the mouths of that river and the ocean. The *Franks* were antiently divided into ſeveral tribes, whereof the *Anſuarii* and *Salii*, mentioned by *Ammianus*, were by far the moſt conſiderable. *Pontanus* ſuppoſes the *Anſuarii* to be the ſame people with the *Anſinarii*, of whom mention is made by *Tacitus*. Theſe, being driven out of their own habitations by the *Chauci*, ſeized on the country from which the *Friſians* had been driven by the command of *Nero*. *Tacitus* calls them a more powerful nation than that of the *Friſians*. *Pontanus* is of opinion, that they were a nation that wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation, ready to join any other, as they found their advantage therein; that, agreeable to this principle, they joined the *German* nations lying towards the ocean, when, uniting againſt the *Romans*, in defence of their common liberty, they took the name of *Franks*; that they too were blended under the common appellation, but at the ſame time retained their antient name, being called *Anſuarii*, or *Anſinarii Franci*. This name ſome derive from the *Teutonic* word *Hance*, ſignifying *excellent*, *free*; whence the free towns of *Germany* are ſtill called the *hance towns*. Others, and among the reſt *Goropius Becanus*, will have them called *Anſuari* or *Anſinarii*, from the *German* word *Anſiæ*, ſignifying *ſociety*, becauſe they were ready to join any other nation in league and ſociety; and hence, according to theſe writers, the free towns of *Germany* are ſtyled *hance towns*, they being united in one ſociety, though far ſeparated from one another. As for the *Salian Franks*, who broke into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, but were driven out by *Julian*, as we read in *Ammianus* [c], *Beatus Rhenanus* derives their name from the *Sala*, which falls into the *Mein*; *Paulus Æmilius* from another river of the ſame name, that empties itſelf into the *Elbe*; *Sidonius Apollinaris* from the *Latin* word *Salic*, as if they had been ſo called from their leaping and dancing; and laſtly, *Pontanus* from the river *Sala*, now the *Iſſel*, on the banks of which they dwelt. The latter opinion ſeems to us by far the moſt probable, ſince the other two rivers, bearing the ſame name, flowed at ſome diſtance from the territories of the *Franks*. As for the derivation of *Sidonius*, it appears to us quite childiſh, though perhaps not ill adapted to the preſent *Franks*, a leaping and dancing people. As for their manners, *Vopiſcus* paints them as a moſt treacherous and faithleſs nation, accuſtomed to ſport with the moſt ſolemn oaths and ties, and not deeming it at all diſhonourable to break their word [f]. *Sal-*

The Anſuarian Franks.

And Salian Franks.

The manners of the Franks.

[c] AMMIAN. l. xvi. [f] Vopisc. in Procul. vit. p. 237.

vianus, mixing together their good and bad qualities, says, that they were greatly addicted to lying, but civil and kind to strangers [g]. *Procopius* describes them as of all nations the most faithless, and regarding the least their word and oaths [h]. But *Agathias*, who flourished soon after *Procopius*, extols them on account of the fidelity, justice, and concord, with which they lived among themselves [i]; and St. *Bernard*, in one of his epistles, tells us, that they observed their oaths with the greatest strictness and religion; insomuch that they thought themselves bound by a public oath, even when it was sinful to take it [k]. This change the *French* writers ascribe to the christian religion; but whether they may not still be taxed with their original want of faith in the observance of the most solemn oaths and treaties, let the world judge. They seem to have been always troublesome neighbours; whence *Egenhardus*, chancellor to *Charles the Great*, used to say, *I should chuse a* Frank *for a friend, but not for a neighbour:* and truly, from the earliest accounts we have of that restless and ambitious nation, it appears, that they have ever incroached upon their neighbours, till they attained the power they now enjoy, which, however great, is not capable of satisfying their boundless ambition, and preventing their aspiring at a far greater power, and grasping at universal monarchy.

Their form of government, and kings.

As to their form of government, it was, without all doubt, monarchical, though authors have given us no account of their first kings. The *Franks* are first mentioned in history about the year 241, and yet *Tyro Prosper* tells us, that the most antient king of that nation, whose name occurred to him in searching the records of time, was *Priam*, who reigned about the year 382 [l]. After him reigned his two sons *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, and at the same time *Genobald*. Next to them came *Theodomir* or *Theudemir*, the son of *Ricimer*, who was consul in 384. *Theodomir* was succeeded by *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*, and grandson of *Priam*. It is however to be observed here, that as *Fredigarius* supposes *Theodomir* to have been the son and immediate successor of *Clodio*, and ascribes to the former whatever else is by other writers ascribed to the latter, the learned *Usher* concludes from thence, that *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* were one and the same person, and accordingly places the defeat and death of *Pharamond* in the year 428, when *Clodio* began his reign, and the *Franks* were by *Aetius* driven out of that part of *Gaul*, that bordered on the *Rhine*, as we

[g] Salv. l. vii. p. 172. [h] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 25. p. 447. [i] Agath. l. i. p. 13. [k] Bernard. ep. ccxix. p. 203. [l] Vide Cointi p. 417. & Vales. p. 80.

read

read in *Prosper*. In the reign of *Pharamond*, or not long before, the *Franks*, passing the *Rhine*, which had been the boundary between them and the *Romans* for the space of near two hundred years, settled in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. These kings were chosen out of the most illustrious families among them, and distinguished from their subjects by the length of their hair [m]. But whether *Pharamond* had any authority over the other princes, or was only a prince more powerful than the rest, is what we cannot gather from history. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, in *Pharamond*'s time, *Honorius* concluded a treaty with them, in virtue of which they were allowed to settle in the country bordering on the *Rhine* on the side of *Cologne* [n]. But what he writes is not vouched by any of the antients. *Aetius* obliged them, as we have hinted above, to repass the *Rhine*, having overcome them in battle, and slain their king *Theodomir* or *Pharamond*. However *Clodio*, the successor of *Pharamond*, settled anew in *Gaul*; for we are told by *Gregory* of *Tours*, that he resided in the castle of *Disparg*, supposed by *Bucherius*, and most geographers, to have stood in *Brabant*, on the borders of *Thongria* [o]. *Clodio* was succeeded by *Merovæus*, *Merovæus* by *Childeric*, and he by *Clodavæus* or *Clovis*, the first christian king of the *Franks*, who drove the *Goths* out of *Gaul*, and fixed the royal seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since his time.

Tyro Prosper tells us, as we have observed above, that *Priam*, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, is the first king of the *Franks*, whose name he found recorded in history; but it is certain, that, by the antients, other kings are mentioned long before his time, that is, before the year 382, when *Tyro Prosper* supposes him to have reigned. These are *Atec*, *Genobald*, *Ascaric*, *Gaisus* or *Regaisus*, *Malloric*, *Mallobaudus* or *Mellobaudus*. *Atec* and *Genobald* seem to have reigned at the same time, but over different nations or tribes of the *Franks*; for they are both named by *Mamertin*, in his panegyric on *Diocletian*, pronounced about the year 288, as reigning at that time. *Atec*, with his *Franks*, had plundered the coasts of *Gaul*; but was obliged by *Diocletian* to sue for peace, and make great submissions to that prince, in order to appease him, and be confirmed by him in his kingdom. *Genobald* likewise was forced to submit, says our panegyrist, which was the only means of his being restored to the quiet possession

[m] GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. [n] BUCH. p. 450, 451. [o] Idem, p. 175. Contra p. 426. CHIFLET. p. 78–9.

of

of his dominions [p]. In the same panegyric *Mamertin* speaks of a great victory gained by the generals of *Diocleſian* over a fickle and deceitful nation of barbarians; which deſcription ſuits no nation ſo well as that of the *Franks*. It was perhaps upon this victory that the two above-mentioned kings were obliged to ſubmit to the emperor, who, in all likelihood, took, on that occaſion, the ſurname of *Francicus*, which, in antient inſcriptions, is given both to him and his collegue *Maximian* [q]. *Aſcaric* and *Gaiſus* or *Regaiſus* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Conſtantius* the ſon of *Conſtantine the Great*, and were, by the latter, in the firſt year of his reign, that is, in 306, taken priſoners, and expoſed to the wild beaſts in the public ſports [r]. *Malaric*, who lived in the reigns of *Conſtantius* the ſon of *Conſtantine*, of *Julian* and *Jovian*, is called, by *Marcellinus*, only the governor, or chief of his countrymen, in the emperor's palace [s]; but is, by *Procopius*, reckoned among their kings. *Jovian*, in the year 364, the firſt of his reign, appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *Gaul* [t]; but he declined that employment [u]. *Mallobaudus*, or *Mellobaudus*, ſtyled by *Marcellinus* king of the *Franks* [w], commanded under *Gratian* in 377, and the following year 378, gained a ſignal victory over the *Alemanns*, of whom thirty thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and, among the reſt, *Triarius* their king [x]. *Mallobaudus*, though king of the *Franks*, ſerved in the *Roman* army, and thought himſelf honoured with the employment of *comes domeſticorum* to the emperor *Gratian*. *Ricomer*, *Ricimer*, or *Richimer*, who was *comes domeſticorum* to the ſame emperor, general of the *Roman* horſe, and conſul in 384, is, by ſome reckoned among the kings of the *Franks*. His ſon *Theodomir* reigned over the *Franks* in the time of *Honorius*, and was killed by the *Romans*, with his mother *Aſcila*, according to an antient chronicle quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours* [y]. *Fredigarius* ſuppoſes him to have been killed by count *Caſtinus*, who was ſent againſt the *Franks*, by the emperor *Honorius*, about the year 421 [z], at which time all other writers ſuppoſe *Pharamond* to have reigned. *Uſher*, as we have hinted above, will have *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* to have been one and the ſame perſon. But why might not *Theodomir* and *Pharamond*, have reigned at the ſame time? it being certain, that the *Franks*,

[p] Panegyr. x p. 125—127. Buch. Belg. p. 223. Vales. rer Franc. l. i. p. 11, 12. [q] Vide Val. ibid. [r] Eutrop. p. 587 Eumen. panegyr. ix. p. 198. [s] Ammian Marcell. l. xv. p. 39 [t] Idem, l. xxv. p. 302. [u] Idem, p. [illegible] [w] Idem, l. xxxi. p 454. [x] Idem ibid. p. 453. [y] Greg. Tur. p. 64. [z] Vide Val. l. iii p. 112

in the time of *Pharamond*, had ſeveral other kings, nay, as many kings as they had cities or cantons, as we have obſerved above. 'Tis true, that *Fredegarius* makes *Theodomir* the father and immediate predeceſſor of *Clodio*, and ſays of him what is ſaid by other writers of *Pharamond*. But *Fredegarius*, whom *Valeſius* ſtyles an impertinent writer [a], might have been, and probably was, therein miſtaken; ſeeing all other writers ſuppoſe *Pharamond* the ſon of *Marcomir*, or of *Sunno*, as we read in *Vitalis* [b], to have ſucceeded *Theodomir*. *Tyro Proſper* is the only author that mentions *Priam*, according to him, the father of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*. His name perhaps gave riſe to the romances of thoſe writers, who derive the origin of the *Franks* from the *Trojans*, whoſe laſt king bore that name. Such romances were, in ſome degree, countenanced, not only by the name of *Priam*, but by an opinion, which obtained among moſt writers, as *Gregory* of *Tours* informs us [c], *viz.* that the *Franks* had dwelt in *Pannonia* before they ſettled on the banks of the *Rhine*. Having thus given the reader the beſt account we have been able to gather from the moſt authentic writers of the firſt kings of the *Franks*, without taking upon us to aſcertain the order of their ſucceſſion, or their deſcents, we ſhall now paſs to their wars and exploits, from the time they are firſt mentioned in hiſtory to their ſettling in *Gaul*.

The break into Gaul, but are repreſſed by Aurelian.

THE firſt hiſtorian, by whom mention is made of the *Franks*, is *Vopiſcus*, in the life of the emperor *Aurelian*; where that writer tells us, that the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, and, though few in number, committed there dreadful ravages. But *Aurelian*, then only tribune of the ſixth legion, quartered at that time in *Mentz*, marching againſt them, killed ſeven hundred of them, took three hundred priſoners, whom he ſold for ſlaves, and obliged the reſt to quit their booty and retire [d]. This event is placed, by *Valeſius*, in the year 254, the ſecond of the emperor *Valerian*'s reign [e]; by *Bucherius* and *Cointius* [f], in 234, in which year it is certain the *Germans* made an irruption into *Gaul*; and *Aurelian*, ſay they, born in 200, and then only thirty-four years old, might have attained to no higher poſt in the army than that of tribune. But as it appears from *Vopiſcus*, that at the time *Aurelian* overcame the *Franks*, the emperor was preparing to march againſt the *Perſians*, and *Gordian* marched againſt them in 242. *Forburgus* concludes from thence, that the *Franks* were defeated by *Aurelian*

[a] VALES. l. ii. p 61. & l. iii. p. 125. [b] VITAL. apud. BUCH. l. xiv. c. 9. [c] GREG. TUR hiſt. Fran. l. ii. p. 64. [d] VOPISC. vit. Aur. p. 212 [e] VALES. rer. Fran. l. i p. 2. [f] BUCH. Belg l. vi c. 13. p. 209 COINT. tom. i. p. 14

relian the preceding year 241 [g]. But at what time ſoever this happened, it is agreed on all hands, that the *Franks*, who afterwards proved ſo troubleſome neighbours to the *Romans*, and greatly contributed to the downfal of the weſtern empire, are firſt mentioned in hiſtory on this occaſion. In the year 256, the fourth of *Valerian*'s reign, they broke anew into *Gaul*, with ſeveral other *German* nations, but were intirely defeated by *Gallienus*, whom *Valerian* had taken for his partner in the empire [h]. For this victory *Gallienus* took the ſurname of *Germanicus*, as appears from a medal ſtruck in the latter end of the preſent year [i]. However, the *Franks* and other *German* nations returning ſoon after in far greater numbers, *Gallienus*, no longer able to repreſs them by force, offered advantageous terms to one of their chiefs, who, readily accepting them, took upon him to guard the frontiers of the empire, which he did accordingly, often engaging the *Franks*, and other barbarians, attempting to break into the empire. Thus *Zoſimus* [k]; but who this prince was, he has not thought fit to tell us: *Victoriſcus* indeed informs us, that *Gallienus* lived in friendſhip with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomanns*, to whom he yielded part of *Upper Pannonia*, taking his daughter, by name *Pipa*, or *Pipara*, as he pretended, for his wife; but by hiſtorians ſhe is looked upon only as his concubine, he being already married to *Soloninа* [l], ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions, *Cornelia Solonina Auguſta* [m]. The following year 257, ſome *Franks* ſeem to have ſerved in the *Roman* army againſt the *Goths*; for among the auxiliaries that marched with *Aurelian* into *Thrace*, which province the *Goths* were then pillaging, mention is made of *Hartoman*, *Haldegaſtus*, *Hildemon*, and *Carioviſcus* [n], which names bear a great reſemblance to others that frequently occur in hiſtory among the *Franks*; whence *Vorburgus* concludes them to be the names of ſome chief men of that nation, who came with a body of their countrymen to aſſiſt the *Romans* in this expedition [o]. Three years after, that is, in 260, the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, taking advantage of the confuſion which the captivity of *Valerian*, taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, had cauſed throughout the empire, broke into *Gaul*, and, having ravaged the moſt wealthy provinces there, made an irruption into *Italy* [p]. St. *Jerom* [q] and *Oroſius* [r] add, that the *Franks*, croſſing the

They ravage Gaul, and part of Italy. Vide alſo Appendix.

[g] VORBURGH. hiſt. Roman. German. p. 474. [h] Zos. l. i. p. 646. ZON. vit. Gallien. p. 235 [i] BIRAG. p. 371 [k] Zos. ibid. [l] AUR. vit. epitt. p. 521. GALLIEN. vit. p. 184. [m] GOLTZ. BIRAG. p. 380. [n] AUR. vit. p. 212. [o] VORB. p. 519. [p] VOR vit. p. 215, 216. DEPP legat. excerp. p. 8. [q] HIER. chron. [r] OROS l. vii. c. 22. p. 214.

Aſter,

Alps, and passing through *Rhætia* and *Lombardy*, advanced to the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, laying waste the country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Zosimus* writes, that this sudden irruption obliged *Gallienus* to take the field, in order to drive back the barbarians; but whether they were forced by him to retire, or withdrew of their own accord, he does not tell us. Five years after, they committed unheard-of ravages in *Spain*. *Victor* writes, that, after they had ravaged *Gaul*, they passed from thence into *Spain* [s]; but *Valesius* endeavours to prove, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Constantine*, that they conveyed themselves thither by sea [t]; for that author writes, that they suffered themselves to be transported, by their warlike ardour, beyond the bounds of the ocean, and struck terror into the coasts of *Spain* itself [u]. They passed the bounds of the ocean, according to *Valesius*, by entering the *Mediterranean*, and landing in one of the *Spanish* provinces bordering on that sea. Be that as it will, they penetrated into a country, to use the expression of *Eutropius*, so far distant from their own, and made themselves masters of it, as we are told by St. *Jerom* [w]. *Orosius* writes, that they held, or rather pillaged, *Spain* for the space of twelve years [x]; and that they took by storm, plundered, and almost utterly destroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which was then one of the chief cities of *Spain*, and the metropolis of several provinces; but for the space of an hundred and fifty years it bore the marks, adds the same author, of what it suffered on that occasion [y]. Some of the *Franks*, having provided themselves with vessels, crossed over into *Africa*, with a design to enrich themselves with the spoils of that wealthy nation [z]; but what was the issue of that undertaking, we are not told. The same year 265, *Posthumius*, who had revolted in *Gaul*, and taken upon him the title of emperor, gained great advantages over the *Franks*, attempting to break into those provinces, drove them all beyond the *Rhine*, and even built some forts in their country; whence, on his medals he is styled *the restorer of* Gaul, *the defender of the empire* [a]. On the same medals frequent mention is made of his victories over the *Franks*, chiefly in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 265; and on some he is styled *Germanicus Maximus*, the *Franks* being distinguished in those times, as *Valesius* well observes, by the name of *Germans*, from the *Alemanns*, and other nations inhabiting *Germany*. That writer is of opinion, that the medals of *Posthumius*, on which *Deuso*, now *Duitz*, over-against *Cologne*, and *Macusa*, now *Inchuse*,

They break into Spain, *which they hold for the space of twelve years.* *Year after Christ* 265.

[s] VICT. in Gallien. [t] VAL. rer. Fran. l. i p. 3, 4. [u] Panegyr. vii. p. 163. [w] HIER. chron. [x] OROS. l. vii. c. 23. p. 223. [y] Idem ibid. [z] VICT. & VAL. p. [a] Trig. tyr. c. 4. p. 166. Bru. 393.

in north *Holland*, are mentioned, allude to the victories he gained over the *Franks* [b]. However, they afterwards served under him against *Gallienus*, and supported him, to the utmost of their power, in the authority he had usurped [c]. In the year 273, the fourth of the emperor *Aurelian*'s reign, they made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were driven back with great slaughter by that prince, who, having taken several of them prisoners, led them, with the captives of several other nations, in triumph, when he made his public entry into *Rome*, which we have described at length in our *Roman* history [d]. *Aurelian* dying two years after, the *Franks*, together with the *Lyges*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Vandals*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul*, and, having reduced above seventy of the chief cities of that country in the space of two years, looked upon themselves as masters of all *Gaul*. But in the mean time *Tacitus*, who had succeeded *Aurelian*, dying, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, marching in person against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*, dispatched some of his best generals against the *Franks*, who gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to abandon their booty, and return home [e]. *Probus* himself was attended with the like success against the *Burgundians* and *Vandals*; so that all *Gaul* was, by his valour, delivered, to use the expression of St. *Jerom*, from the yoke of the barbarians. The emperor, not satisfied with driving them out of *Gaul*, pursued them cross the *Rhine*, laid waste their territories far and near, and even built some forts in their country; which struck the barbarians with such terror, that nine of their kings came in person to sue for peace, which *Probus* granted them, upon their promising to supply the *Romans* yearly with a certain quantity of corn, and other provisions, and to send sixteen thousand men to serve in the *Roman* armies [f]. These *Probus* divided into several companies of fifty or sixty men, distributing them among the *Roman* troops in different places [g]. Some of the *Franks*, who had either submitted to *Probus*, or had been taken prisoners in this war, were sent by the emperor to the coast of the *Euxine* sea, where lands were allotted them to cultivate. There they continued for some time; but growing weary in the end of living after the *Roman* manner in a country so far distant from their own, having seized on some ships, they put to sea, and, roaming about, pillaged first the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and then, passing over into *Africa*, landed in several places there; but, being constantly

The Franks, Burgundians, and Vandals, seize on seventy cities in Gaul. Year after Christ 275.

But are driven out by Probus.

A small number of Franks ravage the coasts of Asia, Greece, Sicily, &c.

[b] Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. c. 6. [c] Trig. tyr. p. 177. [d] Univ. hist. vol. xv. p. 207. [e] Tacit. vit. Aur. p. 227. Prob. vit. p. 218. Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 7, 8. [f] Prob. vit. p. 238, 239. [g] Idem ibid.

repulsed

repulsed by the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, they quitted *Africa*, and, steering their course to *Sicily*, landed in that island, took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and, having put most of the inhabitants to the sword, reimbarqued with an immense booty. From *Sicily* they sailed for the straights of *Gibraltar*, and, entering the ocean, plundered the coasts of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and returned, in the end, loaded with booty, to their native country, at the mouth of the *Rhine* [h]. This happened while *Probus* was making war on several tyrants [i], that is, about the year 280. The same year, *Proculus* having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor at *Cologne*, the *Franks* at first espoused his cause, and promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but as they scrupled no more, in those days, than they have done in later times, to break their word, they not only abandoned, but betrayed the usurper into the emperor's hands [k]. From this time they continued quiet till the year 287, the fourth of *Diocletian*'s reign, when, in conjunction with the *Saxon* pirates, they plundered the coasts of *Gaul*, carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. But *Carausius* having, by the emperor's order, fitted out a fleet at *Boulogne*, and gained some advantages over them, they retired for a while to their respective countries [l]. It was, no doubt, on account of these advantages, that *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric on *Maximian*, by whom *Carausius* had been sent against these pirates, calls him the conqueror of the *Franks*; and adds, that he put an end to the piratic war [p]. But as *Carausius* kept, and applied to his own use, the booty he had taken from the barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian*, suspecting that with this view he connived at their piracies, resolved to put him to death; but he, having timely notice of his design, passed over into *Britain*, with the fleet under his command, and there caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, as we have related elsewhere [q]. The following year, *Maximian*, crossing the *Rhine*, entered *Germany*, and, having laid waste the enemy's country far and near, returned to *Gaul* with an immense booty and a great number of captives. The fame of his name struck such terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Ate* and *Genobald*, the first we find named in history, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms [r].

Ate and Genobald, two kings of the Franks, submit to Maximian.

[h] Zos. l. i. p 666. Prob. vit. p. 240. Panegyr. x p. 218 Prob. vit. ibid. [k] Procul. vit. p. 247. Vict. epit. Eutrop Eutrop. p. 585. [p] Panegyr. xi. p. 133 [q] Univers. hist vol xv. p. 238 [r] Panegyr. x. p. 125. Val. rer. franc. l. i. p. 11, 12.

From an antient inſcription it appears, that *Dioclesian*, as well as his collegue *Maximian*, took, probably on this occaſion, the ſurnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Germanicus* [s].

THE following year, *Maximian* allowed lands, in the neighbourhood of *Treves* and *Cambray*, to great numbers of *Franks* and *Letes*, who had ſubmitted to him, thoſe territories being almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants [t]. The *Letes* were originally a *Gauliſh* nation; but having afterwards left *Gaul*, and ſettled in *Germany*, they were reckoned among the *German* nations [u]. Their name often occurs in hiſtory, as appears from *Valeſius*, who is of opinion, that the names of the river *Lis* in *Flanders*, and of the *Abbey* of *Leiſſis* in *Hainault*, owe their origin to them [w]. *Ammianus* ſpeaks of this nation as dwelling in *Germany*, on the banks of the *Rhine*, about the year 356 [x].

Several Franks tranſplanted into Gaul by Conſtantius Chlorus Year after Chriſt 293.

A few years after, the *Franks* made themſelves maſters of *Batavia*, and that part of *Flanders* which is watered by the river *Eſcaut*; but *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, marching againſt them ſoon after he was raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*, overcame them in battle, and, having obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion, tranſplanted them, with their wives and children, into *Gaul*, where they were forced to cultivate the lands, which they themſelves had waſted, to pay the uſual tributes and taxes, as ſubjects of the empire, and to ſerve, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Upon their ſubmitting, their arms were taken from them, nor were they allowed any in their new ſettlements, that they might, by degrees, forget their native fierceneſs and barbarity, and accuſtom themſelves to live after the *Roman* manner [y]. The emperor *Julian*, ſpeaking of *Maximian* and *Conſtantius*, tells us, that they not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, which they had long held, and cultivated as their own, but built ſeveral caſtles on the frontiers; by which means the country, no longer infeſted by the barbarians, enjoyed a profound tranquillity [z]. It was perhaps on account of the victory, which *Conſtantius* gained over the *Franks*, that the ſurname of *Germanicus* was given him on a monument erected to him by the city of *Nicomedia*, while he was conſul, that is, in 294 [a]. From this time they continued quiet till the year 306, the firſt of *Conſtantine*'s reign, when, that prince being employed in *Britain*, they laid hold of the opportunity to break into *Gaul*. But the emperor, returning ſoon after, fell upon them unexpectedly, while they

[s] VALES. ibid. [t] Panegyr. ix p. 112. [u] VAL. rer Franc. l. i. p. 32, 33. & l. iv. p. 162 [w] Idem ibid. [x] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 135. [y] Panegyr. l. iii. vii. viii. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. [z] JULIAN. orat. i. p. 12. [a] LACT. perſ. p. 366.

were

were buſied in plundering the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and, having taken two of their kings priſoners, *Aſcaric* and *Gaiſus*, he expoſed them to be devoured by the wild beaſts, in the magnificent ſhows which he afterwards exhibited [b]. He thought himſelf obliged, ſays the panegyriſt, to renew the rigor of the antient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to reſtrain, by the fear of puniſhment, a perfidious nation, that made no account of the moſt ſacred ties [c]. After this victory he croſſed the *Rhine*, and, entering the country of the *Bructerians*, who were one of the ſeveral nations then known by the name of *Franks*, he made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many priſoners, whom he likewiſe expoſed to the wild beaſts [d]. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous gariſons in them, kept on that river a great number of veſſels well armed and manned, and by that means put a ſtop, for ſome time, to the incurſions of the *Franks*. In memory of the advantages he had gained over them, he inſtituted ſolemn ſports, called, from them, *ludi Francici*, which were annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth [e]. However, two years after, that is, in 308, they began anew to aſſemble in conſiderable bodies, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, to make an irruption into *Gaul*; but *Conſtantine* marching againſt them upon the firſt news of their motions, they diſperſed [f]. In 310, all the nations known by the name of *Franks*, taking arms, approached the banks of the *Rhine*, and there dividing their army, which was very numerous, into ſeveral bodies, attempted to break into *Gaul* at different places. *Conſtantine* marched in perſon againſt them, and, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured, in diſguiſe, into the midſt of their army, pretending to be a deputy ſent to them from the emperor. As he found that, not caring to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, they deſigned to carry on the war in ſeparate bodies, which would have rendered it more tedious, he aſſured them, that the emperor was not then with the army; which they no ſooner underſtood, than they diſmiſſed the pretended deputy, and, uniting all their forces, marched againſt the enemy. *Conſtantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to flight at the firſt onſet, and made a dreadful havock of them in the purſuit [g]. *Euſebius* writes, that he not only drove the barbarians out of *Gaul*, but utterly ſubdued thoſe, who dwelt on the banks of the *Rhine*,

Conſtantine *takes two of their kings priſoners, whom he expoſes to the wild beaſts.*

They are defeated with great ſlaughter by Conſtantine.

[b] Panegyr. ix. p. 190, 197. v. 127. vii. 163. [c] Panegyr. v. p. 126. ix p 196, 197. [d] Panegyr. ix. p. 197, 198 [e] Euſebius. p. 587. [f] Paneg. ix p. 200, 201. [g] Paneg vii. p 164. Euſ. reg. p. 19.

and

and near the ocean [h], that is, the *Franks*. However, three years after, taking advantage of the emperor's abſence, who was gone to *Rome*, they began to aſſemble anew on the banks of the *Rhine*; which *Conſtantine* no ſooner underſtood, than leaving *Italy*, he haſtened into *Gaul*. The *Franks*, who had not yet paſſed the *Rhine*, withdrew at his approach; but *Conſtantine*, giving out, that the *Alemanns* too were ready to break into *Gaul*, left ſome troops concealed among the woods at a ſmall diſtance from the river, and retired with the reſt. The *Franks* no ſooner heard of his departure, than they paſſed the *Rhine*; but the *Romans*, riſing unexpectedly out of their ambuſcade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs that river in the utmoſt confuſion. *Conſtantine* followed them in perſon with his whole army, and, entering their country, laid waſte their lands, and burnt their habitations, and, having taken a great number of priſoners, expoſed them all to be devoured by the wild beaſts. This ſeverity towards a perfidious and faithleſs enemy is commended by his panegyriſt; but it does not anſwer the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which is given to *Conſtantine* by moſt writers of thoſe times. For this victory over the *Franks*, he took the title of *Francicus* [i]. Notwithſtanding his ſeverity, the *Franks* were no ſooner informed, that *Conſtantine* had left *Gaul*, with a deſign to viſit *Italy* and *Illyricum*, than they croſſed the *Rhine* in great numbers, and, entering *Gaul*, laid waſte ſeveral provinces. But *Criſpus*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, marching againſt them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire. *Optatianus* ſeems to inſinuate, that he gained a great victory over them [k]; but *Nazarius* only ſays, that he drove them out of *Gaul*, and obliged them to ſue for peace; which he readily granted them [l]. From ſome medals it appears, that the young prince gained a victory over the *Alemanns*, who, in all likelihood, had invaded *Gaul* at the ſame time [m]; but the *Franks*, it ſeems, quitting their booty, retired at his approach [n]. This happened in 320, and no farther mention of the *Franks* is made in hiſtory till the year 341, the fourth of *Conſtantius*'s reign, when they made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Conſtans* marched againſt them, and gave them battle; but as the loſs was equal on both ſides, the war was not ended till the enſuing year [o], when *Conſtans*

Who puniſhes them with great ſeverity.

[h] Euseb. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 25 p. 420. [i] Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23. [k] Optat. c. 15. [l] Paneg. vii p. 164. [m] Buch. l. viii. c. 16. p. 384. [n] Vales. p. 26 [o] Sucr. p. 28. Sc. p. 324

either conquered or appeased them, as *Idatius* expresses it, that is, prevailed upon them, with presents and money, to retire, as, may be gathered from *Libanius*, who tells us, though speaking as a panegyrist, that the *Franks* were not conquered by dint of arms [p]. Be that as it will, it is certain they concluded a peace with *Constans*, and submitted to the princes he was pleased to appoint over them [q]. As they were the most powerful nation in those parts, the peace, they concluded with the emperor, prevented the others from attempting any thing against the empire; so that *Constans*, having nothing to fear on that side, passed over into *Britain*, to oppose the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions [r]. Some years after, that is, in 355, the eighteenth of the reign of *Constantius*, *Malaric*, king of the *Franks*, held a chief employment in the emperor's court [s]. But the following year, those of his nation, no longer able to live in peace, entering into an alliance with the *Alemanns* and *Saxons*, crossed the *Rhine*, took and pillaged above forty cities on the banks of that river, laid waste the neighbouring provinces, and carried off an incredible number of captives. The city of *Cologne* was on this occasion taken by them, and almost intirely ruined [t]. From thence they advanced as far as *Autun*, which city they besieged; but being vigorously repulsed by the veterans, who were quartered there, they abandoned the enterprise, and contented themselves with plundering the open places, roaming about without controul, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. *Constantius*, who was then in *Italy*, not thinking it adviseable to quit that country, raised his cousin *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and at the same time appointed him governor of *Gaul*. *Julian*, without loss of time, set out for his government, and, arriving at *Vienne*, was received there with extraordinary marks of joy. As he arrived in that city in the depth of winter, he continued there the remaining part of that season, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and, taking the field early in the spring, he marched, at the head of a small body, from *Vienne* to *Autun*, and from thence to *Auxerre*. On his march, he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, and opened himself a way through the midst of the barbarians to *Troies*, and from thence to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army waited his arrival. Being joined there by all

They make themselves masters of above forty cities in Gaul. Year after Christ 355.

[p] LIB. orat. iii. p. 139. [q] IDAT. p. 85. SOCR. l. ii. c. 12. p. 90. VALES. l. i. p. 28. [r] LIB. orat. xii. p. 140. [s] AMMIAN. l. v. p. 39. [t] Idem ibid. p. 50.

the

the *Roman* troops quartered in *Gaul*, he haſtened from thence to *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze* on the *Seille* in *Lorain*, with a deſign to fall upon the *Franks*, who were buſied in ravaging the country. But the enemy, receiving timely notice of his approach, took advantage of a dark and wet night to attack his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the reſt of the army, alarmed at the ſudden noiſe, turned back to their aſſiſtance. The *Franks*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, attacked him anew a few days after; but were put to flight, though not with great loſs. However, this ſmall victory opened him a way to *Cologne*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, after it had been ten months in their hands. During his ſtay at *Cologne*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, ſent deputies to him to ſue for a peace; but *Julian* only granted him a ſhort truce [u]. The following year, *Julian* gained a complete victory over the *Franks*, and other *German* nations, that had invaded *Gaul*, as we have related at length elſewhere [w], and took by ſtorm two caſtles on the *Meuſe*, in which ſome *Franks* had ſhut themſelves up, after having ravaged the country about *Rheims*. They defended themſelves with great bravery for the ſpace of fifty-four days; but being in the end obliged to ſurrender, they were all ſent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops [x]. After this, *Julian* put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*. But, in the mean time the *Salii*, a nation of the *Franks*, breaking unexpectedly into *Taxandria*, now *Brabant*, ſettled there; but *Julian*, marching againſt them early in the ſpring, obliged them to abandon the country they had ſeized, though they offered themſelves ready to guard the frontiers of the empire on that ſide, to ſupply the *Romans* with troops when required, and to pay the uſual taxes and tributes. *Zoſimus* tells us, that they had been driven out of their own country by the *Saxons* and *Quadians*, who were by *Julian* forced to reſtore it to the antient proprietors; which ſo gained the *Salian Franks*, that, ſubmitting to *Julian*, great numbers of them ſerved in his army [y].

But they are defeated and driven out by Julian.

The *Franks* continued quiet the whole time *Julian* reigned; but they no ſooner heard of his death, than, entering into an alliance with their neighbours the *Saxons*, they began to infeſt *Gaul* both by ſea and land. But count *Theodoſius*, father to the emperor of that name, being ſent againſt them by *Valentinian*, obliged them to retire with great loſs [z]. That com-

Count Theodoſius gains ſome advantages over them.

[u] Idem, l. xx. p. 168. l. xxiii p. 203. Liban. orat. xii. p. 270. & orat. ix. p. 237. [w] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 428. [x] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 89. [y] Zos. l. iii. p. 561. [z] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 346.

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mander is said to have overcome the *Saxons*, to have gained a victory over them off the *Orcades*, and to have defeated the enemies of the empire in *Batavia*, near the *Rhine* and the *Vahal*; which country was then held by the *Franks* [a]. From an inscription of 369, or 370, it appears, that *Valentinian* styled himself the conquerer of the *Franks* [b], no doubt on account of the advantages gained over that nation by count *Theodosius*. As it appears from a law dated the thirtieth of *September* [c] 368, that *Valentinian* was then at *Cologne*, some writers conclude from thence, that he marched in person against the *Franks*; but of this expedition no mention is made by any of the antients. At this time *Mallobaudes* was king of the *Franks*, and engaged in a war with the *Alemanns*, who, having concluded a peace with the *Romans*, had entered, upon what provocation we know not, the territories of the *Franks*, destroying all with fire and sword. *Mallobaudes* met them at the head of a considerable army, and, pretending to avoid an engagement, drew them into an ambuscade, by which means he cut great numbers of them in pieces, and among the rest their king *Macrianus*, a warlike prince, who had long infested, with continual inroads, the *Roman* dominions [d]. Three years after, that is, in 377, *Mallobaudes* was raised by the emperor *Gratian* to the consulate, having the emperor himself for his collegue in that dignity [e]. The following year he was honoured by the same emperor with the post of *comes domesticorum*, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the battle of *Argentaria*, in which above thirty thousand of the *Lentinenses*, who had broken into the empire, were cut in pieces, with their king *Triarius*. This victory was chiefly owing to *Mallobaudes*, who, on this occasion, commanded the *Roman* troops, in conjunction with count *Nennianus*, as we have related in our *Roman* history [f]. He was consul the second time in 383, the eighth and last of *Gratian*'s reign, and commanded the army, under that prince, against the usurper *Maximus*; but was not attended on that occasion with his usual success, for *Gratian* was put to flight, soon after taken prisoner, and put to death at *Lyons*. All authors agree, that the unhappy prince was betrayed by his own people; and *Prosper*, in his chronicle, names *Mallobaudes* among those, who kept a private correspondence with the usurper [g]. But *Baronius* maintains, that *Prosper* was therein mistaken, and that *Mallobaudes*, continued ever faithful to *Gratian* [h].

[a] VAL. rer. Franc. l. vi. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 83, 84. [d] AMMIAN. l. xxx. [e] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 451. GRUT. p. 370. [f] Univers. hist. vol. xv. 383. [g] Prosper. chron. [h] BAR. ad ann. 383.

And truly *Pacatus* upbraids *Maximus* for hating *Mallobaudes*, and reducing him to the fatal neceſſity of laying violent hands on himſelf, for no other crime than that of an inviolable fidelity to *Gratian*, whoſe cauſe he had maintained to the laſt [k]. Three years after the death of *Gratian*, that is, in the year 388, we find the *Franks* ravaging *Gaul* with more fury than ever, perhaps to revenge on the uſurper *Maximus* the death of *Gratian*, who had ſhewn a particular kindneſs to their nation. However that be, *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that they over-ran all *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where unheard-of ravages, made the city of *Cologne* tremble, burnt ſeveral villages, and then returned home with their booty, leaving ſeveral parties in *Gaul* to purſue the ravages they had begun. Theſe were defeated by *Nannius* and *Quintinus*, the two generals of *Maximus*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces in the province of *Hainault*. *Quintinus*, not ſatisfied with this advantage, paſſed the *Rhine* at *Nuys*, contrary to the opinion of *Nannius*, who refuſed to follow him, and, entering the enemy's country with the troops under his command, burnt ſeveral villages, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, he advanced far into the country; but being, on his return, cunningly drawn into marſhes, woods, and unpaſſable places, by the enemy pretending to fly before him, he found himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded on all ſides by great multitudes, who, falling upon his men while they were entangled in the woods and marſhes, cut moſt of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves in the woods, where they periſhed with famine, only *Quintinus*, and a few more, having, with the utmoſt difficulty, found means to make their eſcape, and return to *Gaul*, after ſuffering inexpreſſible hardſhips in the enemy's country. The loſs ſuſtained by the *Romans* on this occaſion was very great, and is, by ſome, compared to the diſaſter of *Varus* and his legions, in the time of *Auguſtus* [l]. This happened while the *Franks* were governed by *Genobald*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*, who being elated with this victory, broke anew into *Gaul* the following year; which obliged *Theodoſius* to ſend *Valentinian* to make head againſt them. Upon that prince's arrival in *Gaul*, *Arbogaſtes*, general of the troops in thoſe provinces, adviſed him to march into the enemy's country, and force them to reſtore the booty they had carried off the year before, and deliver up the authors of the war [m]. Whether or no *Valentinian* followed his advice, we are not told. All we know is, that he had a conference with *Marco-*

A Roman army cut off by the Franks. Year after Chriſt 388

[k] Pacat. p. 267. [l] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59, &c. [m] Idem ibid.

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mir and *Sunno*, who delivered up hoſtages; and that he afterwards retired to *Treves*, and there paſſed the winter [n].

THREE years after, that is, in 392, *Arbogaſtes*, having put *Valentinian* II. to death, perſuaded *Eugenius*, whom he had raiſed to the empire in his room, to make war upon the *Franks*. *Arbogaſtes*, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [o]. was himſelf by nation a *Frank*; but, as he bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, he not only induced *Eugenius* to make war upon them, but, taking upon himſelf the whole management of it, he paſſed the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, in the depth of winter, and laid waſte the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, *Marcomir* only ſhewing himſelf at a diſtance on the hills with ſome parties of the *Anſivarii* and *Chatti*. But, as to the iſſue of this war, hiſtorians only tell us, that *Arbogaſtes*, after having put many of his countrymen to the ſword, concluded in the end a peace with them; and that *Eugenius* himſelf approached the *Rhine* to renew the antient treaty with the kings of the *Franks* and *Alemanns* [p]. From this account it appears, that the *Franks* had ſeveral kings at the ſame time, and that under the name of *Franks* were compriſed ſeveral antient *German* nations. Great numbers of the *Franks* liſted themſelves among the troops of *Eugenius*; for *Oroſius* tells us, that he led againſt *Theodoſius* an infinite number of *Franks* and other barbarians [q]. Two years after, *Theodoſius* died, and, by his laſt will, divided the empire between his two children, bequeathing the eaſt to his eldeſt ſon *Arcadius*, and the weſt to *Honorius*. *Stilicho*, who was prime miniſter to the latter, adviſed him, in the firſt place, to renew the antient alliances with the *Franks* and other *German* nations, which they had broken, by aſſiſting the uſurper *Eugenius* againſt *Theodoſius*. This province *Stilicho* took upon himſelf, and, repairing to the banks of the *Rhine*, accompliſhed it in a very ſhort time [r]. However, *Marcomir* and *Sunno* attempting to raiſe new diſturbances ſoon after the concluſion of the peace, one of them, ſays *Claudian*, was taken, and, after having been kept ſome time in priſon, confined to *Tuſcany*. The other was for revenging on the *Romans* the affront they had offered his brother; but his own people, unwilling to engage in a war with the empire, put him to death. *Claudian* adds, that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room [s]. An antient hiſtorian ſuppoſes *Marcomir* to have outlived *Sunno*, and conſequently that it was he

They renew the antient alliances with Honorius. *Year after Chriſt* 325.

[n] Idem ibid p. 60, 61. [o] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p. 645, 646, 651, & ſeq. [p] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61. [q] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 229. [r] CLAUD. p. 195. [s] Idem. p. 196;

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who was baniſhed into *Tuſcany* [t]. *Marcomir*, or, as the antients call him, *Marcomer*, is ſuppoſed to have been the father of *Pharamond*, the firſt in the catalogue of the *French* kings [u].

They cut off 20,000 of the Vandals *attempting to enter* Gaul. *Year after Chriſt* 406.

In the year 406, the *Franks* falling upon the *Vandals*, as they were attempting to break into *Gaul* with the *Sueves* and *Alans*, cut near twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiſcles*; and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the *Alans* come ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance. Theſe two nations, together with the *Sueves*, opened themſelves a way, in ſpite of the *Franks*, and, paſſing the *Rhine*, entered *Gaul* [w]. Great numbers of *Franks* followed them, to have ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of thoſe wealthy provinces; but far greater numbers of the ſame nation entered *Gaul* four years after, being invited thither by the uſurper *Conſtantine*, of whoſe forces the commander in chief was one *Edobic*, a *Frank* by nation [x]. In the year 413, they made an irruption into *Gaul*, and not only pillaged, but burnt, the city of *Treves* the ſecond time, ſays *Frigerid*, an antient author quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours* [y]. When this firſt irruption happened, we are no-where told; but that unhappy city was the third time plundered, and ſet on fire, by the *Franks*, about the year 420, as *Salvian* informs us, who was an eye-witneſs of the deplorable condition, to which it was reduced on that occaſion [z]. Our author greatly complains of the inſenſibility and hardneſs of heart, which he diſcovered in the inhabitants, who having loſt all their effects, and with much-ado eſcaped with their lives, inſtead of applying themſelves to works of piety, preſſed the emperor to cauſe the ſports of the circus to be exhibited among the aſhes and ruins of their demoliſhed city [a].

The beginning of Pharamond's *reign uncertain.*

ABOUT this time *Pharamond* muſt have reigned over the *Franks*. He is ſaid by *Vitalis* to have been the ſon of *Sunno*; but all other writers ſuppoſe him to have been the ſon of *Marcomir*, the brother of *Sunno*. *Gregory* of *Tours*, a very accurate writer, never once mentions this prince; which is very ſurpriſing. But both *Aimonius* and *Tyro Proſper* ſpeak of him, and place his reign at this time. In the chronicle of the latter, as publiſhed by *Scaliger*, at the twenty-fifth year of *Honorius*'s reign, we read the following words; Pharamond *reigns in* France: then follows the year 26, with theſe words; *This year there was an eclipſe of the ſun*. If therefore *Pharamond* reigned in the year preceding the eclipſe, he reigned in the year

[t] Vide Vales. rer Franc. l. iii. p. 119. [u] Idem ibid. & l. ii. p. 92. [w] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. OROS. c. 40. p. 223. [x] SOZ. l. ix. c. 13. p. 414. [y] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. [z] SAL. l. vi. p. 143—147. [a] Idem ibid.

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417, for all authors agree, that there was an eclipſe on *Friday* the 19th of *July* 418. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that the ſtars were then ſeen at two in the afternoon [b]. The *Alexandrian* chronicle, and likewiſe the chronicles of count *Marcellinus* and *Idatius*, mention this eclipſe; but the latter, by miſtake, ſuppoſes it to have happened on a *Thurſday*; whereas, in 418, the 19th of *July* fell on a *Friday*. *Tyro Proſper* likewiſe was miſtaken, in ſuppoſing the year 418 to have been the twenty-ſixth of *Honorius*, that year being, according to the beſt chronologers, only the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of his reign. Father *Le Cointe* will have *Pharamond* to have begun his reign the ſame year in which the eclipſe happened; others, and among the reſt father *Labbé* in his chronology, maintain, that he began to reign in 420, and not before [c]. But it is impoſſible to fix, with any certainty, the preciſe time, in which this prince began his reign, ſince *Proſper*'s chronicle, on which we muſt chiefly depend, is full of miſtakes, and differently read in this very place. It is even uncertain, whether it was in his reign, or ſome time before, that the *Franks*, paſſing the *Rhine*, firſt ſettled in *Gaul*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that, about this time, *Honorius*, entering into a treaty with their chiefs, yielded to them the country bordering on the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*, and on the ſame ſide of that river, which country was afterwards called *Ripuaria*; but he alledges only a few conjectures to ſupport his opinion [d]. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſuppoſes them to have ſettled about this time in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed, as we have hinted above, by as many kings as they had cities or cantons [e]. *Pharamond*, who reigned at this time, was one of the moſt powerful princes among them; but we are not told whether he had any authority over the reſt. He is ſuppoſed to have reigned from the year 417 or 418, to the year 428, in which *Clodio*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, is ſaid by *Tyro Proſper* to have reigned in *France*, that is, in the country of the *Franks* [f]. In the year in which he is ſuppoſed to have died, the famous *Aetius* made war upon the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and drove them from the country in which they had ſettled [g]. Of this war *Jornandes* ſpeaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that *Aetius*, with great ſlaughter, tamed the barbarity of the *Franks*, and forced them to ſubmit to the empire [h]. The learned *Uſher* is of opinion, that, in

[b] PHILOST. l. xii c. 8. p 166. [c] Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 118. BUCH. de Belg p. 453. COINT. tom. i. p 44, 45. CALDER. p 4. [d] BUCH. p 452. [e] GREG. TUR. l ii. p 64. [f] PROSP. p. 51. [g] Vide BUCH. Belg l. xv. c. 8. p 471. [h] JORN. de reb. Goth c 34 p. 660.

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this war, *Pharamond* was killed [i]. *Chifletius*, a learned antiquary, will have *Pharamond* to have made himſelf maſter of all *Belgica Secunda*, and to have died at *Rheims*, the metropolis of that province. He founds his opinion on the authority of an old manuſcript genealogy lodged in the palace at *Bruſſels*, in which *Pharamond* is ſaid to have been buried at *Rheims*, according to the cuſtom of the barbarians, without the city, towards *Laudunum*, on a little hill [k]. But we can hardly believe, that all the antients would have paſſed over in ſilence the conqueſt of ſuch an extenſive country; for *Belgica Secunda* compriſed *Champagne* and all the countries lying between that province and the ocean. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Salic* laws were compiled by *Pharamond*, after his ſettling in *Gaul*, with the aſſiſtance of four ſages, named *Wiſegaſt*, *Leſegaſt*, *Widegaſt*, and *Solegaſt*; but *Valeſius* thinks, that the *Franks* had no written laws till the time of *Clovis*, who, according to him, was their firſt legiſlator [l].

Clodio. *Year after Chriſt* 428.

Pharamond was ſucceeded by his ſon *Clodio* in the year 428, the fourth of the reign of *Valentinian* III. *Gregory* of *Tours* calls him a moſt illuſtrious prince, and one to whom his people, whoſe intereſt he had at heart, were highly indebted [m]. An hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the time of *Charles Martel*, and after him moſt other writers, ſuppoſe both *Clodio* and his ſucceſſor *Merovæus* to have been the children of *Pharamond* [n]. *Fredegarius*, in his abridgment of *Gregory* of *Tours*, which he compiled in the time of *Pepin*, will have him to have been the ſon of *Theodemir*, who was killed by the *Romans*, as we have related above. The authority of *Fredegarius* is of no great weight; but as *Gregory* of *Tours* too mentions the death of *Theodomir*, ſome are of opinion, that *Theodomir* and *Pharamond* were one and the ſame perſon, as we have hinted above. As *Gregory* of *Tours* begins the hiſtory of the *Franks* with the reign of *Clodio* (for he makes no mention of *Pharamond*), and derives from him the pedigree of the ſucceeding kings [o], ſeveral hiſtorians reckon him the firſt king of that nation [p]. And truly he ought to be deemed the founder of the *French* monarchy in the country we now call *France*, ſince he eſtabliſhed his dominion ſo firmly there, that the *Romans* were never after able to drive him out, as they had done his predeceſſor *Pharamond* about the year 428. He is commonly ſurnamed the *long-haired*, as if he had been the firſt among the princes of his nation, who

[i] Ubs. rer Brit. p. 402, 403. [k] Vide Miræi. chron. Belg. p. 18. [l] Vales. p. 119, 120. [m] Greg. Tur. hiſt Franc. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 64. [n] Vales. p. 121, 125. [o] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. lib. 2. c. 9. [p] Aimoin. lib. 1. c. 1.

who

was distinguished from his subjects by the length of his hair; whereas this mark of distinction is taken notice of by several historians, as common to the kings of the *Franks* before his time [q]. On this subject *Bucherius* makes a long descant [r], and to him we refer the reader. *Sidonius*, speaking of the *Franks*, describes their hair, their beard, their arms, and their whole attire [s]; and from him it appears, that their hair was long before, and quite short behind. We know but very little from the antients of what happened in this prince's reign. *Idatius* tells us, that, in the year 431, *Aetius* was employed in an expedition in *Gaul* [t]. This expedition was, without all doubt, undertaken against the *Franks*; for the same writer, who was then with *Aetius*, adds, that, in 432, he overcame the *Franks* in a combat. *Majorianus*, afterwards emperor, served, in all likelihood, under *Aetius* in this expedition; for *Sidonius* extols his exploits on the *Rhine*, the *Vahal*, and the *Meuse*; and adds, that nothing was performed by *Aetius* without him [u]. *Aetius*, after having overcome the *Franks*, concluded a peace with them the same year [w]; but upon what terms we know not. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that *Aetius*, being obliged to march against the *Visigoths*, and other barbarians settled in *Gaul*, in order to keep the *Franks* quiet, restored to them the country from which he had driven them in 428, that is, the territory of *Tongres* [x]. This, he thinks, may be gathered from the *notitia*; but the whole is founded upon a mere conjecture. *Gregory* of *Tours*, speaking of *Clodio* before the conquest of *Cambray*, supposes him to have resided in the castle of *Disparg*, commonly thought to be the present *Doesburg*, between *Brussels* and *Louvain*, in the antient diocese of *Tongres*, or on the confines of that country [y]; which is agreeable to what that writer adds, *viz.* that the country, which the *Romans* still held, lay south of the territories possessed by *Clodio* residing at *Disparg*. In the year 435, the *Franks* made, it seems, an attempt upon *Tours*; for *Sidonius* tells us, that *Majorianus* defended that city against them. Not long after, the *Franks* made an irruption into the country of the *Attrebates*, now *Artois*. But *Aetius*, marching against them with all possible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, while, without the least apprehension of danger, they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, and cut great numbers of them in pieces [z]. This action happened at a place called *Vicus Helenæ*, which some take to be the village

He is overcome by Aetius.

[q] Idem, p. 475, 479. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Sid. car. v p. 314. [t] Idat. p. 19. [u] Sid. car. v p. 315. [w] Idat. ibid. [x] Buch. Belg p. 473. [y] Greg. Tur. l. ii c. 9. p. 64. [z] Sid. p. 315, 316.

now

now called *Le Vieil Heſdin*, and others the city of *Lens* on the *Eſcaut*. The latter opinion ſeems the moſt probable to ſuch as have examined narrowly thoſe places, and compared them with the deſcription, which *Sidonius* gives of the ſpot where the action happened [a]. This was, without all doubt, the only advantage gained by the *Romans* in this war, ſince no other is mentioned by *Sidonius* in his panegyric on *Majorianus*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in conjunction with *Aetius*; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the above-mentioned action. *Valeſius*, who ſuppoſes the battle of *Lens* to have been fought in the year 437, tells us from *Gregory* of *Tours*, that *Clodio*, having ſent ſpies to reconnoitre and view the country as far as *Cambray*, upon their return, ſet out on his march, advanced, in ſpite of all oppoſition, to that city, and, having made himſelf maſter of it, fixed, for ſome time, his reſidence there [b] (D). From *Cambray*

[a] Vales. p. 132. [b] Idem, p. 131, 132. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64.

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Some add, that he took *Tournay*, *Amiens*, and ſeveral other cities [d]. But we ſhall content ourſelves with what we find in the beſt and moſt credible writers, among whom we do not reckon *De Guiſe*, the author of the annals of *Hainault*, tho' *Bucherius* has copied many things from him. *Aetius* is ſuppoſed to have afterwards concluded a peace with the *Franks*, and to have left them in poſſeſſion, at leaſt, of ſome part of the country they had conquered, ſince he granted the like favour to other nations, whom he dreaded leſs [e]. *Priſcus*, who flouriſhed in thoſe days, tells us, that he ſaw at *Rome* the ſecond ſon of the king of the *Franks*, who had been ſent thither on an embaſſy, though a youth yet quite beardleſs. He takes notice of his long, yellow hair; and adds, that *Aetius* adopted him for his ſon, by preſenting him with his armour, and treated him with the greateſt marks imaginable of eſteem, friendſhip, and affection [f]. Upon his leaving *Rome*, he was loaded with rich and valuable preſents, ſent him both by *Aetius* and *Valentinian* III. then emperor [g]. This young prince was, in all likelihood, *Merovæus*, the ſucceſſor of *Clodio*; for he lived in great friendſhip with *Aetius*, and joined him againſt *Attila*. He went, in all likelihood, to *Rome* in 439, for in that year *Valentinian* was there.

He deſtroys Treves.

Salvianus, who wrote about the year 440, tells us, that the city of *Treves* had been the fourth time pillaged by the *Franks* and utterly deſtroyed [h]. This muſt have happened about the year 477, during the war between him and the *Romans*, of which we have ſpoken above. The ſame writer adds, that the *Franks* made themſelves maſters of another city not yielding to *Treves* in grandeur, and ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance from it [i]. This city can be no other but *Cologne*, which was held by the *Franks*, as appears from that writer, in the year 440. The enemy entered the city while the chief inhabitants were feaſting and revelling, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger [k]. Several of *Salvianus*'s relations were, on that occaſion, taken by the *Franks* and by them kept in ſlavery, and, among the reſt, a holy widow, who, having ranſomed herſelf, was reduced to ſuch poverty, that ſhe was obliged to earn her bread by working for the wives of the barbarians [l]. The taking of *Cologne* happened, according to the beſt chronologers, in the reign of *Clodio*, about the year 438, or 439 [m]. 'Tis to be obſerved, that this town, in the time of *Clovis*, had a king of

Takes Cologne.

[d] VAL. p. 130, 131. DU CH. tom. i. p. 164. BUCH. p. 565.
[e] VAL. l. iii. p. 131. [f] PRISC. legat. p. 10. [g] Idem ibid.
[h] VAL. l. vi. p. 133. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem, p. 143, 144.
[l] Idem, epiſt. i. p. 198. [m] COUST. tom. i. p. 69.

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its own, but a *Frank* by nation [n]. Father *Le Cointe* obſerves, that, till his time, *Cologne* is conſtantly called *Agrippina*, and ſeldom *Colonia*; whereas the latter name univerſally prevailed and the former was quite laid aſide, after the *Franks* became maſters of the place, which induced *Hincmar* and ſome others to imagine, that the name of *Colonia* had been given it by them [o]. As the *Franks* were ſtill pagans, the church ſuffered much in the countries ſubject to them; and hence it is, that we find no biſhops of *Cologne*, named in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the time of *Evergilius*, who is ſuppoſed to have died about the year 430, till the time of *Aquilinus*, who governed that church in the reign of *Clovis* [p]. The churches of *Tournay* and *Cambray* fared no better; for they ſeem to have had no biſhops from the year 407, when the *Vandals* broke into thoſe countries, till the end of that century [q]. *Clodio* II. reigned about twenty years, that is, from the year 428, to 448, when *Tyro Proſper* tells us, that *Merovæus* reigned in *France* [r], that is, in the countries ſubject to the *Franks* on either ſide of the *Rhine*. From the words of *Proſper* ſome conclude, that the *Franks* held yet nothing in *Gaul*; for, by the word *Francia*, ſay they, is to be underſtood the country inhabited by the *Franks* on the *German* ſide of the *Rhine*. But they are therein certainly miſtaken; ſince it is manifeſt from all the antients, that both *Clodio* and *Merovæus* were maſters of ſeveral places in *Gaul*. There is a great diſagreement among authors about *Merovæus*: according to the opinion which to us ſeems the moſt probable, he was the ſecond ſon of *Clodio*, and him *Priſcus* ſaw at *Rome* in 439, as we have hinted above, he being then about eighteen years old. Both he and his elder brother outlived their father *Clodio*; but *Merovæus*, by the aſſiſtance of *Aetius* and the *Romans*, carried the crown; for that there were great conteſts between them, is certain, the elder brother having called in *Attila* to his aſſiſtance; for this *Attila* himſelf alledged, among the other motives that had prompted him in 451 to enter *Gaul*. He had a conſiderable number of *Franks* in his army, thoſe, without doubt, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of his elder brother. But *Merovæus*, king of the *Franks*, fought for the *Romans*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the famous battle of *Chalons*, which to him ſecured the crown, and made his elder brother give over all hopes of ever wearing it; nay, *Attila* himſelf adviſed him, after the battle, to return home [s]. The elder brother's name is commonly thought to have been *Clandebald*,

Merovæus. Year after Chr. 448.

[n] VAL. l. iv. p. 256. [o] Comment. rer. p. 92. [p] Idem, p. 63. [q] Idem, p. 70. [r] VAL. l. iii. p. 115, 116. [s] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 59. De Gest. [illegible]

who, in an antient manuscript copy of the *Salic* law, is said to have been the son of *Clude*, or *Clodio*, the son of *Pharamond*, and the brother of *Cleno*, of whom no farther mention is made [t]. *Valesius* takes *Claudebald* to be the same person with *Clodomir*, who, in the life of St. *Genulphus*, is said to have reigned between *Clodio* and *Merovæus* [u]. But that life was written long after those times, and is therefore of no great authority. *Gregory* of *Tours* only says of *Merovæus*, that he was the father of *Childeric* [w]. However, he must have been a prince of no small renown, since the authors of the seventh and eighth century, and after them many others, have given the name of *Merovingian* to the kings who reigned after him, till the time of *Pepin*, the first king of the second race, as they style it [x], the first being called *Merovingian* from *Merovæus*. *Rorico* extols him greatly, but by elogiums couched in general terms [y]; and besides, no great stress is to be laid on what that author writes. Of his exploits, *Buchcrius* speaks at length; but all he says is founded upon conjecture [z]. *Valesius*, from what we read of *Childeric*, concludes *Merovæus* to have extended his conquests from the *Somme* to the *Seine*, probably after the death of *Aetius*. All we know for certain is, that upon the news of the death of *Valentinian* III. the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merovæus*, ravaged *Germania Prima* and *Belgica Secunda*, that is, the provinces of *Mentz* and *Rheims* [a]. *Bucherius* thinks, that *Merovæus* died the year after *Valentinian* III. that is, in 456 [b]; but *Valesius* will have him to have lived till the year 458 [c]. *Rorico* writes, that he was loved, honoured, and revered, by his people, as a common father, and that from him the *Franks* in general were called *Merovingians* [d]. In a genealogical table of the *French* kings, prefixed to a manuscript life of *Charles the Great*, lodged in the royal library at *Brussels*, he is made the stock or head of the first race (E).

He extends his conquests from the Somme *to the* Seine.

He dies

Merovæus

[t] DU CH. ibid. [u] VAL. p. 144. BULLAND. 17. Jun. p. 98 [w] GREG TUR. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. [x] VAL. p. 144, 145. [y] DU CH. p. 801 [z] BUCH. p. 520, 521. [a] SID car. vii p. 342. [b] BUCH. p 526. [c] VAL. l. iv. p. 189. [d] Gest. Franc l. i.

(E) It is greatly disputed among authors, whether *Merovæus* was brother to his predecessor *Clodio*, only his kinsman, or even of a different family. *Gregory of Tours* only says, that by some it was held for certain, he was of the same race or family (1). It is past all doubt, that the king of the *Franks*, who died some time before the year 451, and could be no other but *Clodio*, had two sons, who,

(1) *Greg. Tur. hist Franc. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *p.* 65.

after

Merovæus was succeeded by his son *Childeric*. When he was but a youth, he was taken prisoner by *Attila*, with his mother Childeric. *Year after Christ* 456.

after his death, contended for the kingdom (2). If *Merovæus* was of these princes, he was certainly the son of *Clodio*. But perhaps both *Clodio*'s children lost what each of them strove to get, and a kinsman of theirs, or one who was no-ways related to the family, possessed himself of the kingdom. *Du Chesne* seems to have been of this opinion (3). It is not unlikely, that *Merovæus* was the first of a new branch, since his successors was from him called *Merovingians* (4). But on the other hand, if we admit the authority of *Sigo Prosper*, we can hardly deny *Merovæus* to have reigned in 451, when *Attila* broke into *Gaul*, and consequently to have been one of the two sons of *Clodio*. For *Priscus* does not say that a contest arose among three princes; but only, that the two brothers contended for the kingdom; and it is certain, that this contest was not ended in 451, for *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks* in favour of the elder brother (5). It appears from *Priscus*, that the king of the *Franks*, who sided with *Actius* against *Attila* in 451, fought at the same time against his brother and the king of the *Huns* (6). the very expression used by *Priscus*, viz. that *Attila* came to make war on the *Franks*, in favour of the elder brother, shews, that the bulk of the nation acknowledged the younger; and, since *Attila* was obliged to retire, it is not at all likely, that the elder brother, supported by him, got the better of the younger, supported by the *Romans*, by whom *Attila* was overcome and forced to abandon *Gaul*. The king of the *Franks* had, according to *Gregory* of *Tours*, (7), a share in the victory; and in history we find no mention made of any but *Merovæus*, who, in 451, could be styled king of the *Franks*. *Gregory* of *Tours* knew of no other king between him and *Clodio*, who died before the irruption of the *Huns*. We must therefore either suppose *Merovæus* not to have begun his reign in 448, but only in 451, and consequently bring in another king between him and *Clodio*, for which there is not the least foundation in history, or allow *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*. Father *Le Cointe* allows *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*; but will have him to have been the elder brother, and adds, that he was acknowledged king; that the younger brother had recourse to the *Romans* and to *Attila*; and that the *Romans*, hearing *Attila* was coming with a formidable army, abandoned the younger brother, and declared for the elder, who thereupon sided with the *Romans* against *Attila* (8). But is it at all probable, that *Merovæus* would have dared to abandon, nay, to betray *Attila*, at a time when all nations, the *Romans* not excepted, trembled at his name? Besides, it is certain, that *Attila* was assisted by the *Franks*, and that

(2) *Prisc. legat.* p. 40. (3) *Du Ch.* p. 14. (4) *Val.* p. 145. *Buch. Belg.* p. 505. (5) *Prisc.* p. 40. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Greg. Tur. l.* ii *c.* 8 p. 56. (8) *Le Cointe*, p. 72.

several

mother and other persons of distinction; but delivered from captivity by the fidelity, courage, and address of a *Frank*, named *Wiomald*, as we read in *Fredegarius* [c]. This happened in the year 453, when *Attila*, attempting to pass the *Rhine*, in order to enter *Gaul*, was opposed by *Merovæus*, at the head of the *Franks* who had espoused his cause against his competitor.

[c] Du Ch. tom. ii. p. 726.

several of that nation served in his army (9). The above mentioned writer could not persuade himself that the younger son of *Clodio*, who was a beardless youth when he came to *Rome*, was the father of *Childeric*, who, as early as the year 456, had abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery; and this is what induced him to embrace the aforesaid opinion. Some chronologers suppose the son of *Clodio* to have gone to *Rome* in 459, and others place his journey to that metropolis still later. If, in 459, he was eighteen, he might have had *Childeric* in 440. *Le Cointe* places the beginning of the reign of *Childeric* in 456, and *Valesius* in 458, when that prince, then eighteen years old, might well have been guilty of all the debaucheries, which, by historians, are laid to his charge. Besides, we are not told, that he abandoned himself to a debauched life as soon as he ascended the throne: so that the chief argument with which *Le Cointe* strives to support his opinion is of no weight. The only proof of any strength, that can be alledged in favour of the opinion denying *Merovæus* to have been the son of *Clodio*, is the name of *Merovingian*, which was given to his successors; for if they were descended from *Clodio*, as well as from him, why did they take their name rather from him than from *Clodio*? But that name is not given by *Gregory of Tours*, to the kings of his time, nor is it to be found in any writer till near two hundred years after *Merovæus*'s time; and some authors will have it to have been common to the *Franks* in general. Those, who maintain *Merovæus* not to have been the son of *Clodio*, must at the same time suppose, with *Du Chesne*, that both the sons of *Clodio* were by him excluded from the throne; that this happened after the defeat of *Attila*, that is, after the year 451, and that the *Romans* suffered it, though they had espoused the cause of *Merovæus*, finding they could reap no advantage from a war with the usurper (10). As for the fables related by *Fredegarius* on the birth of *Merovæus*, it would be degrading our history to allow them a place in it (11); and with them are much of a piece those we read in the annals of *Hainault*, by *du Haisi*, though *Buchérius* thinks them agreeable to what we find in *Priscus*. It is surprising, that a man of his learning and penetration should reason on that subject in the manner he does (12): he surely must never have perused the original *Greek* copy of *Priscus*.

(9) *Sid. car.* vii. *p.* 541. (10) *Du Ch. p.* 14. (11) *Vide Val. p.* 144. (12) *Buch. p.* 506.

Childeric

Childeric no sooner ascended the throne, than he began to think of inlarging his dominions, the more, as *Aetius*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, was now dead. He is said to have extended his conquests as far as the *Loire*, and to have reduced the city of *Paris*, after a siege, according to some, of five, according to others, of ten years [f]. In the year 470, he made himself master of *Angers*, after having killed count *Paul*, the *Roman* governor of the place [g]. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, without acquainting us how count *Paul* and *Childeric* came to fall out; for he had told us, a few lines before, that the *Roman* general, with the assistance of the *Franks*, had made war on the *Goths* and gained some advantages over them. *Bucherius* thinks, that the *Romans* and *Franks* were overcome by the *Goths*; and founds his opinion upon the authority of *Sidonius*, who writes, without marking any time, that the *Franks* were defeated and put to flight by *Euric* king of the *Goths* [h]. The same author adds, that *Euric*, after having overcome the *Franks*, entered into an alliance with them [i]; and elsewhere, that he gave his daughter in marriage to one *Sigismer*, a barbarian prince [k], whom *Valesius* takes to have been a *Frank* [l]. This alliance between the *Goths* and the *Franks* induced, in all likelihood, *Childeric* to turn his arms against the *Romans*, and seize on the city of *Angers*, at that time belonging to them. He likewise made himself master of *Orleans*, after having defeated one *Odoacer*, who came with a body of *Saxons* to the relief of the place [m]. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that *Childeric*, entering into an alliance with *Odoacer* king of *Italy*, marched against the *Alemanns*, who had entered that country, and gave them a total overthrow. Soon after his return to *Gaul*, he died at *Ternacum*, now *Tournay*, where his remains were discovered in 1653, with many gold coins of the *Roman* emperors, and other things of great curiosity and value; among which was the king's signet, with the inscription *Childerici regis*, and his image engraved on it, with his long hair covering both his shoulders, and a dart in his right-hand. But of this discovery the curious reader will find a minute and learned account in the *Anastasis Childerici*, which *Chiffletius* wrote in 1655, by order of the archduke *Leopold*, at that time governor of the *Low-countries* for *Philip* IV. king of *Spain* [n]. *Childeric*, in the beginning of his reign, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, loading at the same time his subjects with exorbi-

He extends his conquests to the Loire.

He dies.

[f] BOLLAND. 3. Jan. p. 140. [g] GREG. TUR. p. 282. [h] SID. l. viii. ep. 3. p. 235. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem, l. iv. ep. 20. p. 215. [l] VAL. p. 219, 220. [m] DU CH. p. 697, 698. [n] Anastasis Childerici, per CHIFFLET. Antwerpiæ, 1655.

tant

tant taxes and impoſitions, to ſupply his extravagant expences. Hereupon ſome of thoſe, whoſe wives and daughters he had debauched, revolting, drove him from the throne. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, foreſeeing the ſtorm, he prudently withdrew of his own accord, and retired into the territory of *Tongres*, where he continued, till, his ſubjects returning to their duty, which was chiefly owing to his truſty friend *Wiomald*, he was recalled and reſtored to the throne. During his abſence, the *Franks* ſubmitted to *Ægidius*, by nation a *Gaul*, but commander of the *Roman* troops in that country °, whom, upon the return of *Childeric*, they eaſily drove out, and received their lawful ſovereign with the greateſt marks of joy imaginable (F). *Fredegarius*,

° Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. Papir. Masson. annal. l. i. p 13.

(F) This event is thus related by *Gregory* of *Tours*: *Childeric*, by ſeducing the daughters of his ſubjects, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that, fearing he ſhould be aſſaſſinated by them, he thought it adviſeable to abandon his kingdom and retire. Het herefore withdrew into the country of the *Thuringians*; but left behind him a truſty friend to mollify the exulcerated minds of his people, and diſpoſe them to receive again their lawful ſovereign. Upon his departure he cut in two a piece of gold, whereof he took one part with him, and left the other with his friend, to be ſent to him, as a token, that he might return without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. After this he withdrew and took refuge in *Thuringia*, living as a private perſon in the court of king *Baſinus* and queen *Baſina* his wife. *Childeric* being thus withdrawn, the *Franks* with one conſent chole *Ægidius* for their governor, who had been raiſed by the emperor to the poſt of *magiſter militiæ*, or commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. While *Ægidius* was in the eighth year of his reign, *Childeric*'s faithful friend, having privately and by degrees reconciled the minds of the *Franks* to his maſter, diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the piece of gold, which he had kept. *Childeric*, underſtanding, from that token, that his ſubjects were ready to receive him, left *Thuringia*, and, returning home, was reſtored to the throne (13). Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, who was born about ſixty-three years after the death of *Childeric*, and conſequently muſt have been acquainted with ſeveral perſons who had converſed, at leaſt, with his contemporaries, and probably, knew ſome who had ſeen *Childeric* himſelf: ſo that it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he was not well informed of ſuch remarkable events as the depoſition and reſtoration of the king of the *Franks*, and the chuſing of *Ægidius* to reign in his room. And yet father *Daniel* looks upon this account as altogether incredible and fabulous: he thinks, that the conduct of the *Franks*, had they choſen *Ægidius* for their king, would have been no leſs unaccountable than

(13) Greg. Tur. l. [illegible] c. 12.

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Fredegarius, in his epitome of the history of the *Franks*, tells us, that *Childeric*, being driven from the throne, fled to *Constantinople*,

that of the *Turks* in 1687, if after deposing *Mahomet* IV. they had raised to the throne prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, who then commanded the emperor's army in *Hungary*, and owed all his glory to the advantages he had gained over them. Is it at all likely, says he, that the *Franks*, who were barbarians and pagans, should chuse for their king a *Roman*, and one who professed the christian religion; and supposing they had to such a *Roman* offered the crown, would not he, thro' fear of incurring the emperor's indignation, have rejected their offer? But in those days we find several instances of pagans acknowledging and obeying christian princes, and of pagan princes ruling over those who professed the christian religion. As to the jealousy, which his accepting that dignity might have given to the emperor, *Majorianus* reposed an entire confidence in *Ægidius*; and besides, the crown, which the *Franks* placed upon his head, was but a small addition to the power and honours he enjoyed before, as *magister militiæ*, which employment raised him above all the kings of the barbarians, whom he commanded accordingly in the field. The title of king was no great thing in those times, since it was given not only to all the chiefs of the barbarians, but to the different leaders of many tribes, into which each nation was divided. *Ennodius*, bishop of *Pavia*, who flourished in the fifth century, speaking of the army which *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* led against the barbarians, says, that the country, in which that prince encamped, could hardly supply with provisions so many soldiers as he had kings in his army (13). The title of king, therefore, which the *Franks* bestowed on *Ægidius*, could give no jealousy to the emperor: it was far inferior to that of *magister militiæ*, which he bore already, and with which the greatest kings among the barbarians thought themselves greatly honoured. Nay, *Majorianus*, who reposed an intire confidence in *Ægidius*, must have been highly pleased to hear, that the *Franks* had submitted to him, which, in effect, was submitting to the empire. The *Franks* did not then wage war with the *Romans*, but were their confederates, and had often served in their armies under the conduct of *Ægidius*, whose probity and moderation could not, by that means, be unknown to them; so that every one must be well apprised of the wide difference between their chusing him and the *Turks* chusing *Charles* of *Lorrain*, for their king. But the circumstances, adds father *Daniel*, attending the deposition of *Childeric* and election of *Ægidius*, are evidently fabulous. This we allow to be true, speaking of the circumstances that have been added to those events by later writers; but, in the account *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us of them, nothing occurs that to us seems childish, to use father *Daniel*'s expression, or incredible. *Gregory* of *Tours*

(13) *Ennod. in pan. Theod.*

ſtantinople, to implore the protection of the emperor *Mauritius*, and returned from thence by ſea into *Gaul*. A ſtrange anachroniſm! *Mauritius* having been raiſed to the imperial throne near an hundred years after the flight of *Childeric*. *Wilthomius*, in his chronicle written in the year 810, reads

is not accountable, and much leſs are we, for the fables which later writers have been pleaſed to add to his relation. Is an event related, we may ſay, by a contemporary writer, to be deemed fabulous, becauſe others, who wrote after, have added to it ſeveral fabulous circumſtances? How many unconteſted events have been thus diſfigured, and turned into fables? As for the ſilence of the contemporary writers, on which father *Daniel* lays great ſtreſs, there flouriſhed at that time but two, *viz. Idatius* and *Apollinaris Sidonius*, of whom the former, who wrote in *Spain*, at that time overrun by the barbarians, was not perhaps informed of what paſſed among the *Franks* in *Gaul*, or, if he was, he did not think proper to inſert in his chronicle an event that no-ways concerned his countrymen; for, in the affairs of *Gaul*, he is ſo conciſe, as to give, in one line, an account of the moſt memorable battles and ſieges that happened there. As for *Sidonius*, he did not write the hiſtory of thoſe times, but only ſpeaks of ſome events occaſionally; and his ſubject did not lead him to mention the depoſing of *Childeric* by the *Franks*, and their chuſing *Ægidius* in his room. The only objection of any weight that can be brought againſt the account of *Gregory of Tours*, is in point of chronology. It is certain, that *Ægidius* was *magiſter militiæ* when he was choſen by the *Franks* for their king; that *Majorianus* was then acknowledged emperor in *Gaul*; and that he was not acknowledged there before the latter end of the year 458. On the other hand it is no leſs certain, that *Childeric* was reſtored before the death of *Ægidius*; and that *Ægidius* died in 464, the fifth year after the depoſition of *Childeric*. *Gregory of Tours* therefore was certainly miſtaken, in ſuppoſing *Ægidius* to have reigned eight years over the *Franks*. This miſtake in point of chronology has induced father *Daniel* to queſtion the whole account *Gregory of Tours* gives us of the depoſition of *Childeric* and election of *Ægidius*. But might not this miſtake have crept into the text of our hiſtorian through the ignorance or careleſneſs of the tranſcribers? It is owned by all the critics, that in ſeveral other paſſages the numbers have been altered by the tranſcribers; and this they cannot help owning, without ſuppoſing *Gregory of Tours* to have contradicted himſelf. Why then may not the miſtake as to the years of *Childeric*'s exile be likewiſe charged upon the tranſcribers? the more, as in all the antient manuſcript copies the numbers are written in arithmetical figures, which are very liable to be altered. But allowing *Gregory of Tours* to have been miſtaken as to the years *Ægidius* reigned, can we infer from thence, that he did not reign at all? Are not the beſt hiſtorians ſometimes groſly miſtaken in point of chronology?

Martianus

Martianus instead of *Mauritius*; but, according to the best chronologers, *Martian* died in 457, whereas *Childeric* either fled, or was driven out, in the year 461, and restored eight years after. Besides, *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived in the next age, takes no notice of his journey to *Constantinople*; and *Aimonius* expressly tells us, that he kept at a small distance from his own dominions, not doubting but *Wiomald* would, by some means or other, appease his subjects, and procure his return [P]. He was received in his own territories by the inhabitants of *Barrum*, who went out to meet him, and were, on that account, exempted from all tribute, which immunity they enjoyed for many years. This *Barrum Franchet* will have to be *Barrum ducis*, or *Bar le duc*; *Belleforest* to be *Bar* on the *Seine*; while *Uredius* and *Chiffletius* take it to be a place in *Brabant* or *Holland*; for they are of opinion, that *Childeric* took shelter, not in *Tungria*, but in *Thuringia*, as we read it in *Gregory* of *Tours*; but that writer, or his transcriber, often confounds these two countries (G). Whatever place he came from, he was soon followed by *Basina*, the wife of king *Basinus*, by whom he had been entertained during his exile. Some *French* historians would make us believe, that she abandoned her husband to follow *Childeric*, being taken with his good qualities. But the answer she gave to *Childeric*, when asked by him for what reason she had left her husband to follow him, seems to insinuate, though related by *Gregory* of *Tours* in the most modest terms, that she was not so much taken with his good qualities, as with the abilities of

[P] AIMON l. i. c. 7.

(G) A modern critic (14) is of opinion, that the words *Tungria* and *Thuringia* were used by those who transcribed the history of *Gregory* of *Tours*, as synonymous terms to express one and the same country, *viz.* that of *Tongres*. *Miræl*, who in 1561, published the second edition of the history of *Gregory* of *Tours*, writes, that in an antient manuscript of that historian he found the following words: Dispargum, *which stands on the borders of the* Tungrians *or* Thuringians; and father *Ruinart*, a most accurate writer, quotes two manuscript copies of the history of *Gregory* of *Tours*, *viz.* that which was made use of by the first editor of that history, and another lodged in the abbey of *Royaumont*, in both which the *Franks* are said to have settled in *Thuringia* after they had passed the *Rhine*, which evidently proves, that by *Thuringia* was meant *Tungria*, or the country of *Tongres*, lying on the *Roman* side of the *Rhine*; for there they settled after having crossed that river.

(14) *Dubos, hist. critic. vol* i . . . *p.* . . .

another kind, which she had discovered in him (H). Be that as it will, *Childeric* married her, and had by her *Clodovæus*, who succeeded him in the kingdom [q].

Clodovæus. Year after Christ 482.

Clodovæus, called also *Hludovicus*, *Ludovicus*, *Ludicin*, and *Clovis*, was no sooner raised to the throne, than he began to think of inlarging his dominions, which, according to the best writers, extended only from the *Wahal* to the city of *Tournay*. That *Childeric* was, at his death, master of *Tournay*, cannot be questioned, since he was interred there; and, on the other hand, we know for certain, that *Clovis* resided at *Tournay* during the first years of his reign [r]. The kingdom, therefore, to which he succeeded, was bounded on the north by the *Wahal*; on the east by the city of *Tongres*, which belonged to another tribe of *Franks*, and was not reduced by *Clovis* till the tenth year of his reign, as *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us in express terms; on the south by the kingdom of *Ragnacharius*, who held *Cambray*; on the west by the kingdom of *Chararic*, commonly placed between the *Escault* and the ocean. *Ragnacharius* and *Chararic* were likewise kings of the *Franks*, but ruled over different tribes, and were quite independent of *Clovis*, as well as of each other. The other provinces of *Gaul* were held by the *Romans*, by the *Visigoths*, and by the *Burgundians*, who all lorded it over the unhappy natives. *Clovis*, resolved to inlarge his dominions, and perhaps, as his ambition knew no bounds, he being then but in the twentieth year of

[q] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12.
[r] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 27.
[r] Vide Du Ch. tom. i. p. 632.

(H) The words of *Gregory* of *Tours* are: *His ergo regnantibus Francis, Basina illa, quam supra memoravimus, relicto viro suo, ad Childericum venit. Qui cum solicite interrogaret, qua de causa ad eum de tantis regionibus venisset, respondisse fertur: Novi, inquit, utilitatem tuam, quod bis valde firmus; ideoque veni, ut habitem tecum. Nam nosses, si in his interioribus partibus aliquem cognovissem utiliorem te, adjutisse utique habitationem ejus. At ille gaudens eam sibi conjugio copulavit.* Is not the meaning of these words, *novi utilitatem tuam*, &c. as plain as a modest writer could well make it, and very different from that which *Dubos*, in his *critical history of the* French *monarchy*, would obtrude upon us? *viz.* Because I know you are a man of honour, of courage, and worthy of my affections: had there been a more deserving man in the world, I should have crossed the seas in quest of him, &c. (15). Is this speech consistent with the character of a woman who had broken her conjugal faith, and awakened her husband to cohabit with another man?

(15) Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 24. p. 85.

his age, aſpired at nothing leſs than the monarchy of all *Gaul*, thought it adviſeable to begin with the *Romans*, who, by the downfal of the weſtern empire, were reduced to the loweſt ebb of power. *Syagrius*, the ſon of *Ægidius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, held the city of *Soiſſons*. He had ſucceeded his father in the government of that city, and perhaps had made himſelf abſolute maſter of it during the anarchy which had prevailed in *Gaul*, upon the downfal of the weſtern empire, ſince he is, by *Gregory* of *Tours*, diſtinguiſhed with the title of king [s]. However that be, *Clovis*, being reſolved to reduce that city, invited *Chararic* and *Ragnacharius* to aſſiſt him in the enterpriſe, which the latter readily did; but *Chararic* declined being any-ways concerned in that war, with a deſign, ſays *Gregory* of *Tours*, to join the prince who ſhould prevail over the other [t]. *Clovis* was no ſooner joined by *Ragnacharius*, whom our hiſtorian calls his kinſman, than he ſet out on his march for *Soiſſons*, and, arriving with his army in the neighbourhood of that city, he ſent a meſſenger to *Syagrius*, offering him battle. *Syagrius*, accepting the challenge, marched into a neighbouring plain, where the two armies engaged. The combat laſted ſome time; but the *Romans* being in the end put to flight, *Syagrius*, from the field of battle, fled to *Toloufe*, and there took refuge at the court of *Alaric* king of the *Viſigoths*; which *Clovis* no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Alaric*, threatening to make war upon him, if he did not forthwith deliver the fugitive *Roman* into his hands. *Alaric*, unwilling to provoke the king of the *Franks*, ordered *Syagrius* to be immediately delivered up to the embaſſadors; upon whoſe return he was, by *Clovis*'s order, kept under cloſe confinement, till that prince had reduced *Soiſſons*, and then privately beheaded [u]. *Clovis*, now maſter of *Soiſſons*, tranſferred his royal ſeat from *Tournay* to that city [w]. He afterwards waged ſeveral wars, ſays *Gregory* of *Tours*; and in the tenth year of his reign ſubdued the *Thuringians*, meaning, without all doubt, the *Tongrians*; for *Thuringia* lay on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, at a great diſtance from his dominions, and ſeparated from them by the countries which the *Alemanns* held on the one ſide of that river, and the *Franks*, called *Ripuarians*, on the other, who had a king of their own. It is therefore paſt all doubt, that the country, ſaid by our hiſtorian to have been ſubdued by *Clovis*, in the tenth year of his reign, was the city of *Tongres* and its territory, which bordered on the territory of *Tournay*, and opened a free communication between

He makes war upon Syagrius. *Year after Chriſt* 487.

He defeats Syagrius, *and reduces* Soiſſons.

He makes himſelf maſter of the city and territory of Tongres

[s] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 27. [t] Idem ibid. [u] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 27. [w] HINCMAR in vit. S. Remig.

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his dominions and thoſe of *Sigebert*, king of the *Ripuarians* and his kinſman; for the *Ripuarians* held *Cologne*, and were maſters of the country between the *Lower Rhine* and the *Lower Meuſe*. *Tongria*, when reduced by *Clovis*, was held, according to the moſt probable opinion, by another tribe of *Franks*, who had ſettled there ſome time before. The ſame year *Clovis* married *Clothildis*, or *Crothechildis*, as ſhe is called by *Gregory* of *Tours*, the daughter of *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, who had been murdered ſome years before by his brother *Gundebald*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that nation. Of this marriage, *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: The embaſſadors, whom *Clovis* had often occaſion to ſend to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*, during their abode there, took particular notice of a young woman named *Chrothechildis*, and, being charmed with her beauty, her wiſdom, and her engaging behaviour, and at the ſame time informed, that ſhe was of the blood royal, upon their return home, they gave the king an high idea of her good qualities, which made ſo deep an impreſſion on his mind, that, ſoon after, he ſent embaſſadors to king *Gundebald*, aſking her in marriage. *Gundebald*, afraid to diſoblige the king of the *Franks*, granted him his requeſt, delivering the young princeſs to his embaſſadors, who immediately conveyed her to their maſter. The king was ſo taken with her beauty and amiable qualities, that he immediately married her, though he had already, by a concubine, a ſon named *Theodoric* [x]. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*: but the epitomiſer of the hiſtory of the *Franks*, and the author of the *Geſts of the* Franks, add ſeveral circumſtances which ſeem to have been unknown to our hiſtorian. The account they give us is as follows: *Clovis*, deſiring to marry *Clothildis*, often ſent embaſſadors to the court of the king of the *Burgundians*; but theſe finding no opportunity to ſpeak to her, he charged a *Roman*, by name *Aurelian*, to wait upon her, and, by converſing with her, to diſcover her real ſentiments, delivering to him one of his rings by way of credentials. *Aurelian*, the better to execute his commiſſion, went in the diſguiſe of a beggar to *Geneva*, where *Clothildis* then reſided with her ſiſter. The two young princeſſes, who ſpent moſt of their time in acts of charity and hoſpitality, entertaining all the poor who came to the place, received *Aurelian* among the reſt, and conducted him to the place where they uſed to waſh the feet of the poor pilgrims and beggars, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed, as it ſtill does in ſome places of *Italy*. This gave *Aurelian* an opportunity of ſpeaking to *Clothildis*, and letting

He marries Clothildis.

her know, that he had been sent by the king of the *Franks*, who, being informed of her good qualities by his embassadors, begged she would give him leave to ask her in marriage. At the same time, he delivered to her the ring as a certain token of his embassy. The young princess received the ring with great joy, and, returning thanks to the king for the good opinion he entertained of her, and the honour he designed her, readily consented to the proposal; but at the same time desired *Aurelian* to acquaint his master, that unless the whole was concluded before the return of *Aridius*, who had been sent to *Constantinople* by her uncle *Gundebald*, he would leave no stone unturned to put a stop to their intended marriage. In taking her leave of the embassador, she pulled off her ring, and, delivering it to him, desired him to present it, in her name, to the king, as a token of the affection and esteem she had for so great a prince. *Aurelian*, returning without delay to *Soissons*, delivered the ring to *Clovis*, acquainting him at the same time with the answer *Clothildis* had given him. Hereupon the king immediately dispatched embassadors to *Gundebald*, demanding his niece in marriage. The king of the *Burgundians* was not inclined to the match, but nevertheless, through fear of disobliging so powerful a prince, granted him his request; so that *Clothildis* was immediately betrothed to *Clovis*, and, after that ceremony was over, delivered to the embassadors, to be conveyed by them to their master. The embassadors set out without loss of time; but were scarce gone, when news was brought, that *Aridius* was landed at *Marseilles*. Hereupon *Clothildis*, quitting her chariot, mounted on horseback, and, pursuing her journey with all possible expedition, arrived at the place where *Clovis* waited for her. In the mean time *Aridius*, who, on his landing, had been informed of the marriage, flew to court, and, by remonstrating to the king the dangerous consequences of such a match, viz. that *Clothildis*, mindful of the murder of her father and brothers, would, one day or other, prevail upon her husband to revenge their death, persuaded *Gundebald*, by whose orders they had been assassinated, to dispatch immediately a body of troops, with orders to bring back *Clothildis*. But she had already reached *Villers*, a place in the territory of *Troyes*, and in that city *Clovis* waited for his royal bride. However, the soldiers sent by *Gundebald* seized on her chariot and equipage. Thus the epitomizer of the history of the *Franks* [y], with whom the author of the *Gests of the* Franks agrees in the main [z]; but as *Gregory* of *Tours*, whom we may call a contemporary writer, takes no notice of the particulars related by

[y] Hist. Fran. epit. c. 19, 20. [z] Gest. Franc. c. 11.

them,

them, we cannot help looking upon them as doubtful, if not fabulous.

A few years after, the *Alemanns*, one of the moſt powerful nations in *Germany*, having paſſed the *Rhine*, broke unexpectedly into *Germania Secunda*, held at that time by the *Franks* called *Ripuarians*, who had *Sigebert* for their king. That prince drew together what forces he could; but not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt ſo numerous an army with his own troops, he had recourſe to *Clovis*, who readily joined him, being glad to lay hold of every opportunity that offered to ſignalize himſelf, and inure his men to the fatigues and dangers of war. The two kings, after their conjunction, marched againſt the *Alemanns*, and engaged them at a village called *Tolbiacum*, thought to be the preſent *Zulpick*, about twelve miles from *Cologne*. The battle proved very bloody, both parties exerting their utmoſt efforts; but in the end, king *Sigebert* receiving a wound in his leg, of which he ever after continued lame, the *Franks* began to give ground; which *Clovis* no ſooner perceived, than, lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſays *Gregory* of *Tours*, he implored the aſſiſtance of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who, *Clothildis* had often told him, was the ſon of God, and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe in diſtreſs who put their confidence in him, promiſing at the ſame time to believe in him, and be baptized, if, by granting him a victory, he convinced him of his divine power. He had ſcarce made this promiſe, when the *Alemanns*, notwithſtanding the advantage they had gained, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. In this battle their king was killed, and with him moſt of their chief men, which ſo diſheartened them, that they ſubmitted to *Clovis*, and acknowledged him for their king. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours* [p]; whoſe words have induced ſome to believe, that the whole nation of the *Alemanns* ſubmitted to the king of the *Franks*. But that writer muſt be underſtood only of ſuch of that nation as had been formerly allowed to continue in the places of *Gaul* which they had ſeized. For, it is certain, that numbers of them had recourſe to *Theoderic* king of *Italy*, who took them under his protection, and permitted them to ſettle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, then ſubject to him. Nay, that prince wrote to the inhabitants of *Noricum*, injoining them to ſupply ſuch of the *Alemanns*, as were not willing to continue there, with freſh oxen to draw their waggons, taking, in exchange, their oxen fatigued with ſo long a march [q]. This letter has been tranſmitted to us by *Caſſiodore*, with another which *Theodoric* wrote to *Clovis*, exhorting him to give over purſuing the flying *Alemanns*,

He overthrows the Alemanns.

[p] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 30. [q] Cassiodor. var. l. ii. ep. 5[illegible] especially

especially those who had taken refuge in his dominions [r]. In this letter, after congratulating the king of the *Franks* on the victory he had gained over so numerous and warlike a nation, and intreating him to spare the remains of that unhappy people, he tells him, that he had sent embassadors to impart to him, by word of mouth, several affairs of the greatest importance, and disclosed to him some secrets, which it greatly concerned him to know. These secrets perhaps related to the conditions of the treaty, which about this time the king of the *Burgundians* concluded with the emperor *Anastasius*; and it is not improbable, that *Theodoric*, who was at variance with the emperor, should propose now that offensive alliance against the *Burgundians*, which they concluded three years after, as we shall relate anon. *Clovis*, it seems, at the request of *Theodoric*, who had married his sister *Audefleda*, gave over pursuing the *Alemanns*; of whom part settled in the provinces of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, and part was, by *Theodoric*, transplanted into *Italy*, as appears from the panegyric of *Ennodius* on that prince, where he tells us, that, under *Theodoric*, *Italy* was guarded by the *Alemanns*, who had formerly plundered it; and that unhappy nation, after having lost their king, and been driven from their native country, were become the subjects of a generous and good-natured prince, who had given them a far better country than that which they had been forced to abandon [s]. Such of the *Alemanns* as settled in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, continued subject to the kings of *Italy*, till the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of that country. From what we have said, it appears, that the *Alemanns* received a total overthrow at *Tolbiac*, since, after the battle, they were quite driven out of their country by the two confederate kings of the *Franks*. The *Alemanns* in *Gaul*, masters of a considerable part of the present *Switzerland*, submitted to *Clovis*, as we have hinted above, and acknowledged him for their king. Some of that nation had likewise settled in *Alsace*, and of that country too *Clovis* made himself master on this occasion, and likewise of the city of *Basle*; for, among the bishops who subscribed to the first council of *Orleans* held by order of *Clovis* in 511, we find the name of *Adelphius* bishop of *Basle*; and it is well known, that bishops were not allowed, in those days, to assist in councils that met in places not subject to their prince.

Anastasius himself master of the country they possessed in Gaul.

Clovis no sooner returned from pursuing the fugitives, than he acquainted the queen with the vow or promise he had made, acknowledging at the same time, that the victory he had acquired was owing to it. Hereupon *Clothildis*, without loss of

[r] Idem ibid. ep 51. [s] ENNOD. in pan. Theodor.

The conversion and baptism of Clovis. *Year after Christ* 497.

time, dispatched a messenger to *Remigius* bishop of *Rheims*, acquainting him with what had happened, and intreating him to hasten to court, in order to instruct the king in the mysteries of the christian religion. *Clovis* received the holy prelate with the greatest marks of respect and esteem; but being informed, in the several private conferences he had with him, that he must, in the first place, renounce the worship of the gods he had till then adored, he told the bishop, that he was ready to comply with his instructions, but being afraid, lest the *Franks*, attached to the religion of their forefathers, might thence be prompted to revolt, he begged leave to acquaint them first with his design, and to try, whether the arguments, that had convinced him, might not be of equal weight with them. Having therefore, with this view, assembled the *Franks*, he no sooner began to speak, than they all cried out, with one voice, We renounce the worship of the false gods, and are ready to acknowledge the God whom the bishop of *Rheims* preaches. Hereupon the holy prelate, transported with joy, ordered every thing to be got ready for the baptizing of the king, and the ceremony was performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity. When the bishop was upon the point of administring the sacrament, he addressed the king thus: *Bow your head with humility, O* Sicambrian; *adore what you formerly burnt, and burn what you formerly adored.* *Remigius*, adds *Gregory* of *Tours*, from whom we have copied this whole account, was, by all his contemporaries, held in great veneration for the holiness of his life; nay, he was even said to have raised one from the dead [t]. With *Clovis* were baptized, according to the same writer, three thousand of his subjects able to bear arms, and one of his sisters, named *Albofleda*. At the same time, another sister, by name *Lantildis*, renounced the errors of *Arius*, and was received into the church. *Albofleda* died a few days after she had been baptized; and upon her death *Remigius* wrote a consolatory letter to the king, whereof the beginning has been transmitted to us by *Gregory* of *Tours* [u], and some fragments of it gathered from other writers by *Du Chesne* [w], to whom we refer the reader. *Clovis* was not baptized during the solemnity of *Easter*, as *Hincmar* [x] and *Flodoard* have written [y]; but in that of *Christmas*, as is evident from the letter which *Alcimus Avitus*, bishop of *Vienna*, wrote to *Clovis*, congratulating him upon his conversion. The epitomizer of the history of the *Franks* tells us, that *Remigius* having preached to *Clovis* and those who had

[t] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 31. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Du Ch. tom. i. p. [illegible]. [x] Hincmar. vit. Remig. [y] Flod. hist. eccles. Rem. l. i. c. [illegible].

been

been baptized with him, a sermon on the passion of our Saviour, the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, *If I had been there with my* Franks, *that should not have happened* [z]. Before his conversion, he had two sons by *Clothildis*, of whom the eldest, named *Ingomer*, was baptized, by the care of his pious mother, but died a few days after; which greatly provoked the king, who ascribed his death to his being offered to the God of *Clothildis*, and not to those of his forefathers. However, the zealous queen caused the other likewise, by name *Clodomire*, to be baptized, who soon after was seized with a dangerous distemper, which incensed the king anew against his consort; but the child recovered, and the queen never ceased to preach to her husband the true God, whom she adored, till, with the miraculous assistance of Heaven, she brought about his conversion [a]. From the whole account of the conversion and baptism of *Clovis*, which we have copied from *Gregory* of *Tours*, the reader must conclude him to have been, in religious matters, a very credulous writer; but, credulous as he is, he makes no mention of the *holy phial*, said to have been sent from heaven, wherein is kept the oil with which the *French* kings are still anointed at their coronation. Of this phial *Hincmar* gives us the following account: *Clovis* and St. *Remigius* were no sooner entered into the baptistery, than all the avenues to it were so filled with the croud, that the ecclesiastic, who carried the holy oil, and was not gone in with them, could by no means find a way through the multitude. Hereupon the holy prelate, not finding the oil when he was to use it, had recourse to heaven, begging with a short, but fervent, prayer, that the want of what was necessary to accomplish the ceremony might be supplied by some means or other. He had scarce done, when a dove, exceeding the very snow in whiteness, was seen carrying a phial filled with oil; which the bishop had no sooner received, than the dove disappeared and was never afterwards seen. With this oil *Remigius* anointed the king, and the odour it spread was sweet beyond imagination or expression [b]. Of all this, not a word in *Gregory* of *Tours*, though a great believer of miracles; which plainly shews, that in his time this fable was not yet invented. It is to be observed, that *Clovis* was at this time the only catholic prince in the *Roman* world. *Anastasius*, emperor of the east, was greatly inclined to the doctrine of *Arius*. *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*, *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*, master of almost all *Spain*, and of the third part of *Gaul*, the king of the *Burgundians*, and

The holy phial.

[z] Hist. Franc. epit. c. 22. [a] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 29.
[b] Hincmar. in Remig.

the king of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, were avowed and zealous followers of that hereſiarch: as for the other kings of the *Franks* ſettled in *Gaul*, they were ſtill pagans. No wonder therefore, that not only *Anaſtaſius* II. then biſhop of *Rome*, but ſeveral other biſhops, though ſubject to different princes, wrote to the king of the *Franks*, congratulating him on his converſion, and teſtifying their joy for ſo happy an event [c].

The Armorici ſubmit to Clovis.

BUT to return to the military atchievements of *Clovis*: the year after his converſion, the *Armorici*, that is, the people dwelling on the coaſt of the ocean between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, who had ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke, and formed themſelves into a republic, ſubmitted of their own accord to *Clovis*, and became one nation with the *Franks* [d]. Hereupon the *Roman* troops, that were ſtill in *Gaul*, finding themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemies of the empire, and not caring to ſerve under the *Arians*, ſays *Procopius*, that is, the *Burgundians* and *Viſigoths*, capitulated with the *Franks* and *Armorici*, and, ſurrendering to them the places they held, entered into their ſervice. Theſe, adds *Procopius*, ſtill obſerve, both in their attire and manner of marching and fighting, the antient cuſtoms and diſcipline of the *Romans* [e]. Thus ended the dominion of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, after they had been maſters of that country for the ſpace of five hundred years and upwards, which was now held by three different nations, *viz.* the *Franks*, the *Viſigoths*, and the *Burgundians*. To the above-mentioned union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Procopius*, who flouriſhed ſoon after, aſcribes the great power which the *Franks* had already attained in his time (H). The year after the union

The end of the Roman dominions in Gaul. Year after Chriſt 498.

of

[c] Vide LE COINTE ann. eccleſ. Franc. tom. i. p. 194. & epiſt. AVIT. ep. 41. edit. Sirmond, p. 94. [d] PROCOP. bell. Goth. c. 12. [e] Idem ibid.

(H) The union of the *Armorici* with the *Franks* is founded chiefly on the authority of *Procopius*; but, in the text of that writer, the people, who ſubmitted to the *Franks*, are called *Arborici*. However, all thoſe, who have had occaſion to ſpeak of this event, read, as we have done, *Armorici* inſtead of *Arborici* (1); except father *Daniel*, who, contrary to the opinion of all thoſe who wrote before him, maintains, that in the reign of *Clovis* there was a people in *Gaul* called *Arborici*. But, in the firſt place, that nation was utterly unknown to *Cluverius*, who, ſpeaking of them, expreſſes himſelf thus: Who theſe *Arborici* were, no writer has been yet able

(1) *Valeſ. rer. Franc. tom.* i. *p.* 278. & *not. Gall. p.* 44. *Vigner. ſur l'état de la petite Bretagne. Cluver Germ. l.* iii. *c.* 29 *p.* 226

to

of the *Armorici* with the *Franks*, *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, be- in resolved to make war on the *Burgundians*, in order to recover that part of *Gaul* which was held by them, and had been formerly subject to *Rome*, entered into an offensive alliance with *Clovis*, at that time the most powerful prince in *Gaul*. In virtue of this treaty, they were to fall upon the king of the *Burgundians* at the same time, and, if attended with success, divide his dominions between them: if either of them should fail to take the field at the time appointed, and the other, by that means, be obliged to fight alone against the king of the *Burgundians*, he, who had not fulfilled his engagement, should pay to the other a certain sum, and not receive any share of the conquered king's dominions, till he had paid it [f]. Of this war *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: At this time *Gundebald* and his brother *Godegiselus* reigned over the *Burgundians* who were masters of the countries lying on the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, and of the province of *Marseilles*. Both prinees

Clovis *enters into an offensive alliance with* Theodoric, *king of* Italy, *against the king of the* Burgundians.

[f] Idem ibid.

to discover (z). Father *Daniel*, in the map which he has prefixed to his history, places them between the *Meuse*, the ocean, and the *Escault*. But he is therein certainly mistaken; for in none of the notitias, or descriptions of *Gaul*, which have reached our times, and were composed under the last emperors, mention is made of the *Arborici*, who must have been a very numerous people, though all the other nations inhabiting *Gaul* and *Belgica Secunda*, are there minutely described. *Apollinaris Sidonius*, *Salvianus*, and *Avitus*, frequently enumerate the various nations that, in the fifth century, were settled in *Gaul*, but no mention is made of the *Arborici* by any of them. Besides, if the *Arborici* had dwelt in the country allotted them, by father *Daniel*, on the most distant borders of *Belgica Secunda*, how could their joining the *Franks* oblige, as we read in *Procopius*, the *Roman* troops, who guarded the *Loire*, to capitulate with *Clovis*? For these reasons, all those who have had occasion to speak of the *Armorici*, even after father *Daniel* published the first volume of his history have read *Armorici* instead of *Arborici*; nay, *Hertius* (3), *Eccard* (4), and father *Lobineau* (5), cannot help expressing great surprise, that such an able writer as father *Daniel* should be guilty of so gross a mistake. Had he read *Procopius*, says *Eccard*, with more attention, he would himself have been convinced of his error. In the same passage we find, in the text of *Procopius*, *Eridanus* instead of *Rhodanus*, which mistake, as well as that of *Arborici* instead of *Armorici*, ought to be charged upon the transcribers, and not to the author, who had lived too long in *Italy* not to know, that the *Po* was a river of that coutry, and not of *Gaul*.

(z) *Cluver. ibid.* (3) *Hert. notit. regn. Franc. vetter c.* 3. (4) *Eccard. leg. Franc. Sal. & Rip. p* 208. (5) *Lobineau. hist. de Bretagne, p.* 16.

were

were *Arians*, as well as their ſubjects. However, as the two brothers were at variance, *Godegiſelus* privately concluded an alliance with *Clovis*, whoſe troops were in great repute. The articles of this treaty were: That *Godegiſelus* ſhould, by ſome means or other, get the whole power into his hands, and thereupon pay an annual tribute to the king of the *Franks*. Purſuant to this agreement, *Clovis* took the field, and in an hoſtile manner entered the dominions of *Gundebald*, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to his brother, of whom he did not entertain the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion, intreating him to march without delay to his aſſiſtance, which *Godigiſelus* promiſed to do; but, when the two armies joined battle, inſtead of affording him the promiſed aſſiſtance, he fell unexpectedly upon his brother's troops, who, finding themſelves attacked at the ſame time in the front and the rear, betook themſelves, after a faint oppoſition, to a precipitous flight. This battle was fought at *Divio*, now *Dijon*, on the *Ouſche*; and from thence *Gundebald*, upon the defeat of his army, fled to *Avenio*, now *Avignon*, and ſhut himſelf up in that city. Upon his flight *Godegiſelus* ſeized on his dominions, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged at *Vienne*, the capital of his brother's kingdom [g]. *Clovis* purſued the fugitive king to *Avignon*, and laid cloſe ſiege to that city, with a deſign to take him priſoner, and afterwards diſpoſe of him as he and *Godegiſelus* ſhould think proper. But in the mean time, *Aredius*, or *Aridius*, one of *Gundebald*'s miniſters, a perſon of extraordinary parts, and greatly attached to his maſter's intereſt, pretending to have abandoned him upon ſome diſguſt, went over to *Clovis*, and, being received by him with the greateſt marks of eſteem, he prevailed upon him by degrees, with arguments drawn from the uncertainty of fortune, to raiſe the ſiege of a place which he ſaid was impregnable, and content himſelf with a yearly tribute, which *Gundebald* readily agreed to pay him. *Clovis* was no ſooner returned to his dominions, than *Gundebald*, having aſſembled what forces he could, marched with all poſſible expedition to *Vienne*, where *Godegiſelus* then reſided, and, having got into the town, with a choſen body of men, through an equeduct, at his firſt appearing, ſtruck the king and the garriſon with ſuch terror, that, believing the enemy maſter of the city, they only thought of ſaving themſelves in the churches. But *Godegiſelus* was, by his brother's orders, killed in his aſylum, with a biſhop who had there taken refuge with him. A ſmall body of *Franks*, who had remained with *Godegiſelus*, withdrew into a tower, with a deſign to defend themſelves there; but being in the end forced to ſubmit,

He defeats Gundebald. *Year after Chriſt* 500.

[g] GREG. TURON. l. ii. c. 32.

Gundebald

Gundebald only disarmed them, and sent them thus disarmed to *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths*. But as for the senators and chief men, who had declared for *Godegiselus*, he ordered them all to be put to death. *Gundebald*, continues our historian being, by the death of his brother, become master of the whole country now known by the name of *Burgundy*, published a new code, containing several laws in favour of his *Roman* subjects, that they might be no longer oppressed by the *Burgundians* [h].

Gregory of *Tours*, in his account of this war, has omitted, as the reader must have observed, such events as belonged to the history of the *Ostrogoths*; and, on the other hand, *Procopius* takes very little notice of those that belonged to the history of the *Franks*. The former writer thought, perhaps, an account of what the *Ostrogoths* performed in, or acquired by, this war, foreign to his purpose; and the latter contented himself with a detail of those events in which the *Ostrogoths* were chiefly concerned; since, in this war, they made themselves masters of several cities in *Gaul*, which they still held, when *Justinian*, whose wars with them he describes, undertook to subdue them. The account he gives, after the conclusion of the above-mentioned treaty between the *Franks* and the *Ostrogoths*, is as follows: Pursuant to this treaty, the king of the *Franks* took the field with a numerous army, and entered the territories of the *Burgundians* in an hostile manner. *Theodoric*, on the contrary, pretending to hasten his warlike preparations, ordered them privately to be carried on slowly, with a design to wait the issue of the first engagement between his ally and the king of the *Burgundians*. When the troops were, in the end, ready to take the field, he gave private orders to his generals to advance with slow marches, till such time as they had received certain intelligence of the success that had attended the *Franks*. If the *Franks* had defeated the *Burgundians*, the *Ostrogoths* were to advance with all possible expedition; but to halt, and wait for further orders, if the *Burgundians* had gained the advantage. While the *Ostrogoths*, therefore, were yet on their march, the *Franks* alone engaged and put to flight the common enemy, pursuing them to the farthest borders of their country, where they had several strong-holds, in which they shut themselves up, abandoning the rest of their territories to the conquerors. Upon the first news of this victory, *Theodoric*'s army marched, with all possible expedition, to join the *Franks*, and, alledging the badness of the roads, as an excuse for their coming so late, offered to the king of the *Franks* the sum, which, agreeable to the treaty, they had forfeited by their delay. *Clovis* accepted

[h] Idem, c. 33.

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the offer, and, upon his receiving the money, divided with the *Ostrogoths*, pursuant to the same treaty, the country he had conquered. The conduct of *Theodoric*, on this occasion, continues our historian, was a strong proof of his wisdom and prudence, since, without exposing the lives of his subjects, and only by paying a small sum, he acquired one half of his enemy's country [i], *viz.* the city of *Marseilles* and its territory, with all the countries lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Lower Rhone*.

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Clovis *and* Alaric *quarrel.* Theodoric *interpoſes.*

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[m] CASSIODOR. variar. l. ii. ep. 3.

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Clovis and Alaric

Theodoric interpoſes.

His letters to ſeveral princes on the ſubject.

[m] Cassiodor. variar. l. 11. ep. 1.

seasonable hostilities. Give me leave, therefore, to acquaint *Clovis*, before you come to an open rupture, that he shall have me too for his enemy, if he makes war upon you. When justice speaks to princes with a sword in her hand, they readily hearken to her. We have therefore dispatched embassadors to you, who will farther acquaint you, by word of mouth, with our intention. We have ordered them to repair afterwards to the courts of the king of the *Burgundians*, and of such other princes as you shall think proper, and to act there pursuant to the instructions they shall receive from you. Above all things, take care you be not the first in committing hostilities; lest you should incur the hatred which all men bear to the violaters of treaties. Persuade yourself, that we are so far from sowing the seeds of discord among our neighbours, in order to take advantage of their misfortunes, that we shall look upon those, who fall upon you, as a common enemy, and act accordingly [n]. In his letter to *Luduin*, for so he calls *Clovis*, he tells that prince, that he cannot but wonder he should be so easily provoked, and, upon so slight an occasion, make war upon *Alaric*, being uncle to his wife *Theodogotha*; that their common enemies wished for nothing so much as to see the *Franks* and *Visigoths* weakening and destroying each other: he bids him consider, that they are both kings of powerful nations, and in the flower of their age; and therefore that they ought the more to be upon their guard against evil counsellors, lest they should, by rashly entering into a war, bring their kingdoms to the brink of ruin. He proposes the mediation of the neighbouring princes, and advises him to sheath his sword, which he could not in honour see drawn by either of them: he concludes by threatening to make war upon the first, whether *Luduin* or *Alaric*, who should commit hostilities against the other, and by assuring both, that the advice he gave them proceeded from the most sincere friendship, since none but a true friend, who was far from envying their prosperity, would advise them as he had done. In his letter to *Gundebald*, he tells that prince, that he thinks himself bound in duty to moderate the ardour of two young princes, whose conduct is condemned by all men of experience and prudence; that they ought to hearken to those, who, by their age and experience, are entitled to advise them; that he cannot suffer two princes, who are both nearly allied to him, to destroy each other, and therefore is resolved to declare against him, who shall first commit hostilities: he adds, that he has dispatched embassadors to him, with orders to repair afterwards to the court of the king of the *Franks*, with the de-

[n] Idem ibid. ep. 1.

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puties of the other princes his friends and allies, to negotiate an accommodation between the contending parties. He closes his letter with advising the king of the *Burgundians* to act in concert with him, and do all that lies in his power to prevent a war, which, should they be remiss in their good offices, the world will believe to have been under-hand kindled by them. In these letters *Theodoric* pretends to stand quite neuter, and to have taken no other resolution, but that of declaring against the aggressor, whether *Clovis* or *Alaric*; but in the letter he wrote to the three brothers, *Hermanafred*, *Baderic*, and *Berthier*, who at that time reigned jointly over the *Heruli*, the *Varni*, and the *Thuringians*, he betrays great partiality for *Alaric*, and no small prejudice against *Clovis*. It was couched in the following terms: The proud are detested by Heaven, and it is incumbent on every man to curb their arrogance. He who seeks to oppress a people, whom every nation would be glad to have for neighbours, shews but too plainly, that he only wants an opportunity of treating all other princes in the like manner. A prince, who pays no regard to the laws of equity, thinks every thing lawful when he has been once attended with success in an unjust attempt: such a prince ought to be abhorred by all mankind. It behoves therefore you, whose valour is capable of stemming the most unbounded ambition, to prevent the execution of such iniquitous projects. Begin with joining your embassadors to those whom king *Gundebald* and we have dispatched to the king of the *Franks*, in order to divert him from falling upon the *Visigoths*, and persuade him to pay due regard to the laws of equity, and right of nations. If he refuses to submit to the arbitration of so many powerful princes, let him be deemed the common enemy of mankind. And truly what else can a prince, who is actuated by good principles, wish for, than to have such mediators, who readily take upon them to see justice done him, if he has been wronged? To speak my sentiments openly; a prince, who pays no regard to the law of nations, must necessarily be hatching dangerous projects, which may end in the ruin of other states. Let us therefore stem the torrent at its source, and cover the countries that are exposed to his ravages, lest they should feel, before they are aware, the direful effects of his fury. You remember, without all doubt, the many favours you have received at the hands of *Euric*, the father of *Alaric*, the magnificent presents he often sent you, the efforts he made, and the vast charge he was at, to prevent the neighbouring nations from making incursions into your territories. It is now time to repay to the son the good offices of the father. If the king of the *Franks* is inclined to aggrandize himself at the expence of his

neighbours, the most distant nations will be no longer safe. These are the motives that have induced us to dispatch embassadors to you, who will farther inform you of our sentiments by word of mouth, and to whom, after seeing their credentials, you may give intire credit. We exhort you therefore to enter into the measures we have taken to secure the public tranquillity, and to concern yourselves in what passes in the neighbouring countries, that you may not have a war in your own [o]. From these letters it appears, that *Theodoric* entertained no small jealousy of *Clovis*, and was greatly prejudiced against him. But the king of the *Franks*, not thinking it advisable to break with the *Visigoths* at this juncture, forbore all hostilities till five years after, that is, till the year 507, and in the mean time, probably, consented to that interview with *Alaric* which *Gregory* of *Tours* speaks of: for, according to that historian, *Alaric*, alarmed at the conquests *Clovis* was daily making, dispatched embassadors to him, inviting him to an interview. With this invitation *Clovis* readily complied; so that the two princes met in an island formed by the *Loire*, over-against *Amboise*, a place in the territory of *Tours*. There they conferred, and, having dined together, they parted, promising to live in friendship and amity with each other [p]. This is all we find in *Gregory* of *Tours* concerning this interview. But to his account historians, who came after him, have added several particulars, which we look upon as fabulous, since they have not been mentioned by him; namely, that *Alaric* laid snares for *Clovis*, which he happily escaped; a circumstance that seems to have been invented to justify the war which *Clovis* made a few years after on *Alaric*, that is, in 507.

Interview between Clovis and Alaric.

Clovis *makes war on the* Visigoths.

OF this war *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: In those days most people in *Gaul* were desirous of living under the dominion of the *Franks*, and, among the rest, *Quintianus*, bishop of *Rhodes*; which the *Visigoths* being well apprised of, they resolved to dispatch him, lest he should betray that city to them. But the holy prelate, receiving timely notice of their design, made his escape in the night, and retired into *Auvergne*. When *Clovis* heard of the treatment *Quintianus* had met with from the *Visigoths*, It grieves me, said he, turning to his people, that these *Arians* should hold any thing in *Gaul*: let us march against them, and, with the assistance of Heaven, make ourselves masters of the fine country they possess. His speech being received by all with loud acclamations, he began his march without loss of time, bending his route to *Poictiers*,

[o] Idem ibid. ep. 3. tom. i. vi. p. 291.

[p] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 35. VALES. rer.

whom

where *Alaric* then was. On his arrival at the *Vienne*, he found the enemy encamped on the oppoſite bank, and that river ſo ſwelled with the heavy rains that had fallen for ſeveral days together, that it was not then fordable, nor could he attempt to lay bridges over it, or convey his men in boats to the oppoſite bank, without expoſing them to the greateſt and almoſt inevitable dangers, the other ſide of the river being all along lined with the enemy's troops. This gave *Clovis* great uneaſineſs, who thereupon continued all night in prayer; and the next morning a hind of an extraordinary ſize was ſeen by the whole army to enter the river, and ford it, as if ſent by Heaven on purpoſe to point out to the *Franks* the place where the *Vienne*, notwithſtanding the depth of its waters, was fordable. The whole army followed their guide, and, having croſſed the river without the loſs of a man, encamped in ſight of *Poictiers*. While he lay there, he obſerved, one night, a globe of fire over the church of St. *Hilarius*, in the city of *Poictiers*, darting rays towards his camp, and, as it were, inviting him to engage, without loſs of time, the king of the *Viſigoths*, who had his head-quarters in that city. Accordingly *Clovis* immediately ſet out anew on his march, and, coming up with the enemy in the plain of *Vouglé*, about ten miles from *Poictiers*, he gave them a total overthrow. In this battle moſt part of the enemy's troops were cut off, and the reſt obliged to take refuge in their ſtrong-holds and fortified towns. *Clovis* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner, and killed, as all writers agree, the king of the *Viſigoths* with his own hand; but was himſelf in the utmoſt danger, two of *Alaric*'s guards having attacked him while he was engaged with their king; but his breaſt-plate being proof againſt their lances, he happily eſcaped[q]. *Gregory* of *Tours* does not mention the number of the dead; but only tells us, that moſt of the inhabitants of *Auvergne*, who, under the conduct of *Apollinaris*, came to the aſſiſtance of *Alaric*, were cut off, and that among the dead there were many ſenators and perſons of diſtinction (I). Of this battle *Procopius* gives us a very ſuccinct account. That writer, after relating what we have inſerted above of the war which *Clovis* and *Theodoric* made jointly on the *Burgundians* in the year 500,

Whom he defeats, and kills their king. Year after Chriſt 507.

[q] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 37.

(I) *Apollinaris*, who commanded the troops of *Auvergne*, was the ſon of the celebrated *Apollinaris Sidonius* by *Papianilla*, daughter to the emperor *Avitus*. Moſt of his men were killed in the battle of *Vouglé*; but he had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter. He was a few years after choſen biſhop of *Auvergne*, but lived only three months after his election.

continues thus: The power of the *Franks* being considerably increased, they no longer paid any regard to *Theodoric*, but, free from all fear, made war upon *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths*. That prince was no sooner acquainted with their design, than he had recourse to *Theodoric*, who immediately put himself at the head of his army, and marched to the assistance of his son-in-law. In the mean time the *Visigoths*, upon intelligence, that the enemy began to appear upon the frontiers of *Poictou*, posted themselves under the walls of *Poictiers*, and kept some days within their trenches, waiting the arrival of the *Ostrogoths*. This highly affronted the *Visigoths*, who, thinking themselves a match for the *Franks* without the assistance of any other nation, forced *Alaric* in the end to engage the enemy before he was joined by *Theodoric*. But the *Visigoths* were defeated, and great numbers of them killed on the spot, and, among the rest, their king [r]. We are told by several writers, who lived in those times, or soon after, that *Clovis* had for his ally in this war *Gundebald* king of the *Burgundians* [s]; and from *Gregory* of *Tours* it appears, that a body of *Ripuarian Franks* joined him before the battle under the conduct of *Chloderic*, the eldest son of *Sigebert* king of that tribe [t]. The battle of *Vouglé* was fought in the year 507, the emperor *Anastasius* being consul the third time in the east, and *Venantius Decius* in the west. As *Clovis* was chiefly prompted by his zeal for the catholic faith, to make war upon *Alaric*, an *Arian* prince, no wonder that *Gregory* of *Tours*, an ecclesiastic and credulous writer, should believe and gravely relate the miracles that were said to have been wrought by Heaven in his favour, but were utterly unknown to *Procopius*.

The Franks make themselves masters of several places.

Clovis, taking advantage of the consternation the *Visigoths* were in on the defeat of their army and the death of the king, dispatched his son *Theodoric*, with part of his forces, to reduce the *Albigeois*, *Rovergne*, and *Auvergne*; which he did accordingly, making himself master of all the places in that tract between the confines of the *Visigoths* and those of the *Burgundians* [u]. *Clovis*, with the rest of the army, advanced to *Carcassone*, and laid close siege to that place; but being informed, that *Theodoric* was drawing near at the head of his *Ostrogoths*, he thought it advisable to retire. However, he made himself master of that part of *Gaul* which lies between the *Rhône* and the ocean, that is, of the two *Aquitains* [w]. After this he took up his winter-quarters in *Bourdeaux*, whither he caused great

[r] Procop. bell. Goth. c. 12. [s] Du Ch. tom. 1. p. 23.
[t] Greg. Tur. ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Procop. bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 12.

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part of the treaſures of *Alaric* to be conveyed from *Toloſe*. Early in the ſpring he took the field, and laid ſiege to *Engouleme*, which he ſoon reduced. Our credulous hiſtorian tells us, that the walls of that city fell as ſoon as *Clovis* appeared before them, and that thereupon the *Viſigoths* evacuated that place, and the inhabitants, with great joy, took the oath of allegiance to the king of the *Franks* [x]. From *Engouleme* the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*, their allies in this war, advanced to the city of *Arles*, which it was of the utmoſt importance for them to reduce; ſince, by the reduction of it, all communication would be cut off between the province, which the *Oſtrogoths* poſſeſſed in *Gaul*, and that part of the province of *Narbonne*, which was ſtill held by the *Viſigoths*. The *Franks*, upon their arrival before the place, attempted to make themſelves maſters of a bridge on the *Rhône*, and, by that means, of an iſland named *Camargue*, which is formed by the *Rhône*, on which *Arles* ſtands, dividing itſelf there into two arms. The *Viſigoths* made a vigorous reſiſtance, and in the end obliged the *Franks* to retire, who thereupon croſſed the river in boats, and joined the *Burgundians* encamped on the oppoſite bank. The ſiege, of which we know but very few particulars, muſt have laſted ſome time; for, from ſeveral antient records and letters, it appears, that the inhabitants ſuffered greatly by famine, and that the city was reduced to the utmoſt extremity [y]. But in the end the *Franks* were obliged, by the troops which *Theodoric* ſent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterpriſe, and retire. Of this event *Caſſiodore* ſpeaks thus: In the conſulſhip of *Venantius* the younger and *Celer*, our ſovereign *Theodoric* ſent an army into *Gaul*, where the depredations of the *Franks* had occaſioned great confuſion. By this army the enemy was defeated, and put to flight, and great part of the country reduced [z]. From the life of *Cæſarius*, at that time biſhop of *Arles*, which was written ſoon after the ſiege, it appears, that the *Franks* and *Burgundians* were cloſely purſued in their retreat by the *Oſtrogoths*, who cut many of them in pieces, and took an incredible number of captives [a]. In this war *Theodoric* made himſelf maſter of *Avignon*, and ſome other places belonging to the *Burgundians* [b]. But no mention is made by any of the antients of his making himſelf maſter of any town or country ſubject to the *Franks*.

They lay ſiege to Arles.

Which they are obliged to raiſe with great loſs.

THE following year 509, *Hilba*, one of *Theodoric*'s generals, gained a memorable victory over the *Franks*, of whom thirty thouſand, if *Jornandes* is to be credited [c], were killed

The Franks *defeated with great ſlaughter*

upon

[x] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 37. AMOD. faſt. ad ann. 508. [y] DU CH. tom. i. p. 232. [z] CASSIOD. JORN. de reb. Get. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem, var. ep. 38.

A peace concluded between them and the Goths.

upon the spot. Soon after, a peace was concluded between *Theodoric* and *Clovis*, whereof one of the articles was, that the *Franks* should keep the countries, which they had taken from the *Visigoths* [d]; which inclines us to question the truth of what *Jornandes* writes concerning the memorable victory of the *Ostrogoths* over the *Franks*, the more as no mention is made of it by *Procopius*; nay, that writer tells us in express terms, that *Theodoric* yielded to the *Franks* the countries they had seized, after he had attempted in vain to drive them out of them. *Amalaric*, the grandson of *Theodoric*, was, at this time, king of the *Visigoths*; but, as he was yet under age, *Theodoric*, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. By this peace, the power of the *Visigoths* was greatly impaired; for nothing now remained to them in *Gaul*, but the city of *Narbonne*, and five or six other cities within the district of that metropolis. As for the *Ostrogoths*, they continued masters of the province they held before, lying between the *Alps*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Rhone*, and the *Durance*, and appropriated to themselves the city of *Arles*, for the charges they had been at in this war. A peace being thus concluded, *Clovis* repaired to *Tours*, and there received the embassadors who had been sent to him by the emperor *Anastasius*, with the ensigns and ornaments of the consulship; for that prince, hearing of his great exploits, thought it advisable, by such a kind of empty respect, to gain his favour, the rather as *Theodoric* and the emperor were, at this time, at variance, for the *Ostrogoths* had seized on *Pannonia*, and the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Romanus*, were ravaging the coasts of *Italy*.

Clovis *honoured with the consulship, conferred on him by the emperor* Anastasius

Clovis, having received the presents sent him by the emperor, and the rescript of his election, appeared first in the great church of St. *Martin*, with the *tunica trabeata*, the *chlamys*, and the other ensigns of his new dignity, and from thence rode, with a diadem on his head, to the cathedral, throwing gold and silver to the populace, who, in great crouds, attended him. From that time forwards he was acknowledged, concludes *Gregory* of *Tours*, as consul and emperor [e]. From which words *as consul*, and from his name not being found in the *fasti*, some authors conclude, not the real and ordinary, but only the titular and honorary consulship to have been conferred upon him. In all the *fasti*, that have been transmitted to us, *Boetius* alone is marked as consul of the year 510. *Boetius* was one of *Theodoric*'s ministers, and is no less known by his writings, than by his misfortunes. To this objection some answer, that, in *Gaul*, all the public registers were kept at *Arles*, at

[d] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. [e] GREG. TUR. l ii. c. 38.

that

that time subject to *Theodoric*, who, envying the king of the *Franks* his new dignity, would not suffer his name to be registered in the *fasti*. But this answer is of no weight, since the name of *Boetius* alone is to be found, not only in the *fasti* written in *Gaul*, but in all others. *Baronius* is of opinion, that only the titular or honorary consulship was offered him by *Anastasius*; and that he, thinking it below him to accept of such a dignity, refused the emperor's offer. But this opinion evidently contradicts *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived soon after *Clovis*, and must have been acquainted with several persons who had seen that prince. Besides, even the honorary consulship was often conferred on the kings of the barbarians, and other very deserving and eminent persons, as is manifest from innumerable instances in history. From *Tours*, where *Clovis* had taken the ensigns of consul, he repaired to *Paris*, which city he chose for the usual place of his residence, and fixed the royal seat there[t]. This metropolis was deemed of such importance, that the grand-children of *Clovis*, in dividing his dominion among them, agreed, that it should not be comprised in any lot, but remain common to all; and that none of them should enter it without the express consent of the rest, on pain of forfeiting his whole share. *Paris* has been the seat of the *French* monarchy ever since the time of *Clovis*, who first resided there. The kingdoms, over which his grand-children reigned, after the division of his dominions, had each its particular metropolis; but *Paris* still continued to be the metropolis of the whole monarchy.

He fixes his royal seat at Paris. Year after Christ 510

Clovis had hitherto greatly inlarged his dominions at the expence of the *Visigoths*, as we have related above; but now he formed a design of causing himself to be acknowledged king by the other tribes of the *Franks*, who were governed by their own princes, and, by adding their dominions and forces to his own, establish his kingdom so firmly in *Gaul*, that it should be out of the power of any other prince to overturn it. This he accomplished, and in the following manner, which no-ways redounds to his glory, though related by *Gregory* of *Tours*, his panegyrist rather than historian. While he resided at *Paris*, says that writer, by his emissaries he represented to *Chloderic*, the son of *Sigebert*, that his father was now stricken in years, and moreover lame of the wound he had received at the battle of *Tolbiac*, assuring him at the same time, that he was resolved to espouse his cause, and maintain him on the throne after the death of his father. *Chloderic*, depending upon the promises of *Clovis*, suffered himself to be so blinded by his ambition, as to commit a parricide; for one day, while *Sigebert*, who had

Clovis causes Sigebert and his son Chloderic to be murdered.

[t] Idem ibid.

paſſed the *Rhine* to take the air in the foreſt of *Buchovia*, was ſleeping after dinner, he was diſpatched by two aſſaſſins hired for that purpoſe by his ſon. A few days after, *Chloderic* was overtaken by the like fate; for having acquainted *Clovis* with the death of his father, and deſired him at the ſame time to ſend proper perſons to take poſſeſſion of the deceaſed prince's treaſures, which were at his diſpoſal, one of thoſe, who were ſent to view the treaſures (for *Clovis* declared he did not want them), bid *Chloderic* thruſt down his hand, and ſearch one of the deepeſt cheſts to the bottom; but the prince had no ſooner inclined his body, in compliance with his requeſt, than, with his battle-ax, he gave him a blow on the head, which daſhed out his brains. *Clovis*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the murder had been committed; and having aſſembled the ſubjects of *Sigebert*, he aſſured them, that he was no-ways privy to the death either of the father or the ſon; but that the father had been barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by the ſon, and the inhuman parricide, by a juſt puniſhment from Heaven, put to death by perſons to him utterly unknown. He concluded his harangue by adviſing them, ſince they were deſtitute of a prince and leader, to chuſe him for their king, aſſuring them, that he was ready to defend them againſt all their enemies at the expence of his own life. His ſpeech was received with loud ſhouts of joy; and he had ſcarce done, when he was, with one voice, proclaimed by the multitude king of their tribe [g]. Thus *Clovis* made himſelf maſter of the dominions and ſubjects of *Sigebert*, adding the ſubjects of that unfortunate prince to his own.

He is proclaimed king of the Ripuarian Franks.

Gregory of *Tours* cloſes his account of the murder of *Sigebert*, and his ſon *Chloderic*, with the following words: Thus were the enemies of *Clovis* delivered up daily into his hands by Providence, becauſe his intention was upright, and his conduct pleaſing to Heaven [h]. Some writers, to excuſe *Clovis*, and indeed *Gregory* of *Tours* for ſpeaking thus of a prince guilty of ſuch enormities, ſuppoſe *Sigebert*, and his ſon *Chloderic*, to have been the aggreſſors, and to have made ſome attempt upon the life of *Clovis*; but of this not a word in *Gregory* of *Tours*, who would not, as we conceive, have paſſed over in ſilence ſuch an attempt, ſince it might, in ſome degree, have extenuated, in the eyes of the world, the guilt of *Clovis*, in whoſe favour that writer was greatly prejudiced. Beſides, let the provocation be ever ſo great, the ſtirring up a ſon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his father, muſt be highly criminal. We cannot therefore conceive what could induce our hiſtorian, after relating the murder of the father by the ſon at the inſtigation of *Clovis*, and

[g] Idem, l. ii. c. 40. [h] Idem ibid.

of the ſon by the emiſſaries of that prince, to add what we have inſerted above, *viz.* that Providence delivered his enemies into his hands, becauſe his intention was upright, and his conduct pleaſing to Heaven. By his upright intention the biſhop meant perhaps his intention of gaining the *Ripuarian Franks* over to the chriſtian religion; for both they, and the two princes, were ſtill pagans, whereas *Clovis* was a zealous profeſſor of the catholic faith. This alone, as we apprehend, could excuſe, and, in the opinion of our hiſtorian, even ſanctify, the moſt inhuman and unnatural murders. Be that as it will, *Clovis*, by the death of thoſe two princes, became maſter of the whole country held by the *Ripuarian Franks*, which, according to the moſt probable opinion, extended weſt of the *Rhine* as far as the river *Fuld*, and on the eaſt to the city of *Chalons* on the *Marne*, having *Cologne* for its metropolis. The country, lying weſt of the *Rhine*, was part of antient *France*, which the *Ripuarians* had defended againſt the efforts of the *Thuringians*, attempting to drive them from thence. Some time before the invaſion of *Attila*, they croſſed the *Rhine*, and, being allowed to ſettle in the parts of *Gaul* bordering on that river, they extended, by degrees, their territories to *Chalons*. In the life of St. *Meſmin*, the ſecond abbot of *Mici*, in the dioceſe of *Orleans*, and the cotemporary with *Clovis*, which was written ſoon after his death, and likewiſe in a chronicle of the twelfth century, by one *Hugo*, we find a long account of the ſiege and reduction of *Verdun* by *Clovis*, which, according to the beſt chronologers, happened at this time, the inhabitants of that city, who were highly provoked at the treacherous murder of their princes, refuſing to acknowledge him for their king, as we read in the abovementioned chronicle. However, they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, as were ſeveral other cities, which had belonged to *Sigebert*, and were unwilling to receive *Clovis* for their king [i]. The *Ripuarian Franks* ſeem to have been, next to the *Salians*, the moſt powerful of all the tribes of that nation ſettled in *Gaul*; for, even after they had acknowledged *Clovis* for their king, they continued a diſtinct tribe, ſeparated from that of the *Salians*, had their own code of laws, and lived according to them, even under the kings of the ſecond race. But all the other tribes, after they had ſubmitted to *Clovis*, were incorporated, and became one people, with the tribe of the *Salians*, of which *Clovis* was king, no further mention being made in hiſtory of the *Chatti*, *Chamavi*, *Ampſivarii*, &c. whoſe names ſo often occur in the hiſtorians, who wrote before that time.

[i] LABB. bibl. tom. i. p. 87. DU CHESNE, tom. i p. 531. DUCHEL. tom. iii p. 3.7.

Clovis *seizes on the dominions of* Chararic, *king of another tribe of the* Franks.

But to resume the thread of our history: *Gregory* of *Tours*, after relating in what manner *Clovis* united the dominions of *Sigebert* to his own, gives us an account of the tragical end of *Chararic* king of those *Franks*, who, according to the most probable opinion, had settled in the country comprising the present dioceses of *Bologne*, *St. Omer*, *Bruges*, and *Ghent*. *Clovis*, says our historian, marched afterwards against *Chararic*, who, refusing to join him against *Syagrius*, had waited the issue of the battle, in order to side with the conqueror. *Chararic* and his son fell into the snare, which *Clovis* had laid for them, who, having got them in his power, after ordering their hair to be cut, caused the father to be ordained priest, and the son deacon. As *Chararic* was one day bewailing his hard fate, the son, to alleviate the grief of his disconsolate father; *In stripping us of our dignity*, says he, *and bereaving us of the ensigns of majesty, they have only stripped a green tree of its leaves, which will soon bud anew. May our enemy perish as soon as our hair will grow! Clovis*, being informed of this discourse, and not doubting but they intended to let their hair grow, which was a mark of royalty, and, by hiring assassins to murder him, attempt the recovery of their kingdom, resolved to be beforehand with them, and accordingly ordered them to be put to death. The two princes being thus dispatched, he seized on their treasures, made himself master of their country, and obliged their subjects, both *Romans* and *Franks*, to acknowledge him for their king [k].

He and his son are put to death by Clovis.

Ragnacharius, king of *Cambray*, was now the only prince among the *Franks*, of whom *Clovis* entertained the least jealousy. He therefore resolved, in the next place, to fall upon him, being well apprised, that, if he were once removed, the kings of the other tribes would be no-ways in a condition to make head against him, even with their united forces. *Ragnacharius*, as *Gregory* of *Tours* takes care to tell us, was a most wicked prince, abandoned to all manner of lewdness, not sparing his own relations, and intirely governed by a favourite minister named *Faro*, whom he treated rather as his equal than his servant. His debauched life, and the exorbitant power he allowed to his wicked favourite, who was the object of the public hatred, raised an universal discontent among his subjects. This *Clovis* resolved to improve to his advantage, and, in order to gain over the discontented party, he sent to the leading men among them bracelets of gilt brass, pretending they were of pure gold. When he found he could depend upon those, who had received his presents, he entered unexpectedly the domi-

[k] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 41.

nions

nions of *Regnacharius* at the head of a powerful army; which *Ragnacharius* no sooner understood, than he took the field with what troops he could assemble, in order to oppose the attempts of his rival. When *Clovis* drew near the place where he was encamped, he sent out some parties to reconnoitre the enemy; but these, being gained over by *Clovis*, assured him on their return, that the troops he discovered at a distance were his own subjects, coming, pursuant to his orders, to join him. In the mean time, *Clovis* advanced, and, falling upon *Ragnacharius* before he could draw up the troops he had with him, put them to flight. The unhappy prince attempted to make his escape; but was taken, together with his brother *Richarius*, by the traitors he had about him, and both delivered up, with their hands tied behind their backs, to *Clovis*, who thus addressed *Ragnacharius*: *It was base and scandalous in you to suffer one of our illustrious race to be thus bound, like a publit malefactor. You ought to have avoided, at the expence of a thousand lives, such an ignominious treatment.* He had scarce uttered these words, when, with a blow of his battle-ax, he cleaved his head, and laid him dead at his feet. In the same manner he treated *Richarius*, after upbraiding him with cowardice, for not defending his brother with that courage and resolution, which became one of his blood. In the mean time, those, who had betrayed *Ragnacharius*, discovering that their bracelets were not of gold, complained thereof to *Clovis*, who is said to have returned them the following answer: *You well know what you have done, and therefore ought not to complain, but deem it a great favour, that I suffer you to live.* *Clovis*, continues our historian, was nearly related to *Ragnacharius* and *Richarius*, who had another brother named *Regnomer*, king of the *Franks* settled at *Mans*; and him too *Clovis* caused to be murdered, making himself master of the dominions and treasures of the three brothers. By the murder of these, and several other princes, of whom, as they were his kinsmen, he entertained some jealousy, he extended his dominion all over *Gaul*. Having thus dispatched all the princes, who were any-ways related to him, he one day, in the presence of his nobles, bemoaned his condition, saying, That he was, in a manner, a stranger among his own people, having no kinsman to stand by him, in case he wanted his assistance. But this he said, not because he was concerned for their death, but to try whether any one would own himself for his relation, that he might dispatch him, as he had done the others [l]. This is the account *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us of the manner, in which *Clovis* caused himself

He puts to death Ragnacharius, and the other kings of the Franks, and seizes on their dominions.

[l] Idem ibid. c. 43

to

to be acknowledged king of all the tribes of the *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. Whether his intention could be upright, as that writer is pleased to express himself, and his conduct pleasing to Heaven, we leave our readers to judge.

He dies. Year after Christ 511.

Clovis did not long enjoy his new conquests; for he died soon after the reduction of the several tribes of *Franks* settled in *Gaul*. *Clovis*, says *Gregory* of *Tours*, having transacted these things, that is, having forced all the tribes of the *Franks* in *Gaul* to acknowledge him for their king, died soon after at *Paris*, and was buried there in the church of the holy apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which had been built by him and queen *Clothildis*, or, as our historian styles her, *Crothildis*. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, five years after the battle of *Vouglé*, having reigned thirty years. After his death, *Clothildis* retired into *Touraine*, and there passed the remaining part of her life at St. *Martin*'s tomb [m]. This is all we find in *Gregory* of *Tours* concerning the death of *Clovis*. He left four sons behind him, *viz*. *Theodoric*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*. The three last he had by *Clothildis*, and the eldest by a concubine before his marriage with that princess. *Theodoric*, at his father's death, had already a son named *Theodobert*, a youth of great expectation [n]. As to the age of the other three, all we know is, that *Clodomir* the eldest was born before the battle of *Tolbiac* in 496, so that, at the time of his father's death, he must have been about seventeen. The four brothers divided their father's dominions equally amongst them. *Theodoric* reigned at *Metz*; *Clodomir* at *Orleans*; *Clotharius* at *Soissons*; and *Childebert* at *Paris*. Though these four kingdoms were rather members of one and the same monarchy, than four different monarchies, yet the princes were quite independent of each other, in the same manner as the kings of the different tribes had been of *Clovis*.

SECT. VI.

The antient state of the Burgundians, Alemanns, Heruli, Gepidæ, *&c.*

The origin of the Burgundians.

THE *Burgundians*, who, upon the decline of the empire, seized on a considerable portion of *Gaul*, and founded a new kingdom there, were, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* [o], originally descended from the *Romans*. *Orosius*, who

[m] Idem ibid. c. 43. [n] Idem, l. iii. c. 1 [o] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 375

wrote

wrote about the year 420, was of the same opinion: We are told, says that writer, that *Drusus Nero* and his brother *Tiberius*, the adopted sons of *Cæsar Augustus*, having subdued the inner parts of *Germany*, left several camps in the country, and part of their army, to keep the neighbouring people in subjection. From the *Roman* soldiers, who were on this occasion left to guard the camps, are descended the *Burgundians*. The castles and the strong-holds, built for the defence of a country, are by the *Germans* called *burgts*; and hence the *Romans* who guarded them, and their descendants, were styled *Burgundians*. Their conquests in *Gaul*, continues our historian, speak them both a numerous and warlike nation. As they have embraced the catholic faith, our ecclesiastics, whose spiritual jurisdiction they acknowledge, have rendered them mild and tractable; for, in the countries where they have settled, they treat the natives, not as strangers whom they have subdued, but as brothers in Christ [p]. Thus *Orosius*, who, had he lived thirty years longer, would not have commended the *Burgundians* on account of their gentle treatment of the natives; for, upon their embracing the tenets of *Arius*, which happened about the year 450, the natives, who professed the catholic faith, were treated by them more like slaves than brethren. But to return to their origin: *Pliny* the elder supposes them to be a *German* nation, descended from the *Vindili*, whom most writers take to be the same people with the *Vandals* [q]. *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundians* of *Germany* from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the east, on the banks of the *Danube* [r]. The *Burgundians* of *Germany* were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at war with the empire; but never had the reputation of a warlike nation: for the writers, who flourished in those times, speak of them as far inferior in courage and bravery to the other *Germans*, and observe, that the *Burgundians* dwelt in castles and fortified places, whereas the other *German* nations scorned any other fence but their arms [s]: and truly most of them were mechanics, and, before they settled in *Gaul*, they used in great numbers to flock into that country, to earn a livelihood by their respective professions. As to their government, they were divided into several tribes, each governed by their own chief or king, whose authority was so far from being hereditary, that it was not even during life. The kings of this nation, whom we find mentioned in history, are *Gundicar*, *Gundiac*, *Bilimer*, *Gundebald*, *Sigismund*, and *Godemar*. These princes reigned after the *Burgundians* had entered *Gaul*, that is, after

The least warlike of all the German nations.

The kings

[p] OROS. l. vii. c. 19. [q] PLIN. l. iv. c. 14. p. 86. [r] VALES. rer. Franc. p. 48. [s] SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 30.

the

the year 407, but they had, without all doubt, kings or chiefs long before that time, though not named by the historians, whose works have reached us. The kings of the *Burgundians*, as well as those of the other barbarians, did not think it below them to serve in the *Roman* armies, to discharge some of the chief offices of the empire, and to receive at the hands of the emperors, such dignities as they used to confer on their subjects. Thus *Gundiac* was, in the reign of *Anthemius*, *magister militiæ*, or general of the *Roman* armies; and *Gundebald* his eldest son patrician. *Chilperic*, the brother of *Gundebald*, had been likewise *magister militiæ*, and was afterwards created patrician[t]. His son *Sigismund*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, received from *Anastasius* the same dignity of patrician, on which occasion he wrote to the emperor the following letter: *My predecessors and I have ever been so attached to the* Roman *empire, as to think ourselves more honoured by the dignities the emperors have conferred on us, than by the titles which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors. We command at home, but think it a greater honour to serve abroad in your armies* [u]. The use of legal duels, or duels ordered by the magistrates or judges, to discover, from the event, the truth of contested facts, was first introduced into *Gaul*, where it long obtained, by the *Burgundians*. *Gundebald* was the first, who established by law this maxim, that the best champion is the best man, and ought to be believed; a maxim which has so often proved fatal to innocence! This unjust and sanguinary law was couched in the following words: Being fully convinced, that many of our subjects suffer themselves to be corrupted by their avarice, or hurried on by their obstinacy, so as to attest by oath what they know not, nay, and what they know to be false; to put a stop to such scandalous practices, when two *Burgundians* are at law, if the defendant shall swear, that he owes not what is demanded of him, or that he is not guilty of the crime that is laid to his charge; and the plaintiff, on the other hand, not satisfied therewith, shall declare, that he is ready to maintain, sword in hand, the truth of what he advances; if the defendant does not acquiesce, it shall be lawful for them to decide the controversy by dint of sword. This is to be likewise understood of the witnesses of either party, it being just, that every man should be ready to defend with his sword the truth which he attests, and to submit himself to the judgment of Heaven. If one of the plaintiffs witnesses shall be killed, all the others shall be condemned to pay immediately three hundred *solidi*. If the defendant is overcome, the plaintiff shall receive three times the sum which he demanded

They think themselves honoured with the dignities of the empire.

The use of legal duels introduced by them.

[t] ENNOD. vit. p. 401. [u] Apud ep. lxxxiii. p. [illegible]

demanded. It is our will and pleasure, that this law be strictly observed and executed, that our subjects may conceive an utter aversion to the detestable sin of perjury. Given at *Lyons* the twenty-seventh of *June*, *Abienus* being consul, that is, in 501 [u]. This law was no sooner published, than *Avitus*, bishop of *Vienne*, wrote a letter to the king, remonstrating, with equal zeal and learning, the injustice of it; but could, by no means, prevail upon that prince to repeal it; nay, however unjust and sanguinary, it prevailed, by degrees, among the *Franks*, and all the other nations dwelling in *Gaul*.

The Burgundians *break into* Gaul; *but are driven out by* Probus. *Year after Christ* 275.

As to the history of the *Burgundians*, we find nothing worthy of notice concerning them till the year 275, the first of the emperor *Tacitus*'s reign, when, in conjunction with the *Lugians*, the *Franks*, and the *Vandals*, they crossed the *Rhine*, over-ran all *Gaul*, and made themselves masters of seventy cities and upwards in that country, which they held for the space of almost two years [w]. But in the mean time *Tacitus* being murdered, *Probus*, who was chosen in his room, marched against them, and, having gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, obliged them to sue for peace; which was granted them, upon their promising to restore the booty, and set at liberty the prisoners, they had taken. But, as they did not faithfully comply with this condition, *Probus* fell upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took many prisoners, whom he afterwards sent into *Britain*, where they proved very serviceble to the *Romans* in all seditions and insurrections [x]. In the year 287, the fourth of the emperor *Diocletian*, they broke into *Gaul* anew with the *Heruli*, the *Alemanns*, and the *Chaibons* or *Cavions*, a people on no other occasion mentioned in history, and of whom all we know is, that their country, as well as that of the *Heruli*, lay at a great distance from *Gaul* [y]. We are told, that the *Alemanns* and *Burgundians* were destroyed by their own numbers, which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a plague; so that they were easily overcome by *Maximian*, whom *Diocletian* had taken for his partner in the empire, and dispatched against them. We are told, that, of such vast multitudes of barbarians, a very small number returned home, the rest being swept off by the plague, or cut in pieces by the *Romans* [z]. For the advantages gained over the barbarians on this occasion, the two emperors were decreed a triumph,

They are defeated anew in Gaul *by* Maximian. *Year after Christ* 287.

[u] Lex. Burg. tit. xlv. [w] Tacit. vit. p. 227. Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 7, 8. [x] Prob. vit. p. 238. Zos. l. i. p. 604. [y] Panegyr. xi. p. 131. Buch. Belg. p. 221. [z] Idem ibid. p. 133. [a] Panegyr. x. p. 125.

as appears from a medal of this year [a]. Some years after, that is, in the year 291, a war broke out between the *Burgundians* and *Alemanns*, in which the former seem to have gained considerable advantages over the latter; for we are told, that they reduced great part of their country, and that the *Alemanns* were striving to recover what they had lost [b]; and this is all we know of that war. In the year 370, the seventh of *Valentinian* I. the *Burgundians* appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their chiefs, and had promised to pass the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon *Macrian*, king of the *Alemanns*, with whom they were then at variance. But the emperor, who was then busied in building forts on the *Rhine*, not caring to interrupt the work and join them, as he had promised to do, they returned home, highly incensed against *Valentinian*, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded [c]; but we do not find they committed any hostilities against the empire. In the year 407, they followed the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, and *Alans*, who had entered *Gaul* the last day of the preceding year, in order to share with them the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but they did not settle, it seems, in that country till the year 413, for in that year, *Prosper* tells us, they obtained that part of *Gaul*, which borders on the *Rhine*, that is, according to *Bucherius*, the present *Alsace* and the remaining part of *Germania Prima*, which, in the opinion of that writer, were yielded to them by *Honorius*, not able, by any other means, to put a stop to their ravages [d]. Such was the beginning of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*. They continued quiet in the seats allotted them till the year 435, when, in conjunction with the *Heruli*, the *Hunns*, and the *Franks*, they entered *Belgic Gaul*, committing every-where dreadful ravages, though they had, upon their first settling in *Gaul*, promised to assist the *Romans*, and serve in their armies, as subjects of the empire. Hereupon *Aetius* marched against them, and, having overcome them with great slaughter in a pitched battle, reduced them to such straights, that *Gundicarius* their king was obliged to sue for peace; which, in the end, he obtained, but did not long enjoy, being, in the beginning of the following year 436, attacked by the *Hunns*, perhaps at the instigation of *Aetius*, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his subjects [e]. *Socrates* tells us, that the *Hunns* made frequent irruptions into their territo-

The beginning of their kingdom in Gaul.

Year after Christ 413.

Gundicarius *their king killed by the* Hunns.

Year after Christ 430.

[a] Noris. de Diocles. c. 4. p. 18. [b] Panegyr. xi. p. 138. [c] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 377. [d] Buch. Belg. p. 440. [e] Idat. p. 25. Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136, 138.

ries, putting all to fire and ſword; that the *Burgundians*, no longer able to withſtand them, had recourſe to Heaven, and, repairing to a city in *Gaul*, embraced there the chriſtian religion, and received the ſacrament of baptiſm; which ceremony was no ſooner over, than, full of courage and confidence, they marched againſt the enemy, and, finding them without a leader (for we are told, that *Uptar* their king died ſuddenly the night before), cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight, though the *Burgundians* were in all but three thouſand men. Thus *Socrates* [f]. But *Oroſius*, who wrote in 417, aſſures us, that they had, at that time, already embraced the chriſtian religion [g]. They continued on the banks of the *Rhine* till the year 438, or, as others will have it, 443, when they were removed from thence by *Aetius* to the preſent dutchy of *Savoy*. During their abode there, *Gundiac*, who ſucceeded *Gundicar*, and is thought to have been his ſon, joining *Theodoric* king of the *Viſigoths* about the year 456, againſt the *Sueves*, marched with him into *Spain*, and ſignalized himſelf in the battle, that was fought that very year on the banks of the *Orbegua*, in which the *Sueves* were utterly defeated, and their king *Rechiarius* wounded, and afterwards taken priſoner [h]. *Gundiac*, upon his return from *Spain*, ſeized on part of *Gaul*, dividing, according to an antient chronologiſt, the lands with the *Roman* ſenators [i]. *Valeſius* is of opinion, that he made himſelf then maſter of the city of *Lyons* [k]. In 463, *Gundiac* wrote to *Hilarius* biſhop of *Rome* concerning an affair of *Dié* in *Dauphiny* [l]; whence we may conclude, that he was then in poſſeſſion of that city. Some are of opinion, that both *Dié* and *Vienne* were yielded to him by the emperor *Avitus*, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed [m]. Others think, that *Gundiac*, taking advantage of the diſturbances, that were occaſioned by the depoſition of *Avitus*, inlarged his dominions, and ſeized on the above-mentioned cities [n]. It is certain, that, in the war between the *Romans* and *Viſigoths* about the year 470, the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of their king *Gundiac* and his ſon *Chilperic*, fought for the *Romans*; for we are told, that they defended the province of *Auvergne* againſt *Euric* king of the *Viſigoths*, being jealous of the growing power of that prince [o]. Beſides, both *Gundiac* and *Chilperic* were at that time *magiſtri militiæ*, and com-

They are removed to the preſent dutchy of Savoy. *Year after Chriſt* 438.

They make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and places in Gaul.

[f] SOCRAT. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. [g] OROS. l. vii. c. 38. p. 219. [h] JORN. p. 676. [i] MARC. chron. p. 210. [k] VALES. rer. Franc. p 186. [l] Concil. tom. iv. p. 1043. [m] BUCH. p. 525. [n] VALES. ibid. [o] JORN rer. Goth. c. 47. p. 678. SID. l. iii. ep. 4. p. 68.

manded the *Roman* troops [p]; whence it is probable, that the *Romans* either yielded to them the above-mentioned countries, or ſuffered them to ſeize them, not caring to quarrel at the ſame time with the *Viſigoths* and *Burgundians*. Before the year 490, the *Burgundians* were maſters of all *Lugdunenſis Prima*, which *Sidonius* ſtyles *Germanica Lugdunenſis*, ſaying, it was then ſubject to *Chilperic* the ſon of *Gundiac* [q]. The ſame writer tells us elſewhere, that, when he left *Lyons*, and retired to *Auvergne*, a *Burgundian* king reſided in that city with his queen [r]. *Sidonius* withdrew from *Lyons* about the year 470, finding himſelf obnoxious to the *Burgundians*, who ſuſpected him of privately favouring the *Franks*. *Chilperic* was likewiſe maſter of the country in which ſtood the abby of St. *Claudius* [s], that is, of the country of the *Sequani*. When *Sidonius* died, *Aprunculus*, biſhop of *Langres*, finding the *Burgundians* ſuſpected him as if he maintained a private correſpondence with the *Franks*, made his eſcape from the caſtle of *Dijon*, and withdrew to *Auvergne* [t]. In 494, *Epiphanius*, biſhop of *Pavia*, went to the court of *Gundebald* at *Dions*, and to that of *Godigiſcles* at *Geneva* [u]; ſo that the *Burgundians* were then maſters of all theſe places. On the other hand, we do not find they made war upon the *Romans*; nay, on the contrary, they aſſiſted them againſt the *Viſigoths*, and are ſtyled, by the writers of thoſe times, the friends and allies of the empire. We may therefore conclude, that they thus inlarged their dominions with the conſent, or at leaſt with the connivance, of the emperors, willing to yield to them, or to wink at their ſeizing, part of the country, which they could not maintain without them. *Chilperic*, who is often mentioned by *Sidonius*, and ſtyled by him a *victorious prince* [w], was not, as ſome have imagined, the brother, but the ſon, of *Gundiac*, and grandſon of *Gundicar*; for *Gundiac* married the ſiſter of the famous *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occaſion to mention in our *Roman* hiſtory, and had by her *Gundebald*, *Godegiſcles*, *Chilperic*, called alſo *Hilperic*, and *Godemar* [x]. They divided, in all likelihood, among them the countries then ſubject to the *Burgundians*; for *Chilperic* is ſtyled by *Sidonius* tetrarch [y], and by *Jornandes* king [z]. *Sidonius*, ſpeaking elſewhere of theſe four princes, calls them *tirannopotæ*, intimating thereby, that they acted

[p] Ennod. vit. p 404. [q] Sid. l. v. ep 6, 7. p. 134, 137.
[r] Idem, l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168. [s] Bolland. Mart xxi. p. 265.
[t] Greg. Tur hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 23 p. 284. [u] Ennod vit. Epiph. p. 401, 408. [w] Sid. l. v. ep. 6. [x] Ennod. vit. p. 403. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. p. 285. [y] Sid. p. 55.
[z] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 44.

more

more like tyrants than kings. Father *Sirmond* tells us, that *Chilperic* and *Godemar*, joining againſt *Gundebald*, drove him out, and ſeized on his dominions; but that *Gundebald*, having in the end recovered his dominions, found means to diſpatch his two brothers, with their iſſue male [a]. But this is vouched only by the chronicle of *Burgundy* written by *Vigner*, to which we do not give intire credit. *Gundebald* was in *Italy* in 472, and there raiſed by the emperor *Olybrius* to the rank of patrician. However, he might have returned from thence to *Gaul*, and there cauſed his brother *Chilperic* to be put to death, and his wife to be drowned, as we read in *Gregory* of *Tours* [b]. *Sidonius* ſtyles her a *Tanaquil*, either on account of her prudence, or becauſe ſhe had a great aſcendant over her huſband [c]; for ſhe is ſaid to have tempered, with her addreſs and engaging behaviour, the ſeverity to which her huſband was naturally inclined, and to have ſaved the lives of ſeveral perſons unjuſtly accuſed [d]. *Chilperic* left two daughters behind him, who were both baniſhed by *Gundebald*, or rather kept under confinement in a caſtle at ſome diſtance from the court [e]. *Mucuruna*, the eldeſt, embraced the ſtate of virginity; the other was *Clothilda*, who was married to *Clovis* king of the *Franks*, as we have related in the foregoing ſection. In the year 473, *Gundebald* was at *Ravenna*; for he is ſaid to have induced *Glycerius* to take upon him the title of emperor in that city [f]. After the depoſition of *Glycerius*, *Gundebald* eſpouſed the cauſe of *Nepos*, who was raiſed to the empire in his room, joining the *Romans* in *Gaul* againſt the *Viſigoths*, who, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, attempted to make themſelves maſters of *Auvergne* [g]. In the year 480, *Odoacer*, king of *Italy*, having yielded *Provence* to the *Viſigoths*, *Gundebald*, jealous of the growing power of that nation, claimed part of the country that had been granted them. This gave riſe to a war between the two nations, in which the *Burgundians* were ſubdued, ſays *Jornandes* [h], by the *Viſigoths*, who made themſelves maſters of all *Gaul*. But that writer was certainly miſtaken, ſince the *Burgundians* were, in the year 517 and 528, ſtill maſters of above twenty-eight cities, and, among the reſt, of *Lyons*, *Vienne*, *Beſançon*, and *Embrun*, as appears from the acts of the councils of *Agde* and *Epaune*, held in thoſe times [i]. In the year 490, the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gundebald*, entering *Italy*, with

Gundebald *puts his brothers to death.*

He joins the Romans againſt the Viſigoths.

[a] SIRMOND. p. 57. [b] GREG. TUR p. 285. [c] SID. l. v. ep. 7. p 137. [d] Idem ibid. [e] GREG. TUR. l ii. c. 28. p. 185. [f] JORN. c. 45 p. 654. ONUPH. p 57. [g] SID. car. xii p 368. l. vii. ep. 3. p. 172. [h] JORN. p. 658. [i] Vide VAL. not. Goll p. 105.

a deſign,

Ravages Liguria.

a design, as they pretended, to assist *Odoacer* against *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, committed unheard-of ravages in *Liguria*, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off with them, upon their return home, such numbers of captives, that, in most places, there were not left sufficient hands to till the ground. They met with no opposition, the *Romans*, who had always looked upon them as their friends and protectors, being no-ways upon their guard against them [k]. *Gundebald* afterwards declared, that he had acted as an open enemy, to be revenged on the king of *Italy*, who had deceived him by a false alliance [l]; but whether he meant *Theodoric* or *Odoacer*, is uncertain. Authors observe, that, on this occasion, bishops began first to fortify their mansions, that, on any sudden irruption of barbarians, they might serve as places of refuge for those who dwelt in the country [m]. About this time, *Gundebald* sent one *Laurentius*, a person of great distinction among the *Burgundians*, with the character of embassador to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople* [n]; but with what commission he was charged, we are no-where told. Two letters have reached us, both written in 497, the one by the emperor *Anastasius* to *Clovis*, intreating him to prevail upon *Gundebald* to allow one of *Laurentius*'s sons to repair to his father at *Constantinople*; the other by *Clovis* to *Gundebald*, who readily complied with the emperor's request and his [o]. In the history of the *Franks*, we have spoken of the war which *Gundebald* waged with *Clovis* and his brother *Godegiscles*, whom in the end he overcame and put to death. Being restored to his dominions, he reigned, without disturbing his neighbours, or being disturbed by them, till his death, which happened in the year 516 [p]. Some years before his death, he was for renouncing privately the errors of *Arius*; but could, by no means, be prevailed upon, says *Gregory* of *Tours*, to acknowledge publicly the mystery of the Holy Trinity [q].

He dies. Year after Christ 516.

Sigismund.

Gundebald was succeeded by his son *Sigismund*, who had no sooner taken possession of his father's dominions, than he dispatched embassadors to the emperor *Anastasius* at *Constantinople*, acquainting him with his accession to the crown. In the letter he wrote on this occasion to the emperor, he styles his father one of *Anastasius*'s most faithful subjects; and adds, that the nation, which he governed, had ever acknowledged *Anastasius* for their liege lord; that he himself deemed it a greater

[k] ENNOD vit. Epiph. p. 398—405. [l] Idem ibid. p. 4[illegible]
[m] BAR. ad ann. 489 [n] AVIT. ep. xli. p 97. [o] Idem, ep. xlii. p. 98. & ep. xliv. p. 99 [p] VALES. rer. Franc. l. vi. p. 3[illegible]
[q] GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 31.

hono-

honour to obey his commands, than to be obeyed by a whole nation; that these sentiments were hereditary in his family; that his ancestors had ever had a heart truly *Roman*, thinking themselves more honoured by the titles, which the emperors had been pleased to confer upon them, than by those, however specious, which they had received by birth; that the country, which it was now his lot to govern, though lying at a great distance from the capital of the empire, was not, on that account, less subject to the imperial crown, than those that lay near it, *&c.* He closes the letter thus: The east is governed by your presence, the west under your auspices. By this letter therefore I offer my duty to the greatest of princes, and wait, with submission, your august commands [r]. From this letter it is manifest, that the princes of the barbarians, who reigned in *Gaul*, acknowledged themselves subjects of the empire. *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, refused a passage through his dominions to the embassadors, who were dispatched with these letters. However, *Anastasius* wrote to *Sigismund*, without waiting till he received letters from him, confirming to him the dignities, which he had conferred upon him in his father's life-time, and adding to them the patriciate [s]. *Sigismund* wrote a second letter to *Anastasius*, returning him thanks for the honours to which he had raised him, and acquainting him, that, upon his father's death, he had immediately written to him; but that his embassadors had been stopped on their way to *Constantinople* [t]. In this letter, as well as in the former, and in a third, which he wrote to the emperor *Justin*, he owns himself a subject of the empire, and uses all along the language of a subject to his sovereign. There was, without all doubt, at this time a misunderstanding between *Theodoric* and *Sigismund*, which, however, did not come to an open rupture. *Sigismund*, in the sixth year of his reign, caused his son *Sigeric* to be inhumanly murdered. Of this murder *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: *Sigismund*, says our historian, had to his first wife the daughter of *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, and by her a son named *Sigeric*. Upon the death of that princess, he married one of her household, who, looking upon *Sigeric* with the eyes of a step-mother, did all that lay in her power to incense his father against him. The young prince indeed, with his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, heightened the aversion, which the new queen bore him as a step-mother; for the queen having one day appeared in the robes of his mother, he publicly upbraided her for presuming to shew herself in the apparel of one,

He acknowledges himself a subject of the empire

He causes his son Sigeric *to be put to death.*

[r] Avit. ep. xciv. p. 139. [s] Idem, ep. xliii. p. 98. [t] Idem, ep. xciv. p. 139.

whose

whoſe menial ſervant ſhe had been. This bitter reproach galled her to ſuch a degree, that, tranſported with rage, ſhe reſolved at all events to make *Sigeric* pay dearly for it. Accordingly, as ſhe had a great aſcendant over her huſband, ſhe perſuaded him, that the young prince had formed a deſign of aſſaſſinating him, and joining his dominions to thoſe of his grandfather *Theodoric*. *Sigiſmund* gave intire credit to theſe falſe and malicious inſinuations, and, without further inquiry, to be before-hand with his ſon, cauſed him to be ſtrangled, while he was repoſing after dinner. He was ſcarce dead, when *Sigiſmund*, ſtung with the remorſe of ſo heinous a crime, threw himſelf upon the dead body, and, bathing it in tears, called himſelf of all men the moſt unhappy; which one of his ſervants hearing, *You have but too much reaſon*, ſaid he, *to bewail your own fate; but as for your ſon, he died free from all guilt, and is now happy.* Thus *Gregory* of *Tours* [u]. A few days after, *Sigiſmund* retired to the monaſtery of St. *Mauritius* in *Valais*, to do penance for the crime he had committed, and there founded what is called by our hiſtorian *laus perennis*, that is, a ſervice to be celebrated night and day without intermiſſion, by ſeveral eccleſiaſtics relieving one another. After a ſhort ſtay in the above-mentioned monaſtery, he returned to *Lyons*, and there married a daughter, which he had by his firſt wife *Oſtrogotha*, to king *Theodoric* or *Thierri*, the eldeſt ſon of *Clovis*. As the *Oſtrogoths* and their king *Theodoric* were highly provoked againſt *Sigiſmund*, for the murder of his ſon, whom they looked upon as a prince of their own blood, *Clothildis* thought this a favourable conjuncture to be revenged on the poſterity of *Gundebald*, ſince he was no more, for the death of her father *Chilperic*, of her mother, and her brothers, all maſſacred by that prince's order. Having firſt put the three kings, her children, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, in mind of the cruel and inhuman treatment, which her father and mother had met with at the hands of *Gundebald*, ſhe exhorted them not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of revenging it on his poſterity. As this advice was intirely agreeable to the ambitious views of the young princes, they readily hearkened to it, and began to make the neceſſary preparations. They preſſed *Theodoric*, whom their father *Clovis* had by a concubine, as we have related above, to join them in the enterpriſe; but, as he had married the daughter of *Sigiſmund*, and had not been any-ways injured either by him or his anceſtors, he declared that he would take no part in a war between his brothers and father-in-law, but obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. The three princes therefore, finding

[u] Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 5.

they

they could not prevail upon him to join them, took the field without him, and entering the dominions of *Sigiſmund*, began to lay them waſte. Hereupon *Sigiſmund*, having drawn together what troops he could, marched out againſt them; but in the battle that enſued, he was utterly defeated, and obliged to take refuge in a monaſtery, where he lay ſome time concealed in the habit of a monk; but his own ſubjects, by whom he was abhorred, on account of the murder of his ſon, diſcovered him to the *Franks*, who immediately ſeized him, and delivered him to *Clodomir*, who had already in his power his wife and children. *Clodomir* ſent both the prince and his unfortunate family to the city of *Orleans*, where they were kept under cloſe confinement. Upon the news of his captivity, the far greater part of the country, which he held, ſubmitted to the *Franks* [w]. This happened, according to the biſhop of *Avanches*, in the year 523. In the conſulſhip of *Maximus*, ſays that writer in his chronicle [x], *Sigiſmund* was by the *Burgundians* delivered up to the *Franks*, who carried him away in the habit of a monk, in which they had found him, and afterwards threw him, with his wife and children, into a deep well, where they were all drowned. *Maximus* was conſul, as appears from all the antient chronologers, in the above-mentioned year. What our chronologer relates of the unhappy end of *Sigiſmund* and his family, did not happen till the following year, when the *Franks* retiring to their own country, the *Burgundians*, who had ſubmitted to them, revolting, proclaimed *Godemar*, the brother of *Sigiſmund*; and, in order to induce the *Oſtrogoths* to aſſiſt them, at leaſt under-hand, yielded to them four cities, *viz. Carpentras*, *Cavaillon*, *Tricaſtinum*, now St. *Paul trois-chateaux*, and *Apt* [y]. No mention indeed is made of any ſuccours ſent them by the *Oſtrogoths*. It is not, however, to be doubted, but that *Theodoric*, then king of that nation, and greatly alarmed at the growing power of the *Franks*, aſſiſted them ſo far as he could, without openly declaring in their favour. News was no ſooner brought to the three princes of the *Franks*, that *Godemar* had been proclaimed king of the *Burgundians*, and acknowledged even in thoſe countries, which had ſubmitted to them, than they reſolved to take the field anew. But *Clodomir*, before he ſet out on his march, ordered *Sigiſmund*, with his wife and children, to be put to death in the city of *Orleans*, in the manner we have related above, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and threats of *Avitus*, abbot of *Mici*, a perſon highly eſteemed and revered all over *Gaul* for the ſanctity of his

War between the Franks *and* Burgundians. Sigiſmund *defeated and taken.*

War after Chriſt 523.

Godemar *king of the* Burgundians.

[w] Idem ibid. c. 6. [x] AVENT. chron. ad ann. 523; [y] Vide CORNET. annal. eccleſ. Franc. tom. i.

Sigiſmund *put to death by* Clodomir.

life. *Gundebald* had cauſed the father, mother, and brother, of *Clothildis* to be thrown into a well, as we have related above, and in the ſame manner, by way of retaliation, *Clodomir* ordered *Sigiſmund* to be diſpatched, with his wife and children. Soon after, *Clodomir* led his troops againſt *Godemar*; and the two armies meeting at *Veſeronce* in the territory of *Vienne*, not far from the city of *Belley*, a bloody battle enſued, in which the *Burgundians*, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, were in the end put to flight. But *Clodomir*, purſuing the enemy with more ardour than caution, was ſurrounded by them, and cut in pieces [z]. The *Burgundians*, ſays *Agathias*, concluding from *Clodomir*'s long hair, which covered his ſhoulders, that he was one of the kings of the *Franks*, ſtruck off his head, and carrying it upon the point of a ſpear, returned to the charge; but were repulſed by the *Franks*, and a ſecond time put to the rout [a].

Peace between the Burgundians *and* Franks.

However, the *Franks* being deſtitute of a leader, (for the children of *Clodomir* were yet very young) they readily concluded a peace with the *Burgundians*, whereof one of the articles was, that they ſhould reſtore to *Godemar* all the countries they had ſeized during the war [b]; which they did accordingly. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that *Godemar*, having raiſed a new army, purſued the war with great vigour, and in the end recovered the kingdom of his anceſtors [c]. According to the chronicle of the biſhop of *Avanches*, the battle of *Veſeronce* was fought the ſame year, in which *Godemar* had been proclaimed king, that is, in 524.

A new war between theſe two nations.

The peace concluded between the *Franks* and *Burgundians* laſted for the ſpace of eight years, that is, till the year 532, when the two ſurviving brothers *Childebert* and *Clotharius* broke anew into the dominions of *Godemar*. What gave riſe to this new war, we are not told; but, ſo far as we can conjecture from *Procopius*, they were prompted merely by their ambition, and that luſt of conqueſts, which ſeems hereditary to the princes of that reſtleſs nation, to invade a kingdom, which, they were well appriſed, they could eaſily reduce; for a few years after the conqueſt of *Burgundy* by the *Franks*, an embaſſador from the emperor *Juſtinian* to the *Oſtrogoths*, with whom the *Franks* were at that time negotiating an alliance, addreſſed them thus, as we read in *Procopius*: The *Franks* pique themſelves upon ſtanding faithfully to their engagements; but, to ſay nothing at preſent of the manner, in which they have obſerved the treaties concluded with the *Thuringians* and *Burgundians*, you cannot have forgot the little account they have ever made of the moſt ſolemn engagements they have, from time to

[z] Greg. Tur. ib l. [a] Agath. de reb. Juſtin. l. i. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Greg. Tur. ibid.

time,

time, entered into even with you [d]. Of this war, which ended in the ruin of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us the following account: *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, having made the neceſſary preparations to invade the kingdom of *Burgundy*, ſolicited their brother *Theodoric* to join them in the enterpriſe; but he openly declared that he would take no part in that war. This gave great offence to the *Franks*, who were ſubject to him: nay, they were diſpleaſed with his conduct to ſuch a degree, that they openly threatened to revolt from him, and acknowledge the other two princes, if he did not aſſiſt them with all his forces, and look upon their cauſe as the common cauſe of the *Franks*. *Theodoric*, to quiet his mutinous ſubjects, told them, that, without him, his brothers were well able to cope with the king of the *Burgundians*; that, however, he would not fail to join them, if they ſhould ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; but that, in the mean time, he deſigned to lead them againſt the inhabitants of *Auvergne*, who, during the war he had lately made on the *Thuringians*, had given ſtrong proofs of their diſaffection to his perſon and government; that he deſigned to lay waſte their country, and that thoſe, who followed him thither, ſhould have free quarters, and be at full liberty to plunder, and carry off what ſlaves, cattle, money, furniture, *&c.* they thought fit. The ſubjects of *Theodoric*, allured by theſe promiſes, gave over all thoughts of joining the other two princes in their expedition againſt the *Burgundians*. *Childebert* therefore and *Clotharius*, hoping to compaſs their deſign without the aſſiſtance of *Theodoric*, took the field, and, entering the territories of the *Burgundians*, laid ſiege to *Auguſtodunum*, now *Autun*, obliged *Godemar* to ſave himſelf by flight, and made themſelves maſters, of his kingdom [e]. Thus, in a few words, *Gregory* of *Tours* gives us an account of the reduction of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*, one of the moſt remarkable events in the hiſtory of the *Franks*. And *Marius Avenſis* is no leſs conciſe in relating the ſame events: In the conſulſhip of *Paulinus* the younger, ſays that writer, *Childebert*, *Clotharius*, and *Theodobert*, kings of the *Franks*, reduced *Burgundy*, and having put *Godemar* to flight, divided his kingdom among them [f]. From this writer it appears, that the war laſted two years, that is, from 532, to 534, and that *Theodoric* dying in the mean time, his ſon *Theodobert* joined the other two princes. From other writers we learn, that in this war, the *Burgundians* were aſſiſted both by the *Oſtrogoths* and *Viſigoths* [g], that, in ſeveral encounters, the *Franks* were defeated by

The kingdoms of the Burgundians *reduced by the* Franks. *Year after Chriſt* 534.

[d] PROCOP. bell. Goth. c. 28.
[e] GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 11.
[f] MAR. AVENT. chron. ad ann. 534.
[g] CASSIOD. var. l. xii. ep. 27.

by thoſe two nations[h]; but that, upon the death of *Athalaric*, the *Oſtrogoths* having withdrawn their troops, the *Burgundians* were in the end obliged to ſubmit to the conquerors[i]. *Procopius* telis us, that *Godemar* was taken priſoner by the *Franks*, who kept him under cloſe confinement in one of their caſtles; that, upon his captivity, the *Burgundians* agreed to ſerve the *Franks* in their wars, and to pay them a yearly tribute, with ſuch taxes and cuſtoms, as they had paid to *Godemar* and his predeceſſors[k]. One of the conditions, on which they ſubmitted to the *Franks*, was, though not mentioned by *Procopius*, that they ſhould live according to their own laws; which they actually did to the reign of *Lewis* ſurnamed *the Debonnair*, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Franks*, prompted by their boundleſs ambition, extended their dominions, at the expence of their neighbours, till they became maſters of all *Gaul*.

[h] Idem ibid. lxi. ep. 1. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c 13.

The Alemanns.

The Alemans.

THE *Alemanns*, a nation, which, in proceſs of time, became ſo famous in hiſtory, made their firſt appearance about the year 214, the fourth of the emperor *Caracalla*'s reign[l]. *Agathias*, upon the authority of *Aſinius Quadratus*, a *Roman* hiſtorian, who wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, about the year 247, tells us, that the *Alemanns* were originally a motley multitude, conſiſting of ſeveral nations, as appears, added that writer, from their very name[m]; ſo that, according to *Aſinius Quadratus*, the *Alemanns* were ſo called, becauſe they conſiſted of *all men*, that is, of men of all nations. Some *German* writers, diſpleaſed with this etymology, derive the name of *Alemanns* from the word *Atelman*, ſignifying *a man of diſtinction*[n]. But the other derivation is both more natural, and better grounded. The *Alemanns*, according to the moſt common opinion, conſiſted chiefly of *Sueves*, who, in proceſs of time, were joined by ſeveral other *German* nations and ſome *Gauls*; for we are told by *Tacitus*, that a conſiderable number of *Gauls*, abandoning their own country, went to ſettle beyond the *Rhine*, in the country which had formerly belonged to the *Sueves*[o]. The *Alemanns* are placed by *Aurelius Victor*, St. *Jerom*[p], and other writers, between the *Danube*, the *Upper*

Their origin.

Their country.

[l] Var. p. 473. [m] Agath. l i. p. 17. [n] Ludewig vit. Juſtin p. 501. [o] Vide Fuch. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. p. 199, 203. [p] Hier. vit. Hilar. p. 246.

Rhine,

Rhine, and the *Mein*, that is, in the present dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. They were a numerous and warlike nation, and are chiefly commended for fighting with great skill and dexterity on horseback [q]. They had such an aversion to slavery, that even their women, some of whom were taken prisoners by *Caracalla*, chose rather to die than to be sold for slaves. *Caracalla*, however, ordered them to be sold; but, preferring death to slavery, they laid violent hands on themselves, some of them having first dispatched their children [r]. Their government was monarchical; for we find several of their kings mentioned in history, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon. As to their religion, they worshipped the same deities as the other *German* nations. We shall now acquaint the reader with what we have been able to gather from the antients concerning this nation. In the year 214, *Caracalla* is said to have made war upon the *Cenni*, or, as some read it, the *Chatti*, the *Alemanns*, and other *German* nations. The *Alemanns*, it seems, had joined the *Chatti* or *Catti*; and *Caracalla*, under pretence of succouring another nation, with whom they were at variance, made war upon them, and is said to have defeated the *Alemanns* on the banks of the *Mein* [s]. He afterwards concluded a peace with them, distributed large sums among them, listed great numbers of them in his army, and even among his guards, chusing rather to trust his life to them, than to the *Romans* [t]. *Aurelius Victor* adds, that he often appeared in the dress peculiar to those barbarians, wearing false hair of the same colour with theirs [u]. For the victory he gained over the *Alemanns*, he took the surname of *Alemannicus* [w]. In the year 234, the thirteenth of the emperor *Severus Alexander*, the *Alemanns*, and other *German* nations, having passed the *Rhine*, made themselves masters of the forts built on the banks of that river, and, entering *Gaul*, committed dreadful ravages there. *Alexander*, who was just then returned from *Persia*, where he had gained great advantages over *Artaxerxes* the *Persian* king, upon the news of this irruption, hastened into *Gaul*, and advanced, without loss of time, to the banks of the *Rhine*. But the enemy having repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be laid over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field. But he being in the mean time assassinated by the mutinous soldiery, *Maximinus*, who had fir-

Their government and religion

They are overcome by Caracalla.

Year after Christ 214.

[q] AUR. VICT. [r] DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 876. [s] Caracal. vit. p. 87. DIO. VAL. p. 749. & l. lxxvii. p. 870. [t] DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 891. [u] AUR. VICT. de Cæsarib. ad ann. urb. 97[illegible]. [w] SPART. in Caracal. c. 10. p. 731.

Their country ravaged by Maximinus.

red them up and was chosen in his room, entered *Germany* early in the spring, at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. We are told, that several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand [x]. For the signal advantages he gained in this expedition over the *Alemanns* and other *Germ*an nations, the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*, which is still to be seen on several of his medals [y].

Year after christ 235.

They break into Gaul *and* Italy.

The *Alemanns* continued quiet from this time to the year 256, the fourth of *Valerian*'s reign, when, breaking unexpectedly into *Gaul*, they laid waste that country, while the *Juthongians*, that is, the *Alemanns* who dwelt on the banks of the *Danube*, made an irruption into *Italy*. In *Gaul* they were defeated, and obliged to repass the *Rhine*, by *Posthumius*, governor of those provinces. In *Italy* they advanced as far as *Milan*, destroying all with fire and sword; but their numerous army, consisting of three hundred thousand men, was defeated in the neighbourhood of that city, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, by *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thousand men [z]. But of this victory no mention is made either by *Pollio* or *Vopiscus*; and *Zosimus* writes, that the *Alemanns* and other barbarous nations, having ravaged *Illyricum* and great part of *Italy*, returned home, without meeting with the least opposition [a]. *Eutropius* [b], St. *Jerom* [c], and *Orosius* [d], suppose the *Alemanns* to have first ravaged *Gaul*, and from thence passing through *Rhætia*, to have entered *Italy*. We find no further mention made of them till the year 268, the first of the emperor *Claudius*, when the *Juthongians*, breaking into *Italy*, advanced without opposition as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda* near *Verona*. *Claudius* had no sooner suppressed the rebellion of *Aureolus*, who had assumed the purple, than he marched against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and, having cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves by a precipitous flight into their own country [e]. This victory was not known, it seems, to *Pollio*, since he does not mention it; but it is confirmed by several medals, on which the title of *Germanicus* is given to *Claudius*, before that of *Gothicus*, which he took the year after, that is, in 269 [f]. Notwithstanding this overthrow, they no sooner heard of the death of *Claudius*,

Gallienus is said to have gained a great victory over them.

They are routed by Claudius.

Year after christ 268.

[x] Maximin. vit. p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p. 590, 591. [y] Goltz. p. 161, 162. Burag. p. 329. [z] Zon. l. i. p. 150. [a] Zos. l. i. p. 64. [b] Eutrop. l. ix. p. 67. [c] Hier. chron. [d] Oros. l. vii. c. 22. p. 214. [e] Aur. Vict. in epit. [f] Goltz. p. 165.

than,

than, joining the *Marcomanns*, they resolved to invade *Italy* anew. But *Aurelian*, who succeeded *Claudius*, having timely notice of their march, left *Pannonia*, where he then was, and meeting them with the flower of his army in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the present *Bavaria*, and a great part of *Swabia*, gave them a total overthrow, and, pursuing them close, cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to pass the *Danube*. Hereupon they sent embassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with the empire, provided they were allowed to return unmolested to their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. But the emperor refusing to hearken to any terms, the *Alemanns*, by this means reduced to despair, after various debates and consultations, resolved at length to enter *Italy*, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for the emperor thought only of cutting off their retreat), they advanced as far as *Placentia* before *Aurelian* could come up with them, committing every-where unheard-of ravages. As the emperor drew near, they concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods, whence sallying out upon him in the night, they gained a complete victory; which threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, into the utmost consternation. The books of the *Sibyls* were consulted on this occasion by the emperor's orders, and several ceremonies performed to avert the impending storm, which, they apprehended, might be attended with the total ruin of the empire. But in the mean time *Aurelian*, having received strong reinforcements from *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy, in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as escaped from this first battle were slain in two others, one of which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum* or *Pavia*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man [g]. About four years after, the *Alemanns*, who dwelt near the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*; but were forced by *Probus*, who was afterwards emperor, and then commanded in those parts, to repass that river, and return home [h]. They continued afterwards quiet, without molesting either their neighbours or the *Romans*, for the space of eleven years, that is, till the year 285, the third of *Diocletian*'s reign, when they attempted, it seems, to break into the empire; for *Diocletian* is said to have made war upon them, and to have gained some

And by Aurelian.

Who is afterwards defeated by them.

But in the end cuts off their rebel army.

Year after Christ 270.

They renew their attempts into the empire.

[g] Aur. vit. p. 215. VICT. epit. [h] Prob. vit. p. 217.

advantages

advantages over them [i]. In 287, they broke into *Gaul* anew, with the *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, *Cavians*, and several other barbarous nations; but were most of them cut off by *Maximian*, or destroyed by famine [k]. For the great advantages gained over them by *Maximian*, a triumph was decreed by the senate both to him and *Diocletian*, as appears from a medal of this very year 287 [l]. The following year, *Maximian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of a numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Alemanns*, laid it waste far and near, destroying all with fire and sword. He took in this expedition an incredible number of captives, and reduced, if *Mamertin* his panegyrist is to be credited, great part of *Germany* [m]. At the same time, *Diocletian* entered *Germany* through *Rhætia*, and is said to have extended the confines of the empire to the source of the *Danube* [n]. In the year 291, the *Burgundians* seized on part of the country belonging to the *Alemanns*, which gave rise to a war between those two nations [o]; but as to the issue of this war, we are quite in the dark. In the year 301, *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, gained a signal victory over the *Alemanns*, who, breaking into *Gaul* with a numerous army, came upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of troops with him; which obliged him at first to retire and shelter himself within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered that city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and, engaging the enemy, gained a complete victory [p]. In this battle the *Alemanns* lost sixty thousand men, as appears from *Eutropius* [q], St. *Jerom* [r], *Orosius* [s], and even from *Zonaras* [t], and not six thousand only, as we read it in the *Greek* text of *Eusebius*. The *Alemanns*, disheartened with so great a loss, did not offer to disturb the peace of the empire during the remaining part of the reign of *Constantius*. But, in the first of his son *Constantine*, that is, in 306, they began anew to make inroads into *Gaul*, which provoked that prince to such a degree, that, having taken some of their kings prisoners, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the magnificent shows which he exhibited [u]. However, a few years after, that is, in 310, the *Alemanns*, in conjunction with the *Bructerians*, *Cheruscans*, and *Chamavians*, having crossed the *Rhine*, laid waste

60,000 *of them cut off by* Constantius Chlorus. *Year after Christ* 301.

[i] Noris. de Dioc. c. 4. p. 10, 20 [k] Panegyr. x. p. 124. Buch Belg. p. 221. [l] Noris. de Dioc. c. 4. p. 18. [m] Panegyr. x. p. 125, 126. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem xi. p. 139. [p] Eutrop. p. 555 Theoph. p. 5. [q] Eutrop. l. ix. p. 567. [r] Hier. chron. [s] Oros. l. vii. c. 25. p. 315. [t] Zonar. p. 2[illegible]. [u] Eutrop. p. 58[illegible].

the

the neighbouring provinces; but *Constantine*, marching against them, overcame them in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit their booty and repass the *Rhine* [w]. For this victory he is supposed to have taken the title of *Maximus*, which we find on his coins of this year [x]. From this time no mention is made of the *Alemanns* till the year 355, the eighteenth of *Constantius*'s reign, when they attempted to break into *Italy*; which obliged the emperor to march against them: but as he drew near the enemy, who were advanced as far as the lake of *Constance*, he detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army against them. *Arbetio*, falling into an ambuscade, was defeated with great loss. But some of the officers, who commanded under him, engaging the enemy a few days after, without his orders, put the *Alemanns* to flight; and *Constantius*, satisfied with this small advantage, returned to *Milan* [y]. The same year, another body of *Alemanns*, breaking into *Gaul*, with the *Franks* and *Saxons*, took and plundered above forty towns on the banks of the *Rhine*, and, among the rest, the city of *Cologne*, which they almost intirely ruined [z]. Hereupon *Constantius*, unwilling to leave *Italy* and march against the barbarians in person, raised *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and sent him to head the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*. *Julian*, soon after his arrival, led what forces he had against the *Alemanns*, who had advanced as far as *Lyons*, with a design to surprise that city; but the enemy retiring upon his approach, he waited for them in the passes, through which they were to return to their own country, and there cut most of them in pieces. Only a small number, who took their route through the present *Switzerland*, had the good luck to make their escape, being suffered to pass unmolested by *Barbatio*, another *Roman* general, who was encamped at *Basle*, and is supposed to have had private orders from *Constantius* to thwart all the designs of *Julian* [a]. Be that as it will, *Julian*, having thus driven the *Alemanns* out of *Gaul*, undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres Tabernæ*, a fort near *Argentoratum*, now *Strasburg*, known at present by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demolished. As it was so situated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the antient fortifications, but added new works to them, stored them with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garison in the place, to keep the neighbouring country in awe [b]. In the mean time, a large body of *Alemanns*, falling upon *Barbatio* while he was busied in

Take and plunder forty cities in Gaul.

They are driven out by Julian.

[w] Panegyr. vii. p. 165 [x] Eutrop. p. 462. [y] Ammian. l. xv. p. 36, 37. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, l. xvi. p. 73, 74. [b] Jul. p. 512 Liban. p. 273. Ammian. p 75.

laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took moſt of his baggage, laid waſte the neighbouring country, and returned home loaded with booty. Elated with this victory, they aſſembled in great numbers under the banners of *Chnodomarius* and ſix other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Straſburg*. Being informed there by a deſerter, that *Julian*'s army was only thirteen thouſand ſtrong, *Chnodomarius* had the arrogance to ſend a meſſenger to him, commanding him to quit a country, which the *Alemanns* had acquired by their courage and valour [c]. *Libanius* adds, that the meſſenger produced letters from *Conſtantius*, in which he yielded to them that country [d]. *Julian*, however, paying no regard to them, detained the meſſenger as a ſpy, and purſued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy, having paſſed the *Rhine*, were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, interrupting the work, he marched directly againſt them, and engaging the ſame day, though his men were tired with their long march, gained a complete victory over them. They were thirty-five thouſand ſtrong, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. The victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way, nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to return to the charge; but the vigorous reſiſtance made by the foot ſo diſheartened the barbarians, that, deſpairing to be able to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuoſity; which the *Romans* perceiving, made a laſt effort, and charging the barbarians, already quite ſpent, put them in the end to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. Vaſt numbers of them were drowned in the *Rhine*, in attempting to croſs that river. *Chnodomarius* himſelf was taken priſoner, and preſented to *Julian*, who ſent him to *Conſtantius*, by whoſe orders he was conveyed to *Rome*, where he died ſoon after a natural death. In this battle *Julian* loſt only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Alemanns* ſix, or, as ſome write, eight, thouſand men were killed in the field; but a great many dead bodies were ſeen floating on the river [e]. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſixty thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and an equal number drowned; but he muſt certainly have been miſtaken. *Julian* himſelf ſtyles the battle of *Straſburg* a ſucceſsful action, which reſtored *Gaul* to its antient liberty [f]. *Mamertinus* ſays, that, by this ſingle

The battle of Straſburg, *in which the* Alemanns *were intirely defeated by* Julian. *Year after Chriſt* 357.

[c] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 76, 77. [d] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269, 273.
[e] Ammian. l. xvi. p 75. & l. xvii. p 86. Liban. orat. x. p. 237. & orat. xii. p 274, 276. [f] Amm. l. xx. p. 160.

battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined [g]. It is at leaſt certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. *Julian*, from the field of battle, returned to *Saverne*, and, having finiſhed the works there, advanced with his whole army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and, entering *Germany*, continued ravaging the countries of the *Alemanns* and their allies till after the equinox, when the ſnow preventing him from advancing farther, he returned to *Gaul*, after having repaired the caſtle of *Trajan*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of *Francfort*, and granted to the *Alemanns* and their allies a truce for ten months, upon their promiſing to ſtore with proviſions the fort that was building in their country [h]. The truce no ſooner expired, than *Julian*, croſſing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered anew the country of the *Alemanns*, and obliged two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, to ſue for peace; which he granted them, upon their ſending back all the *Roman* captives, and furniſhing timber, iron, and other materials, to repair the cities which they had ruined [i]. We are told by *Zoſimus*, that, in this expedition, *Julian* got two thouſand *Romans* ſet at liberty [k].

THE following year 359, *Julian*, paſſing unexpectedly the *Rhine*, advanced to the moſt diſtant borders of the *Alemanns* and *Burgundians*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Here- upon two of the kings of the *Alemanns*, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaldus*, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, ſuing for peace. At the ſame time, *Vadomarius* king of the *Alemanns*, whoſe country lay towards *Baſle*, came in perſon to wait on *Julian*, who, at his earneſt requeſt, reſtored to him his ſon, whom he had given as an hoſtage; but at the ſame time he declared, that he would treat him as an enemy, if he did not ſet at liberty the *Romans*, whom, to the number of three thouſand, he kept in captivity. As *Vadomarius* put off from time to time the ſending back the captives, *Julian*, leaving *Spire*, where he then was, marched directly to *Baſle*, and, arriving unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of that city, ſtruck *Vadomarius* and his people with ſuch terror, that the captives were immediately ſet at liberty. Hereupon *Julian* received the king of the *Alemanns* as his friend and ally, ordering his men to forbear all hoſtilities [l]. We are told, that the emperor himſelf wrote to *Julian* in favour of *Vadomarius*, being induced thereunto by ſome *Alemanns*, who were in great employments at court, *viz.* by *Latinus*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*; by *Agilo* the *tribunus*

Julian obliges the princes of the Alemanns *to ſue for peace.*

[g] Panegyr. xi. p 223. [h] AMMIAN. p. 88. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 277. [i] Idem, orat. xii. p. 279. [k] In Julian. p. 514. [l] AMMIAN. l xvii p. 117.

stabuli, or master of the horse; and by *Agilo*, who had a chief command in the army [m]. Soon after, three other kings of the *Alemanns*, viz. *Urias*, *Ursicinus*, and *Vestralphus*, sent deputies suing for peace; which *Julian* granted them, upon their setting at liberty the *Roman* captives [n]. *Julian*, having thus concluded a peace with the princes of the *Alemanns*, left *Germany*, and, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as the season was already far advanced, retired himself to *Paris* [o]. Two years after, that is, in 361, the *Alemanns*, those chiefly who were subject to *Vadomarius*, broke anew into *Gaul* on the side of *Rhætia*, and committed dreadful ravages there. *Vadomarius* pretended to be much concerned for the hostilities committed by his countrymen, and to have the greatest respect imaginable for *Julian*. But in the mean time, he wrote a letter to the emperor *Constantius*, filled with bitter invectives against him. *Julian*, having intercepted the letter, found means to have him arrested at a banquet, and banished him into *Spain* [p]. He had already sent *Libano*, one of his generals, with a strong detachment against the *Alemanns*; but he being killed, and his men put to the route near *Sanctio*, thought to be the present *Seckingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Basle*, *Julian* advanced in person against them, passed the *Rhine*, and, coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to restore the booty they had taken, and sue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms [q].

They break anew into Gaul; but are defeated by Julian, who takes one of their kings prisoner. Year after Christ 361.

Upon the death of Julian they ravage Gaul.

The *Alemanns* continued quiet the remaining part of *Julian*'s reign; but they no sooner heard of his death, than they renewed their ravages in *Rhætia* and *Gaul*. Hereupon *Valentinian* I. then emperor, dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, one of his best generals, against them, and, leaving *Italy*, hastened in person into *Gaul*, in order to make head against the numerous forces, which the *Alemanns* and other barbarous nations were said to be raising with a design to invade *Gaul*. The emperor advanced as far as *Rheims*; but the *Alemanns* retiring at his approach, he turned back, and took up his winter-quarters at *Paris* [r]. In the mean time, the *Alemanns* having, in the depth of winter, passed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated in a pitched battle the *Romans*, who attempted to oppose them, took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, killed count *Charietto*, who commanded in both *Germanies*, and wounded count *Severianus*, who had the command of a body of troops [s]. *Zosimus* supposes *Valentinian*

They defeat the Romans.

[m] Idem, l. xvi. p. 77, & l. xiv. p. 24. [n] Idem. l. xvi p. 75. [o] Idem, l. xx. p 154. [p] Liban. orat. xii. p. 286. Ammian l. xxi. p. 181, 182. [q] Ammian. ibid. [r] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315. [s] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 334. Zos. l. iv. p. 740.

himself

himself to have been present at this battle. But it is plain from *Ammianus*, that he was then at *Paris*; whence, upon the first news of the defeat of his troops, he dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences, that were likely to attend the late overthrow. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the horse, sent in his room, who defeated the *Alemanns* in three battles, whereof the first was fought at a place called *Scarponna*, now *Charpeigne*, between *Toul* and *Metz*; the second in the neighbourhood of the *Moselle*; and the third near *Chalons* on the *Marne*. In the last of these three engagements, the enemy fought with great resolution and intrepidity, and the *Romans* were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune having disanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inspiring them with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and in the end to betake themselves to a precipitous flight. On the enemy's side, six thousand were killed on the spot, and four thousand wounded; and of the *Romans* only two hundred killed and as many wounded [t]. The enemy withdrew in the night-time; but were intercepted in their retreat by several parties sent out by *Jovinus* for that purpose; insomuch, that few of them had the good luck to make their escape. One of their kings was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged by those who took him; which base action provoked *Jovinus* to such a degree, that he would have punished with death the tribune who commanded the party, had he not found, upon a strict inquiry, that he had done all that lay in his power to restrain the fury of the incensed soldiery [u]. Of this victory *Idatius* must, without all doubt, be understood, where he writes, that the *Alemanns* were utterly defeated by *Valentinian* [w]. In the close of the following year 367, the *Alemanns*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained the year before, passed unexpectedly the *Rhine*, and, having taken and plundered the city of *Mentz*, while the emperor was employed, says *Ammianus*, in some other expedition, committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of *Rhando*, one of their princes. The *Romans*, to be revenged on the *Alemanns*, had

But are defeated with great slaughter by Jovinus. Year after Christ 366.

[t] AMMIAN. ibid p. 334. 335. Zos. ibid. [u] Zos. ibid.
[w] IDAT. fast ad ann. 366.

reconcile

The Romans cause one of their kings to be treacherously murdered.

recourse to treachery, and caused *Vithicabius*, a prince of the same nation, to be assassinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emissaries. *Vithicabius* was the son of *Vadomarius*, and a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution [x]. *Valentinian*, having spent the following winter at *Treves* in making vast preparations, with a design to attack the *Alemanns* in their own country, took the field on the seventeenth of *June*, and, having assembled all his troops, crossed the *Rhine*, entered the enemy's country, and advanced, without the least opposition, to a place called *Solicinium*, which the modern geographers take to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*.

Valentinian gains a signal victory over them. Year after Christ 368.

The *Alemanns* had posted themselves there on a high and steep mountain; but the *Romans*, notwithstanding their advantageous situation, attacked them with great intrepidity, and, though several times repulsed, dislodged them in the end, and pursued them with great slaughter. Some of the enemy made their escape by favour of the night; but the far greater part were put to the sword, their retreat being cut off by count *Sebastian*, at the head of a strong detachment. After this battle, which was fought at a small distance from the head of the *Neckar*, in the present dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, the emperor returned to *Treves*, as the season was already far advanced, and there gave audience to the embassadors of the *Alemanns* suing for peace; which, it seems, he granted them [y], but, upon what terms, we are not told. This peace, however, was not long-lived; for two years after, that is, in 370, there appeared on the banks of the *Rhine* eighty thousand *Burgundians*, whom *Valentinian* had invited to join him against *Macrianus* king of the *Alemanns*. But the emperor being then busied in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine*, and unwilling to interrupt that work, the *Burgundians* returned home, without offering to molest the *Alemanns*. However, *Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, taking advantage of the consternation the *Alemanns* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of prisoners, to whom the emperor allowed lands and settlements on the banks of the *Po* [z]. The following year *Valentinian* broke unexpectedly into the country of the *Alemanns*, hoping to surprise *Macrianus* their king, whom he chiefly dreaded; but *Macrianus*, having received timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor returned to *Treves*, after having laid waste the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemanns* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of his own nation, named *Fraomarius*, for

[x] Ammian. ibid. p. 349. [y] Idem ibid. p 350, 351, & l. xxviii. p. 352. [z] Idem, p. 377.

king

king. But the country being intirely ruined, *Fraomarius* was glad to quit his new dignity for the command of a body of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain* [a]. The following year, *Valentinian*, paſſing the *Rhine* in the beginning of the ſummer, committed ſome ravages in the country of the *Alemanns*, and undertook the building of a fort in the neighbourhood of *Baſle*, to ſerve as a curb upon the *Alemanns* on that ſide. But in the mean time the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* having broken into *Pannonia*, and cut in pieces two *Roman* legions there, the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. As he could not leave *Gaul*, without concluding a peace with the *Alemanns*, who, he was well appriſed, would not fail to break into thoſe provinces upon his departure, he invited *Macrianus* to an interview in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. The king of the *Alemanns* readily complied with the invitation; and though at firſt he betrayed a great deal of haughtineſs in ſeeing his friendſhip thus courted by the *Roman* emperor, yet, in the end, he accepted the advantageous conditions that were offered him, and ever after continued a faithful friend to the *Romans* [b]. Some years after, a war being kindled between the *Alemanns* and *Franks*, *Macrianus*, having invaded the enemy's country, was killed in an ambuſcade by *Mellobaudes*, a warlike prince of that nation [c].

He concludes a peace with Macrianus *their king. Year after Chriſt* 374.

IN the year 378, the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, having revolted, and defeated ſeveral *Roman* armies ſent againſt them, *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eaſtern provinces, reſolved to march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his uncle, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of his forces to ſet out on their march from *Gaul*, where he then was, to *Illyricum*. Of this notice being immediately given to the *Alemanns*, called *Lentienſes*, by a countryman of theirs, who was in ſome employment at the court of *Gratian*, without the leaſt regard to the treaty they had concluded with *Valentinian*, they paſſed the *Rhine*, and began to lay waſte the neighbouring provinces. They were repulſed at firſt by the *Roman* troops quartered in thoſe parts; but returning ſoon after, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men, *Gratian* was obliged to recal the troops that were already on their march into *Illyricum*, and to ſend them, reinforced with thoſe that were left in *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Nannianus* and *Mellobaudes* king of the *Franks*, to oppoſe the attempts of the enemy, and to oblige them to repaſs the *Rhine*. The two generals gave them battle at a place called *Argentaria*, now, as is commonly believed, *Colmar*, and,

They break the treaty: but are defeated with great ſlaughter by Gratian. Year after Chriſt 378.

[a] Idem, l. xxix. xxx. p. 397, 398. [b] Idem, l. xxx. p 417, 418. [c] Idem ibid.

tho'

tho' greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory, thirty thousand of the enemy being killed on the spot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit or taken prisoners. Their king *Triarius* and several other persons of great distinction were in the number of the dead [d]. After this victory, *Gratian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of his army, and, entering the enemy's country, obliged them to take refuge among their barren mountains, where he kept them shut up, till they were forced by famine to submit to such terms as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon them, one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the *Roman* army; which they did accordingly [e]. Of the *Alemanns* no further mention is made in history till the year 388, when we are told by *Orosius* [f], that, dreading the arms of *Maximus*, who had usurped the empire in *Gaul*, they submitted to him of their own accord, paying him a yearly tribute, and supplying his army with such quantities of corn and other provisions as he thought fit to demand. In the reign of *Honorius*, which began in 395, a colony of the *Alemanns* was allowed to settle in that part of the present *Switzerland*, which is separated by mount *Jura* from the *Franche Comté*, and by the lake of *Geneva* and the *Rhône* from the present *Savoy* and province of *Vienne* [g]. *Servius*, who wrote his comment upon *Virgil* about the year 411, tells us, that, in his time, the country bordering on the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, was inhabited by the *Alemanns* [h]. We find no fruther mention made of the *Alemanns* till the year 477, when *Audoacrius* king of the *Saxons*, and *Childeric* king of the *Franks*, marching against those of that nation who had settled among the *Alps*, and made frequent inroads both into *Gaul* and *Italy*, put great numbers of them to the sword, and stripped them of the booty, which they had a little before brought with them from *Italy* [i]. Upon the downfal of the western empire, the *Alemanns* made themselves masters of that part of *Gaul*, which is now known by the name of *Alsace*, and settled there [k]. These *Alemanns*, being joined by their countrymen in *Germany*, and those who dwelt between mount *Jura* and the lake of *Geneva*, in the year 496, entered *Germania Secunda*, which then belonged to the *Ripuarian Franks*, putting all to fire and sword. Hereupon *Sigebert*, king of the country, not able to make head against them with his own forces alone, had recourse to *Clovis*, king of the *Salian Franks*; who immediately joined him. The two

They submit to Maximus.

They settle in Helvetia.

[d] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 453, 454. [e] Idem ibid. p. 455. [f] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [g] VALES. l. v. p. 237. [h] SERV. in not. ad 4. georg p. 158 [i] GREG. Turon. l. ii. c. 19 [k] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12.

kings,

kings, after their junction, engaged the *Alemanns*, and gained a complete victory over them at *Tolbiac*, thought to be the present *Zulpick*, about four leagues from *Cologne*. After this defeat, such of the *Alemanns* as had settled in *Alsace*, and in the neighbourhood of the lake of *Geneva*, acknowledged *Clovis* for their king. Others took refuge in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, being allowed to settle there by *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, as we have related above [l]. The same prince transplanted great numbers of them into *Italy*, and suffered the rest to settle in the countries between the *Alps* and the *Danube*, which were subject to him. From this time the *Alemanns* had no king of their own (for their last king was killed in the above-mentioned battle); but continued, as they were dispersed in several counties, subject partly to the *Ostrogoths*, who were masters of *Italy*, and partly to the *Franks*, who were lords of *Gaul*. When the *Ostrogoths* yielded to the children of *Clovis* whatever they held out of *Italy*, all the *Alemanns*, except those whom *Theodoric* had transplanted into that country, submitted to the *Franks*, as we shall relate in our history of the modern nations.

They are overcome by Clovis, *and dispersed. Year after Christ* 275.

The Gepidæ.

THE *Gepidæ* were, without all doubt, a *Gothic* nation. *Jornandes*, speaking of them, gives us the following account of their name and origin: The *Goths*, says that writer, leaving *Scandinavia* under the conduct of king *Berith*, put to sea with three ships only. One of these, sailing slower than the other two, was thence called *Gepanta*, signifying in the *Gothic* tongue *slow*; and hence the name of *Gepantæ* and *Gepidæ*, which was first given to that people by way of reproach [m]. *Procopius* likewise tells us in express terms, that the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Gepidæ*, were originally one and the same nation; that they had the same customs, manners, religion, and language, and that they only differed in names, borrowed perhaps, says he, from their different leaders [n]: and *Paulus Diaconus*; the *Goths*, the *Gepidæ*, the *Vandals*, says he, agree in language, manners, and religion, and differ only in name [o]. They entered *Scythia*, according to *Jornandes*, with the other *Goths*, and settled in the neighbourhood of the *Tanais* and *Palus Mæotis* [p]. There they continued till the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, when their numbers being greatly increased, they approached the *Danube*, and, having

The Gepidæ. *Their origin and name.*

Their country.

[l] Vide supra. p. 537 bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2.
[m] Jorn. de reb Goth. p 89. [n] Procop.
[o] Paul. Diac. misc. l. xiv. p. 459.
[p] Jorn. ibid. p 84.

ſome time after croſſed that river, they ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Singidunum* and *Sirmium*, about the year 400, where they ſtill were when *Procopius* wrote his hiſtory [q]. They had kings of their own, and formed a ſeparate and diſtinct nation both from the *Oſtrogoths* and *Viſigoths*; but perhaps not from the *Lombards*, who were afterwards maſters of *Italy* [r]. As for what we find of them in the antient writers, *Jornandes* tells us, that, under the conduct of their king *Faſtida*, they gained a complete victory over the *Burgundians* about the year 245 [s]. The *Burgundians* whom they overcame, and almoſt extirpated, were, according to *Valeſius*, as we have related above, a different nation from the *Burgundians* who afterwards ſettled in *Gaul*. Be that as it will, *Faſtida*, elated with his ſucceſs againſt the *Burgundians*, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Oſtrogotha*, king of the *Goths*, acquainting him, that as the *Gepidæ* were greatly ſtraightened for want of room, he muſt either grant them lands, or prepare for war. *Oſtrogotha* anſwered, That he ſhould be very unwilling to make war upon his kinſmen; but was determined to part with no land. Hereupon *Faſtida*, entering the territories of the *Goths*, began to lay them waſte; which *Oſtrogotha* no ſooner underſtood, than, leaving *Mæſia*, which he was then ravaging, he haſtened back to the defence of his own country, and, meeting *Faſtida*, gave him a total overthrow; but, contenting himſelf with the victory, did not ſo much as purſue the flying *Gepidæ*, looking upon them rather as his kinſmen, than an enemy [u]. The *Gepidæ* joined the *Goths*, and other northern nations, in the famous irruption which they made with their united forces into the empire in 269, the ſecond of the reign of *Claudius*; but they were defeated by that prince with great ſlaughter, as we have related at length elſewhere [v]. In the year 279, the emperor *Probus* granted to them, and likewiſe to the *Juthungians*, *Vandals*, and *Franks*, lands in *Thrace*, upon their promiſing to live as the other ſubjects of the empire. But while the emperor was engaged in war with *Saturninus*, who had revolted in the eaſt, they laid hold of that opportunity to ravage the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Probus*, having ſucceſsfully ended his other wars, marched againſt them in perſon, and, in ſeveral encounters, cut ſuch numbers of them in pieces, that only a ſmall body of *Franks* had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter and return home [w]. In 291, a war broke

They defeat the Burgundians.

But are defeated by the Goths. *Year after Chriſt* 248.

Great numbers of them cut off by Probus. *Year after Chriſt* 279.

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Vide Grot. proleg. in hiſt Goth p. 53. [s] Jorn l. xvii. p. 635. [t] Idem, p. 63, 637. [u] Claud. vit. p. 207. & Univerſ Hiſt vol. xv. p. 196, & ſeq. [w] Prob. vit. p. 240.

out

out between them and the *Goths*, in which the *Gepidæ* were assisted by the *Vandals*, and the *Goths* by the *Taifalæ*, another *Gothic* nation. But all we know of this war is, that both parties were greatly weakened, and put out of a condition of disturbing, for some time, the peace of the empire [x]. The *Gepidæ* are mentioned by St. *Jerom* among the other nations of barbarians, that in 407 broke into *Gaul*, and over-ran those provinces [y]. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and in 451 served under him in his famous expedition into *Gaul*; on which occasion the *Franks* and they meeting in the dark, both parties engaged with such fury, that above fifteen thousand were left dead on the spot [z]. Upon the death of *Attila*, the *Gepidæ* shook off the yoke under the conduct of their king *Ardaric*; which occasioned a bloody war between them and the *Hunns*. But at length *Ardaric* having gained a complete victory over the *Hunns*, of whom thirty thousand were killed on the spot, with their king *Ellac*, the *Gepidæ* not only recovered their antient liberty, but the country whence they had been driven by *Attila*, that is, all antient *Dacia*, lying north of the *Danube* [a]. This memorable battle, which, in a manner, put an end to the empire of the *Hunns*, was fought on the banks of the *Netad* in *Pannonia*, about the year 480 [b]. The *Gepidæ*, thus settled in *Dacia*, entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, who agreed to pay them an annual pension. *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* was thenceforth called, from its new inhabitants, *Gepidia*, as we read in *Jornandes* [c]. Some years after, part of *Illyricum* was likewise granted them, with the city of *Sirmium*; whence their kings are by *Theophanes* styled kings of *Sirmium* [d]. There they continued quiet till the year 537, when, joining the *Heruli*, they began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. Hereupon *Justinian*, then emperor, having ended the war in *Italy* with the *Goths*, dispatched his best generals against them, who, having overcome them in several encounters, obliged them to abandon what they held in *Illyricum*, and content themselves with *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* [e]. In the year 550, a contest arose between the *Gepidæ* and the *Lombards* descended from them, says *Paulus Diaconus* [f], about their confines; for the *Lombards* held part of *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, having been allowed to settle there by the *Roman* emperors, who indeed had abandoned that province, but claimed a right of disposing

They are subdued by Attila.

They defeat the Hunns *with great slaughter, and recover their antient liberty. Year after Christ* 480.

They are driven out of Illyricum *by* Justinian. *Year after Christ* 537.

They quarrel with the Lombards. *Year after Christ* 550.

[x] Panegyr. xi p 131, 138. [y] HIER ep. xi. p. 93. [z] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664. [a] Idem ibid. p. 133, 134. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem, p. 93, 94. [d] THEOPH. ad ann. Justin 13. [e] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. iii c 33. [f] PAUL. DIAC. l. xiii. p. 429.

of it to whom they pleased. Both the *Gepidæ* and *Lombards*, before they came to an open rupture, dispatched embassadors to *Justinian*, soliciting succours, in virtue of their alliance with the empire. The emperor, after hearing the embassadors of both nations, declared, that, in case of a war, he was determined not to suffer the *Lombards* to be oppressed by their encroaching neighbours, ordering at the same time ten thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot to march to their assistance, under the command of *Constantianus*, *Buzes*, *Aratius*, and other generals; which the *Gepidæ* no sooner understood, than they concluded a peace with the *Lombards* [g]. But the *Roman* troops were scarce returned home, when the *Gepidæ*, refusing to stand to the articles of the treaty, took the field anew under the conduct of their king *Thorisinus*. *Auduinus*, then king of the *Lombards*, having drawn together what troops he could, went out to meet the enemy; but both armies, seized with a panic while they were ready to engage, betook themselves at the same time to a precipitous flight; which both kings looking upon as a prodigy, they concluded a two years truce [h]; which was no sooner expired, than the *Gepidæ*, calling in the *Heruli* to their assistance, broke unexpectedly into the territories of the *Lombards*, destroying all with fire and sword. But the *Lombards*, receiving a timely reinforcement from *Justinian*, fell upon the *Gepidæ*, and gave them a total overthrow [i]. We are told, that *Justinian* had promised to observe a strict neutrality in this war; and that his promise was confirmed by the oath of twelve senators: but nevertheless, as the *Gepidæ* had not kept their word with him, he did not think himself bound, either by his own promise, or the oaths of the senators who had sworn in his name [k]. This defeat was followed by a peace between the two nations, which was concluded by the mediation of *Justinian*, unwilling that either should aggrandize themselves at the expence of the other. *Thorisinus* was at this time king of the *Gepidæ*, and *Auduinus* of the *Lombards*; but neither had any right to the crown he wore. The lawful heir to *Elemund* the late king of the *Gepidæ* was *Ustrigothus*, that prince's only son; but *Elemund* dying while he was yet under age, *Thorisinus* had caused himself to be acknowledged in his room. In the same manner *Auduinus*, king of the *Lombards*, had excluded *Ildigesal* the lawful heir from the crown, and placed it upon his own head. The above-mentioned peace between the two nations was scarce concluded, when *Ildigesal* took refuge among the *Gepidæ*, and *Ustrigothus* among the *Lombards*.

The Gepidæ receive a great overthrow from the Lombards four after Christ 552.

[g] Procop. ibid. c. 34, 39. [h] Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 18. [i] Idem ibid. c. 25. [k] Idem ibid.

Both

Both princes were demanded with great earneſtneſs and threats by their reſpective nations; but neither caring to comply with the requeſt of the other, they both began to prepare for war. However, the two kings, or rather uſurpers, before hoſtilities were committed on either ſide, agreed to diſpatch each other's rival; which they did accordingly, deeming it leſs diſhonourable to aſſaſſinate than betray thoſe, who had put themſelves under their protection [l]. Not long after, the two kings dying, *Thoriſinus* was ſucceeded by *Cunimundus*, and *Auduinus* by *Alboinus*. *Cunimundus* had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when, reviving ſome antient claims upon the *Lombards*, which they refuſed to comply with, he took the field at the head of a very numerous army, and, entering the country of the *Lombards*, committed there unheard-of ravages. On the other hand, *Alboinus*, having drawn together a no leſs numerous army, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; which *Cunimundus* not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The victory continued long doubtful; but, in the end, the *Gepidæ* were put to flight, and purſued by the victorious *Lombards* with ſuch ſlaughter, that ſcarce one was left alive of ſo numerous a multitude. *Alboinus* killed *Cunimundus* with his own hand, and, cutting off his head, turned his ſkull into a cup, called by the *Lombards*, ſays *Paulus Diaconus*, *ſchala*, and by the *Latins patera*. This *ſchala* or cup he ever afterwards uſed at all public banquets or entertainments. After this victory, the *Lombards* ſeized on all *Dacia*, obliging the *Gepidæ* either to ſubmit to them, or retire elſewhere. Thenceforth they had no king of their own, but lived in ſubjection either to the *Lombards*, who were maſters of their country, or to the princes of the neighbouring nations, eſpecially of the *Hunns* ſettled in *Pannonia* [m]. Thus *Paulus Diaconus* in his hiſtory of the *Lombards*. *Lazius* adds, that, among the preſent *Hungarians*, the deſcendants of the *Gepidæ* are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who are ſprung from the *Hunns* [n]. The ruin of the kingdom of the *Gepidæ* is placed by *Pagi* in 553, while *Juſtinian* was ſtill living; but others more rightly in the year 572, *Juſtin*, the ſucceſſor of *Juſtinian*, being then emperor: for we are told, that the treaſures of the deceaſed king were conveyed to *Juſtin* at *Conſtantinople* by *Traſſaicus*, an *Arian* biſhop, and by *Reptilanes*, the late king's grandſon [o]. *Alboinus* afterwards married *Roſimund*, the daughter of *Cunimundus*; which made the *Gepidæ* bear the yoke

The Gepidæ *defeated by the ſame nation with great ſlaughter.*

The end of their kingdom.

Year after Chriſt 572.

[l] Idem ibid. c. 27. [m] PAUL. DIAC. de geſt. Longibard. l. i. c. 27. [n] LAZ. de migrat. gent. l. xi. p. 183. [o] Abbas BICLAR. p. 12. edit. Scalig.

more

more patiently [p]. *Theodebert*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, reproaches the emperor *Justinian* for assuming the title of *Gepidicus*, to which he had no claim, since that nation was never overcome or conquered by him [q]. Some writers think, that the king of the *Franks* was therein mistaken, since the surname of *Gepidicus* is not to be found on any of the almost innumerable monuments and coins of *Justinian*, which have reached our times. Others are of opinion, that *Justinian* took the surname of *Gepidicus*, not on account of his conquering that nation, but because the *Gepidæ*, by putting themselves, as they did, under his protection, were deemed his subjects, which, say they, intitled him to the surname of *Gepidicus*. It is certain, that he took, and, according to the most probable opinion, on this account, the title of *Francicus*, before he had gained any advantages over that nation, nay several years before he made war upon them.

[p] Paul. Diac. ibid. [q] Agath. l. i. p. 14.

The Heruli.

The Heruli.

Their origin.

Their different seats.

THE *Heruli*, by *Zosimus* called *Eruli* [r], by *Syncellus Aairuli* [s], but commonly *Heruli*, were originally, according to *Jornandes* and *Procopius*, a *Gothic* nation. The former writer tells us, that they first dwelt in *Scandinavia*, and that, being driven from thence by the *Dani*, they wandered eastward as far as the *Palus Mœotis*, and settled in that neighbourhood [t]. *Procopius* speaks of them as inhabiting, in antient times, the countries lying beyond the *Danube* [u], agreeing therein with *Jornandes*. There they continued, making frequent irruptions into the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, who succeeded *Zeno* in 491, when great numbers of them were cut off by the *Lombards*, and the rest driven from their antient habitations. Some of them, after having long roved about from one country to another, settled in that of the *Rugians*, the present *Pomerania*, which they found uninhabited, the antient proprietors being gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. Some time after, they removed from thence into *North Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, being allowed by the *Gepidæ*, then masters of that country, to settle among them. But being oppressed and ill used by the *Gepidæ*, they had recourse to the emperor *Anastasius*, who in 511 allowed them to pass the *Danube*, and settle in *Thrace*, upon their promising to serve with

[r] Zos. l. i. p. 652. [s] Syncel. p. 382. [t] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 3. p. 613. [u] Procop. de bell. Goth. l. ii.

fidelity

fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required [w]. Great numbers of them, upon their being driven out of their own country by the *Lombards*, as we have mentioned above, under the conduct of several princes of the blood royal, took their route westward, and, passing without opposition through several barbarous nations, came to the ocean, and, embarquing there, set sail for *Thule*, where they settled [x]. By *Thule Procopius* meant, without all doubt, the peninsula of *Scandinavia*, which he calls ten times as big as *Britain*; and adds, that great part of it was destitute of inhabitants, but in that, which was inhabited, were seated thirteen populous nations, each of them being governed by their own kings and laws [y]. The *Heruli* had kings of their own; but their kings, says *Procopius*, were such only by name; for they scarce had any authority, and were almost upon a level with every private man [z]. Hence some think they were called *Heruli*, from the antient *Gothic* word *herrn*, signifying *free*. But others, and, among the rest, *Ablavius*, as quoted by *Jornandes*, will have them to have been called *Heruli*, from the *Greek* word *hele*, signifying *marshy grounds*, such as those were in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mœotis*, where they dwelt [a]. The *Heruli* had some laws peculiar to themselves, and differing from those of all other nations; for, among them, when men were grown old or infirm, they were not to live, but intreat their relations to dispatch them; which they did accordingly, by placing them on a pile of wood, where they were put to death by one, who was a stranger to them in blood, and their bodies reduced to ashes, it being the duty of the nearest relation to set fire to the pile. When the husband died, the wife was to strangle herself on her husband's tomb, on pain of being deemed infamous, and looked upon as one, who had no value for her husband. They were given to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and not ashamed of the most unnatural practices. They adored the same gods as the other *Gothic* nations, and used, on some extraordinary occasions, to appease them with human sacrifices [b]. They were a warlike people, and are chiefly commended by the antients for their swiftness and agility, all other nations chusing their light-armed soldiers out of them. The *Heruli* began first to invade the empire about the year 526, the fourth of the emperor *Valerian*'s reign; but were soon driven back by *Gallienus*, the son of *Valerian*, and his collegue in the empire [c]. Eleven years after, the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Maotis* into the *Euxine* sea with

Their government, manners, customs, religion.

[w] Idem ibid. c. 14. p. 42. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid.
[z] Idem, c. 14. [a] Jornan. ubi sup. [b] Procop. ibid. [c] Zonar. in Gallien. p. 253.

five

five hundred veſſels, under the conduct of one of their chiefs named *Naulobat*, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chryopolis*, now *Scutari*. At the latter place they were met and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himſelf killed in the engagement. The *Heruli*, ſomewhat diſcouraged with the loſs they had ſuſtained, reimbarqued, and began to retire to the mouth of the *Euxine* ſea; but the very next day, the wind proving favourable, they returned anew before *Byzantium*, and, having croſſed the *Boſporus*, ſurpriſed and plundered the city of *Cyzicus*, with great part of *Aſia*, and the iſlands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Thence they ſteered their courſe towards *Greece*, and, landing there, beſieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, till the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the hiſtorian, waiting for them in the ſtraights, and, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. However, in their retreat they committed great devaſtations in *Bæotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace*. In the mean time, *Gallienus*, returning from *Gaul*, haſtened into *Illyricum*, hoping to meet the *Heruli* there on their return home. He met them accordingly, and coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, purſued them with great ſlaughter as far as the *Neſſus* in *Mœſia*, and there cut three thouſand of them in pieces, as they were attempting to croſs that river. *Naulobat* himſelf was taken priſoner, but treated with great humanity by *Gallienus*, who, to gain the affections of the barbarians, honoured him either with the conſulate or the conſular ornaments [d]. The *Heruli*, however, two years after, that is, in 269, joined the *Goths* and other northern nations, againſt the emperor *Claudius*; but were defeated by that prince with great ſlaughter, as we have related at length elſewhere [e]. In the year 287, the fourth of *Dioclefian*'s reign, the *Heruli*, joining the *Chaibons* and *Cavions*, entered *Gaul*, and laid waſte the provinces bordering on the *Rhine*. But *Maximian*, marching againſt them, gave them a total overthrow, and purſued them with ſuch ſlaughter, that, if his panegyriſt may be credited, out of ſo great a multitude not one was left alive to carry home the news of their defeat [f]. All we know of the *Chaibons* and *Cavions* is, that their country lay at a great diſtance from *Gaul*, as well as that of the *Heruli* [g]. In the year 366, the third of *Valentinian*'s reign, we find a body of *Heruli* ſerving in the *Roman* army on the *Rhine*; for *Am-*

Great ravages committed by them in Aſia *and* Greece. *Year after Chriſt* 267.

They are defeated by Gallienus.

And by Maximian. *Year after Chriſt* 287.

[d] Gallien. vit. p. 181—184. *Zos.* l. i. p. 651. Syncel. p. 382.
[e] Univerſ hiſt. vol. xv. p. 196, & ſeq. [f] Panegyr. x. p. 125.
[g] Idem ibid. p. 124.

mian.

mianus Marcellinus [h] and *Zosimus* [i] tell us, that the *Alemanns*, croſſing that river on the ice, defeated the *Romans* and took the ſtandards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*. About the year 370, *Ermenric*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Ermanaric*, king of the *Oſtrogoths*, after having ſubdued the neighbouring nations, fell upon the *Heruli*, and obliged them to ſubmit, to pay him a yearly tribute, and to ſupply his army with their youth, when required [k]. They were afterwards ſubdued, with the other northern nations, by *Attila*, and ſerved in his army, when in 451, he invaded *Gaul*. Upon the death of *Attila*, they recovered their antient liberty, and, entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſerved in their armies, under commanders of their own nation, but named by the emperors [l]. In the year 456, they made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Galicia*; but finding the inhabitants on their guard, they reimbarqued, and, landing in *Biſcay*, committed great ravages there [m]. *Idatius*, who ſpeaks of this deſcent, does not tell us whence thoſe *Heruli* came, who, according to him, were but four hundred in number. When *Odoacer* made himſelf maſter of *Italy* in 476, ſuch of the *Heruli*, as ſerved at that time in the *Roman* armies, obtained of him lands in *Italy*, the third of that country being by him divided among the barbarians, who were in the *Roman* ſervice, under the name of *fœderati*, or allies, and had joined him againſt *Oreſtes* and his ſon *Auguſtulus*, as we have related elſewhere [n]. In the reign of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, which began in 491, they made war on ſeveral barbarous nations, ſays *Procopius* [o], and ſubdued them; but having obliged their king *Rodulphus* to make war upon the *Lombards*, without the leaſt provocation, they were overthrown by them with great ſlaughter, and obliged either to live in ſubjection to the conquerors or abandon their country. Moſt of them choſe the latter, ſome ſettling in the country of the *Rugians*, as we have hinted above, others returning into *Scandinavia*, and ſome, with the permiſſion of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, taking up their abode in *Thrace* and *Illyricum* [p], where they had not been long, ere they began to oppreſs and abuſe, in a moſt barbarous manner, the *Romans*, among whom they lived. Hereupon *Anaſtaſius* ordered the troops quartered in the neighbouring provinces to march to the aſſiſtance of the oppreſſed *Romans*, who, taking arms upon their arrival, fell, in conjunction with them, on the *Heruli*,

Subdued by the Oſtrogoths *and* Hunns.

Serve in the Roman *armies.*

Overthrown with great ſlaughter by the Lombards.

[h] AMM. MARCEL. l. xxvii p. 334. [i] Zos. l. iv. p 749.
[k] JORN. rer. Goth. p. 645. PROCOP de bell. Goth. l. i. ſub init.
[l] AGATH l i. p. 22. [m] IDAT. p. 32 [n] Univerſ hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 157. [o] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. ii c 14 [p] Idem ibid. p 420.

and cut moſt of them in pieces. Such of them, as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, had recourſe to the clemency of the emperor, who, upon their promiſing to ſerve the empire like faithful ſubjects, not only ordered them to be ſpared, but ſuffered them to continue in the countries, which he had formerly granted them [q]. In the reign of the emperor *Juſtinian*, which began in 526, the *Heruli*, having murdered their king, and no other remaining among them of the blood royal, they diſpatched embaſſadors into *Thule* or *Scandinavia*, with orders to bring a prince from thence of the family, if it was not extinct likewiſe there. The embaſſadors, purſuant to their directions, pitched upon one (for there were many of the royal race there); but he dying on the way, they went back, and choſe another named *Todaſius*, who immediately ſet out on his journey to *Thrace*, attended by the embaſſadors, by his brother *Aordas*, and by a guard of two hundred men. But in the mean time the *Heruli*, having long waited the return of their embaſſadors, and ſuſpecting they had met with ſome misfortune, had recourſe to *Juſtinian*, begging he would give them a king. The emperor readily complied with their requeſt, and appointed one *Suartuas* to reign over them, who was of the ſame nation, but had lived long at *Conſtantinople*. The *Heruli* received their new king with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; but, a few days after his arrival, news being brought, that the embaſſadors, on their return from *Thule*, had already reached the confines, with a prince of the blood royal, they immediately revolted from *Suartuas*, who was thereupon obliged to ſave himſelf by flight and return to *Conſtantinople*. *Juſtinian*, highly provoked at their conduct, reſolved to force them to acknowledge the prince he had given them; but the *Gepidæ* eſpouſing the cauſe of the new king, the emperor, whoſe troops were then employed againſt the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, did not think it adviſeable to engage in a new war. But the war in *Italy* was no ſooner ended, than, turning his arms againſt the *Heruli* and their allies the *Gepidæ*, he drove both nations quite out of the empire [r]. He was afterwards reconciled to the *Heruli*, who aſſiſted him in his other wars, ſupplying his armies with numerous bodies of troops, of which one ſerved with great reputation in *Italy*, and the other in *Colchis* [s]. In the reign of *Juſtinian*, great numbers of them embraced the chriſtian religion; but the change of religion wrought no change in their manners, being of all nations, ſays *Procopius*, the moſt wicked, the moſt treacherous, avaricious, and the moſt addicted to drunkenneſs,

They murder their king, and ſend for another from Thule.

They are driven out of the empire by Juſtinian

[q] Idem ibid. & Paul Diac. Lang. c. 20. p. 759. [r] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14, 15. [s] Agath. l. i. c. 22.

and

and all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery. They were, ſoon after the death of *Juſtinian*, ſubdued by the *Lombards*, and lived partly ſubject to them, partly to the neighbouring nations.

The Marcomanns.

THE *Marcomanns* are, by all the antient writers, reckoned among the *German* nations. They dwelt originally near the ſprings of the *Danube*; but removed from thence under the conduct of their king *Maroboduus*, into the country which was then held by the *Boians*, and is ſtill called from them *Bohemia*, as it was by the antients *Boiohemia* and *Boioheimia*, that is, the country of the *Boians*. The *Boians* were, according to *Cæſar*, a *Gauliſh* nation, but from *Gaul* paſſed into *Germany*, and, ſettling in the preſent *Bohemia*, continued there till they were driven out by the *Marcomanns* [u]. The migration of the *Marcomanns*, from their original country into that of the *Boians*, is mentioned by *Velleius Paterculus* [w]. *Ptolemy*, in deſcribing the country of the *Marcomanns*, mentions a city there called *Marobudum*, which name it took, without all doubt, from its founder *Maroboduus*. This our modern geographers take to be the preſent city of *Prague*. *Strabo* calls the city, where *Maroboduus* uſually reſided, *Boviaſmum* [f]; but *Cluverius* thinks we ought to read *Boiæum*. The *Marcomanns* agreed in cuſtoms, manners, religion, &c. with the other *German* nations, were a very numerous and warlike people, and ever ready to prefer death to ſlavery. Of all the *German* nations they alone made uſe of the *Runic* letters in their charms and incantations; whence *Lazius* and *Rhabanus Maurus* conclude them to have come originally from *Scandinavia* [g]; but, in every thing elſe, they agreed with the *German* nations, and are reckoned among them, as we have hinted above, by the antient writers. As for their hiſtory, in the reign of *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, having croſſed the *Rhine* at the head of a very numerous and powerful army, gained great advantages over them and the other *German* nations; which obliged them to ſend deputies to *Auguſtus* and ſue for peace. The emperor received the embaſſadors of the *Marcomanns* with particular marks of diſtinction, and granted them their requeſt; but obliged the other *German* nations to retire beyond the *Elbe*, and the *Sicambrians*, with ſuch of the *Sueves* as were not ſubject to *Merobodnus*, to abandon their native country, and peo-

The Marcomanns. *Their origin, country, &c.*

The Marcomanns *obtain a peace of* Auguſtus.

[t] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p. 144. [u] CÆSAR, l. vi. c. 24. [w] VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 108. [f] STRABO, l. vii. p. 201. [g] GOLDAST. Alam. antiq. tom. iii. part. i.

ple some places in *Gaul*, that were destitute of inhabitants [h]. In the year 17, the fourth of *Tiberius*, a war broke out between the *Marcomanns* and the *Cheruscans* dwelling between the *Elbe* and the *Weser*. The former were commanded by *Maroboduus*, and the latter by the celebrated *Arminius*, who, a few years before, had cut off the legions of *Varus*. But all we know of this war is, that the *Cheruscans* gained considerable advantages over the *Marcomanns* [i]. Two years after, *Tiberius* having, by his emissaries, stirred up the subjects of *Maroboduus* against him, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna*. *Maroboduus* was succeeded by *Catualdus*, who was likewise driven out soon after, and obliged to take refuge in *Gaul* [k]. In the year 86, the emperor *Domitian*, provoked against the *Marcomanns* and *Quadians*, because they did not assist him in the war, which he was then waging with the *Dacians*, entered their country in an hostile manner. Both nations earnestly sued for peace; which *Domitian* was so far from granting, that he caused their embassadors to be put to death. Hereupon the *Marcomanns* flew to arms, and, having drawn together a considerable body of troops, they engaged the emperor, and put his army to the rout [l]. However the emperor, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed both over them and the *Dacians*, of whom, after his defeat by the *Marcomanns*, he had purchased a peace with large sums, which he had refused before upon most advantageous terms [m]. But the triumphs of this emperor were looked upon as certain tokens of his having been defeated [n]. In the year 93, *Domitian* marched in person against the *Sarmatians*, who, according to some, had cut in pieces one, according to others, several *Roman* legions [o], and at the same time made war upon the *Marcomanns* [p]. But all we know of this war is, that *Domitian* pretended to have gained great advantages over both nations, and, on that account, took the title of *imperator* [q]. We have spoken elsewhere at length of the memorable war, which, in conjunction with several other *German* nations, the *Marcomanns* made on the empire [r]; and therefore shall only observe here, that, in one of the battles that were fought in this war, the *Romans* were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men; and that, on another occasion, the emperor *Aurelius*

They wage war with the Cheruscans.

They defeat and put to flight the emperor Domitian. *Year after Christ* 86.

[h] Suet. l. ii. c. 21. p. 178. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 26. p. 47. Strab. l. vii. p. 209. [i] Tacit. annal. c. 42. p. 53. & c. 44, 46, p. 54, 55. [k] Idem, ann. ii. c. 62, 63. p. 61, 62. [l] Dio. l. lxvii p. 764. [m] Suet. in Domit. c. 6 p 788, 789. Euseb. chron. [n] Suet. ibid. [o] Stat. silv. iii. ver. 398. Suet. in Domit c. 6 p. 788. [p] Stat. ibid. [q] Suet. ibid. p. 789. [r] Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 591.

with

was in great danger of being cut off with his whole army. Tho' the whole ſtrength of the empire was employed againſt them, yet they held out for the ſpace of fifteen years, and in the end obtained a peace upon very reaſonable terms, one of which was, that they ſhould not, for the future, ſettle within ſix miles of the *Danube* [s]. Some of the *Marcomanns*, who ſubmitted to the emperor, were tranſplanted into *Italy*; but theſe, having attempted to make themſelves maſters of *Ravenna*, were by him ſent back to their own country. This war laſted from the year 165, to the year 180. In the year 214, a war was kindled between them and the *Vandals*, by means of the emperor *Caracalla*, who uſed to brag, that he had ſet at variance thoſe two nations, which, till this time, had lived in friendſhip and amity [t]; but what was the iſſue of that war, we are nowhere told. In the year 256, the emperor *Gallienus* entered into an alliance with *Attalus* king of the *Marcomanns*; and, upon the captivity of his father *Valerian*, taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, he yielded to him part of *Upper Pannonia* for his daughter *Pipa* or *Pipara*, whom he pretended to marry; but as he was already married to *Salonina*, ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions *Cornelia Salonina Auguſta* [u], *Pipa* is called by the writers of thoſe times his concubine [w]. The *Marcomanns* joined the *Alemanns* and the *Juthongians* in the war, which thoſe nations made on the emperor *Aurelian* about the year 270, but were in the end cut off almoſt to a man [x]. Both *Idatius* and *Victor* [y] mention a victory gained over the *Marcomanns* in the year 299, the ſixteenth of *Dioclefian*'s reign. About the year 396, *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomanns*, having embraced the chriſtian religion, wrote to St. *Ambroſe*, intreating him to ſend her ſome inſtructions relating to the conduct of her life. The holy prelate readily complied with her requeſt, and beſides exhorted her to perſuade her huſband to live in peace and amity with the *Romans*. This ſhe not only did, but prevailed upon the king to ſubject himſelf, and his kingdom to the empire [z]. And hence it is, that, among the many barbarous nations that broke into *Gaul* a few years after, that is, in 406, and 407, no mention is made of the *Marcomanns*. They ſeem to have continued faithful to the *Romans* till the time of *Attila*, when, being ſubdued by that prince, they were obliged to ſerve in his army againſt their old friends and allies; for they are mentioned among the many different nations, of which

Their war with M. Aurelius. *Year after Chriſt* 165.

The king of the Marcomanns *ſubject himſelf, and his kingdom to the empire. Year after Chriſt* 396

[s] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 807. [t] Dio. val. p. 754, 757 [u] Goltz. Birag. p. 380 [w] Gallien. vit. p. 184. Valer. vit. p 174. Vict. epit. p. 541. [x] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xv. p 109 [y] Aur. Vict. p. 525. [z] Ambroſ. vit. c. 36. p. 10

his

his army was compoſed, when in the year 451, he invaded *Gaul* [a]. Upon the death of *Attila*, they ſhook off the yoke, and, having recovered their antient liberty, ſubmitted either to *Marcian*, or his ſucceſſor *Leo* [b], and ſerved the empire to the laſt with unſhaken fidelity. From them, and, without all doubt, from ſeveral other nations ſettled among them, are deſcended the preſent inhabitants of *Bohemia*.

[a] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 38. p. 666, 667. [b] Idem ibid. c. 50. p. 688.

The Quadians.

The Quadians.

NEXT to the *Marcomanns* dwelt the *Quadians*, a *German* nation often mentioned by the antients, eſpecially by *Eutropius* and *Capitolinus*. Their country is at preſent known by the name of *Moravia*; for it extended from the mountains of *Bohemia* to the river *Marus*, now the *March*, and conſequently compriſed that province. *Ptolemy* mentions the following cities in the country of the *Quadians*, viz. *Eburodunum*, or, as others read it, *Robodunum*, *Eburum*, *Medoſlanium*, and *Celemantia*, now, according to *Cluverius*, *Brin*, *Olmutz*, *Znaim*, and *Kalminz*. The *Quadians* were a warlike people, had kings of their own, and agreed in cuſtoms, manners, and religion, with the other *German* nations. The *Quadians* joined, without all doubt, their countrymen againſt *Lollius*, *Germanicus*, *Caius*, and *Galba*, attempting to reduce *Germany*, and bring under ſubjection the ſeveral nations inhabiting that extenſive country. The emperor *Domitian*, while engaged in a war with the *Dacians*, turned unexpectedly his arms againſt them; but, before the *Quadians* could draw their troops together, the emperor was defeated and put to flight by the *Marcomanns*, as we have related above. They ſubmitted, it ſeems, to the emperor *Titus Antoninus*; for they received and acknowledged a king named by that prince, as appears from ſome of *Antoninus*'s coins, ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck about the year 139 [c]. They joined the *Marcomanns* in the memorable war, which that nation made upon the empire in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, as we have hinted above, and related at length in our *Roman* hiſtory [d]. The *Quadians* being, by that war, which had laſted fifteen years, reduced to great ſtraights, ſent in the end embaſſadors to ſue for peace, and with them all the *Roman* deſerters, and thirteen thouſand priſoners, whom they had taken during the war. By that means they obtained a peace, upon

Their country.

Their wars with the empire:

They join the Marcomanns *againſt* M. Aurelius.

[c] Birag. p. 194. Spanh. l. ix. p. 831, 832. [d] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 591.

condition

condition that they ſhould not traffic for the future within the *Roman* dominions, nor ſettle within ſix miles of the *Danube*. But, diſliking theſe conditions, they renewed the war, in conjunction with the *Marcomanns*; and, having driven out *Furtius*, whom the emperor had appointed to reign over them, they appointed one *Ariogeſes* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* reſented to ſuch a degree, that though the *Quadians* promiſed to ſet at liberty fifty thouſand *Roman* captives, upon condition that he confirmed to *Ariogeſes* the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the propoſal; but, on the contrary, proſcribed the new prince, and ſet a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadians*, being joined by the *Marcomanns* and ſeveral other nations, attacked the *Romans*; but, after a long and bloody diſpute, were put to the rout and utterly defeated. *Ariogeſes* himſelf was taken priſoner; but the emperor generouſly ſpared his life, and contented himſelf with confining him to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*. After this victory, the other nations ſubmitted and obtained a peace; but the *Quadians* ſeem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*, who granted them a peace upon the following terms: *They obtain a peace of Commodus.*
1. That they ſhould keep at the diſtance of five miles from the *Danube*. 2. That they ſhould deliver up their arms, and ſupply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they ſhould aſſemble but once a month in one place only, and in the preſence of a *Roman* centurion. And laſtly, That they ſhould not make war upon the neighbouring nations, without the conſent of the people of *Rome* *. This peace was concluded in the year 180, the firſt of the emperor *Commodus*'s reign. In the year 214, the *Quadians* had one *Gaiobomar* for their king, who was murdered by the orders of *Caracalla*; but upon what provocation, we are not told. Of this aſſaſſination the emperor uſed to brag, as of a glorious action °. In 257, the fourth of the emperor *Valerian*'s reign, the *Quadians*, joining the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum*, and ravaged part of that province; but they were defeated by *Probus*, afterwards emperor, but at that time only tribune of a legion. On this occaſion *Probus* reſcued out of the hands of the *Quadians Valerius Flaccus*, a youth deſcended from an illuſtrious family, and nearly related to the emperor *Valerian*, who publicly commended *Probus* for ſo glorious an action, and preſented him with a civic crown, which, in the times of the republic, was beſtowed on thoſe, who had ſaved the life of a citizen [f]. In 260, the ſeventh of the emperor *Gallienus*, they made a ſudden ir- *Defeated by* Probus.

* Dio. l. lxxii. p. 806, 807. ° Dio Val p. 754, 757.
[f] Prob. vit. p. 234, 235.

ruption

ruption into *Pannonia*; but were obliged by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, to quit their booty and return home. That commander is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day [g]. Some years after, that is, about the year 283, *Probus*, who had kept the barbarians in awe, being dead, the *Quadians*, in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, and, after having ravaged thoſe provinces, were advancing towards *Italy*; but *Carus*, who had ſucceeded *Probus*, meeting them on the borders of *Illyricum*, gave them a total overthrow, killed ſixteen thouſand of them on the ſpot, and took twenty thouſand priſoners [h]. In the year 355, the nineteenth of the emperor *Conſtantius*, the *Quadians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mæſia*, and, having pillaged thoſe provinces, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, they returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty [i]. Of this irruption, no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waſte *Valeria*, while the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rhætia*, and the *Sarmatians* over-ran *Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mœſia*. Hereupon *Conſtantius*, leaving *Milan*, where he then was, advanced to the confines of the *Quadians*, and there conferred with the chiefs, who excuſed, in the beſt manner they could, the paſt ravages, and promiſed, for the future, to live in peace and amity with the empire [k]. But, notwithſtanding the promiſes they had made, the following year 358, in conjunction with the *Sarmatians*, they laid waſte great part of *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*; but, at the approach of *Conſtantius*, who marched againſt them in perſon, they repaſſed the *Danube* and returned home. But the emperor reſolved to puniſh them for their treachery, and, having paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, began to lay waſte their country. The *Quadians*, not finding themſelves in a condition to make head againſt the numerous forces *Conſtantius* had with him, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which the emperor readily granted them, upon their delivering up hoſtages, and ſetting at liberty all the priſoners they had taken [l]. In the year 374, their king *Gabinius* being treacherouſly murdered by *Marcellianus* duke of *Valeria*, in the manner we have related in our *Roman* hiſtory [m], they paſſed the *Danube* in the utmoſt rage, and falling upon the reapers, it being then harveſt-time, cut moſt of them in pieces, laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and took an incredible

And by Carus, *with great ſlaughter.*

Year after Chriſt 283.

Their king Gabinius *murdered by the* Romans.

[g] Trig. tyran. vit. p. 188. [h] Carin. vit. p 250. Zonar. p. 242. [i] Zos. p. 702. [k] Ammian. p. 72. Jul ad Ath p. 513. [l] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 105. [m] Univerſ. hiſt. vol xv p. 540.

number

number of captives. *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, not finding himself in a condition to stem this furious torrent, retired into *Valeria*; but the *Quadians*, looking upon him as the chief author of the murder of their king, followed him thither, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they passed. In their way they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and the *Mœsian*, who had been sent to oppose them; but the legions falling into an unseasonable contention about precedency, the barbarians, taking advantage of their disagreement, cut them both in pieces. Thus all the open country was abandoned to them, the *Romans* remaining masters only of the fortified places [n]. The *Sarmatians*, who had joined the *Quadians* in this irruption, having entered *Upper Mœsia*, were defeated there with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor, but then very young, and only duke of *Mœsia*. Against the *Quadians Valentinian* I. then emperor, marched in person, and, arriving at *Carnutum* in *Illyricum*, which most geographers take to be the present city of *Hainburg* on the *Danube* in *Austria*, about thirty miles east of *Vienna*, continued there three months, making vast preparations for his intended expedition into the country of the *Quadians*. At length he took the field, and, having passed the *Danube* at *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary*, he entered the enemy's country and laid it waste, destroying all with fire and sword. Having thus passed the summer and great part of the autumn, he took up his winter-quarters at *Bregetio*, which some take to be a village on the *Danube*, now called *Bregnitz*, and others the present city of *Komare* in the isle of *Schut*. There he gave audience to the embassadors of the *Quadians*, come to sue for peace; but, while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he fell all on a sudden to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. Being immediately conveyed into his chamber, he was there seized with convulsion-fits, and violent contorsions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he soon expired [o]. *Socrates* writes, that being offended at the mean and beggarly appearance of the embassadors of the *Quadians*, he asked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a violent passion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for daring to insult the majesty of the *Roman* people. He delivered himself with so much heat and violence,

Treacherous two Roman legions, and commit great ravages in the empire. Year after Christ 371.

[n] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 408, 409. *Zos.* l. iv. p. 745. [o] AMMIAN. l. xxx p 63.

that, his veins burſting, he was inſtantly ſuffocated in his own blood [p]. Upon his death, the officers of the army proclaimed *Valentinian*, his ſecond ſon, emperor, though he was then a child but four or five years old. At the ſame time, they concluded a truce with the *Quadians*, and recalled the troops, which, under the conduct of *Merobaudes* and count *Sebaſtian*, were laying waſte their country. In the year 379, they broke anew into *Illyricum*; but were driven out with ſome loſs by the emperor *Gratian*. In the year 407, the *Quadians* entered *Gaul* with the other barbarians, and over-ran thoſe provinces, committing every-where dreadful ravages, of which we have ſpoken at length elſewhere [q]. From this time no further mention is made in hiſtory of the *Quadians*; whence *Lazius* concludes them to have been either ſubdued, or utterly extirpated, by the *Goths*, who had ſettled in *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*.

They enter Gaul

Year after Chriſt 407.

[p] SOCRAT. p 284 [q] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xiv. p. 340.

The Sarmatians.

The Sarmatians.

THE *Sarmatians* were a very numerous and warlike nation, divided into many tribes, each of them having their own king, and maſters of a large and extenſive country. *Sarmatia Europæa*, or *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, of which alone we deſign to ſpeak here, extended from the *Viſtula*, now the *Weiſſel*, parting it from *Germany*, to the *Euxine* ſea, the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Tanais* dividing it from *Aſia* and the *Aſiatic Sarmatia*. In this vaſt tract of land, comprehending the preſent *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, and great part of *Tartary*, dwelt the following nations, *viz.* the *Burgiones*, *Cariones*, *Sudeni*, *Geloni*, *Hamaxobii*, *Agathyrſi*, *Boruſci*, *Melanchlænæ*, *Alauni* or *Alani*, *Iazyges*, *Roxolani*, *Baſtarnæ*, *Carpi* or *Carpates*, *Sidones*, *Borani*, and *Venedi*, by *Jornandes* called *Vinidæ* and *Vinidi*. The five laſt-named nations are thought to have come originally from *Germany*, eſpecially the *Baſtarnæ*; for even in the time of *Tacitus*, who is at a loſs whether he ought to place them among the *German* or the *Sarmatian* nations, they agreed with the former in dreſs and language [r]. The *Geloni* were, according to *Herodotus* [s], of *Greek* extraction; but had, even in his time, adopted, in a great meaſure, the cuſtoms and manners of the *Budini*, among whom they had ſettled, eſpecially the cuſtom of painting their bodies, as we read in *Virgil* [t] and *Claudian* [u]. The *Budini* dwelt near mount

Their country.

They conſiſted of ſeveral different nations.

Their origin.

[r] TACIT. de morb. German. c. 46. [s] HERODOT. l. iv. c 109.
[t] VIRG. georg. ii. ver. 115 [u] CLAUD. l. i. in Ruſin. ver 315.

Budinus,

Budinus, from which ſprings the *Boryſthenes*, called by more modern writers the *Danapris*, and thence the *Dnieſer* or *Nieper*. The other nations, which we have mentioned above, were all *Gothic*; and of the origin of the *Gothic* nations we have ſpoken at length in the hiſtory of the *Goths*. Theſe various nations were blended by the *Romans* under the common name of *Sarmatæ*; by the *Greeks* under that of *Sauromatæ*, and ſometimes by both, under the denomination of *Scythæ* or *Scythians*, and *Getæ*. Each of them had, it ſeems, their own king; for mention is made in hiſtory of the kings of the *Roxolani*, of the *Baſtarnæ*, of the *Iazyges*, &c. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ſpeaking of the *Sarmatians* in general, tells us, that they were a ſavage people, and infamous for their lewdneſs [w]. The *Melanchlænæ* are ſaid, both by *Ammianus* [x] and *Herodotus* [y], to have fed on human fleſh, and are thence called by them, as well as by *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Anthropophagi* or *Androphagi*.

THE *Sarmatians* began firſt to threaten the empire in the reign of *Nero*, about the year of the chriſtian æra 63, that is, about ſeventeen years after *Thrace* had been by *Claudius* reduced to a *Roman* province; for, till its reduction, it had been governed by its own princes, and ſerved as a barrier on that ſide between the *Sarmatians* and *Romans*. A few years after the latter became poſſeſſed of it, the *Sarmatians* began to appear in great numbers on the confines, as if they intended to make themſelves maſters of that province, which was then guarded by a ſmall number of troops, under the command of *Plautius Silvanus Ælianus*, who had ſent the reſt to the aſſiſtance of *Corbulo*, then making war in *Armenia*. But the *Roman* general having gained over the kings of the *Baſtarnians* and *Roxolanians*, the reſt ſoon diſperſed [z]. However, ſix years after, that is in 69, *Otho* being then emperor, the *Roxolanians*, who dwelt on the weſt ſide of the *Palus Mæotis* entering *Mæſia*, defeated there two *Roman* cohorts, and, having pillaged that part of the province, which bordered on the *Danube*, they repaſſed the river and returned home unmoleſted. Animated with this ſucceſs, they appeared anew the ſame year with nine thouſand horſe. But *Marcus Aponius Saturninus*, governor of *Mæſia*, falling upon them with a legion and ſome auxiliaries, cut them off almoſt to a man [a]. The ſame year, *Veſpaſian* being proclaimed emperor by the legions quartered in the eaſt, the *Iazygians*, a *Sarmatic* nation dwelling next to the *Roxolanians*,

The Roxolanians *defeat two* Roman *cohorts, and ravage* Mœſia. *Year after Chriſt* 69.

[w] AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxxi. p 443. [x] Idem ibid. [y] HERODOT. l. iv c. 102, 106. [z] TACIT. annal. xv. c. 25 p. 248. & 450. [a] Idem hiſt. l i. c. 79. & l. ii. c. 85.

declared for the new emperor againſt *Vitellius*. But *Veſpaſian*, returning them thanks for the troops they offered him, took with him only their chiefs, not with a deſign to employ them, but prevent them from making inroads into the *Roman* territories during the war [b]. *Tacitus* calls the *Iazygians* the allies of the *Romans*. But the very firſt year of the reign of *Veſpaſian*, whom they had offered to join a few months before, they broke into *Mæſia*, and having killed *Fonteius Agrippa*, governor of that province, who attempted to oppoſe them, they laid waſte the country far and near. Hereupon *Rubrius Gallus*, marching againſt them with the utmoſt expedition, purſuant to the orders he had received from the emperor, cut great numbers of them in pieces in ſeveral encounters, obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Danube*, and, with great care, fortified the banks of that river, to cover the province from their incurſions [c]. In the year 85, the fourth of *Domitian*'s reign, the *Iazygians*, joining the *Suevi*, armed with a deſign, ſays *Dion* [d], to paſs the *Danube*, and lay waſte the *Roman* dominions; but whether or no they put their deſign in execution, that writer has not thought fit to tell us. *Tacitus* indeed writes in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* armed againſt the empire [e]; and elſewhere, that this very year, ſoon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, the *Roman* armies were defeated in *Pannonia* [f], in all likelihood by the *Iazygians* and *Suevians*. In the year 93, the thirteenth of *Domitian*'s reign, the *Sarmatians* having cut in pieces a *Roman* legion with their tribune, the emperor, who was then in *Dacia*, marched againſt them in perſon [g]; but with what ſucceſs, we are not told. *Domitian* indeed took the title of *Imperator*, as if he had gained ſome great advantage over the enemy; but that prince often claimed the victory when he had been driven out of the field, and ſhamefully put to flight, as we have hinted above. The *Sarmatians* are by *Dion* reckoned among the nations that ſubmitted to *Adrian* [h] while he was in *Armenia*, in the year 107, but that writer ſpeaks, without all doubt, of the *Aſiatic Sarmatians*. As for the *Sarmatians* in *Europe*, they broke into *Illyricum* with great fury in the year 119, the ſecond of *Adrian*'s reign; which obliged that prince to quit *Rome*, and march againſt them in perſon. Upon his arrival in *Mæſia*, they repaſſed the *Danube* with great precipitation, and encamped on the oppoſite bank; but the *Roman* cavalry ſwimming [illegible]med as they were, croſs the river, in order to attack

They kill the governor of that province; but in the end are moſt of them cut in pieces.

[b] Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 7. p. 63. [c] Idem, l. iv. c. 54. p. 102. Joseph bell. vii. c. 22 p. 976. [d] Dio. l. lxxvi. p. 761. [e] Tacit. l. i. c. 2. p. 4. [f] Vit Agr. c. 41. p. 151. [g] Suet. in Domit. c. 6. p. 788. [h] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 779.

them,

them, the *Sarmatians* were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they immediately ſubmitted [i]. The horſe, to whoſe intrepidity and boldneſs was owing the ſubmiſſion of the enemy, were the *Batavians* in the *Roman* ſervice, as appears from the epitaph of one of them named *Soranus* [k]. *Suidas* writes, that *Adrian* himſelf paſſed the *Danube* on horſeback [l]; but he ſeems to have miſunderſtood the paſſage in *Dion*. The princes of the *Sarmatians* quarrelled afterwards among themſelves, and choſe *Adrian* for their umpire, who compoſed their differences to the general ſatisfaction of the contending parties. On this occaſion, the king of the *Roxolanians* complaining to the emperor, that his penſion had been leſſened, *Adrian* ordered the ſum, which had been formerly allowed him, to be paid without the leaſt deduction [m]. In the year 135, the *Iazyges* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to renew their alliance with *Adrian*, who received them in a very obliging manner, introduced them to the ſenate, and, having granted them their requeſt, ſent them back loaded with rich preſents [n]. All the nations inhabiting *Sarmatia* conſpired, with the *Marcomanns* againſt *M. Aurelius*; but were in the end moſt of them cut in pieces. Over the *Iazygians* in particular the emperor gained two complete victories, the one before they reached the *Danube* on their way home, and the other, deſcribed at length by *Dion* [o], as they were croſſing that river on the ice. But, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they ſuſtained in this war, they were ſo far from ſuing for peace, that they depoſed, and threw into priſon, their king named *Bandaſpes*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had ſent embaſſadors with propoſals for concluding a peace with the empire. However, being in the end abandoned by the *Marcomanns* and their other allies, and reduced to great ſtraights, their new king, named *Zantichus*, came in perſon, attended by all the chief men of the nation, to throw himſelf at the emperor's feet and ſue for peace; which was granted them upon the following terms, *viz.* That they ſhould not ſettle within ten miles of the *Danube*; that they ſhould ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and ſupply the emperor's army with a body of eight thouſand horſe. With theſe conditions they readily complied, and we are told, that the priſoners, whom they diſmiſſed on this occaſion, were in number, at leaſt, one hundred thouſand, though they had ſold to other nations many of thoſe they had taken during the war. The eight thouſand *Iazygian* horſe were, by the emperor, ſent into *Britain*. To the other *Sarmatic* nations lands

They ſubmit to Adrian. *Year after Chriſt* 119.

They join the Marcomanns *againſt* M. Aurelius. *Year after Chriſt* 165.

They obtain a peace.

[i] Idem, l. lxix. p. 792. [k] Ger. nov. p. 12. [l] Suid. p 87.
[m] Adrian vit. p. 4. [n] Dio. p. 794. [o] Idem, l. lxxi. p. 804, 805.

were

were allotted in *Pannonia*, *Mœsia*, *Germany*, and even in *Italy* [p]. The *Iazyges* lived, it seems, some time in peace and amity with the *Romans*; for in 180, one of the articles of the peace concluded between the emperor *Commodus* and the *Alemanns* was, that they should not make war upon the *Iazygians*, *Burians*, or *Vandals* [q]. Besides, no mention is made by historians, either of them, or the other *Sarmatic* nations, till the year 215, when the emperor *Caracalla* is said to have gained some advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and to have taken, on that account, the surname of *Sarmaticus* [r]. In the year 228, the *Carpi*, a people of *Sarmatia* dwelling near the *Carpatian* mountains, which part *Hungary* and *Transylvania* from *Poland*, being informed, that the *Roman* emperors paid a yearly pension to the *Goths*, sent deputies to *Menophilus*, governor of *Mœsia*, demanding, that the same sum which the *Goths* received should be paid to them, since their friendship deserved to be no less courted than that of the *Goths*. The deputies found *Menophilus* exercising his troops, according to his daily custom; and, as he well knew on what errand they were come, to humble their pride, he made them wait several days before he gave them audience, allowing them in the mean time to assist at the military exercises performed by his troops. At length he received them seated on a high tribunal, and attended by all the officers of the army, to whom he pretended to give his orders while the embassadors were speaking, as if nothing they said deserved his attention. The embassadors, mortified and amazed at this conduct, only asked, Why money was given to the *Goths*, and not to them? Because the emperor, answered *Menophilus*, bestows his favours on whom he pleases. We hope then, replied the embassadors, that he will be pleased to shew himself as generous to us, as to the *Goths*; we are a more brave and deserving nation. The *Roman* general answered with a smile, That the emperor would do what he thought fit; and that if they met him in four months time, at a place which he appointed, he would acquaint them with the emperor's will and pleasure. The embassadors met him accordingly, and found him, as they had done before, wholly intent upon exercising his troops. *Menophilus*, having made them wait some days, as if he had affairs of greater importance on his hands than to give audience to them, received them in the same manner as he had done the first time, and ordered them to return in three months, appointing the place where they should find him. The answer he then gave them was, That the emperor would enter into no engage-

The Carpi demand an annual pension.

Their embassy neglected.

[p] Idem ibid. p. 808, 809. [q] Idem, l. lxxii. p. 817. [r] Get. vit. p. 622.

ments

ments with them; but, if they ſtood in need of preſent relief, the emperor would, in all likelihood, out of his good-nature, allow them ſome, provided they went and threw themſelves at his feet. They were highly provoked at this anſwer, and departed in a great rage; but nevertheleſs, awed by *Menophilus*, they continued quiet ſo long as he commanded in that province [s]. The emperor *Maximinus* made, it ſeems, war upon the *Sarmatians*, and gained conſiderable advantages over them; for it appears from ſeveral inſcriptions found in *France* and *Spain*, that both he and his ſon took the ſurname of *Sarmaticus* [t]. However, *Capitolinus* only writes, that *Maximinus*, having quelled the *Germans*, reſolved to make war upon the *Sarmatians*, and, with that deſign, paſſed the winter in 236, at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia* [u]. *Maximinus*, ſpeaking of himſelf in *Herodian*, only ſays, that he overcame, on ſeveral occaſions, the *Germans*; inſomuch, that they were afraid to ſtir, as were likewiſe the *Sarmatians*, who, by their deputies, were conſtantly ſuing for peace [w]. In the year 238, *Menophilus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, being recalled, the *Carpi*, who had been awed by his preſence, broke into *Mœſia*, and having ravaged that province, and utterly deſtroyed the city of *Iſtria* or *Iſtropolis*, on the moſt ſouthern mouth of the *Danube* in *Lower Mœſia*, or rather *Little Scythia*, they returned home unmoleſted, the *Romans* being then engaged in a civil war between *Maximinus*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus* [x]. In 242, the fourth of the emperor *Gordian*'s reign, that prince, in paſſing through *Thrace* on his march into the eaſt to make war there on the *Perſians*, overcame the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, and obliged them to abandon that province, and retire beyond the *Danube* [y]. In the year 260, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* ſeized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; but were driven out by *Regillianus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day [z]. He ſoon after cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; but he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when the *Rovolanians*, who ſerved under him, revolted; and their example being followed by the reſt of the army, he was murdered by ſome of his own men [a]. *Aurelian*, who was afterwards emperor, is ſaid to have gained a ſignal victory over the *Sarmatians* and *Sueves* in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 268 [b]. But of this victory no mention is made by any other writer. In the year 27, the emperor *Probus* marched againſt

They make ſeveral irruptions in the empire.

[s] Legat. excerpt. p. 24. [t] GRUT. p. 151, 156. SPON. p. 186, 187. [u] Maximin. vit. p. 143. [w] HEROD. l. vii. p. 592, 600. [x] Maxim. & Balb. vit. p. 171. [y] Gord. vit. p. 165. [z] Trig. Tyran. vit. c. 9. p. 183. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Aur. vit. p. 213.

them

them in person; but, at his approach, they retired from *Thrace*, where they had committed great ravages, abandoning the booty they had taken, and awed by the fame of his name, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor granted them, upon their promising to keep beyond the *Danube*, and supply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops, when required [c]. They continued quiet during the remaining part of *Probus*'s reign, but no sooner heard of his death, than they broke into *Illyricum*, destroying all with fire and sword. But *Carus*, then emperor, marched against them, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the *Danube* and sue for peace [d]. About seven years after, they returned with a very numerous army, and committed great ravages in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; but *Diocletian*, hastening to the relief of the oppressed provinces, defeated the barbarians with great slaughter. *Eumenes* writes, that, on this occasion, almost the whole nation was cut off [e]: but he speaks more like a panegyrist than an historian; for some years after the *Sarmatians* dwelling near the *Palus Mæotis*, under the conduct of *Crisco* king of *Bosporus*, broke into the country of the *Lazians* in *Colchis*, and, having pillaged great part of *Pontus*, advanced as far as the *Halys*, a river of *Paphlagonia*. *Constantius*, then only tribune, but soon after declared *Cæsar*, was sent by *Diocletian* to put a stop to their ravages; but his army being far inferior in number to that of the barbarians, he contented himself with encamping on the opposite bank of the *Halys*, and by that means preventing them from passing that river. But in the mean time, *Chrestus*, king of the *Chersonesus*, and vassal of the empire, having, at the instigation of *Diocletian*, broken into *Sarmatia*, and even taken by stratagem the city of *Bosporus*, *Crisco* immediately dispatched embassadors to *Constantius*, suing for peace; which was granted him, upon his restoring the booty, and setting at liberty all the prisoners he had taken. *Chrestus* at the same time restored to him the booty he had taken, and the prisoners, among whom were his wife and his concubines. For this eminent piece of service, *Diocletian* sent rich presents to the inhabitants of the *Chersonesus*, declared them free, and exempted them from all tribute, customs, and taxes. This account we have copied from a piece intituled, *Of the government of the empire*, published by *Meursius* in 1611, and ascribed to *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, who reigned in the east in 950. The emperor *Galerius* made war, it seems, on the *Sarmatians*; for both *Zonaras* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* tell us, that seeking the

And defeated with great slaughter by Carus.

[c] Prob. vit. p. 239. [d] Car. vit. p. 250. [e] Panegyr. xi. p. 133. & viii. p. 105, 107.

destruction

deſtruction of *Conſtantine*, whoſe extraordinary qualities gave him great umbrage, he ordered him, in the *Sarmatian* war, to engage a barbarian, who ſurpaſſed all the others in ſtature and the fierceneſs of his looks; which *Conſtantine* did accordingly, and, having overcome him and thrown him on the ground, he dragged him by the hair to the emperor's preſence, and laid him at his feet. In the ſame war, having ordered him to croſs a marſh at the head of ſome troops, he entered it the firſt on horſeback, and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the ſword and gained a complete victory [f]. This is ſuppoſed to have happened about the year 305. About the ſame time, the whole nation of the *Carpi* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, being ſeveral times overcome, and reduced to great ſtraights, by *Galerius*. *Dioclefian* tranſplanted the whole nation into the *Roman* territories, eſpecially into *Pannonia*, where great numbers of them had been allowed to ſettle in the reign of *Aurelian* [g]. *Conſtantine the Great*, in the year 322, the ſeventeenth of his reign, gained a great victory over the other *Sarmatic* nations [h]. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in ſeveral battles in the neighbourhood of *Campana*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube* [i]. *Rauſimodes*, one of the *Sarmatian* kings, had, as we read in *Zoſimus*, beſieged a city, which that writer does not name; but *Conſtantine*, haſtening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and, having obliged thoſe, who had made their eſcape, to repaſs the *Danube*, he purſued them croſs that river, defeated them a ſecond time, killed their king *Rauſimodes*, laid waſte their country, and returned with an incredible number of captives [k]. The *Sarmatian* ſports, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, as appears from an antient kalendar of the year 534, probably took their riſe from this victory.

The Carpi *tranſplanted in to the empire.*

The Sarmatians *defeated in ſeveral battles by* Conſtantine. *Year after Chriſt* 322.

IN the year 332, a war being kindled between the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, the latter had recourſe to *Conſtantine*, who immediately ſent a conſiderable body of troops to their aſſiſtance. Theſe, engaging the *Goths* on the twentieth of *April* of this year, gained a complete victory over them. We are told, that, in this war, near an hundred thouſand *Goths* periſhed either by the ſword or by famine. At length they concluded a peace, both with the *Romans* and the *Sarmatians*, *Ariaric* or *Araric* their king delivering up his ſon as an hoſtage [l], and ſupplying the *Roman* armies with a body of forty thouſand *Goths*; which corps was, for ſome ages, kept intire and complete, and ſerved

Conſtantine *aſſiſts their cauſe againſt the* Goths.

[f] ZONAR. vit. Dioc. p. 246. AMMIAN. p. 471. [g] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357. AUR. VICT. p. 525. [h] Zos. l. ii. p. 080. [i] OPTAT. c. 23. [k] Idem ibid. [l] AMMIAN. p. 472.

under the name of *fœderati*, or allies [m]. The *Sarmatians*, finding they had nothing now to fear from the *Goths*, with the utmoſt ingratitude, turned their arms againſt their friends and benefactors, making frequent inroads into the territories of the *Romans*, to whom they owed their deliverance. *Conſtantine*, highly provoked at their conduct, marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army, and, having put them to flight, entered their country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. However, upon their ſubmitting, and promiſing to ſerve the empire with fidelity, the emperor put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, and, quitting their country, repaſſed the *Danube* [n]. Two years after, the *Sarmatians* were attacked anew by the *Goths*, under the conduct of their king *Geberic*, the ſucceſſor of *Araric*. The war laſted ſome years; but in the end the *Sarmatians* were utterly defeated on the banks of the *Mariſius* in *Dacia*. In this battle the *Sarmatians* loſt their king *Wiſimar*, and with him the flower of their nobility, and ſuch numbers of men, that they were obliged to arm their ſlaves, who defeated indeed the *Goths*; but then, turning their arms againſt their maſters, drove them quite out of their native country, and ſeized on their lands and poſſeſſions [o]. Theſe ſlaves are by *Ammianus* [p] and St. *Jerom* [q] ſtyled *Limigantes*: the former tells us, that the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Acaragantes* [r]. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven out by their ſlaves, had recourſe to *Conſtantine*, who received three hundred thouſand of them within the empire, incorporated ſome among his troops, and to the others allowed lands in the provinces bordering on the *Danube* and in *Italy* itſelf [s]. Some of them took refuge amongſt other barbarians, by *Ammianus* called *Victohales* [t], and by moſt writers thought to be the ſame people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*, or the *Quadians* beyond the mountains *Sudeti* or *Suditi* parting the country of the *Quadi* from that of the *Marcomanns*, at preſent the mountains of *Bohemia*. The *Sarmatians*, who took refuge among the *Quadians*, in the year 355, made an irruption into *Pannonia*, in conjunction with the *Quadians*, and, having pillaged both that province and *Upper Mœſia*, returned home unmoleſted, with an immenſe booty [u]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But of this irruption no mention is made by *Ammianus*. Two years after, they returned anew, and laid waſte the ſame provinces, while

Puniſhed by him for their ingratitude.

They are driven out of their country by their ſlaves.

Year after Chriſt 334.

[m] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 21. p. 640. [n] AMMIAN. anonym. p. 470. SOCRAT. p. 48. [o] AMMIAN. anonym. ibid. & AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 107. [p] Idem ibid. [q] HIER chron. [r] AMMIAN ibid. [s] EUSEB. p. 529. AMMIAN. anonym. p. 476. [t] AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 106. [u] Zos. p. 703.

the *Sueves* committed dreadful ravages in *Rhætia*, and the *Quadians* in *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Conſtantius*, who was then at *Rome*, and, as *Ammianus* tells us [w], mightily taken with the curioſities and diverſions of that city, ſet out in great haſte to ſtop the progreſs of the barbarians, who threatened *Italy* itſelf; but they were no ſooner informed of his arrival at *Milan*, than they retired of their own accord [x]. However, the emperor advanced as far as *Sirmium*, and there had ſeveral conferences with the chiefs of the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, who all promiſed to live in peace and amity with the empire [y]. But the following winter, while the *Danube* was frozen, unmindful of their promiſes, they laid hold of that opportunity, and, entering *Mœſia* and *Pannonia*, pillaged thoſe provinces, while the *Alemanns*, notwithſtanding the peace they had lately concluded with the empire, laid waſte *Rhætia*. Againſt the *Alemanns Conſtantius* diſpatched *Barbatio*; but againſt the *Sarmatians*, who had been joined by the *Quadians*, he marched in perſon, leaving *Sirmium*, where he had paſſed the winter, after the ſpring equinox [z]. The barbarians retired at his approach; but the emperor, having paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered their country, and laid it waſte far and near. The *Sarmatians* came in great numbers to *Conſtantius*, pretending to ſue for peace; but their real deſign was to attack the *Romans* unawares. Of this the emperor had timely notice, and therefore ordered his troops to fall upon them as they drew near; which they did accordingly, and cut them in pieces to a man. The reſt, diſheartened with this loſs, ſubmitted to *Conſtantius*, who concluded a peace with them, upon their ſetting at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and delivering up hoſtages as a ſurety for their future conduct [a]. The *Sarmatians* reaped in the end great advantages from this war. They had been driven out of their own country by their ſlaves in 334, as we have hinted above, and obliged to take refuge among the *Quadians*, who treated them as their ſubjects. From this ſubjection they were delivered by *Conſtantius*, who declared them free, appointed one *Zizais*, a prince of their own nation, to reign over them, and re-eſtabliſhed them in their antient country; for the ſlaves, by whom they had been driven out, having ravaged the neighbouring provinces, *Conſtantius* made war upon them, and reduced them to great ſtraights. Hereupon the *Limigantes* (for ſo thoſe ſlaves were called) came in great numbers to the emperor, ſuing for peace; but reſolved at the ſame time to fall unexpectedly

[w] AMMIAN. p. 72. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. & Jul. ad Athen. p. 513. [z] AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 104 [a] Idem, p. 105.

upon the *Romans*, if they could not obtain it upon honourable terms. This *Conſtantius* ſuſpected, and therefore ordered his troops to ſurround them inſenſibly while they were yet ſpeaking. When they had done, *Conſtantius* told them upon what terms he was willing to grant them a peace; which they no-ways reliſhing, began to handle their arms. This the *Romans*, who watched them narrowly, no ſooner obſerved, than they fell upon them ſword in hand, and cut moſt of them in pieces, not one, out of ſo great a multitude, calling for quarter, or offering to ſubmit [b]. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one ſide, and the *Sarmatians*, their antient maſters, on the other, a dreadful havock was made of the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Thus the *Limigantes* were obliged at length to ſubmit, and accept the terms, however hard, that were offered them. Theſe were, that they ſhould quit the country, which they had ſeized on, and held with the utmoſt injuſtice, and retire to another at a great diſtance from the empire. The country, which they abandoned, was, by *Conſtantius*, reſtored to the antient proprietors, who ſettled there anew twenty-four years after they had been driven out by their rebellious ſlaves [c]. For theſe atchievements *Conſtantius* took the ſurname of *Sarmaticus* [d]. The *Sarmatians*, notwithſtanding the great obligations they owed the *Romans*, a few years after, that is, in 364, broke into *Pannonia*, and laid waſte that province, while the *Roman* troops were employed againſt the *Alemanns* in *Rhætia* [e]. In 374, they joined the *Quadians*, and, in conjunction with them, committed dreadful ravages in *Pannonia*, and from thence advanced into *Upper Mœſia*; but were there defeated with great ſlaughter by *Theodoſius*, afterwards emperor, as we have related above. In the year 376, *Athanaric*, one of the chiefs of the *Goths*, being forced by the *Hunns* to abandon his own country, retired, with his people, to a place called *Caucalanda*, driving from thence the *Sarmatians*, to whom it belonged [f]. In 378, the *Sarmatians*, informed that the *Goths*, who had been admitted by *Valens* into the empire, had taken up arms againſt the *Romans*, reſolved to paſs the *Danube* and join them. But *Theodoſius*, afterwards emperor, meeting them in *Thrace*, gave them a total overthrow. Incredible numbers of the barbarians were cut in pieces, and the victory *Theodoſius* gained over them is ſaid to have been ſo complete, that *Gratian*, then emperor, could not believe the account, which *Theodoſius* himſelf gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by

But reſtored by Conſtantius. *Year after Chriſt* 358.

[b] Idem, p. 109. [c] Idem, p. 110, 111. [d] Idem. p. 112.
[e] Idem, l. xxvi. p 315. [f] Idem, p. 453.

perſons

persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle [g]. In the year 407, they entered *Gaul*, with the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and other barbarians, and committed dreadful ravages there. Those who remained in *Sarmatia*, were afterwards subdued by *Attila*, and served, with their princes, in his army, when he invaded *Gaul* in 451 [h]. Upon that prince's death, they shook off the yoke, and, having recovered their antient liberty, submitted to *Marcian*, then emperor, who allowed them to settle in *Pannonia*, *Mœsia*, and the other provinces bordering on the *Danube*, where they continued quiet, till they were reduced by the *Goths*, the most powerful nation in those parts. Such of them as resided among the *Goths*, became, in process of time, one nation with them. From those, who remained in *Sarmatia*, the present *Poles* and *Tartars* are thought to have sprung.

[g] THEODORET. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. [h] JORN p. 685—688.

The Dacians.

The Dacians.

THE *Dacians* were, according to *Jornandes* [i], a *Gothic* nation, came originally out of *Scandinavia*, and, settling in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, made themselves masters of *Scythia*, *Mœsia*, *Thrace*, and *Dacia*, driving out the antient inhabitants. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Herodotus*, *viz.* that the antient *Scythians*, who, coming out of *Syria*, had crossed the *Araxes*, and settled in the country which was afterwards called *Scythia*, were, in process of time, driven from their seats by the *Cimmerians*, that is, by the *Goths*, who, according to *Jornandes*, settled first in *Cimmeria*. *Dion* observes, that the same people were called *Dacians* by the *Romans* and *Getes* by the *Greeks* [k]; and *Justin*, the compiler of *Trogus Pompeius*, tells us in express terms, that the *Dacians* were the offspring of the *Getes* [l]. Now, that the *Getes* and *Goths* were one and the same people, we have sufficiently proved above, in our history of the *Goths*. Some writers derive the *Dacians* from the *Daæ*, a people dwelling, according to *Strabo*, near *Hyrcania* in *Asiatic Scythia*. But this opinion is intirely founded on the similitude of the names *Daci* and *Daæ*. The *Dacians*, in more antient times, were known by the name of *Davi*; for the termination *dava* was common to most of their towns and cities, as *Comidava*, *Sergidava*, *Decidava*, *Marcidava*, &c. and the names of *Geta* and *Dacus*

Their origin.

[i] JORN. rer. Get. l. v. [k] DIO. l. lxvii. p. 761 [l] JUSTIN. l. xxxii.

Wage

were, among the *Athenians*, peculiar to ſlaves, who uſually bore the name of the nations to which they belonged. As to the antient country of the *Dacians*, it compriſed the preſent *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and part of *Tranſylvania*. The whole nation was afterwards tranſplanted into *Illyricum* by the emperor *Aurelian*, and the country they held there is the *Dacia*, of which the authors ſpeak, who wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, the *Goths* being then maſters of antient *Dacia*. The *Dacians* were deemed the moſt warlike and formidable of all the barbarous nations, not only on account of their natural courage and great ſtrength, which enabled them to endure the toils of war, but becauſe they looked upon death, not as the end of the preſent, but as the beginning of a more happy, life; whence they were as ready, ſays the emperor *Julian*, to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers, as to undertake a journey [m]. This doctrine they learnt of one *Xamolxis*, a great philoſopher, whom *Jornandes* ſuppoſes to have been king of the *Getes* or *Goths* dwelling in *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mœſia*; but other writers ſpeak of him only as a diſciple, and ſome as a ſlave, of the celebrated *Pythagoras* [n]. *Suidas* thinks he flouriſhed long before *Pythagoras* [o]. He was by birth a *Gete* or *Goth*, and is ſaid to have been held in great veneration among his countrymen during his life, and, after his death, to have been worſhipped by them with divine honours [p]. The *Dacians* were governed by their own kings, and agreed in cuſtoms, manners, laws, and religion, with the other *Gothic* nations, of whom we have ſpoken above. The firſt of their kings we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Oroles*, in whoſe reign they made war upon the *Baſtarnæ*; but not having behaved on a certain occaſion with their uſual courage, the king, by way of puniſhment, ordered them to lay their heads, when they ſlept, where their feet ſhould lie, and to perform the ſame offices about their wives, which it was cuſtomary for their wives to perform about them, till ſuch time as, by a more gallant behaviour, they had retrieved their loſt reputation [q]. In the reign of *Auguſtus* they broke firſt into the empire; but in what place, we are not told. All we know is, that, at the approach of *Druſus*, ſent againſt them by *Auguſtus* then in *Gaul*, they retired to their own country [r]. In the year of the chriſtian æra 69, the legions quartered in *Mœſia* being by *Otho* ordered into *Italy*, to make head againſt *Vitellius* there, the *Dacians*, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and never allowed the *Romans*, ſays *Tacitus*, any reſpite, but when they did

Their country.

Their cuſtoms, manners, &c.

Their irruptions into the empire.

[m] Jul. Cæs. p. 39, 40. [n] Phot. c. 166. p. 360. Strab. l. vii p. 297, 298. [o] Suid. p. 1121. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Justin. l. xxxii. [r] Dio. l. lv. p. 749.

not

not think it safe to attack them, laying hold of that opportunity, crossed the *Danube*, and, entering *Mœsia*, made themselves masters of part of that province. But *Mucianus* passing soon after through *Mœsia* on his march from the east into *Italy*, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, leaving there *Fonteius Agrippa*, formerly proconsul of *Asia*, with a body of troops to awe the barbarians [s]. But the following year, *Agrippa* being killed by the *Sarmatians*, the *Dacians* broke into *Pannonia*, and, having plundered that province, advanced into *Mœsia*, where they joined the *Sarmatians*; but were soon after driven out with great slaughter by *Rubrius Gallus*, whom *Vespasian*, then emperor, had dispatched against them [t]. About the year 86, the *Dacians* having anew ravaged the neighbouring provinces, and committed every-where great cruelties, *Domitian*, then emperor, resolved to march against them in person. *Duras* was at that time king of the *Dacians*; but he, by an instance of moderation seldom to be met with in history, of his own accord yielded the sovereignty to *Decebalus*, because he thought him better qualified for it than himself: and truly *Decebalus* was, according to *Dion* [u], one of the best commanders of his time, knew what was proper to be done, and how it ought to be put in execution; was very dextrous both in attacking and retiring, in laying ambuscades, and engaging in the open field; was never at a loss how to improve a victory, or how to support himself when conquered [w]. Either *Duras* or *Decebalus*, but more likely the latter, is by *Orosius* [x] and *Jornandes* [y] called *Diurpaneus*. As for the issue of this war in general, *Tacitus* tells us, that, soon after the return of *Agricola* to *Rome*, several *Roman* armies were destroyed in *Mœsia* and *Dacia*, some through the cowardice, others by the rashness, of their leaders; that the legions and troops of the allies were taken prisoners even in the fortified towns; insomuch, that the *Romans* had reason to apprehend the loss, not only of the country bordering on the *Danube*, but of intire provinces. News was daily brought of some new misfortune, and every year distinguished by some remarkable defeat [z]. Our historian did not think it safe to give us a more particular account of these misfortunes, or to mention the number of the slain on the side of the *Romans* in so many engagements, imitating therein the reserve of *Sallust*, and some other historians,

[s] TACIT. l. iii. c. 46. p. 73, 74. [t] JOSEPH. bell. l. vii. c. 22. p. 976. TACIT. l. iv. c. 54. p. 102. [u] DIO. VAL. p. 709. [w] Idem, p. 761. [x] OROS. l. vii. c. 10. p. 212. [y] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 13. p. 629. [z] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 41. p. 151.

OR

on like occasions [a]. Every true *Roman*, says *Tacitus*, wished then to see the command of the armies vested in *Agricola*. He was even proposed to the emperor by several of his freed-men, some of them hoping by that means to hasten his ruin, while others had nothing in view but the reputation of their master and the welfare of the state; but that jealous prince dreaded nothing so much as to trust a man of courage with the command of his armies [b]. As for the particulars of this war, we have related them in the history of *Domitian*'s reign; and therefore shall only observe here, that the *Dacians*, in the first battle they fought, utterly defeated *Appius* or *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mœsia*, who was killed in the engagement; that, upon his death and the defeat of his army, they laid waste, without controul, all *Mœsia*, and made themselves masters of several castles and strong-holds; that *Domitian*, to put a stop to their ravages, hastened into *Illyricum*, with almost all the forces of the empire; that thereupon *Decebalus* sent deputies to sue for peace; but the emperor, rejecting his proposals, dispatched *Cornelius Fuscus*, then *præfectus prætorio*, against him with the flower of his army, who, having passed the *Danube*, and engaged the *Dacians*, was by them cut off, with almost his whole army. This overthrow obliged *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, to hasten back into *Illyricum*, whence he detached one of his generals, named *Julian*, against the enemy, not caring to expose his own person. *Julian* gained a complete victory, and put such numbers of the *Dacians* to the sword, that *Decebalus*, no longer able to keep the field, dispatched embassadors anew to sue for peace; which *Domitian* upon no terms would grant him. But in the mean time, instead of improving his late victory, and pressing *Decebalus*, already reduced to great straights, he turned his arms against the *Marcomanns* and *Quadians*, and, being by the former defeated and put to flight, he was glad to come to an agreement with *Decebalus*; and accordingly dispatched embassadors to him with more advantageous proposals than he could have asked or expected. *Decebalus*, reflecting on the bad situation of his affairs, thought it advisable to accept the emperor's offers; but, instead of waiting upon him in person, as *Domitian* desired, he appointed his brother *Diegis* to supply his room. *Diegis* delivered up to the emperor some arms and a small number of prisoners, and received, at his hands, the diadem in his brother's name [c].

They cut off Appius Sabinus *with his army. Year after Christ* 86.

Domitian *concludes a shameful peace with them. Year after Christ* 90.

[a] Oros. ibid. [b] Tacit. ibid. [c] Idem ibid. Suet. in Dom. c. 6. p. 788. Jorn. rer. Goth. c 13. p. 629. Petr. legat. p 23, 24. Juv. sat. iv. ver. 111. Dio. l. lxviii. p 773. & l. lxvii. p 764. Mart. l. v. epig. 3. p. 392.

The

The emperor beſides agreed to pay to *Decebalus* a yearly ſum, and ſent him, at his requeſt, a great number of artificers of all profeſſions, ſuch artificers eſpecially as were well verſed in the art of contriving and making military engines. This yearly penſion, or, as we may call it, tribute, was punctually paid, ſo long as *Domitian* lived; and nevertheleſs, after this ſhameful peace, he wrote to the ſenate boaſting letters, as if he had obliged *Decebalus* to ſubmit to what terms he had thought proper to preſcribe; nay, he diſpatched to the ſenate the embaſſadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter of ſubmiſſion, which he pretended to have been written to him by that prince, but others deemed ſuppoſititious [d]. The ſenate decreed him a triumph, and he triumphed accordingly over the *Dacians* [e], and at the ſame time, according to *Euſebius*, over the *Marcomanns*, by whom he had been defeated. The ſycophants of thoſe days, eſpecially the poets, extolled theſe pretended victories, comparing, nay, and preferring them to the victories of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*. But they were, or hoped to be, paid for their lying encomiums and flatteries. The war with the *Dacians* laſted, according to *Euſebius*, from the year 86, to 90, and *Domitian* is ſuppoſed to have triumphed in 91. After the concluſion of the peace, he cauſed a magnificent monument to be erected in the country of the *Dacians* in honour of *Fuſcus*, who was killed there [f].

THE yearly ſum, which *Domitian* had agreed to pay to *Decebalus*, was punctually tranſmitted to him during the reign of that prince, and likewiſe the reign of his ſucceſſor *Nerva*; but *Trajan*, who ſucceeded *Nerva*, would by no means ſubmit to that ſhameful tribute, as he called it, alledging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Hereupon the *Dacians* began to prepare for war, ſoliciting the neighbouring nations to join them, eſpecially the *Iazygians*, at that time a powerful and warlike people; but they declining, under various pretences, to break with the empire, *Decebalus* made war firſt upon them, and ſeized a conſiderable part of their country, which *Trajan*, after he had conquered the *Dacians*, refuſed to reſtore to them, tho' they had loſt it for their fidelity to the *Romans* [g]. *Dion*, who relates this, does not tell us, that *Trajan* alledged, or had, any reaſon for not complying with the juſt demand of the *Iazygians*. *Decebalus* ſoon after turned his arms againſt the *Romans*, and, paſſing the *Danube*, began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. With this *Trajan* was no-ways diſpleaſed;

They ſeize on part of the country of the Iazygians.

[d] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 761. [e] Idem ibid. p. 762. & Suet. c. 6. p. 758, 780. [f] Mart. l. vi. epig. 71. p. 83. [g] Dio l. lxviii. p. 774.

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for he wanted only a pretence to make war on the *Dacians*, whose growing power gave him no small umbrage. Besides, he was informed, that *Decebalus* maintained a friendly correspondence with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom he had presented with one *Callidromus* taken in *Mœsia* by one of his lieutenants during the war with *Domitian*. The good understanding between these two powers gave *Trajan* no small jealousy. He therefore no sooner heard, that *Decebalus* had crossed the *Danube* and committed some hostilities in the *Roman* territories, than, drawing together a mighty army, he marched, with incredible expedition, to the banks of the *Danube*, passed that river without opposition, *Decebalus* not being apprised of his arrival, and, entering *Dacia*, laid waste the country far and near. *Decebalus*, however, not in the least dismayed, having armed the youth of the country, marched boldly to meet *Trajan*; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides; but the *Romans* in the end gained the victory. It was on this occasion, that, linen being wanted to bind the wounds of the *Romans*, *Trajan* tore his own robes to supply that want. The emperor, pursuing the advantages of this victory, followed the enemy close, and, not allowing them time to levy new forces, he harrassed them without intermission to such a degree, that *Decebalus* was in the end obliged to send deputies with proposals for an accommodation. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura* and *Claudius Libianus* to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* pursued his ravages, advancing from hill to hill, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zermizegethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other hand, *Maximus*, one of the emperor's generals, reduced several places, in one of which he took the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner, and recovered a *Roman* standard, which had been lost when *Fuscus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. Thus *Decebalus* was obliged at last to submit, and comply with the hard terms, which *Trajan* thought fit to prescribe, and we have related elsewhere[y]. However, three years after, he renewed the war; but, being overcome by *Trajan* in several encounters and stripped of his dominions, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. Upon the death of *Decebalus*, *Dacia* was intirely subdued and reduced to a *Roman* province. The emperor caused several castles to be built in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colo-

Their war with Trajan. *Year after Christ* 101.

Dacia *reduced by* Trajan *to a* Roman *province. Year after Christ* 105.

[y] Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 483.

nies

nies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome* and of the other cities of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country and likewise in *Transylvania*, which on this occasion were, as they endeavour to prove, built or peopled by the *Romans*. But of *Trajan*'s war with the *Dacians*, and the intire reduction of their country, we have spoken at length in our *Roman* history [z]; and therefore have only hinted here at some of the chief events. *Dacia*, thus reduced to a province, was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of *proprætor*, as appears from some antient inscriptions [a]. The emperor *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan* in 117, was for abandoning *Dacia*; but the regard he had for the *Roman* citizens, who had settled there in great numbers, made him alter the resolution he had taken. However, to prevent the barbarians dwelling on the other side of the *Danube* from invading the *Roman* territories, he caused the famous bridge to be broken down, which his predecessor had built over that river, and we have described in our *Roman* history [b]. In the year 138, the first of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, the *Dacians* attempted to shake off the yoke; but the rebellion was soon quelled by the generals, whom the emperor dispatched against them [c]. In 168, they joined the *Alemanns*, *Marcomanns*, *Quadians*, and *Sarmatians*, against the empire; but the two emperors *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* marching against them, they submitted anew. However, a battle, it seems, was fought, and the victory gained by the *Romans*; for in this very year the two emperors took the title of *imperator* the fifth time [d]; which they never did but on occasion of some victory. In 180, twelve thousand *Dacians* being driven out of their country by other barbarians, *Sabinianus*, governor of that province, prevailed upon them to settle in another part of *Dacia*, while they were in full march to join the *Alemanns*, then at war with the *Romans* [e]. In the reign of *Caracalla*, the *Dacians* seem to have revolted anew; for we are told, that some skirmishes were fought between them and that prince, and that they gave hostages, as a pledge of their future fidelity [f]. Upon the reduction of *Dacia* in 205, great numbers of the natives, abandoning their antient country, settled among the neighbouring barbarians. These made frequent inroads into the empire, with the *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alemanns*, &c. and their descendants, in the reign of *Maximinus*, joining the *Sarmatians*, com-

They attempt in vain to shake off the yoke.

[z] Idem ibid. p. 482, & seq. [a] GRUTER. p. 354. [b] Univers. hist. vol. xiv. p. 489. [c] Tit. Anton. vit. p. 19. [d] Occo. p. 285, 306. GOLTZ. p. 77. BIRAG. p. 220, 237. [e] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 818. [f] Get. vit. p. 92.

mitted dreadful ravages in the *Roman* provinces bordering on the *Danube*; but were, in all likelihood, repulſed with great loſs by the emperor, ſince the year after they broke into the empire *Macrinus* took the titles of *Sarmaticus* and *Dacicus*, as appears from ſeveral inſcriptions found in *France* and *Spain* [g]. In the year 265, the thirteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, the *Goths* and other barbarous nations made themſelves maſters of *Dacia*; for the loſs of that province is reckoned among the many misfortunes of that prince's unhappy reign [h]. About nine years after, it was in great part recovered by *Aurelian*; but he, finding he could not maintain it in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations without an immenſe charge, withdrew the troops appointed to defend it, and with them the inhabitants and their families, allotting them lands in *Mœſia* and *Dardania*, which he made a new province, called likewiſe *Dacia*, and by *Lactantius New Dacia*. This province lay on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, and is placed by *Vopiſcus* between the two *Mœſias*. It compriſed, according to *Sanſon*, part of the preſent *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and had *Sardica* for its metropolis. The *Goths* ſeem to have ſeized on the antient *Dacia* abandoned by *Aurelian*. Thus were the antient *Dacians* either tranſplanted into the *Roman* territories, or diſperſed among the neighbouring barbarians beyond the *Danube*, with whom they became one nation.

Dacia beyond the Danube abandoned by Aurelian. Year after Chriſt 274.

[g] Grut p. 151. & 158. Spon. p. 186. [h] Aur. Vict. Eutrop. Oros. l. vii. c. 22. p 214. Fest. p. 670.

The Lombards.

The Lombards.

THE *Longobards*, *Langobards*, or *Lombards*, who, in proceſs of time, made themſelves maſters of *Italy*, and from whom part of that country, formerly known by the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, is ſtill called *Lombardy*, are firſt mentioned in hiſtory by *Proſper Aquitanus*, biſhop of *Rhegium*, in the year 379. That writer, beginning a chronicle of his own in the ſaid year, after having copied till then the chronicle of St. *Jerom*, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the moſt diſtant coaſts of the ocean and their native country *Scandinavia*, and ſeeking new ſettlements, as they were overſtocked with people at home, attacked firſt, and overcame, about this time, the *Vandals*, then in *Germany*. They were headed by two chiefs, named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*, upon whoſe death, which happened about ten years after, they created *Agilmund*, ſon to the latter, their firſt king, who reigned thirty-three years [i]. It

[i] Prosp. chron. Grot. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. p. 53.

is

is to be obſerved, that, long before *Proſper*'s time, mention is made of a people named *Longobards*; for that name occurs in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo*; nay, *Maroboduus*, who was contemporary with *Auguſtus*, is by *Tacitus* ſtyled king of the *Sueves*, *Marcomanns*, and *Longobards* [k]. In the time of *Tiberius* they entered into an alliance with the *Cheruſcans*, under the conduct of the celebrated *Arminius*, and made war upon *Maroboduus*, from whom they had revolted [l]. In the year 170, the ninth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, ſix thouſand of them, who had paſſed the *Danube*, and, in conjunction with the *Marcomanns*, invaded the *Roman* dominions, were defeated by *Vindex* and *Candidus*, and obliged to ſue for peace [m]. But theſe *Longobards*, by moſt geographers placed between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, were, according to *Grotius*, a *German* nation, and a quite different people from the *Longobards*, who are mentioned by *Proſper*, and afterwards ſettled in *Italy* [n]. The latter were, according to *Paul Warnefrid* deacon of *Aquileia*, commonly known by the name of *Paulus Diaconus*, and the moſt credible writers, originally a *Gothic* nation, and the ſame with the *Gepidæ*, of whom we have ſpoken above. The *Gepidæ*, coming, with the other *Goths*, out of *Scandinavia* in three ſhips, as we have related above, ſtopped at the mouth of the *Viſtula* or the *Wieſſer*. From thence they advanced to the banks of the *Danube*, and, ſettling there, infeſted, as we read in *Vopiſcus*, the *Roman* territories with frequent incurſions. In proceſs of time, the *Gepidæ* fell out among themſelves; and from this diviſion ſprung the *Longobards*, who are therefore, as *Salmaſius* [o] and *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* [p] obſerve, called ſometimes *Gepidæ* and ſometimes *Longobards*. They wandered from place to place, often ſhifting their ſeats, and were thence called *Winili*, that is, *wanderers*; which denomination has induced ſome writers to think, that the *Lombards* and *Vandals*, named alſo *Winili*, were one and the ſame people. As theſe two nations were conſtantly changing their habitations, they were thence called *Winili* or *wanderers*; but, though agreeing in name, they continued to be two diſtinct nations. The learned *Sherringham* is of opinion, that the *Longobards* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Ptolemy*, were of *Gothic* extraction; and that they were left in *Germany* by the celebrated *Woden* on his march through that country from *Scythia* into *Scandinavia*; but at the ſame time that writer allows the *Lom-*

The Lombards *in* Italy *and the* Lombards *in* Germany, *two diſtinct nations.*

[k] TACIT. hiſt. c. 44, 46. p. 54, 55. [l] Idem, annal. xi. c. 16, 18. p. 159, 160. [m] PET. legat. p. 24. [n] GROT. ibid. p. 27. [o] SALMAS. apud Grot. ibid. [p] CONSTANT. PORPHYR. de admin. imper. x c. 25.

bards,

bards, who afterwards made themselves masters of *Italy*, to have been a different nation, come several ages after out of *Scandinavia*, their common country [q]. As for the name of *Longobards*, some derive it from the word *lack* or *lache*, signifying in the *German* language *water*, because the *Lombards*, while in *Scandinavia*, lived in marshes, or near the sea [r]. Others think it comes from the two *German* words *langen barden*, or *helle-harden*, that is, from the long halberds, which they suppose to have been used by them. But *Paulus Diaconus*, who was himself a *Lombard*, though born in *Italy*, tells us, that they were called *Longobards* from the length of their beards; and with him agree *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* [s], *Otho Frisingensis* [t], *Gunterus* [u], and *Grotius* [w]. After they had wandered through several countries, shifting their seats, they settled at length in *Pannonia*, which they held for the space of forty-two years, and then marching into *Italy*, under the conduct of their king *Alboinus*, made themselves masters of the greater part of that country. We have observed above, that, upon the death of their leaders, *Iboreus* and *Aion*, they appointed *Agilmund* their first king. He was succeeded by the following princes, *Lamiscus*, *Leta*, *Ildeock*, *Gudeoc*, *Claffus*, *Tatus*, *Wachus*, *Walterius*, *Audoinus*, and *Alboinus*, the first of that nation who reigned in *Italy*. As for the manners of the *Lombards*, *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that no violence or oppression, no treachery or compulsion, was practised among them; and that every man enjoyed his property undisturbed, and followed his profession, without the least apprehension of danger. But that writer was perhaps somewhat prejudiced in favour of his countrymen; for *Procopius* writes, that those *Lombards*, who had served under *Narses* against the *Goths* in *Italy*, were sent back to their own country, on account of the disorders they committed; and pope *Gregory*, surnamed *the Great*, who was but too well acquainted with the *Lombards*, calls them, in several parts of his works, a most wicked nation, perhaps they neither deserved the encomiums of *Paulus* nor the reproaches of *Gregory*; at least it does not appear from their conduct, while masters of *Italy*, that they did. *Paulus Diaconus*, speaking of their dress, tells us, that their cloaths were loose, and for the most part of linen, such as the *Anglo-Saxons* wore, being interwoven with various colours; that their shoes were open to the end of their foot, and that they used to button or lace them.

The origin of their name.

Their kings.

Their dress.

[q] SHERRINGH. de Angl. gent. orig c. 15. p. 352. [r] RUDBECK. Atlant. part i. c 24. [s] CONS. PORPHYR. de Them. [t] OTHO. FRISING l. ii. c. 13. de gest. Frid. imper. [u] GUNTER. l. ii. [w] GROT ibid

them [x]. From ſome antient paintings it appears, that they ſhaved the back part of their heads; but that their hair was long before, their locks being parted and laid on each ſide of their foreheads. As for their hiſtory, we ſhall here relate what we find in *Paulus Diaconus*, but will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what that author writes.

THE *Goths* in *Scandinavia*, overſtocked with people at home, ſent out frequent colonies in queſt of new ſettlements. One, among the reſt, leaving their native country, put to ſea in three ſhips: one of theſe ſailed ſlower than the other two, and ſtopped in the end at the *Viſtula*. The *Goths* on board this ſhip were called, as we have obſerved above, *Gepidæ*, from a word in their language ſignifying *ſlow*. Theſe *Gepidæ*, unwilling to proceed farther, ſettled in an iſland formed by the *Viſtula*, and continued there, till their numbers were ſo increaſed, that the iſland could no longer ſupport them. They then began to roam about the neighbouring countries in queſt of new ſeats; and thence were called *Winili*, or *wanderers*. They quarrelled at length among themſelves, and agreed to part. *Paulus Diaconus* writes, that the country, where they had ſettled, being no longer able to maintain them, they divided themſelves into three parts, one whereof, on whom the lot ſhould fall, was to go in queſt of new habitations. But moſt other writers ſuppoſe the *Longobards* to have ſprung from the diviſion of the *Gepidæ* quarrelling among themſelves. Be that as it will, thoſe who went out choſe for their leaders *Iboreus* and *Aion*, the ſons of one *Gambara*, a woman univerſally reſpected on account of her wiſdom. Under their conduct they firſt ſettled in a country, by *Paulus Diaconus* called *Scoringa*, bordering on that which was then held by the *Vandals*, who, ſoon after their arrival, gave them to underſtand, that they muſt either pay tribute or prepare for war. The two leaders, by advice of their mother, returned anſwer, That, though they were few in number, they preferred war to ſervitude and ſubjection. Hereupon a bloody engagement enſued, in which the *Vandals* were utterly defeated. But the *Gepidæ*, whom we ſhall henceforth call *Lombards*, though that name was perhaps given them afterwards, being ſorely diſtreſſed with famine, reſolved to abandon *Scoringa*, and ſettle in a more fruitful country. They ſet out accordingly for *Mauringa*; but the *Aſſipitti* denying them a paſſage thro' their territories, they reſolved to attempt it by force. In order to ſtrike terror into the enemy, who were far ſuperior to them in number, they gave out, that they had among them *Cynocephali*, or men with dogs heads; which report ſo terrified the

Their ſeveral migrations.

They defeat the Vandals

[x] PAUL. DIAC. l. iv. c 23.

A Aſſipitti,

Assipitti, that, not caring to engage so dreadful an enemy, and having one among them of extraordinary strength and courage, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a single combat; which they no sooner proposed to the *Lombards*, than the proposal was accepted, the two nations agreeing, that, if the champion of the *Assipitti* should overcome, the passage should be denied; but, if the *Lombard* proved victorious, the rest should be allowed to pass unmolested. The two champions engaged in the sight of both armies; and the *Lombard* having gained the victory, a passage was granted to the whole nation, pursuant to the agreement. Upon their arrival in *Mauringa*, to increase the number of their warriors, they set all their slaves at liberty, who, though of different countries, became one nation with them. From *Mauringa*, where they staid but a short time, they proceeded to *Gothland*, and there made themselves masters of *Anthabet*, *Bathaib*, and *Urgundiab*, which our historian conjectures to be names of towns. In *Gothland* died their two leaders, *Iboreus* and *Aion*, upon whose death the *Lombards* resolved to chuse a king, after the manner of other nations; and accordingly conferred that dignity on *Agilmund* the son of *Aion*, who is said to have been killed by the *Bulgarians*, after he had reigned thirty-three years. He was succeeded by *Lamiscus* or *Lamissio*, so called from the word *lama*, signifying in their language a *fish-pond*; for his mother, by profession a harlot, is said to have thrown him, with six other males, of whom she was delivered at the same time, into a fish-pond. *Lamissio* was luckily saved by *Agilmund*, who, passing that way, and observing the children, stopped his horse, and stretching out his spear to them, one of them took hold of it, and was by that means saved. The king, not doubting but he would one day prove a great man, ordered him to be brought up with great care, calling him *Lamis-shon*, that is, the *son of a fish-pond*. He is said to have gained a victory over the *Amazons*, and to have behaved, on several other occasions, with such resolution and intrepidity, that, upon the death of *Agilmund*, the *Lombards*, with one voice, proclaimed him king. He no sooner found himself invested with this dignity, than, bent upon revenging the death of his predecessor, he marched against the *Bulgarians*; and though his men gave way at first, yet in the end, being animated by the words and example of their new king, they gained a complete victory. *Lamissio* was succeeded by *Leta* or *Lechu*, and he, after a reign of near forty years, by *Ildeock* or *Hildehoc*, as was *Ildeock* by *Gudeock*. In the reign of the latter, *Odoacer* king of *Italy* having killed *Feletheu*, king of the *Rugians* dwelling beyond the *Danube*, and either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, the whole nation, the

Agilmund *their first king.*

Lamissio *succeeds him, and defeats the* Bulgarians.

the *Lombards* came and ſettled in their country, then deſtitute of inhabitants. During their ſtay in *Rugiland* (for ſo the country of the *Rugians* is called by our hiſtorian) their king *Gudeock* died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Claffus*, after whom reigned *Tatus*, in whoſe time the *Lombards*, leaving *Rugiland*, ſettled in the champaign country bordering on the *Danube*, where a war breaking out between them and the *Heruli*, the latter were defeated with great ſlaughter, their king *Rodulphus* being ſlain, with the flower of their nation. The victorious *Lombards* divided the rich plunder; but their king took for his ſhare only the ſtandard of *Rodulphus*, called *bandum*, with the helmet he uſed to wear in battle. Not long after, *Tatus* was ſlain by *Wacho*, ſon to his brother *Zuchilo*. *Ildichus*, the ſon of *Tatus*, endeavoured to revenge his father's death, and make good the juſt claim he had to the crown; but was in ſeveral encounters defeated by *Wacho*, and in the end obliged to take refuge among the neighbouring *Gepidæ*. *Wacho* is ſaid to have ſubdued the *Sueves*. He had three wives, *viz.* *Ranicunda*, daughter to the king of the *Thuringians*; *Auſtrigoſa*, daughter of the king of the *Gepidæ*; and *Salinga*, daughter of the king of the *Heruli*. By the latter he had *Walterius*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about ſeven years. After *Walterius* came *Audoinus*, in whoſe reign a war being kindled between the *Lombards* and the *Gepidæ*, a bloody battle was fought, in which the latter were utterly defeated. The ſignal victory gained on this occaſion by the *Lombards*, was chiefly owing to *Alboinus*, the king's ſon; for the young prince having engaged and killed with his own hand *Thoriſmund*, the ſon of *Turiſind* king of the *Gepidæ*, the enemy, who had fought till then with great reſolution and intrepidity, hearing the king's ſon was killed, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The victorious *Lombards*, upon their return home, begged their king to indulge his ſon, by way of reward for his gallant behaviour, the honour of dining with him, which was deemed no leſs honourable among the *Lombards*, than a triumph was among the *Romans*. The king anſwered, That, by an antient and immemorial cuſtom among the *Lombards*, that honour and mark of diſtinction was not to be granted, even to the princes of the blood royal, till they had publicly appeared in the armour of ſome foreign prince killed in battle with their own hand. Hereupon *Alboinus*, attended only by forty reſolute young men, repaired to the court of *Turiſind*, to demand the armour of that prince's ſon, whom he had killed in the above-mentioned battle, being reſolved, if any violence was offered him, to ſell his life dear. The king received him in a moſt obliging manner, entertained him at his table, and,

Their king Rodulphus ſlain.

Tatus gains a great victory over the Heruli.

Audoinus *defeats the* Gepidæ.

admiring his courage and intrepidity, complied with his demand, and dismissed him not only unmolested, but loaded with rich presents. Upon his return home, after he had publicly appeared in the armour of *Thorismund*, he was, at a grand entertainment, allowed to sit at a table with the king his father. In the reign of *Audoinus*, the *Lombards* were, by the emperor *Justinian*, allowed to settle in *Pannonia* [y]. Thus far *Paulus Diaconus* of the various migrations, wars, and conquests, of the *Lombards*, from their first leaving *Scandinavia*, to their settling in *Pannonia*. His account is, as the reader must have observed, interwoven with some fables; but, in the main, he agrees with *Prosper Aquitanus*, who wrote before his time; with *Erchempetus*, who flourished after; and likewise with *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, whose secretary he was, and consequently well acquainted with the *Lombards*. The latter writer, in speaking of the above-mentioned war between the *Lombards* and the *Heruli*, tells us, that the *Lombards* had been formerly obliged to pay tribute to the *Heruli* [z], of which no notice is taken by our historian. The names of the various countries, in which the *Lombards* are said by *Paulus Diaconus* to have settled, have occasioned great debates among the later historians and geographers, and several conjectures have been offered; but all we know with any foundation is, that the countries mentioned by that writer lay between the mouth of the *Vistula*, where the *Lombards* coming from *Scandinavia* are supposed to have stopped, and *Pannonia*, where they settled in *Justinian*'s time.

The Lombards, *under the conduct of* Audoinus, *settle in* Pannonia. *Year after Christ* 526.

Audoinus dying, the brave *Alboinus* was by the *Lombards* proclaimed king. Upon his accession to the crown, he married *Clodisvinta*, daughter of *Clotharius*, king of the *Franks*, by whom he had but one daughter, named by some *Alpisunda*, and by others *Albisvinela*. About the same time, died *Turisind* king of the *Gepidæ*, and was succeeded by his son *Cunimund*, who, to revenge the death of his brother *Thorismund*, made war upon the *Lombards*. Hereupon *Alboinus*, entering into an alliance with the *Hunns*, then known by the name of *Avares*, took the field, and, in the first battle that was fought, killed the king of the *Gepidæ* with his own hand, put their army to the rout, and, pursuing his victory, cut such numbers of them in pieces, that they ceased to be a nation, as we have related above. *Alboinus*, having caused the deceased king's head to be struck off, made a cup of his skull, called, in the language of the *Lombards*, *scbala*, which he made use of in all

Alboinus *kills the king of the* Gepidæ *with his own hand.*

[y] Paul. Diac. de gest. Longob. l. i. & ii. [z] Procop. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14.

public

public entertainments. However, having taken, among many other captives of great diſtinction, the late king's daughter, by name *Roſimunda*, he married her upon the death of his former wife *Clodiſvinta* [a]. By this victory *Alboinus* gained great fame and reputation, not only among the *Gothic* nations, whoſe bards celebrated his proweſs and valour in their poems, but likewiſe among the *Romans*; inſomuch, that *Narſes*, who had been ſent by *Juſtinian* to drive the *Goths* out of *Italy*, courted his friendſhip, and, entering into an alliance with him, ſolicited his aſſiſtance to put in execution the commiſſion he had received. *Alboinus* ſent him a choice body of men, who, croſſing the *Adriatic* gulf, landed in *Italy*, and, joining the *Romans*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that battle, in which *Totila* was killed. The war being ended, they were ſent home loaded with rich preſents, continuing faithful allies to the *Romans*, whom they aſſiſted on all occaſions, ſo long as they inhabited *Pannonia* [b]. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Procopius* writes, that the *Lombards*, who came to the aſſiſtance of *Narſes*, committed every-where unheard of diſorders, pillaging the open country, burning the villages, and not ſparing even the holy virgins, inſomuch, that the *Roman* general was obliged to ſend them home before the war was ended, charging the two generals *Valerianus* and *Damianus* to accompany them, with a body of troops, to the confines of the empire, in order to reſtrain them from plundering the countries through which they paſſed [c]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Narſes*, whom we may juſtly ſtyle the deliverer of *Italy*, maintained, ſo long as he governed that country, a ſtrict friendſhip and correſpondence with *Alboinus* king of the *Lombards*; ſo that it was no difficult matter for him to perſuade that warlike and ambitious prince to attempt the conqueſt of *Italy*. Of this memorable event *Paulus Diaconus*, the author who deſerves moſt credit in what concerns the *Lombards*, gives us the following account; *Narſes* having, with the aſſiſtance of the *Lombards*, delivered *Italy* from the yoke of the *Goths*, ſent back into *Pannonia* his victorious auxiliaries, loaded with rich preſents. There they continued faithful to their engagements with the *Romans*, whom they were ready to aſſiſt on all occaſions. In the mean time, *Juſtinian* dying, *Narſes*, who governed *Italy* with an abſolute ſway, and had acquired immenſe wealth, was by the *Italians* accuſed to the emperor *Juſtin* II. the ſucceſſor of *Juſtinian*, and to the empreſs *Sophia*, as if he aſpired at the ſovereignty of the country. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Longinus* was

Sends a body of Lombards *to the aſſiſtance of* Narſes *againſt the* Goths. *Year after Chriſt* 553.

The Lombards *invited into Italy.*

[a] PAUL. DIAC. ibid. c. 27. [b] Idem ibid. c. 2. [c] PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 33.

sent to succeed him; nay, as he was an eunuch, the empress is reported to have said, that his employment at *Constantinople* should be to distribute, in the apartment of her women, the portion of wool, which each of them was to spin. *Narses*, enraged at this severe and insolent reflection, *I will begin*, said he, *such a web as she shall never be able to finish*; and immediately dispatched messengers to the *Lombards*, inviting them into *Italy*. With the messengers he sent several presents to *Alboinus*, with whom he was well acquainted, and some of the best fruits *Italy* afforded, as baits to allure him and his subjects to attempt the conquest of so fertile a country [d]. Thus *Paulus Diaconus*. But *Baronius* [e] and some other writers reject this account as fabulous, alledging, that *Narses* had been recalled the year before by *Justin*, at whose inauguration he assisted, and continued in great credit at *Constantinople*. This they assert upon the authority of *Chorippus*, a poet and grammarian of *Africa*, who flourished at that time, and was then at *Constantinople*, where he saw *Narses* present at the emperor *Justin*'s coronation, and attending him soon after, when he gave audience to the embassadors of the *Avares*. But this objection the learned *Petavius* has intirely removed, shewing, that *Chorippus* speaks of another *Narses*, much younger than the celebrated commander; and that there were three of that name living at the same time, *viz.* the renowned deliverer of *Italy*, who died at *Rome* some time after he had called in the *Lombards*; the brother of *Aratius*; and the *Narses* whom *Chorippus* mentions in his poem, commending him on account of his tall stature, comely countenance, graceful person, and beautiful hair (K). It is surprising *Baronius* should think, that such a description suited an old eunuch. The *Narses*, of whom *Chorippus* speaks, was burnt alive in the year 605, by the command of *Phocas*. *Baronius* adds, that, according to our

Whether Narses *betrayed* Italy *to the* Lombards.

[d] Paul. Diac. de gest. Longob. l. ii. c. 1, 5, 6, & seq. [e] Baron. ad ann. 568.

(K) The words of the poet are:

Armiger interea, domini vestigia lustrans,
Eminet excelsus super omnia vertice Narses
Agmina, & augustam cultu præfulserat aulam,
Comptus cæsarie, formaque insignis & ore (1).

It is surprising, that *Baronius* should think the celebrated *Narses* to be described by these verses, who was an eunuch, and at this time, that is, at the beginning of *Justin*'s reign, stricken in years.

(1) *Chorip. l.* iii. *ver* 230.

historian,

historian, *Narses* dying at *Rome*, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and conveyed from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, where it was honourably interred [f]. Now, it is not by any means probable, says *Baronius*, that the emperor would have suffered any honours to be paid him after his death, had he treacherously delivered up *Italy* to the *Lombards*. To this *Petavius* answers, that his treachery was not known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*, till some time after his death, when it was discovered by the *Lombards* themselves, owning, that they had been invited into *Italy* by *Narses*. That brave commander was, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, a man of great piety, and had, as we are told by *Evagrius* [g] and *Nicephorus* [h], a particular veneration for the virgin *Mary*, imploring her assistance before he entered upon any enterprise, and ascribing the success, that attended his arms, to her protection; and this is what induced *Baronius* to write in his favour, and endeavour to clear him from the treachery, with which he is charged by our historian.

BUT to resume the thread of our history: *Alboinus*, highly pleased with the opportunity that offered of invading *Italy*, a country with which the *Lombards* were already well acquainted, began, without loss of time, to make the necessary preparations for his intended expedition. In the first place, he solicited the assistance of the *Saxons*, his old friends and allies, promising to share with them his future conquests. The *Saxons* readily closed with his proposals, and sent him twenty thousand men, with their wives and children [i]. He likewise received powerful succours from other nations, namely from the *Gepidæ*, then his subjects, from the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Sueves*, *Noricans*, &c [k]. Having thus drawn together a numerous and powerful army, before he set out, he entered into a strict alliance with the *Hunns*, the most powerful of his neighbours, leaving *Pannonia* to them, upon this condition, that, if the expedition he was going upon should not succeed, the *Lombards* should be allowed to re-enter upon their former possessions. Having concerted such other measures as he thought necessary for so great an undertaking, he set out with his whole nation, their wives and children, carrying with them all their moveables and whatever they had of value, and, leaving *Pannonia* after a stay of forty-two years there, took their route towards *Italy*. They began their march in the month of *April*, just after *Easter*, which fell that year on the first day of the month, in the first indiction, in the third year of *Justin* II.

The Lombards *set out for* Italy. *Year after Christ* 568.

[f] PAUL. DIAC. ibid. [g] EVAGR. l. iv. c. 23. [h] NICEPH. l. xvii c. 13. [i] PAUL. DIAC. ibid. [k] Anonym. apud Camil. Pel. l. ii. c. 12.

the

Enter Italy, and make themselves masters of several cities.

the ninth of *John* III. bishop of *Rome*, and in the year of the christian æra 568. *Alboinus*, with his army, and the promiscuous multitude that followed it, arrived, by the way of *Istria*, on the borders of *Italy*, which he entered without the least opposition, and, advancing through the province of *Venetia* to the city of *Aquileia*, found the whole country abandoned, the inhabitants being fled to the neighbouring islands in the *Adriatic*. He no sooner appeared before *Aquileia*, than the gates were opened to him by the few inhabitants who had the courage to stay, the rest having, upon the news of his approach, fled with their most valuable effects, following therein the example of their patriarch *Paulinus*, who, carrying with him all the utensils of his church, had taken refuge in an island. From *Aquileia Alboinus* advanced to *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, which likewise surrendered. In this city he passed the winter, dispersing his troops among the neighbouring villages, where they were plentifully supplied by the natives with all sorts of provisions. During the winter, *Alboinus* reduced the city of *Friuli* and its territory to a dukedom, conferring the title of duke on his nephew *Gisulphus*, whom he appointed to guard and govern those territories, which were, in a manner, the gates of *Italy*, through which every invader must first force his passage. Thus *Friuli* was erected into a dutchy, and such it has continued ever since. The following year 569, *Alboinus*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, moved forward with his army, and, without the least opposition, made himself master of *Trivigi* and *Oderzo*. From thence he marched to *Monte Celce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*, which surrendered to him upon the first summons. In each of these cities he left a strong garison of *Lombards*, under the command of an officer, whom he distinguished with the title of duke; but these dukes were only officers and governors of cities, and bore that title no longer than the prince thought fit to continue them in their command or government. Such likewise were the first dukes in *Gaul*, as *Paulus Æmilius* well observes[1]. *Alboinus* left *Padua*, and several other cities, behind him, either because they lay too much out of his way, or because they were well garisoned, and it would take up too much of his time to besiege them. Thus ended the second campaign of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. The third proved no less successful; for entering *Liguria* upon the return of the spring, the inhabitants were so terrified at his approach, that, leaving their habitations, they fled, with such of their effects as they could carry off, to the most remote and inaccessible parts of the mountains; so that the cities of *Brescia*,

[1] Paul. Æmil. de reb. Franc c. 6.

Bergamo,

Bergamo, *Lodi*, *Como*, and the other towns of *Liguria*, quite to the *Alps*, being almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, received him, without attempting to make the leaſt reſiſtance. He then advanced to *Milan*, the capital of *Liguria*, which, after a ſhort ſiege, ſurrendered, moſt of the inhabitants, ſeeing there were not forces in the place ſufficient for its defence, being retired, with *Honoratus* their biſhop, to *Genoa*. Upon the reduction of *Milan*, the *Lombards*, with joyful acclamations, proclaimed and ſaluted *Alboinus* king of *Italy*, lifting him up upon a ſhield in the midſt of the army, according to the cuſtom of their nation, and preſenting him with a lance, which, among them, was the enſign of royalty. From this time hiſtorians date the beginning of the kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, which laſted for the ſpace of two hundred years and upwards.

Alboinus proclaimed king of Italy. Year after Chriſt 579.

Alboinus, now veſted with royal authority, marched from *Milan* to *Pavia*; but meeting there with a vigorous reſiſtance, as the place was well gariſoned, and furniſhed with great plenty of proviſions, he left part of his army to puſh on the ſiege, and with the reſt reduced *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and the other inland cities both in *Æmilia* and *Tuſcany*. He then marched into *Umbria*, and there made himſelf maſter of *Spoleto*, which he made the metropolis of *Umbria*; and, erecting the city and its territory into a dukedom, appointed *Feroaldus*, whom he dignified with the title of duke, governor of that diſtrict. The governors of the other cities of note were honoured with the ſame title, as were the cities with that of dutchies, which title moſt of them retain to this day [m]. From *Umbria Alboinus* returned to the ſiege of *Pavia*, which at length ſurrendered, after it had held out with great reſolution for three years and ſome months. The king, highly incenſed againſt the inhabitants, had vowed to put them all to the ſword; but we are told, that, as he was entering the city on horſeback, his horſe fell under him in the middle of the gate, and could not by any means be raiſed, till, at the perſuaſion of one of his followers, he revoked the cruel vow he had made; when his horſe ſtarting up of himſelf, he proceeded to the palace built by *Theodoric* king of the *Oſtrogoths*, whither the people, to whom he had promiſed indemnity, crouded to ſee him, and to ſwear allegiance to their new prince [n]. As *Pavia* was a city of great ſtrength and conveniently ſituated, *Alboinus* and his ſucceſſors choſe it for the place of their reſidence; whence it became the metropolis of the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and was raiſed above all the other cities ſubject to them. *Alboinus*, now maſter of great part of *Italy*, that is, of all *Venetia*,

Pavia *ſurrenders.*

And becomes the metropolis of the kingdom of the Lombards.

[m] PAUL. DIAC. l. iii. c. 7. [n] Idem ibid.

tia, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Hetruria*, and *Umbria*, reſolved to eſtabliſh peace and good order throughout the countries he had already reduced, before he made any further conqueſts. But he was in the mean time ſlain by the treachery of his wife, in the fourth year of his reign. This princeſs, called *Roſimund*, was the daughter of *Cunimund*, king of the *Gepidæ*, whom *Alboinus* had killed with his own hand in battle, and made a cup of his ſkull, as we have related above. Our hiſtorian aſſures us, that he himſelf had ſeen this cup [o]. Though *Alboinus* thus inſulted the memory of his conquered enemy, yet, upon the death of his firſt wife, he married his daughter, and was, by her contrivance, murdered on the following occaſion: As the king was one day feaſting at *Verona* with his chief favourites and principal officers, in the height of his mirth he ſent for the queen, and, filling the deteſted cup, commanded her to drink merrily with her father. *Roſimund*, ſtruck with horror, hurried out of the room, and, highly incenſed againſt her huſband for thus barbarouſly triumphing over the misfortunes of her family, reſolved, at all events, to make him pay dear for ſuch an inhuman and affronting conduct. Accordingly ſhe immediately diſcovered her intention to *Helmichild*, the king's *ſchilpor*, as the *Lombards* called him, that is *ſhield-bearer*, a youth of great boldneſs and intrepidity. *Helmichild* peremptorily refuſed to imbrue his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, or to be anyways acceſſory to his death; and in this reſolution he perſiſted, till he was, by a ſhameful ſtratagem, forced by the queen to a compliance; for ſhe, knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, placed herſelf one night in her bed, and, receiving the youth, indulged him, as if ſhe had been his own miſtreſs, in his amorous deſires; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than, diſcovering herſelf to the deceived lover, ſhe told him, that he muſt now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. *Helmichild*, well appriſed that, after what he had done, his ſafety depended upon the death of the king, engaged in the treaſon, which he otherwiſe abhorred. One day therefore, while *Alboinus* was repoſing in his chamber after dinner, *Helmichild*, with ſome others, whom he had made privy to his deſign, breaking in unexpectedly, fell upon the king with their daggers. *Alboinus*, ſtarting up at their firſt coming in, laid hold of his ſword, which he had always by him; but having attempted in vain to draw it, the queen having before-hand faſtened it in the ſcabbard, he defended himſelf for ſome time with a footſtool; but was in the end overpowered and diſpatched with many wounds. Such was the end of *Al-*

Alboinus murdered. Year after Chriſt 575.

[o] Idem, l. ii. c. 14.

boinus,

boinus, the firſt king of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and one of the greateſt princes of the age in which he lived. He was both a warlike and prudent prince, being, according to the character the antients give him, no leſs ſkilled in the arts of government than in thoſe of war. His friendſhip was courted by all the princes of thoſe times, eſpecially by the emperor *Juſtinian*, who was glad to enter into an alliance with him while he was ſtill in *Pannonia*. Accordingly he aſſiſted *Narſes*, as we have hinted above, in his wars with the *Goths*, and, ſo long as that great man continued in favour at court, was ready to ſerve the *Romans* on all occaſions. The little oppoſition he met with in the reduction of *Italy*, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the new form of government, of which hereafter, introduced by the exarch *Longinus*, ſent by *Juſtinian* the younger to ſucceed *Narſes*, who had driven the *Goths* quite out of *Italy*, and had governed thoſe provinces with great reputation, as the emperor's lieutenant, for the ſpace of thirteen years. *Baronius* ſuppoſes *Alboinus* to have led the *Lombards* out of *Scandinavia*, to have brought them into *Pannonia*, and from thence, after they had continued forty-two years in that country, into *Italy*. But what that annaliſt writes on this head is ſcarce worthy of notice, ſince he can only alledge a few groundleſs conjectures to ſupport his opinion; and, on the other hand, *Paulus Diaconus*, the only author who has given us a tolerable account of the affairs of the *Lombards*, writes, that *Alboinus* was the tenth king of the *Lombards*; that, under the conduct not of *Alboinus*, but of *Iboreus* and *Aion*, they left *Scandinavia*, or at leaſt the countries at the mouth of the *Viſtula*; that, upon the death of theſe two leaders, they choſe *Agilmund* for their firſt king; and laſtly, that, after having often changed their ſeats, they ſettled at laſt in *Pannonia*, under the conduct of *Audoinus*, the father of *Alboinus*.

BUT to return to *Roſimund*: ſhe had promiſed to marry *Helmichild* as ſoon as he had diſpatched the king her huſband, and to beſtow upon him, with her perſon, the kingdom of the *Lombards*. She married him accordingly; but was ſo far from being able to beſtow upon him the crown, that they were both obliged to ſave themſelves by flight, the *Lombards* being highly provoked againſt them for the death of a prince, whom, in a manner, they adored, and unalterably determined to bring to condign puniſhment the authors of ſo barbarous a murder. *Roſimund* therefore, with her new huſband, and her daughter *Albiſvinda*, withdrew in the night-time, and fled to *Longinus* the exarch, reſiding at *Ravenna*, taking with her all the jewels and treaſure of her late huſband. *Longinus* received her with

Roſimurd *flies to the exarch with the treaſure of the* Lombards.

tia, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Hetruria*, and *Umbria*, resolved to establish peace and good order throughout the countries he had already reduced, before he made any further conquests. But he was in the mean time slain by the treachery of his wife, in the fourth year of his reign. This princess, called *Rosimund*, was the daughter of *Cunimund*, king of the *Gepidæ*, whom *Alboinus* had killed with his own hand in battle, and made a cup of his skull, as we have related above. Our historian assures us, that he himself had seen this cup [o]. Though *Alboinus* thus insulted the memory of his conquered enemy, yet, upon the death of his first wife, he married his daughter, and was, by her contrivance, murdered on the following occasion: As the king was one day feasting at *Verona* with his chief favourites and principal officers, in the height of his mirth he sent for the queen, and, filling the detested cup, commanded her to drink merrily with her father. *Rosimund*, struck with horror, hurried out of the room, and, highly incensed against her husband for thus barbarously triumphing over the misfortunes of her family, resolved, at all events, to make him pay dear for such an inhuman and affronting conduct. Accordingly she immediately discovered her intention to *Helmichild*, the king's *schilpor*, as the *Lombards* called him, that is *shield-bearer*, a youth of great boldness and intrepidity. *Helmichild* peremptorily refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, or to be anyways accessory to his death; and in this resolution he persisted, till he was, by a shameful stratagem, forced by the queen to a compliance; for she, knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, placed herself one night in her bed, and, receiving the youth, indulged him, as if she had been his own mistress, in his amorous desires; which she had no sooner done, than, discovering herself to the deceived lover, she told him, that he must now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. *Helmichild*, well apprised that, after what he had done, his safety depended upon the death of the king, engaged in the treason, which he otherwise abhorred. One day therefore, while *Alboinus* was reposing in his chamber after dinner, *Helmichild*, with some others, whom he had made privy to his design, breaking in unexpectedly, fell upon the king with their daggers. *Alboinus*, starting up at their first coming in, laid hold of his sword, which he had always by him; but having attempted in vain to draw it, the queen having before-hand fastened it in the scabbard, he defended himself for some time with a footstool; but was in the end overpowered and dispatched with many wounds. Such was the end of *Al-*

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[o] Idem, l. ii. c. 11.

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Roſimund flies to the exarch with the treaſure of the Lombards.

the greateſt marks of friendſhip and kindneſs, and aſſured her of his protection. She had not been long in *Ravenna*, when the exarch, judging a favourable opportunity now offered to make himſelf king of *Italy*, by means of *Roſimund* and her treaſure, imparted his deſign to her, and declared his intention to marry her, provided, by ſome means or other, ſhe diſpatched *Helmichild*. *Roſimund*, highly pleaſed with the propoſal, to ſatisfy her ambition, reſolved to get rid of the perſon, whom ſhe had married for the ſake of her revenge. Accordingly, having prepared a ſtrong poiſon, ſhe mixed it with wine, and gave it to her huſband, as he came thirſty out of the bath, and called for drink, according to his cuſtom. *Helmichild* had not half emptied the cup, when, by the ſudden and ſtrange operation he felt in his bowels, he concluded what it was, and, with his ſword pointed at the queen's breaſt, compelled her to drink the reſt. The poiſon had the ſame effect on her as on her huſband; for, in a few hours, they both died. *Longinus*, laying aſide, upon her death, all thoughts of making himſelf king of *Italy*, ſent the treaſure of the *Lombards* to *Conſtantinople*, together with *Albiſvinda*, the queen's daughter by *Alboinus*. In the mean time, the *Lombards*, having paid the laſt duties to their deceaſed king, aſſembled in *Pavia*, the metropolis of their kingdom, and there proceeded to the election of a new prince, which fell on *Clephis*, a man of great diſtinction among them. He rebuilt *Imola*, which had been ruined by *Narſes*, made himſelf maſter of *Rimini*, and extended his conqueſts to the very gates of *Rome*. But as he treated not only the *Romans*, but his own ſubjects, with great cruelty, he was murdered, with his wife *Meſſana*, by one of his people, after a ſhort reign of eighteen months. His cruelty gave the *Lombards* ſuch an averſion to royal power, that, upon his death, they reſolved to change their form of government, and accordingly, for the ſpace of ten years, they choſe no king, but lived ſubject to their dukes, that is, to the governors of the cities; for each city of note, as we have hinted above, was governed by ſome perſon of diſtinction, dignified with the title of duke. Theſe dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority, and were by the kings appointed and removed at pleaſure; but, upon the aboliſhing of kingly power, each of them became ſovereign in his own city and its diſtrict. This diviſion of the countries they had conquered in *Italy* into ſo many petty kingdoms, as we may call them, put a ſtop for the preſent to their conqueſts, prevented them from ever making themſelves maſters of all *Italy*, and in the end occaſioned their total ruin; for tho' the royal authority was afterwards reſtored among them, yet, as they had been free

Her deſerved end.

Clephis *choſen in his room, and ſoon after murdered.*

The Lombards governed by dukes.

free for ſome time, they proved leſs obedient, and more liable to quarrel among themſelves [a].

WE cannot diſmiſs this ſubject, without taking notice of a miſtake, which moſt modern writers have been led into by *Sigonius*. That writer ſuppoſes the *Lombards*, upon the death of *Clephis*, to have created thirty dukes, and to have divided their conqueſts in *Italy* among them. But from the words of *Paulus Diaconus*, where he ſpeaks of that change [b], it plainly appears, that the *Lombards*, dreading the authority, or rather tyranny, of a king, choſe to live under their dukes, who were not then firſt appointed, but had been choſen before by *Alboinus* and *Clephis*. The only innovation that happened among the *Lombards*, upon their aboliſhing the royal authority, was this, that the dukes, who had been hitherto ſubordinate to the kings, as their miniſters and officers, now governed each his dukedom with abſolute power, acknowledging no ſuperior authority. Beſides, the number of the dukes amounted not to thirty only, as is commonly believed, but to thirty-ſix; for *Paulus Diaconus*, after having told us, that *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Trent*, and *Friuli*, were governed by the following dukes *Zaban*, *Alboinus*, *Walaris*, *Alachis*, *Evin*, and *Giſulphus*, adds, that the other cities were governed by thirty dukes [c]. Tho' the *Lombards*, during the inter-regnum, were attended with ſucceſs in their wars with the *Romans*, for they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities, namely, of *Sutri*, *Bomarzo*, *Orta*, *Todi*, *Amelia*, *Perugia*, *Luccoli*, &c. yet they ſoon perceived, that their kingdom, thus divided, could not long ſubſiſt; and therefore aſſembling in *Pavia*, they reſolved to ſubmit anew to the authority of one man, and accordingly choſe *Authari* the ſon of *Clephis* for their king in the year 585. This prince, with his valour and prudence (for he is ſaid to have excelled in both *Alboinus* himſelf), ſo eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the *Lombards*, that, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* emperors, it laſted for the ſpace of near two hundred years. But of the exploits of the dukes during the inter-regnum, and the wars of *Authari* and his ſucceſſors, till the utter deſtruction of their kingdom by *Charlemagne* in 774, we ſhall ſpeak at length in a more proper place.

The royal authority reſtored among them. Year after Chriſt 585.

[a] PAUL. DIAC. l. i c. 14. [b] Idem, l. ii. c. ult. [c] Idem ibid. Vide CAMIL. PELLEGRIN. in diſſ. de duc. Benevent diſſ. i.

The Bulgarians.

THE name of the *Bulgarians* began to be firſt heard and the Bulgarians dreaded by the *Romans* in the reign of the emperor Zeno, Romans about the year 485. *Ennodius*, the moſt antient writer who

mentions them, tells us in the panegyric, which he wrote on *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, that they were a warlike and numerous nation, inured to the toils of war, ever ready to prefer death to slavery, and never known to have been put to flight, till they engaged this hero [d]. They dwelt, in antient times, near the *Volga*, on the north side of the *Caspian* sea; whence their country was called *Volgaria*, and they *Volgari*, which names, in process of time, were changed into *Bulgaria* and *Bulgari* [e]. *Paulus Diaconus* calls those countries *Bulgaria Magna*, which are known at present by the names of *Astracan* and *Casan* [f]. Some writers will have them to be of *Gothic*, and some of *German*, extraction; but as their language differs widely from the languages of both these nations, others, with far greater appearance of truth, conclude them descended from neither. They spoke antiently, says *Diocleates* in his history of the kingdom of the *Slavi*, the *Slavonian* language, as they still do, with some variation in the dialect [g]. As therefore the *Goths*, *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, &c. are thought to have been originally one and the same people, because the same language was common to all, these nations must, on the contrary, be allowed to be different, whose languages differ. Now, no two languages, says *Rudbeckius*, can be conceived more unlike than the *Sclavonian* spoken by the *Bulgarians*, and the *German* and *Gothic*. The *Bulgarians* therefore were not sprung either from the *Goths* or the *Germans*, but ought to be reckoned among the nations inhabiting *Asiatic Scythia*; for they came first from thence; and to trace them farther back would be a vain and fruitless attempt. From *Asiatic Scythia* and the countries lying north of the *Caspian* sea, they advanced, in quest of a more fertile country, to the *Tanais*, and from thence, in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*, to the banks of the *Danube*, having at that time one *Bladinus* for their king. They were not stopped by that river, but passing it, broke into *Thrace*, with a design to settle there. But *Theodoric* the *Ostrogth*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and at this time general of the *Roman* troops quartered in that province, marching against them, put them to flight, and obliged them to repass the *Danube* [h]. Those who broke into *Thrace* had one *Libertem* for their leader, who was wounded in the engagement [i]. *Ennodius*, to enhance the glory of his hero, pretends, as we have hinted above, that the *Bulgarians* had never been overcome before [k]. Some years

Their antient seats, language, origin, &c.

They break into Thrace. Year after Christ 485.

[d] Ennod. in panegyr. Theodor. p. 296, 297. [e] Vide Diocleat. de regn. Slavor. p. 253. [f] Paul. Diac. miscel. l. xix p. 616, 617. [g] Dioc. ibid. p. 253 [h] Ennod. Theodor. paneg. p. 296. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem, p. 297.

after

after, that is, in 499, the eighth of the emperor *Anastasius's* reign, they broke anew into *Thrace*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor dispatched *Aristus*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attended by five hundred and twenty waggons, loaded with arms and provisions. *Aristus*, confiding in his own strength, engaged the barbarians on the banks of the *Zarta* or *Zurta*; but was by them utterly defeated, with the loss of all his baggage, and four thousand men, among whom fell the counts *Nicostratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, with some of the most experienced officers of the army [l]. Of this victory *Zonaras*, without all doubt, speaks, where he tells, that the *Bulgarians*, in the second irruption they made into the empire, gained, by magical incantations, a complete victory. He adds, that, about the time of this invasion, a comet appeared, and several prodigies happened [m]. We are not told what the barbarians did after this victory; but, in all likelihood, they returned home with the rich booty they had acquired. Three years after, they invaded *Thrace* anew, and, having plundered that province and great part of *Illyricum*, they carried off an immense booty, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Roman* troops being employed against the *Saracens*, who, under the conduct of one *Badicarim*, committed unheard-of cruelties in *Palestine*, *Arabia*, and *Phœnice* [n]. They seem to have continued quiet, perhaps by some agreement with the empire, from this time to the year 539, the twelfth of the emperor *Justinian the Great*, when, under the conduct of two kings, *Vulger* and *Droggo*, they passed the *Danube* and laid waste all *Mœsia*. The commanders of the *Roman* troops quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, having drawn together their forces, marched against them; but were defeated with great slaughter, and put to flight. Hereupon the barbarians, roving about uncontrouled, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. But, in the mean time, one *Acum*, by nation a *Hunn*, an officer of great experience, whom *Justinian* had sent against them, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to venture a battle in a very disadvantageous situation. The *Bulgarians* fought with great resolution and intrepidity; but great numbers of their men being cut in pieces, and both their kings killed, they were in the end forced to quit their booty, and betake themselves to a precipitous flight.

Year after Christ 499. *They destrengthen the Zurta with great slaughter.*

They are defeated by them, and their two kings killed. Year after Christ 539.

[l] MARC chron. JORN. reg. c. 48. PAUL. DIAC. hist. miscel. l. xv. p. 449. [m] ZONAR. p. 47. [n] MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 153.

Acum,

Acum, having thus delivered the *Roman* provinces from the barbarians, by whom they had been ſtrangely harraſſed, ſet out on his return to *Conſtantinople* with *Conſtantine*, who had commanded under him; but, in paſſing through *Thrace*, both generals were unexpectedly ſurrounded by a party of *Bulgarians*, and taken priſoners; ſo that *Juſtinian* was obliged to ranſom them with an immenſe ſum [o]. The following year 540, the *Bulgarians*, not in the leaſt diſcouraged by the loſſes they had ſuſtained, returned anew, and, entering *Thrace*, plundered and laid waſte the open country far and near. But *Mundus*, by nation a *Gepid*, whom *Juſtinian* had appointed governor of *Illyricum*, coming upon them unexpectedly, gave them a total overthrow, cut moſt of them in pieces, and, having taken a great number of priſoners, ſent them to the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who incorporated ſome of them among his troops, and ordered the reſt to be tranſplanted into *Armenia* and *Lazica* [p]. For this and the above-mentioned victory, the emperor took the ſurname of *Bulgaricus*, which, among his other titles, is ſtill to be ſeen on his coins.

They defeat the Romans.

No further mention is made in hiſtory of the *Bulgarians*, till the reign of *Conſtantine* III. ſurnamed *Pogonatus*, which began in 668. In his time they paſſed the *Danube*, and, entering the *Roman* territories, committed great ravages in the provinces bordering on that river. *Conſtantine*, having raiſed a powerful army, diſpatched it againſt them; but as the *Romans*, confiding too much in their own ſtrength, and deſpiſing the barbarians as an undiſciplined multitude, were marching carelеſly, the *Bulgarians* fell upon them with ſuch vigour, that, after a faint reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight, and, retiring into the fortified places, left the enemy at full liberty to ravage at pleaſure the open country. Hereupon the emperor, preferring a ſhameful peace to an expenſive and doubtful war, agreed to pay them a yearly penſion, upon condition that they ſhould not, for the future infeſt the *Roman* territories, but join, when required, the emperor's forces againſt all other barbarians, who ſhould attempt to diſturb the peace of the empire [q]. About this time *Alczecus*, one of the princes or chiefs of the *Bulgarians*, abandoning his own country, for what reaſon we are not told, entered *Italy* with a body of his countrymen, and arriving at *Pavia*, without offering the leaſt violence to the people in the countries through which he paſſed, offered his ſervice to *Grimoaldus* king of the *Lombards*, declaring at the ſame time,

Conſtantine III. *agrees to pay them an annual penſion. Year after Chriſt* 678.

[o] Theoph. p. 184. Paul. Diac. miſcel. l. xvi. p. 480
[p] Theoph. ad ann Juſtinian. 13. [q] Cedren. ad ann. Conſt 10. Niceph. c. 3.

that

that he was willing to live, with his people, in what part ſoever of his dominions he ſhould be pleaſed to allot him. *Grimoaldus* received him in a moſt obliging manner; and thinking he might prove very ſerviceable to his ſon *Romualdus* duke of *Benevento*, threatened at that time by the *Greeks*, who were maſters of *Naples*, he ſent *Alczecus* and his *Bulgarians* to him, requiring him to allow them ſettlements in the dukedom of *Benevento*. *Romualdus*, in compliance with his father's requeſt, allotted them ſeveral cities, and, among the reſt, *Sepinum*, *Bajanum*, and *Iſernia*; but at the ſame time obliged *Alczecus* to relinquiſh the title of duke, which, it ſeems, he had before, and content himſelf with that of *gaſtaldus*, either to ſhew, that he had not given him thoſe places in ſeignory and property, or becauſe he did not think it fit, that one of his ſubjects ſhould be diſtinguiſhed with the title of duke, ſince he had no other himſelf. The dukedom of *Benevento* being thus divided into ſeveral counties, all ſubject to the duke of *Benevento*, thoſe who were appointed to govern them, had no other title but that of *gaſtaldi*, which is the ſame with the title of *comes* or count [r]. Thus the *Bulgarians* came to ſettle in the dukedom of *Benevento*, where, for ſeveral ages, they inhabited the country now known by the name of *Contado di Moliſe*. *Paulus Diaconus*, who wrote above an hundred and fifty years after they had ſettled there, tells us, that though, in his time, they had learnt the *Italian* language, nevertheleſs they had not yet loſt the uſe of their own (L). To return to the *Bulgarians*, who remained on the

Some Bulgarians *ſettle in the dukedom of* Benevento.

[r] PAUL. DIAC. l. v. c. 11. CUJAC. l. i. de feud. tit 1. paragraph. 3.

(L) What *Paulus Diaconus* writes on this head is worthy of obſervation: The *Bulgarians*, ſays he, retained their own language, tho' at the ſame time they ſpoke the *Latin*, *quamvis etiam Latine loquerentur* (2). By the *Latin* tongue our hiſtorian did not mean, as ſome have imagined (3), the language of the antient *Romans*, but another then current in *Italy*, and commonly called *Italian*; for the antient *Latin*, about the end of the ninth century, when *Paulus Diaconus* flouriſhed, was only made uſe of in writings, another, called *Italian*, being then commonly ſpoken, to which the mixture, variety, and confuſion of ſeveral languages with the *Latin*, had given riſe The *Latin* tongue, even in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*, who died in 566, began to be ſtrangely corrupted, and to bear a great reſemblance to the *Italian*; for *Fornerius* tells us, that he had peruſed a public inſtrument, which had been drawn up in *Ravenna* in the

(2) *Paul. Diac. l. v. c. 11* (3) *Vide Ciarlant in Summis.*

reign

the banks of the *Danube*: *Constantine*, as we have hinted above, had concluded a peace with them, and agreed to pay them an annual pension; nay, most authors are of opinion, that he allowed them to settle in *Lower Mœsia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, which name that country still retains. Other writers indeed suppose them to have settled there several years before *Constantine*'s reign, tho' they will not take upon them to fix the precise time. However that be, *Justinian* II. not only refused to stand to the articles of the treaty, which his father had concluded with the *Bulgarians*, but, entering their country in an hostile manner, laid it waste far and near, made himself master of several forts, and obliged the inhabitants either to submit to him and pay unreasonable contributions, or to abandon their dwellings, and take refuge in the woods and marshes. The *Bulgarians*, finding themselves reduced to great straights, dispatched embassadors to the emperor, suing for

Justinian II. invades their country; but is defeated by them. Year after Christ 687.

reign of *Justinian*, and was written in a kind of *Latin*, which bore a great affinity to the *Italian* (4). In the tenth century, the *Italian* alone was spoken in *Italy*; but that *Italian* came much nearer the *Latin*, than the language which is used now by the *Italians*, both in common speech, and in writing; but though the current language was then very different from the *Latin*, yet it was called *Latin* by the writers of that and the two following centuries, because it was spoken by the antient inhabitants, who were styled *Latins* or *Romans*, and by that name distinguished from the *Greeks*, the *Lombards*, and the other nations settled in *Italy*. Hence not only *Paulus Diaconus*, but authors who flourished long after his time, by the *Latin* meant the *Italian*, as the learned *Camillo Pellegrino* rightly observes (5). Thus, where *Otho Frisingensis* commends the *Lombards* of his time, who were then become *Italians*, for the elegancy with which they spoke the *Latin* tongue, that writer must be understood, not of the antient *Latin*, but the *Italian*; and in the same sense we must understand all the authors who flourished after the ninth century, and call the language used in their time *Latin*. There is in no country so great a variety of dialects as in *Italy*, which, as *Camillo Pellegrino* observes, is owing to the many different nations that settled there, *viz.* the *Goths*, the *Lombards*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Greeks*, the *Saracens*, the *Normans*, the *Suevi*, &c. for though these foreign nations forgot, in process of time, their native language, and spoke that of the country in which they dwelt, yet they kept many of their own words, and, with their words, a foreign accent; and hence the many different accents and dialects chiefly in the present kingdom of *Naples*, where all the above-mentioned nations continued some time.

(4) *Forn. in not. ad Caff. l.* x. *c.* 7. (5) *Camill. Pell. in diss. de duc. de Benevent.*

peace;

peace; but he refuſing to hearken to any terms but thoſe of an intire ſubmiſſion, animated with deſpair, they reſolved to make a laſt effort in defence of their liberties. Accordingly, having drawn together all their forces, they fell unexpectedly upon the emperor, put his army to flight, and, having ſeized on all the paſſes, obliged him to reſtore the priſoners and booty he had taken, and confirm the treaty, his father had made with them, to purchaſe a retreat [s]. In the year 713, *Philippicus* being then emperor, the *Bulgarians*, upon what provocation we know not, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, and, having laid waſte the country, taken an incredible number of captives, and put more to the ſword, returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty [t]. Six years after, that is, in 719, *Anaſtaſius* II. who had been depoſed, and confined to *Theſſalonica* by *Theodoſius* III. having made his eſcape from thence, fled to *Tribelin* king of the *Bulgarians*; and, having prevailed upon that prince to eſpouſe his cauſe, he obtained of him a conſiderable army, with which he marched into *Thrace*, and approached the imperial city. *Anaſtaſius* believed himſelf, and had aſſured the *Bulgarians*, that the inhabitants, at his approach, would open the gates and receive him; but the citizens making a vigorous reſiſtance, and the emperor *Leo* raiſing at the ſame time a numerous army, the *Bulgarians*, highly provoked againſt *Anaſtaſius*, ſeized him, and delivered him up to *Leo*, by whom he was put to death [u].

FROM this time the *Bulgarians* continued quiet till the year 750, the ninth of the reign of *Conſtantine* ſurnamed *Copronymus*, who cauſed ſome forts to be built on the borders of the provinces, which joined the country of the *Bulgarians*. Of this they ſent embaſſadors to complain to the emperor, and to demand a confirmation of the former treaties. The emperor received the embaſſadors in a manner altogether unſuitable to their character, and diſmiſſed them with a diſdainful anſwer; which ſo incenſed the *Bulgarians*, that they made a ſudden irruption into the *Roman* territories, and, penetrating without oppoſition as far as the long wall, laid waſte the country, and returned home loaded with booty. Hereupon the emperor, upon the arrival of his troops out of the eaſt, marched againſt them in perſon, and, entering their country, began to lay it waſte, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. But the *Bulgarians*, who carefully watched all his motions, falling upon him as he was marching through a narrow paſs named *Beregaba*, put him to flight, and purſued him with great ſlaughter to the very gates

Conſtantine Copronymus

[s] THEOPH. CEDREN. ibid. [t] Theoph. ad ann. Phil 2
[u] THEOPH. CEDRENUS ad ann. Leon.

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Conſtantine Copronymus put to flight by them. *Year after Chriſt* 750.

[s] THEOPH. CEDREN. ibid. [t] THEOPH. ad ann. Phil. 2.
[u] THEOPH. CEDREN. ad ann. Leon. 5.

of *Constantinople* [w]. In the year 763, a new war was kindled between the same emperor and the *Bulgarians*, the occasion of which is variously related by authors; but the most probable opinion is, that *Constantine*, wanting a pretence to quarrel with them and to retrieve the reputation he had lost in his late war with them, pretended to be highly provoked against them for putting to death in a sedition all the princes of the blood royal among them, and raising to the throne one *Telesis*, a person of a mean descent. What gave rise to this rebellion, we are not told; but *Constantine*, pretending to revenge it, raised a powerful army, and, marching into the country of the *Bulgarians*, gave them battle on the borders of *Thrace*. The engagement lasted eight hours; but in the end the *Romans* gained a complete victory: after which the emperor, instead of improving it, returned to *Constantinople*, with the booty and prisoners he had taken, and entered the city in triumph. The *Bulgarians*, upon the retreat of the emperor, put their new king to death, either mistrusting him, as if he entertained a private correspondence with the *Romans*, or because his behaviour in the battle was such, as shewed him unworthy of the dignity to which he had been raised [x]. The *Bulgarians*, discouraged with the loss of the battle, in which the flower of their youth was cut off, sent embassadors to *Constantinople* to sue for peace, which was granted them; but upon such disadvantageous terms, that they resolved to observe them no longer than a favourable opportunity offered of renewing the war. Accordingly two years after, great part of the emperor's forces being employed in the east against the *Saracens*, they broke into the *Roman* dominions with a body of twelve thousand men; but *Constantine* marching in person against them, and, coming upon them when least expected, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one christian was killed in it; but the victory was obtained, it seems, by treachery, the emperor being privately informed by some *Bulgarians* of the designs and all the motions of their countrymen. These *Elerich*, king of the country, discovered by the following device: He wrote to *Constantine*, pretending a desire to resign the crown and lead a private life at *Constantinople*; for which purpose he begged the emperor to send him a safe conduct, and at the same time to let him know what friends the *Romans* had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Hereupon *Constantine*, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of the names of those, who

He gains a great victory over them.

Year after Christ 763.

Cuts 12,000 of them in pieces.

Year after Christ 775.

[w] Theoph. ad ann. Const. 19. [x] Idem ad ann. Const. 22.

maintained

maintained a private correſpondence with him; which *Elerich* no ſooner received, than he cauſed them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himſelf thus deluded, tore his garment and his hair, in the height of his paſſion, and, vowing revenge at all events, ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, and early in the ſpring took the field, with a deſign to cut off the whole nation of the *Bulgarians* root and branch; but being ſeized on his march with a violent fever, he was obliged to return to *Achadiopolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Strongylum*, where he died [y]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leo* III. who, upon his acceſſion to the throne, concluded a peace with the king of the *Bulgarians*, whoſe daughter *Irene* he had married. In the third year of his reign, *Elerich* being driven from the throne by his own ſubjects, fled to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with extraordinary marks of kindneſs and eſteem. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he was, at his own requeſt, inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian religion; which he no ſooner embraced, than he was by *Leo* created a patrician, and married to a relation of the empreſs [z]. *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Leo*, in the year 791, the eleventh of his reign, made war upon the *Bulgarians*, who, according to their cuſtom, had broken into the *Roman* provinces; but with what ſucceſs the emperor was attended in this war, is uncertain; for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a ſignal victory; *Zonaras*, that it was a drawn battle; and ſome, that the *Romans* were worſted and loſt the flower of their army. Be that as it will, the following year 792, he marched anew againſt the *Bulgarians*, encouraged thereunto by ſome mathematicians, who promiſed him certain victory; but while, depending upon their promiſes, he omitted the proper means to obtain it, he was utterly defeated. In the battle, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers, fell ſome of the beſt officers of the army, and the moſt conſiderable men in the empire, with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occaſion to the overthrow [a]. Two years after, *Cardanes* king of the *Bulgarians* ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, demanding a tribute, and threatening, if it was refuſed him, to come as far as the *Golden-gate* of *Conſtantinople*, and tak it by force: to ſuch a low ebb was the empire then reduced! *Conſtantine*, however, exerting himſelf on this occaſion, returned anſwer, That, as the king of the *Bulgarians* was ſtricken in years, he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a journey, by coming in perſon to

Elerich king of the Bulgarians, being driven from the throne, embraces the chriſtian religion.

The Bulgarians gain a great victory over Conſtantine IV. Year after Chriſt 792.

[y] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 34. [z] Idem ad ann. Leon. 2.
[a] CEDREN. in Conſt. ann. 2.

wait upon him. Accordingly he marched againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army, at the ſight of which the barbabarians, ſtruck with a panic, fled in the utmoſt confuſion; but *Conſtantine*, inſtead of purſuing them, and taking advantage of the conſternation they were in, returned to *Conſtantinople* [b]. In the year 806, the ſeventh of the emperor *Nicephorus*, the *Bulgarians*, falling upon a party of *Romans*, put them all to the ſword, and ſeized eleven hundred pounds weight of gold, which they were eſcorting to *Stragmon* for the payment of the army. Soon after they made an irruption into the *Roman* provinces, under the conduct of *Crumus* their king, and, having ſurpriſed *Sardica*, put the whole gariſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to the ſword. *Nicephorus* marched againſt them in perſon; but the barbarians retiring at his approach, he returned to *Conſtantinople*. However, the following year, having drawn together all the forces of the eaſt and weſt, he marched at the head of them into *Bulgaria*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Crumus*, alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable an army, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting them with ſcorn and indignation, purſued his ravages, burning the towns and villages, and putting ſuch of the inhabitants to the ſword as fell into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. He not only raged againſt the living, but likewiſe againſt the dead, not ſuffering thoſe who were ſlain to be buried, but ordering their bodies to be expoſed to the dogs and wild beaſts. But in the mean time *Byzantius*, his chief favourite, forſaking him, fled, with the imperial robe and an hundred pounds weight of gold, to the enemy; which was looked upon by the ſuperſtitious multitude as an unlucky omen. *Crumus*, ſenſibly affected with the calamities of his ſubjects, ſent anew embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would put an end to the ravages and quit the country. But *Nicephorus*, deaf to all propoſals, received the embaſſadors with great haughtineſs and diſmiſſed them with ſcorn. Hereupon *Crumus*, puſhed on by deſpair and the thirſt of revenge, in the firſt place, ſecured and fortified all the paſſes through which the emperor was to retire; and then, animating his men to revenge the blood of their wives and children, inhumanly maſſacred by the emperor's orders, he attacked unexpectedly the *Roman* camp, and, having forced it in ſpite of all oppoſition, cut off almoſt the whole army, with the emperor himſelf, a great number of patricians, and almoſt all the chief officers of the army. *Saturatius*, the emperor's ſon, was dan-

The Bulgarians *ſurpriſe the city of* Sardica.

The emperor Nicephorus *killed by them, and his whole army cut off.*

Year after Chriſt 811.

[b] Theoph. & Cedren. ad ann. Conſt. 5.

gerouſly

gerouſly wounded; but eſcaped in a litter to *Adrianople*. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands; and the body of *Nicephorus* being found among the ſlain, *Crumus* ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and, after having kept it for ſome time expoſed to public view, incloſed the ſkull in ſilver, and uſed it ever after in all grand entertainments, inſtead of a cup [c]. In the beginning of the reign of *Michael*, who ſucceeded *Nicephorus*, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*, nay, ſome of the latter were allowed to ſettle in the *Roman* provinces. But the good harmony that paſſed between the two nations was ſhort-lived; for, in the ſecond year of *Michael*'s reign, they came to an open rupture on the following occaſion: Some *Romans*, who had been taken priſoners by the *Bulgarians* in the late war, having found means to make their eſcape, returned home. Theſe *Crumus* demanded, threatening the empire with war, if his juſt demand was not immediately complied with. The emperor, who was naturally averſe to war, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction at court, were for granting the king of the *Bulgarians* his requeſt, the empire not being at that time in a condition to carry on a war with ſucceſs. But *Nicephorus* the patriarch, and *Theoctiſtus*, a perſon in great eſteem at court for his virtue and wiſdom, urging, that they ought to truſt to the aſſiſtance of heaven, and not gratify the pride and inſolence of the barbarians, the emperor, following their advice, received the *Bulgarian* embaſſadors in the moſt obliging manner; but at the ſame time told them, that he could not, by any means, comply with their requeſt, and deliver up into captivity ſuch of his ſubjects as, having once eſcaped that deplorable condition, had fled to him for protection. Hereupon *Crumus*, having drawn together a conſiderable army, entered the *Roman* territories, and not only ravaged the open country, but laid ſiege to, and made himſelf maſter of, ſeveral fortified places, being aſſiſted therein by an *Arabian*, well ſkilled in the art of framing military engines, who had been formerly employed by the emperor *Nicephorus*, but, being ill uſed by him, had fled to the *Bulgarians*, and taught them the uſe of all ſorts of battering engines. Beſides ſeveral other cities, he made himſelf maſter of *Meſembria*, a place of great importance in the neighbourhood of mount *Hæmus*, and put the gariſon to the ſword. In the mean time, the emperor, having aſſembled a very numerous army, leaving *Conſtantinople*, put himſelf at the head of it, and marching into *Thrace*, came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which the *Romans* had the advantage, the

They take Meſembria.

[c] CEDREN. ZONAR. in Niceph. p. 182

emperor

emperor was, in a manner, forced by the ſoldiery to venture a battle. Both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly defeated. *Michael* was ſo ſenſibly affected with this misfortune, that, reſigning the purple to *Leo*, he retired to the monaſtery of *Pharus*, and there took the monaſtic habit. Thus *Theophanes* [d], who lived at this time, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote. But *Cedrenus* writes, that the *Romans* had the advantage in the engagement; that great numbers of the *Bulgarians* were cut in pieces; and that *Crumus* with much-ado kept his men from betaking themſelves to a precipitous flight, till *Leo*, who aſpired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which ſo diſheartened the *Romans*, that they fled in the utmoſt confuſion [e]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Bulgarians* gained a complete victory, and that the emperor, with great difficulty, eſcaped to *Adrianople*, and from thence, with a ſmall attendance, to *Conſtantinople*, where he abdicated ſoon after. The *Bulgarians*, elated with the great victory they had gained, purſued their ravages without controul, advancing almoſt to the gates of *Conſtantinople*, and deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Leo*, who had ſucceeded *Michael*, endeavoured at firſt to reſtrain them by fair means, and for that purpoſe ſent embaſſadors to *Crumus*, with propoſals for an accommodation; but *Crumus*, deaf to all overtures, ſent them back without ſo much as granting them an audience. *Leo*, who was an active and warlike prince, highly provoked at the arrogance of the barbarian, drew together all the forces of the empire, and, marching into *Thrace*, offered the enemy battle; which *Crumus* not declining, a bloody engagement enſued. Great numbers fell on both ſides; but in the end the *Romans*, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, were put to the rout. The *Bulgarians*, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, fell upon the baggage and began to plunder the camp in great diſorder; which being obſerved by *Leo* from a neighbouring eminence, where he had kept during the battle with a body of reſerve, he came down unexpectedly upon the enemy, renewed the fight, and, having rallied his other troops, obtained in the end an intire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and more taken priſoners. Among the former ſome reckon the king himſelf; and add, that the emperor ſlew him with his own hand; but others ſay, that he was only wounded, and that, falling from his horſe, he had been either killed or taken priſoner by the *Romans*, who had already ſurrounded him, had not his guards, with unparallelled valour, reſcued him out of their hands.

And gain a complete victory over the emperor Michael. *Year after Chriſt* 813.

Leo gains a great victory over them. Year after Chriſt 814.

[d] Theoph. ad ann. Mic. 2.

[e] Cedren. in Leon. p. 173.

hands [f]. The *Bulgarians* were ſo diſheartened with this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for ſome years after. *Crumus* was ſucceeded by *Mortagon*, in whoſe time *Thomas*, of whom we have ſpoken in our *Roman* hiſtory [g], revolting from *Michael* II. who had ſucceeded *Leo*, and keeping him cloſely blocked up in *Conſtantinople*, the king of the *Bulgarians*, pitying his condition, reſolved to march to his aſſiſtance, and, leſt he ſhould in the mean time come to any agreement with the rebels, he privately acquainted him with his deſign. The emperor, either to prevent the ravages and diſorders, which he was well appriſed the barbarians would commit, or ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the king, or, what the writers of thoſe times think moſt probable, apprehending that a reward, anſwerable to ſuch a friendly and ſeaſonable aſſiſtance, would too much exhauſt his treaſury, in the improving of which he at leaſt equalled the moſt covetous of his predeceſſors, returned the king of the *Bulgarians* thanks for his generous offer; but declined accepting it. *Mortagon*, however, accuſtomed to war and depredations, undertook the expedition, and entering *Thrace*, encamped at a place called *Cedoctus*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Conſtantinople*. *Thomas*, hearing of the approach of the *Bulgarians*, broke up the ſiege, and marched with all his forces to meet the enemy. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which the rebels were put to flight, with great ſlaughter. But *Mortagon*, inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, returned home, with the booty he found in the enemy's camp [h].

The Bulgarians *aſſiſt the emperor* Michael II.

THE *Bulgarians* continued quiet, no doubt in virtue of ſome treaty between them and the *Romans*, from this time to the year 893, the eighth of *Leo* V. when a war broke out between them and the *Romans* on the following occaſion: A great trade had been carried on for ſome time between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Conſtantinople*, whence, by the intereſt of *Zantzas*, father to *Zoe* the emperor's concubine, it was removed to *Theſſalonica*. This removal was procured by *Zantzas*, at the requeſt of the *Conſtantinopolitan* merchants, and thoſe very merchants were, by the great ſway he bore at court, appointed officers and receivers of the cuſtoms; which put it in their power to give great trouble to the *Bulgarian* merchants, whom they oppreſſed with new and unlawful impoſitions. Of this *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, complained by his embaſſadors to the emperor; but he, who was in all things governed by *Zantzas*, refuſing to redreſs the grievances complained of, *Simeon*, who wanted only a pretence for

[f] ZONAR. p. 632. CEDREN. ibid. [g] Univerſ hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 251, & ſeq. [h] CEDREN p. 199.

a rupture,

a rupture, without any further declaration of war, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as *Macedon*, destroying all with fire and sword. On the borders of that province he was met by the army, which *Leo* had sent against him, under the conduct of *Procopius Crenites* and one *Curticius* an *Armenian*. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, than they engaged. The *Romans* stood their ground some time; but both their generals being slain, they were in the end utterly defeated. In the pursuit great numbers of them were taken prisoners, and treated in a most barbarous manner by the insolent conqueror, who first led them in triumph round his camp, and then, having caused their noses to be cut off, sent them, thus deformed, to *Constantinople*. *Leo*, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri* or *Hungarians* to break into the country of the *Bulgarians* on one side, while he invaded it on the other. *Simeon* marched first against the *Hungarians*, who committed everywhere dreadful ravages; but, in the battle that ensued, the flower of his army was cut off, he himself having, with great difficulty, made his escape, and taken refuge in a strong-hold named *Drista*; so that the *Hungarians* pursued their ravages without controul, laid waste the country far and near, and took an incredible number of prisoners, whom they sold to the emperor. *Leo*, before the *Hungarians* began hostilities, or his own troops took the field, had sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius* with proposals for an accommodation; but the king of the *Bulgarians*, imagining that the emperor had therein no other view but to deceive and amuse him, had thrown the embassadors into prison; but finding his army cut off by the *Hungarians*, and being informed at the same time, that the *Roman* army, under the conduct of *Nicephorus Phocas*, was in full march to enter his country, he not only set *Constantinacius* at liberty, but dispatched embassadors to *Leo* suing for peace in a most submissive manner. The emperor, not thinking it adviseable to reduce so warlike a nation to despair, readily granted him his request, ordering *Phocas*, who was then upon the point of entering *Bulgaria*, to return home, with the forces under his command [t]. But *Simeon* no sooner found the danger removed, than he threw *Leo*'s embassadors into prison, and, falling unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*, gave them a total overthrow. He then entered their country, and committed there unheard-of cruelties, putting all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. *Leo*, not able to march to the assistance of his allies at so short a warning, dis-

Under the conduct of their king Simeon, *they cut off a* Roman *army.*

Year after Christ 893.

Simeon *defeated by the* Hungarians.

He gains a victory over them, and ravages their country.

[t] Idem ibid.

patched

patched embaſſadors to the king of the *Bulgarians*, complaining of the breach of the treaty juſt concluded, and requiring him to withdraw his troops forthwith out of the country of the *Hungarians*. *Simeon*, elated with his ſucceſs, returned anſwer, That he would hearken to no terms, till all the *Bulgarians*, who had been taken in the late war, were returned. To this the emperor conſented, unwilling to engage in a new war. But the priſoners were no ſooner returned him, than *Simeon* made new demands, ſtill more unreaſonable than the former; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to fall upon the *Bulgarians* with the whole ſtrength of the empire, and utterly extirpate, if poſſible, that perfidious nation. A powerful army was accordingly raiſed, and ſent into *Bulgaria*, under the command of *Catacalon* and *Theodoſius* a patrician. But *Simeon*, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut moſt of them in pieces, with *Theodoſius*, and a great number of officers of diſtinction. This obliged the emperor to conſent to a peace upon the beſt terms he could obtain *; which the *Bulgarians* ſeem to have obſerved during the remaining part of *Leo*'s reign.

He puts to flight the Romans with great ſlaughter.

UPON that prince's death, they diſpatched embaſſadors to *Alexander*, his brother and ſucceſſor, to renew the treaty concluded in the late reign. But *Alexander*, inſtead of cultivating the friendſhip of that warlike nation, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon*, juſtly provoked, invaded the *Roman* dominions with a mighty army, and, meeting with no oppoſition, after having ravaged *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, which he hoped to ſurpriſe; but the inhabitants making a vigorous reſiſtance, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, *Simeon* was obliged to drop the enterpriſe and retire to *Hebdomon*, at a ſmall diſtance from the imperial city. From thence he ſent embaſſadors to *Conſtantine*, who had ſucceeded *Alexander*, with propoſals for an accommodation; which were received with great joy by the governors of the young prince, who was then under age. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and, when the entertainment was over, diſmiſſed with rich preſents. *Cedrenus* ſuppoſes a peace to have been concluded; but *Zonaras* writes, that *Simeon* would not agree to the terms that were offered him. Be that as it will, the following year 914, the king of the *Bulgarians* broke anew into *Thrace*, and, advancing as far as *Adrianople*, laid ſiege to that city. In the mean time the empreſs *Zoe*, mother to the young prince, having got the whole power into her own hands, and, by the advice of the ſenate,

Year after Chriſt 897.

* CUROPALAT in Leon. p. 168.

concluded a peace with the *Saracens*, who had invaded the eaſtern provinces, reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the *Bulgarians*, and utterly extirpate, if poſſible, that nation. With this view ſhe aſſembled a mighty army, and, having firſt diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiers, ſhe ordered them to march againſt the enemy, under the command of *Leo Phocas*, captain of the imperial guards. Under *Leo* commanded the following generals, *Grapſon*, *Merula*, *Romanus*, *Melius*, and *Conſtantius Africanus*, who had all diſtinguiſhed themſelves in former wars. The army was muſtered in a ſpacious plain called *Diabeſis*, where the chief chaplain of the palace, called the *Protopapa*, made them all kneel down, and ſwear they would fight to the laſt. After this, he gave them his bleſſing with the uſual ceremonies; which were no ſooner over, than *Leo* led them againſt the *Bulgarians*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Adrianople*, betrayed to them by one *Pancratucus* an *Armenian*. *Simeon* met the *Romans* at a caſtle called *Archelous*, whereupon a bloody battle enſued on the ſixth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 917, in which the *Bulgarians*, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, were in the end put to flight. The victory however was ſnatched out of the hands of the *Romans* by the following unlucky accident: *Leo*, the *Roman* general, alighting at a fountain to quench his drought during the purſuit, his horſe broke looſe while he ſtooped down to drink. The ſoldiers, who knew him, ſeeing him without a rider, concluded that their general was killed, and thereupon turned the purſuit into a flight. *Simeon* quickly perceived the diſorder the *Romans* were in, though not acquainted with the cauſe of it, and, rallying his men, returned to the charge, put ſuch of the enemy to flight as offered to oppoſe him, and purſued them, till the day was far ſpent, with great ſlaughter. Vaſt numbers of common ſoldiers were killed on this occaſion, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction, among whom were *Conſtantius Africanus* and *Grapſon*. As for *Leo*, who commanded in chief, having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, he got ſafe in the end to *Meſembria*[k]. To this miſtake ſome aſcribe the dreadful overthrow, which the *Romans* received on this occaſion; but others tell us, that, while *Leo* was buſy in the purſuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that *Romanus Lacapenus*, who commanded the fleet, was returned to *Conſtantinople*, with a deſign to uſurp the ſovereignty, while moſt of the nobility and officers were abſent; that, upon this intelligence, *Leo*, who had the ſame ambitious view, returned in great haſte to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth;

A mighty army ſent againſt the Bulgarians.

Who are at firſt put to flight.

But in the end gain a complete victory.

Year after Chriſt 917.

[k] CEDREN. ZONAR. LEO. GRAMMAT. in Conſtan. Porphyr.

and

and that the ſoldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, betook themſelves to flight [l]. Be that as it will, the flower of the *Roman* army was cut off; and *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, reſolved to return before *Conſtantinople*; but two ſtrong detachments from his army being met and defeated at a place called *Cataſyrtes* by the imperial troops, he thought it adviſeable to drop the enterpriſe and return home, with the immenſe booty, which he had already got. Even in this encounter or ſkirmiſh the *Romans* loſt a conſiderable number of men, and ſome officers of great reputation, among whom was *Nicolas*, the ſon of *Conſtantine Ducas*, who, on this occaſion, commanded in chief, and to whoſe valour the ſucceſs of the day was chiefly owing. Five years after, *Simeon*, taking advantage of the inteſtine broils and factions into which the empire was rent by the uſurpations of *Romanus*, began to make new inroads into the *Roman* territories. One of his parties advanced as far as *Cataſyrtes*, in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, where they were met by *Leo*, ſon-in-law to *Romanus*, and put to flight. In this encounter *Michael*, a *Roman* officer, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, received a wound, of which he died. A few months after, *Simeon* ſent into *Thrace* a very numerous army, commanded by *Chaganus* and *Minicius*, with orders to march ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*. *Romanus*, receiving timely notice of their deſign, diſpatched *Leo*, his brother *Pothus Argyrus*, and one *John*, againſt them, with all the troops he could aſſemble. The two armies met in the plains of *Pegæ*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Conſtantinople*, and thereupon a bloody battle enſued, in which the *Romans*, frightened with the ſudden flight of *John*, one of their generals, gave way and were purſued with great ſlaughter by the *Bulgarians*. *Leo* and *Pothus* took refuge in a neighbouring caſtle; *John* ſaved himſelf on board a ſmall veſſel; but moſt of the other officers and ſoldiers were either cut in pieces, taken priſoners, or drowned in ſtriving to get on board the fleet, which was riding at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle. Among the latter was *Alexius* the admiral and ſeveral other officers of the navy. The *Bulgarians*, now maſters of the field, laid waſte the country without controul, burnt the imperial palace of *Pegæ*, and cloſely beſieged *Adrianople*. *Leo*, ſurnamed *Moroleon*, from his raſh and inconſiderate boldneſs, defended the place with great gallantry, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies; but the inhabitants being in the end obliged by famine to ſurrender, *Simeon* baſely cauſed *Leo* to be tortured to death [m].

They gain another victory, and take Adrianople. *Year after Chriſt* 922.

[l] GLYCAS. in Conſt. p. 87. ZONAR. CEDREN. ubi ſupra.

[m] GLYCAS. in Conſtant. p. 142.

THE king of the *Bulgarians*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, made vaſt preparations during the following winter, and early in the ſpring took the field, with a deſign to beſiege *Conſtantinople* itſelf. In his march he laid waſte *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and made himſelf maſter of moſt of the ſtrong-holds in thoſe provinces, leaving garriſons in ſome, and levelling others with the ground. At length he approached the imperial city and encamped at *Blachernæ*, whence he diſpatched a meſſenger to the emperor, requiring, that the patriarch and ſome other perſons of diſtinction might be ſent to treat with him of an accommodation, ſince he was willing, he ſaid, to put an end to ſuch a deſtructive and expenſive war. The emperor readily complied with his requeſt, and, upon the delivery of hoſtages, the conferences were opened. But ſome time after, *Simeon* deſired an interview with the emperor himſelf, that is, with *Romanus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged the colleague of *Conſtantine*. *Romanus*, well pleaſed with this propoſal, went firſt to the place appointed, attended by his guards and the chief nobility. *Simeon* came ſoon after, and the two princes met on the ninth of *December* of the preſent year 923. *Romanus*, in a pathetic ſpeech, put the king of the *Bulgarians* in mind of the account he was one day to give to the Eternal Judge for the chriſtian blood he had already ſhed; expoſtulated with him, that, being a chriſtian, he ſhould delight in the ſlaughter of thoſe, who profeſſed the ſame religion; exhorted him to join thoſe, with whom he was already united by the ſame faith, and putting an end to ſuch unnatural wars, turn his arms againſt their common enemy the *Saracens*. He told him in the end, that, if he was prompted by the deſire of riches to commit every-where ſuch devaſtations, the treaſures of the empire ſhould be opened to him, and leave granted him to take from thence what wealth he pleaſed, provided he ſheathed his ſword, and put an end to the ſhedding of chriſtian blood. *Simeon* was ſo affected with this ſpeech, that he accepted the terms offered him by the emperor, ſigned the treaty, and, having received many rich preſents from *Romanus*, he returned home, not ſuffering his men to commit the leaſt diſorder in the provinces through which they paſſed [n]. *Simeon*, having thus concluded a peace with the *Romans* turned his arms againſt the *Chrobati*, a neighbouring nation; but he was by them overthrown, with the loſs of his whole army. He did not long outlive this misfortune, but died of grief a few days after. He left three ſons behind him, *viz.* *Michael*, whom he had by his firſt wife, *Peter*, and *John*, his children by his ſecond wife.

They beſiege Conſtantinople.

An interview between the emperor and the king of the Bulgarians.

A peace concluded.

Simeon *is overthrown by the* Chrobati, *and dies.*

Year after Chriſt 928.

[n] Idem ibid.

He

He had obliged his eldeſt ſon, whom he diſliked, to take the monaſtic habit ſome years before his death. He was therefore ſucceeded by *Peter*, to whom, as he was yet under age, *George Suſurbulus*, his mother's brother, was appointed guardian. The neighbouring nations no ſooner heard of the death of *Simeon*, than they reſolved to fall jointly upon the *Bulgarians*, by whom they had been inceſſantly harraſſed during the late king's reign. At the ſame time, a dreadful famine raged in *Bulgaria*, the corn having been conſumed by incredible multitudes of locuſts. *Suſurbulus* therefore, fearing the *Romans*, encouraged by their preſent calamities, might join the neighbouring nations againſt them, adviſed the young prince to invade their dominions firſt with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom, which, he ſaid, would make way for an advantageous treaty, and prevent them from joining their other enemies. Purſuant to this advice, *Peter* broke into *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, deſtroying all with fire and ſword; but when he heard that *Romanus* was marching againſt him, he diſpatched a monk to the emperor, with propoſals for a peace, which he deſired might be ſtrengthened and confirmed by a more ſtrict alliance, if the emperor thought fit to give him his grand-daughter in marriage. This overture was very acceptable to *Romanus*; ſo that, after ſeveral negotiations and conferences between the miniſters of the two princes in the city of *Meſembria*, not only a peace, but a marriage, was concluded between the young king of the *Bulgarians* and *Mary* the daughter of *Chriſtopher*, the emperor's ſon. The articles being agreed on, *Peter* repaired to *Conſtantinople* where he was ſplendidly entertained by *Romanus*, and, with great ſolemnity, married to his grand-daughter by *Stephen* the patriarch. The king of the *Bulgarians* was ſcarce returned home, when a conſpiracy was diſcovered, carried on againſt him by *John* his brother and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. All who were privy to it were put to death; but the king contented himſelf with confining his brother to a caſtle, whence, with the aſſiſtance of the emperor's embaſſadors, he made his eſcape to *Conſtantinople*. Soon after, *Michael* his brother, quitting the monaſtic habit, laid claim to the crown, and was joined by great numbers of *Bulgarians*; but, he dying, his followers abandoning their native country, broke into the *Roman* dominions, and, ravaging *Macedon* and *Greece*, advanced as far as *Nicopolis*; which city they took and ſettled there [o]. Upon the death of *Romanus*, the king of the *Bulgarians* ſent embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to renew with his ſucceſſor *Nicephorus Phocas* his alliance with

Peter, *his ſon and ſucceſſor, marries the grand-daughter of the emperor* Romanus.

[o] CEDREN. p. 183.

the

the emperor, delivering up his two ſons *Boriſes* and *Romanus* as hoſtages; but the king dying ſoon after, they were ſent home, where, with much difficulty, they got the better of a powerful faction, headed by the four ſons of one of the chief lords of that country. In the year 970, the *Ruſſi* or *Roſſi*, who inhabited the preſent *Podolia*, broke into *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of their king *Spendoſthalbus*, and, having ravaged the country and burnt ſeveral towns, they returned home loaded with booty. The enſuing year they purſued their ravages, and, having put the *Bulgarians* to flight who attempted to oppoſe them, and, in the purſuit, taken *Boriſes* and *Romanus*, the two ſons of *Peter*, priſoners, they reſolved to ſettle in *Bulgaria*, finding it a country far more pleaſant and fertile than their own. In this reſolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrus*, a *Roman* fugitive, who engaged to reſign *Bulgaria* to them, to enter into a ſtrict alliance with their nation, and to pay them annually a conſiderable ſum, provided they raiſed him to the imperial throne. The *Ruſſi*, well acquainted with the late revolutions of the empire, and the low ebb to which the *Roman* power was reduced, thought it would be no difficult matter to effectuate what *Calocyrus* propoſed. Accordingly, having drawn to their aſſiſtance the *Patzinacæ*, a *Sarmatic* nation, with the *Hunns* or *Hungarians*, and armed ſuch of the conquered *Bulgarians*, as they thought they might ſafely truſt, they entered *Thrace* with an army of three hundred and eight thouſand men, and, having ravaged that province, ſat down before *Adrianople*, where they were ſoon after defeated, and moſt of them cut in pieces, by *Bardas Sclerus* with a body of twelve thouſand *Romans*, as we have related elſewhere [p]. Such of the *Roſſi* as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, returned into *Bulgaria*; whence they were afterwards driven back to their antient ſeats by *John Zimiſces*, then emperor. But of the war which that prince made on the *Roſſi*, till they conſented to abandon *Bulgaria*, we have ſpoken at length in our *Roman* hiſtory, to which we refer the reader [q].

Bulgaria ſubdued by the Roſſi. *Year after Chriſt* 971.

Who are driven out by John Zimiſces *emperor, to whom the* Bulgarians *ſubmit. They revolt, and are governed by four brothers.*

THE *Bulgarians*, being thus delivered from the yoke under which they had groaned ſome years, readily ſubmitted to *Zimiſces* their deliverer. But their ſubmiſſion laſted no longer than his life; for no ſooner did they receive the news of the emperor's death, than, revolting from the *Romans*, they inveſted with ſupreme power four brothers, *David*, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, and *Samuel*, called *Cometopoli*, becauſe they were the children of an eminent count among them. Of the family of *Peter* none was left, whom they could prefer. His two ſons *Boriſes* and

[p] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 287. [q] Ibid. p. 287.

Romanus

Romanus had been taken prisoners by *Zimisces* in his war with the *Rossi*, and brought by him to *Constantinople*, whence they both made their escape upon that prince's death. But *Borises*, in passing through a wood in a *Roman* dress, was killed by a *Bulgarian*, who mistook him for a *Roman*. *Romanus* indeed was alive, but an eunuch, and consequently incapable of ascending the throne. Of the four brothers, whom we have just mentioned, *David* died soon after he was invested with the sovereign power; *Moses* was killed in the siege of a place called *Serræ*, and *Aaron*, being suspected of favouring the *Romans*, and keeping a private correspondence with them, was murdered by *Samuel*, with all his children, *Blackhosthlabus* excepted, who was saved by *Kadomer* the son of *Samuel*. *Samuel*, who was a warlike prince and a man of a restless temper, having thus got the whole power into his own hands, made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories, returning home with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives; nay, while *Basilius*, the successor of *Zimisces*, was engaged in a civil war with *Bardas Sclerus*, who had assumed the purple, *Samuel*, laying hold of that opportunity, over-ran not only *Thrace* and *Macedon*, but likewise *Thessaly*, *Greece*, and *Peloponnesus*, in which provinces he committed unheard-of ravages, burnt several cities, took others, and among the rest *Larissa*, the inhabitants whereof he transplanted, with their whole families, into *Bulgaria*, incorporated such of them as were able to bear arms among his troops, and employed them against the *Romans*. *Basilius* therefore, highly provoked against the *Bulgarians*, had no sooner put an end to the civil war, than he resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them. Pursuant to this resolution, having drawn together all his forces, he left *Constantinople*, without acquainting even his own generals with his design; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he entered *Bulgaria* through the country lying near *Rhodoptes* and the river *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the straights, while he, by a short cut through woods and marshes, advanced to *Sardica* by the *Bulgarians* called *Triaditza*, with a design to lay siege to that important place; but as he was making the necessary preparations for the the attack, *Stephen*, the commander of the western forces, and an irreconcileable enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, coming to him in the dead of the night, assured him that *Leo* intended to usurp the sovereign power, and with that design was marching with all the troops under his command, to the imperial city. The emperor, alarmed at this account, and at the same time apprehending the enemy might seize on the passes abandoned by *Leo*, and cut off his retreat, immediately ordered the army to march.

They commit great ravages in the Roman *provinces.*

The emperor Basilius *invades their country.*

They

But is obliged to return with great loss. Year after Christ 987.

They no sooner began to move, than *Samuel*, rushing down from the neighbouring mountains, where he had kept the whole time, fell with great fury upon them in their retreat, and turned it into a precipitous and disorderly flight. All their baggage was taken, with the imperial robes and diadem; great numbers of the soldiers, and some officers of distinction, were cut in pieces; but the emperor with much-ado escaped to *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty, and guarding the post, which had been committed to his care. The emperor, though highly provoked, and indeed with a great deal of reason, against *Stephen*, the author of so much mischief, contented himself with reviling him only in words, till he began to defend what he had done; and then *Basilius*, no longer able to command his temper, leaped from his seat, and, taking hold of him by his locks and beard, pulled him down to the ground [r].

The Bulgarians *make new inroads into the empire.*

The two following years, the emperor was diverted, by intestine broils, from pursuing the war against the *Bulgarians*; and *Samuel* their king, taking advantage of these disturbances, harrassed, with daily incursions, the neighbouring provinces. But tranquility was no sooner restored to the empire, than *Basilius* began to make vast preparations both by sea and land, with a design intirely to subdue, or utterly extirpate, that restless and turbulent nation. In the first place he took a progress into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and, having visited the frontiers on that side, and left a strong garison in *Thessalonica*, under the command of *Gregorius Taronitas*, to restrain the *Bulgarians*, he returned to *Constantinople*, to hasten the military preparations. In the mean time, *Samuel* approaching *Thessalonica* at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of the place, after having, by a stratagem, killed the governor, and taken his son prisoner. Elated with his success, he crossed the *Peneus*, and, having over-run all *Thessaly*, *Bœotia*, and *Attica*, he penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, destroying all with fire and sword in the provinces through which he passed. Hereupon the emperor dispatched *Nicephorus Uranius* against him, with the flower of the army, who, leaving his heavy baggage at *Larissa*, passed with incredible expedition the *Pharsalian* plains and the river *Apidanus*, arrived at the *Spercheius*, and encamped on the banks of that river opposite to *Samuel*. The river was then so swelled, that *Samuel*, believing the *Romans* could not pass it, lay with great security on the other side. However, *Uranius*, having sought with indefatigable pains, and at length found out, a ford, passed the river in the dead of the night, and, falling upon the *Bulgarians* while they

They are utterly defeated by Uranius.

[r] Cedren. p. 102.

lay

lay asleep, without the least apprehension of danger, made a dreadful havock of them before they had time to repair to their arms. *Samuel* and his son *Romanus* were dangerously wounded, and must unavoidably have fallen into the conqueror's hands, had they not kept themselves concealed the whole day among the dead bodies, and in the night stolen away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and, keeping the tops of those mountains to mount *Pindus*, and thence into *Bulgaria*. Upon his return home he found his daughter enamoured to such a degree of *Asotes* the son of *Gregory*, late governor of *Thessalonica*, who had been taken prisoner, as we have related above, that she declared she was determined to destroy herself, unless she was allowed to marry him. *Samuel* complied with her desire, and, as soon as the nuptial solemnity was over, sent his new son-in-law, with his wife, to reside at *Dyrrhachium*, appointing him governor of that important place; but he had not been long there, when, hearing that the emperor's galleys were cruizing on the coast, he laid hold of that opportunity to return to *Constantinople*, where both he and his wife, whom he had easily persuaded to accompany him, were kindly received and preferred by the emperor, he to the dignity of *magister*, and she to that of *zosta*, whose province it was to take care of the imperial wardrobe. *Asotes* brought letters with him to the emperor from *Chryselius*, one of the chief officers in *Dyrrhachium*, wherein he promised to deliver the city into the hands of the *Romans*, on condition the emperor conferred the dignity of patrician on him and his two sons; but, so far as we can conjecture from *Cedrenus*, whose text is strangely maimed in this place, the delivering up of the city was prevented by the death of *Chryselius*. However, the emperor became master of the place not long after; but in what manner we are not told [t]. The following year, the emperor entered *Bulgaria* in person by the way of *Philippopolis*, and, having taken there several castles and strong-holds, he dispatched from *Mosypolis* part of his army, under the command of *Theodorocranus* a patrician, and *Nicephorus Xiphias* protospatharian, against the *Bulgarian* cities beyond mount *Hæmus*. By these were reduced the *Great* and the *Little Persphlaba*, with *Plisscoba*, and several other fortified places. The ensuing year, *Basilius* in person made a second inroad into *Bulgaria*, by the way of *Thessalonica*, took some cities, burnt a great number of villages, and laid the country waste far and near. The city of *Beræa* was delivered up to him by *Dobromerus*, governor of that place, whom the emperor honoured with the title and rank of proconsul. The city of *Servia*, which was defended

Basilius invades their country, and takes several strong-holds.

[t] Idem, p. 198.

But is obliged to return with great loſs Year after Chriſt 987.

They no ſooner began to move, than *Samuel*, ruſhing down from the neighbouring mountains, where he had kept the whole time, fell with great fury upon them in their retreat, and turned it into a precipitous and diſorderly flight. All their baggage was taken, with the imperial robes and diadem; great numbers of the ſoldiers, and ſome officers of diſtinction, were cut in pieces; but the emperor with much-ado eſcaped to *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty, and guarding the poſt, which had been committed to his care. The emperor, though highly provoked, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon, againſt *Stephen*, the author of ſo much miſchief, contented himſelf with reviling him only in words, till he began to defend what he had done; and then *Baſilius*, no longer able to command his temper, leaped from his ſeat, and, taking hold of him by his locks and beard, pulled him down to the ground[t].

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[t] Cedren. p. 697.

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[s] Idem, p. 198

by a numerous garison, under the command of *Nicolas*, made a long and vigorous resistance; but was taken in the end by storm. From *Servia* the emperor returned to *Constantinople*, carrying with him a great number of captives, and among the rest *Nicolas*, governor of that place, whom, for his gallant behaviour, he generously raised to the rank of a patrician. But *Nicolas*, preferring the service of his master to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him, made his escape soon after to *Samuel*, and with him laid siege to *Servia*; which the emperor no sooner understood, than he hastened thither in person, obliged the *Bulgarians* to retire, and, falling upon them in their retreat, took *Nicolas* a second time prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, where he was, by the emperor's orders, kept under close confinement. From *Servia Basilius* led his army into *Thessaly*, and there repaired such castles, as had been dismantled by the *Bulgarians*, recovered those that were still held by them, and reunited that province, after it had been some time in their hands, to the empire. The year after, *Basilius*, early in the spring, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and laid siege to *Bodyna*, which held out for the space of eight months, but was in the end taken by storm. As the autumn was already far spent, the emperor, having left a strong garison in *Bodyna*, marched back with the rest of his troops to *Constantinople*. When he came, on his return home, to the river *Axius*, he found *Samuel*, with all the forces he had been able to assemble, encamped on the opposite bank. But *Basilius*, having discovered a ford, and passed the river in the dead of the night, fell early next morning on the enemy, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, and gave them a total overthrow. *Simeon*'s army being thus defeated and dispersed, *Romanus*, the son of the late king *Peter* and brother to *Borises*, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Scopiæ*, of which he was governor, and was on that account rewarded with the dignity of patrician. *Samuel*, no longer able to keep the field, placed strong guards in all the passes, to prevent the emperor from penetrating farther into *Bulgaria*. However, *Basilius*, bent upon the intire reduction of the country, forced, not without great loss of men, several passes; but, in the straights of *Cimba Longus*, he had been cut off with his whole army, had not *Nicephorus Xiphias*, governor of *Philippopolis*, marched with a strong detachment through by-ways and over a steep mountain, fallen unexpectedly upon the enemy's rear, and by that means obliged them to abandon their post. Hereupon *Basilius*, entering the straights without opposition, pursued them with great slaughter, though they retired in good order, and, often facing about, skirmished with the *Romans*. In one of these skirmishes the king narrowly escaped

Th irarry ... ... field.

escaped falling into the hands of the *Romans* by the valour and conduct of his son, who rescued him when he was already surrounded on all sides, and conveyed him safe to the castle of *Prilapus*, though closely pursued by a body of *Roman* horse. On this occasion the emperor is said to have taken fifteen thousand prisoners, whom, contrary to his custom, he treated with great inhumanity; for he caused their eyes to be put out, and, to every hundred assigning a guide, who had one eye left, sent them in that condition to *Samuel*. The king of the *Bulgarians*, already broken with age and worn out with misfortunes, was so shocked at this dismal spectacle, that he fell into a swoon; and though he returned to himself again, yet, not able to bear up against so great a calamity, he died two days after. [u].

Samuel, *king of the* Bulgarians, *dies of grief.*

Samuel was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, whom he had by a captive of *Larissa*. In the beginning of his reign, the emperor pursuing the conquest of *Bulgaria*, made himself master of a strong castle named *Matzucius*, and then sat down before *Strumpitza*, a place of great strength. During the siege, he detached *Theophylact*, one of his generals, with a body of chosen men, to reduce the strong-holds among the mountains, and open a way through the woods. *Theophylact* made himself master of several places; but being in the end surprised by the *Bulgarians* in a narrow pass, where he could not draw up his men, he was cut off, with the whole body under his command. The emperor, to whom *Strumpitza* had submitted after a vigorous resistance, hearing of this misfortune, thought it advisable to retreat; and accordingly marched back to *Mosynopolis*, and thence to *Thessalonica*. On his route, he took the castles of *Prilapus*, *Stypeius*, *Melencius*, and *Budena*, and burnt *Buteliana*, the royal palace of the *Bulgarian* kings. During the winter, *Gabriel* was killed, while he was hunting, by *Bladisthlabus*, the son of *Aaron*, whose life he had formerly preserved, as we have related above. *Bladisthlabus*, being acknowledged king by the *Bulgarians*, immediately acquainted the emperor with the death of *Gabriel* and his own promotion, acknowledging himself at the same time a subject and vassal of the empire. But *Basilius*, suspecting his sincerity, returned early in the spring into *Bulgaria*, and there made himself master of several strong castles and fortified towns, in one of which he took some of the principal men among the *Bulgarians*. In the mean time, *Bladisthlabus* sent a new deputation to the emperor, offering to submit upon what terms he should think proper to prescribe. At the same time, the emperor received letters from the *Bulgarians*, owning themselves his subjects and vassals. But *Basilius*,

The Bulgarians, *under the conduct of* Gabriel *their new king, cut off part of the* Roman *army.*

Gabriel *murdered by* Blakdisthlabus, *who succeeds him.*

[u] Idem, p. 203, & seq. ZONAR. p. 3[illegible].

being informed, that neither the king nor his subjects were sincere in their declarations, and that they had made an attempt upon *Dyrrhachium*, hoping to surprise that important place, entered *Bulgaria* anew, and, having laid waste the countries of *Ostrobus*, *Gosens*, and *Pelagonia*, advanced to *Achris*, the place where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, which he reduced; and then, leaving part of his army in *Pelagonia*, to awe the *Bulgarians*, he marched out with the rest to reduce the neighbouring provinces. But he was scarce gone, when *Ibatzes*, a man of great distinction among the *Bulgarians*, and remarkable for his valour and experience in war, having drawn the *Romans* left by the emperor into an ambuscade, cut them off, with their commanders, all to a man. Hereupon *Basilius*, marching back in great rage, laid several cities in ashes, ravaged the open country with fire and sword, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, ordered their eyes to be put out, and, in that condition, sent them to *Bladisthlabus*. On the other hand, the *Bulgarians*, making frequent sallies from the woods, cut great numbers of his men in pieces; insomuch, that, his army being greatly diminished, he thought it adviseable to return earlier than usual to *Constantinople*. On his march, he laid siege to the castle of *Pernicus*; but the garison making a vigorous resistance, he lay before it eighty days, assaulting it almost every day with his whole army; but, being constantly repulsed with great loss of men, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterprise and retire. However, thinking he could not, without forfeiting his reputation, drop the war, till he had intirely subdued *Bulgaria*, after having so often invaded it in person, he allowed his army but a short respite; and then, taking the field again, he laid siege to *Castoria*, a fortified town in *Pelagonia*. But, in the mean time, the king of the *Bulgarians*, having drawn together all the forces he could muster, began to march towards the frontiers of the empire, in order to oblige the emperor to abandon *Bulgaria*, and hasten back to the defence of his own dominions. *Basilius*, accordingly, breaking up the siege of *Castoria*, marched against *Bladisthlabus*, who, not caring to put the whole to the issue of an engagement, retired at his approach. *Basilius* detached *Constantine Diogenes* in pursuit of the enemy, who put many of them to the sword, took the horses and baggage of the king, with one of his kinsmen, and returned loaded with booty. After this, the emperor took by storm the castle of *Sateena*, where he found a great quantity of corn, which he caused to be removed, and then set fire to the place. Having ended the campaign, he returned, according to his custom, to *Constantinople*. He was no sooner gone, than the king of the *Bulga-*

Basilius reduces several strongholds.

Bul puts to the king to flight, who is killed soon after.

rians

rians laid siege to *Dyrrhachium*; but the garison making a vigorous resistance, he was slain in an assault. The *Bulgarians*, who had hitherto defended their country with an unparallelled valour, and maintained their liberties against the whole strength of the empire, in a war which had lasted twenty years and upwards, being now quite disheartened by the loss of their king, sent deputies to the emperor, with offers of a total and unfeigned submission. *Basilius* received them in the most obliging manner, and, hastening into *Bulgaria*, was met on the confines by the governors of thirty-six castles, which they delivered up to him. Their example was followed by most of the chief men of *Bulgaria*, and even by the wife of the deceased king, who, coming to the emperor, with three of her sons and her six daughters, renounced all claim to the kingdom of *Bulgaria*. She had three other sons by the king; but they had taken refuge on the tops of the *Ceraunic* mountains, whence they were soon after obliged by famine, the emperor having ordered all the passes to be carefully guarded, to come down and surrender themselves. *Basilius* received them in the most obliging manner imaginable, raised *Prosranus*, who seems to have been the eldest, to the dignity of *magister*, and the other five to that of patrician. To the mother and the daughters he allowed a maintenance suitable to their rank, and ever treated them with the utmost respect. At *Achris*, where the *Bulgarian* kings usually resided, he was received by his new subjects with loud acclamations. There he seized on the immense treasure of the *Bulgarian* princes, and found, among other things of great value, several crowns enriched with pearl, and a great quantity of gold, which he bestowed as a donative upon his soldiers [w]. There remained now but one man in the whole country capable of raising disturbances, who had not submitted to the emperor. This was *Ibatzes*, a person nearly allied to the royal family, and one who, during the course of the war, had given several instances of his courage and implacable hatred to the *Romans*. He, refusing to comply with the present posture of affairs, seized on a castle standing on the top of a mountain most difficult of access, and, having fortified himself there, declared, that he was determined to hold out to the last extremity. But in what manner he was seized in his castle and brought to the emperor, we have related at length in our *Roman* history [x], to which we refer the reader. And now *Basilius*, absolute master of all *Bulgaria*, took a progress through the country, receiving

The chief men among the Bulgarians *submit.*

Bulgaria intirely subdued.

[w] CEDREN. p 207, &c. ZONAR. p. 350.

[x] Univers. hist. vol. xvi. p. 300.

Year after Christ 1019.

ceiving every-where the ſubmiſſions of his new ſubjects, and cauſing ſeveral caſtles to be demoliſhed, leſt the *Bulgarians*, ſeizing on them, ſhould attempt to ſhake off the yoke. Then, leaving *Bulgaria*, he repaired to *Athens*, and, aſcribing the ſucceſs that had attended his arms to the protection of the virgin *Mary*, he enriched her church in that city with many preſents of great value. From *Athens* he returned to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered in triumph through the *golden-gate*, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, the widow of the late king of the *Bulgarians*, with all the princes and princeſſes of the blood royal, walking before him. This conqueſt and final reduction of *Bulgaria*, which had been often attempted in vain by other emperors, was effected by *Raſilius* in the forty-fourth year of his reign and of the chriſtian æra 1019.

The Bulgarians *revolt, and chuſe* Deleanus *for their king.*

The *Bulgarians* bore the yoke patiently for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, that is, till the year 1036, the ſecond of *Michael* IV. when they revolted on the following occaſion: One *Deleanus*, as we read in *Cedrenus*, or *Dolianus*, as *Zonaras* calls him, by birth a *Bulgarian*, but ſlave or ſervant to a citizen of *Conſtantinople*, eſcaping from his maſter, fled into *Bulgaria*, and there gave out, that he was the ſon of *Gabriel* and grandſon of *Samuel*, kings of that country. This he affirmed with ſuch confidence, that the *Bulgarians*, giving intire credit to all he ſaid, and being already weary of the yoke, to which they had lately ſubmitted, received him every-where with joyful acclamations, and proclaimed him king of *Bulgaria*, ſacrificing to this new idol all the *Romans*, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Baſilius Synademus*, governor of *Dyrrhachium*, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he marched out againſt the rebels, with all the troops under his command; but an unſeaſonable quarrel ariſing between him and a tribune in the army, named *Michael Democaitas*, the contention was carried to ſuch a height, that the tribune accuſed *Synademus* at court of high treaſon; who was thereupon, by the emperor's orders, ſeized, and ſent to *Theſſalonica*, to be confined there to cloſe priſon. The accuſer was preferred to the government of *Dyrrhachium* in his room; but in that command he behaved with ſuch inſolence, that the people, no longer able to bear his tyrannical temper and cruel exactions, roſe againſt him and drove him out of the town. This they were well appriſed the emperor would highly reſent, and therefore, deſpairing of pardon, they openly revolted, and choſe for their king one *Teichomer*, a ſoldier of great reputation among them. This unexpected election very much ſurpriſed *Deleanus* and his adherents; for there were now two powerful factions in *Bulgaria*, the city

The inhabitants of Dyrrhachium *ſhake off the yoke, and chuſe* Teichomer *for their king.*

and

and territory of *Dyrrhachium* acknowledging *Teichomer*, and the reſt of the country *Deleanus*. This, *Deleanus* was well appriſed, would occaſion the ruin of both, and therefore reſolved, by ſome means or other, to get rid of his new rival; but, as that could not be well effected by force, he had recourſe to artifice; and, pretending to be highly pleaſed with the election of *Teichomer*, he wrote obliging letters to him, congratulating him upon his new dignity, expreſſed great joy in having him for his collegue, and earneſtly intreated him to come and ſhare the ſovereignty with him. *Teichomer*, believing him ſincere in his profeſſions, went and joined him with all his forces. *Deleanus*, having thus got him, as he thought, into his power, watched his opportunity; and, having called the ſoldiers together, he told them, that *Bulgaria* could not, in his opinion, admit of two kings; and that therefore they ought either to confirm his election, who was deſcended from *Samuel*, and remove *Teichomer*, or, if they thought fit, to depoſe him, and veſt *Teichomer* with the whole power. This ſpeech occaſioned, at firſt, a great conteſt in the army, which ended in the choice of *Deleanus* and the death of *Teichomer*, who was ſtoned by the ſoldiery. *Deleanus*, having thus got the whole power into his hands, led his army, without loſs of time, towards *Theſſalonica*, where *Michael* then was; but, upon the firſt news of his approach, the emperor fled to *Conſtantinople*, leaving all his baggage and treaſure behind him, under the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, who was ordered to convey it to the imperial city. But *Ibatza*, betraying his truſt, carried it over to *Deleanus*, whoſe party being ſtrengthened by ſome new acceſſion almoſt every day, he ſent a ſtrong body of troops, under the conduct of one *Caucanus*, againſt *Dyrrhachium*, which was ſoon reduced; and diſpatched another, commanded by one *Anthemius*, into *Greece*, at whoſe approach the province of *Nicopolis*, revolting from the emperor, cut in pieces his officers, by whom they had been moſt grievouſly oppreſſed, and ſubmitted to the rebels. In the mean time *Aluſianus*, the ſecond ſon of *Aaron*, and brother to *Bladiſthlabus* the laſt king of *Bulgaria*, who, ſubmitting with the reſt of his countrymen to *Baſilius*, had been raiſed by him to the rank of patrician, retiring privately from *Conſtantinople*, returned into his native country. He had been accuſed of ſome illegal proceedings by the inhabitants of *Theodoſiopolis*, of which city he had been appointed governor by *Baſilius*. Hereupon *John*, the emperor's brother, who ruled with an abſolute ſway, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Aluſianus*, not only prevailed upon *Michael* to forbid him the court, but obliged him, before his cauſe was heard, to pay a great ſum of gold, and,

Who is ſtoned to death by the followers of Deleanus.

Dyrrhachium *and the province of* Nicopolis, *ſubmit to* Deleanus.

what

what provoked him moſt, forced a beautiful woman from him, for whom he had a great paſſion. *Aluſianus*, not knowing how far the emperor, at the inſtigation of his brother, might carry his reſentment, retired privately from *Conſtantinople*, and, in the diſguiſe of an *Armenian*, got ſafe to *Oſtrobus*, where *Deleanus* lay encamped with his army. Both the ſoldiery and people received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; which did not a little alarm *Deleanus*. However, diſſembling his fears, and pretending to be no leſs pleaſed with his arrival than the reſt, he offered to ſhare with him the ſovereignty. *Aluſianus* readily accepted the offer, and, being by all acknowledged as his collegue, in order to gain the affections of the people and ſoldiery, he immediately marched, at the head of forty thouſand men, to beſiege *Theſſalonica*. But *Conſtantine* the patrician, a perſon nearly related to the emperor, making a very gallant and vigorous reſiſtance, *Aluſianus*, after having, for ſix days together, battered the walls with all ſorts of engines, and attempted, with repeated aſſaults, to make himſelf maſter of the place, was in the end obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, hoping the gariſon would be ſoon forced by famine to ſubmit. But the beſieged, making a general and unexpected ſally, cut fifteen thouſand of the *Bulgarians* in pieces, and obliged the reſt to break up the ſiege and ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. This defeat increaſed the jealouſies which the two competitors had already conceived of each other, *Deleanus* aſcribing the overthrow to treachery, and *Aluſianus*, upon the ſenſe of his late misfortune, apprehending that his rival would lay hold of the firſt opportunity to ſtir up the people and ſoldiery againſt him: thus each in private began to meditate the ruin and deſtruction of the other. But *Aluſianus* was in the end before-hand with his collegue; for, having invited him to an entertainment, he encouraged him to drink till he was quite intoxicated, and then cauſed his eyes to be put out. After this, diſtruſtful of his own intereſt, and well acquainted with the fickle temper of the *Bulgarians*, he wrote to the emperor, offering to ſubmit and return to his duty, provided *Michael* would grant him his pardon, and ſuch a reward as his ſervice might be thought to deſerve. The emperor readily complied with his requeſt, conferred on him the dignity of *magiſter*, and ſent him to *Conſtantinople*. *Michael* had already reſolved to march in perſon into *Bulgaria*, and employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the rebels, ſaying, it was a ſhame for him, who had added nothing to the empire, to ſuffer any part of it to be loſt. Upon the ſubmiſſion therefore of *Aluſianus*, he led his army, without loſs of time, into *Bulgaria*, though he was then ſo

He takes Aluſianus *for his collegue.*

Who is put to flight with great ſlaughter by the Romans.

Deleanus *depoſed by* Aluſianus, *who ſubmits to the emperor.*

ſo ill of a dropſy, that all about him thought every day would prove his laſt. However, being reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking the *Bulgarians*, while deſtitute of a leader, he could by no means be prevailed upon to drop the enterpriſe. Upon his firſt entering *Bulgaria*, *Deleanus* fell into his hands, whom he immediately ſent to *Theſſalonica*; then, penetrating farther into the country, he diſperſed ſome *Bulgarians*, who began to aſſemble, received the allegiance of the chief men of the country, and, having taken *Manuel Ibatza*, of whom we have ſpoken above, he returned with him and *Deleanus* in triumph to *Conſtantinople*[y]. From this time the *Bulgarians* continued ſubject to the emperors of *Conſtantinople*, whom they powerfully aſſiſted both againſt the *Latins* and the *Turks*, and were on that account allowed to chuſe a king of their own nation, who nevertheleſs owned himſelf a vaſſal of the empire. In 1206, *John*, king of *Bulgaria*, marching againſt *Baldwin*, the firſt emperor of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, while he was beſieging *Adrianople*, defeated his army with great ſlaughter, relieved the city, and, having taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, carried him to *Ternova*, at that time the capital of *Bulgaria*. There he cauſed his hands and feet to be cut off, and then ordered him, thus maimed, to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, where he lay in the utmoſt agony for three days, and, then expiring, was devoured by the wild beaſts and birds of prey. In 1275, *Stephen*, the fourth king of *Hungary*, overcame in a great battle *Cea* prince of *Bulgaria*, and, having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the *Bulgarians* to acknowledge him for their king. Hence *Stephen* and his ſucceſſors were ſtyled kings of *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, which title paſſed, with the kingdom of *Hungary*, to the princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, as we ſhall hereafter relate more at length. With the aſſiſtance of the *Greek* emperors they ſhook off the *Hungarian* yoke, and in 1369, under the conduct of *Saſmenos* their king, they attempted the recovery of *Adrianople*, taken by the *Turks*; but were utterly defeated by *Amurath* I. who had no ſooner ſettled his affairs in *Aſia*, than, provoked againſt the *Bulgarians* for their late attempt, he turned his arms againſt them, and, entering *Bulgaria* with a numerous army, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and obliged *Saſmenos* to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to him the far greater part of his kingdom, and promiſing to hold the reſt as his vaſſal and tributary. But *Bajazet*, who ſucceeded *Amurath*, invading *Bulgaria* without the leaſt provocation, made an abſolute con-

Bulgaria reduced anew. Year after Chriſt 1041.

[y] CEDREN. p. 210—214. ZONAR. p. 353—360.

Bulgaria *reduced to a province of the* Turkish *empire.* *Year after Christ* 1396.

queſt of the whole country in 1396, and reduced it to a province of the *Turkiſh* empire, in which ſtate it has continued ever ſince. We ſhall now, in compliance with our plan, proceed to the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, from *Theodoric* to their expulſion by *Narſes*; of the exarchs of *Ravenna*, till driven out by the *Lombards*; and of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, to *Deſiderius* their laſt king, taken priſoner by *Charlemagne*. Theſe three different hiſtories will afford us matter for the following chapter, and with them we ſhall cloſe the antient hiſtory, or the hiſtory of the antient nations.

A N

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EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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